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Abstract

In an era of global communication where efforts are increasingly paid to communicate with people of widely-varying cultures across the world, this study examines how one news organization communicates to international audiences of different languages, cultural backgrounds and interests. This study aims to identify which values are more prevalent in the content in both AJA and AJE to communicate to their audiences with different cultural, language, and interest backgrounds. The study tests three models developed from the literature in news production: The professional values model, the marketing values model, and the cultural values model. A total of 592 news stories – 234 from Al Jazeera English and 358 from Al Jazeera Arabic websites – published from Jan. 1, 2014, to April 30, 2014, were analyzed.

The findings of this study indicate that Al Jazeera reflects professional values to a substantial degree, marketing values and cultural values were evident at a moderate level. However, a comparison of the news stories on the Arabic and English websites showed that Al Jazeera tailors its stories to the taste of the target audience in different ways. In fact Al Jazeera considers the cultural, social, language, religious, and interest backgrounds of its target audience when producing its contents. Specifically, although professional news values were most prevalent in both websites, AJA and AJE showed some differences in the prevalence of the three models. The findings show that AJE reflected a moderate level of marketing values, and a low level of the cultural values when communicating with its non-Arab readers. However, AJA reflects a moderate level of cultural values and a relatively low level of marketing values when

communicating with its Arab readers. Scholarly implications, future studies and limitations were presented in this study.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The advent of new technologies and the pressure business environment have dramatically increased the intense competition between the world's leading news organizations (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008; Lowrey & Gade, 2011). The competition is to reach new audiences and make news available in "different languages to numerous people" on the basis of global regions (Groshek, 2008, p. 52).

Many leading world news organizations have targeted different audiences and designed specific content that meets their outside audiences' needs (Foote, 1995; Hart, 2008, p. 2). For example, CNN, based in the U.S., has news websites in nine different languages; the BBC, based in London, has news websites with 27 different languages; Voice of America broadcasts in "40-50 languages" (Mody, 2012, p. 103) and Al Jazeera, based in Qatar, has two news websites, one in English (AJE) and the other in Arabic (AJA) (CNN news website, 2012; BBC Arabic website, 2012; Al Jazeera English website, 2012).

Also, several international newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting organizations play a significant role as "purveyors of news globally" (Pampal, 2002, p. 109). *The New York Times*, *the Times* of London, and *The Guardian* are examples of newspapers that stand out for their global reach. *Time*, and the UK's *Economist* are examples of global news magazines that target audiences by producing versions of their content that fit with their audiences in different areas around the world (Pampal, 2002, p. 109).

At a narrower geographic scale, in the last decade, the Arab region has witnessed strong competition among several satellite channels. These channels are

funded by non-Arab countries and produce Arabic content that targets the Arab region (Tahat & Fowler, 2011, p.50). There are eight foreign TV networks that are operating in the Arabic language with news websites in Arabic such as France 24, based in Paris; Deutsche Well; the BBC; CNNI; Russia Today; Al Hurra, based in the U.S.; Turkey TV, based in Istanbul; and Al Alam, based in Tehran (Tahat & Fowler, 2011, p. 50). This competitive situation in global news production suggests the need to examine how the same news organizations communicate to different audiences that have different languages, cultural backgrounds, and interests.

These international news websites are very clear in saying that they present their news production from their audiences' perspectives and with professional values. For example, the CNN Arabic news website claims that the main mission of this website is to provide international news from an Arabic perspective, with continuous updates on regional and international developments (CNN Arabic website, 2012). CNNI also emphasized that the "CNN.com relies heavily on CNN's global team of over 4,000 news professionals." Similarly, the BBC Arabic news website mentions that the main mission of its website is to put Arab interests and needs at the center of its concerns (BBC Arabic website, 2012). Al Jazeera also claims that it will focus on the "underreported regions" across the globe (Al Jazeera English website, 2012; El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p.51). In today's world, news websites have become one of the significant sources of global news (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008). And the Al Jazeera news website is one of these important news websites in the international news production and distribution (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008; Telhami, 2013).

However, many questions arise here. One of them is why do leading professional news organizations target different audiences that have different languages, interests, and culture. Also, what makes news content acceptable or unacceptable to different audiences? In fact, these questions lead to consideration of different possible models that could use specific values or norms inside the newsroom to design the media content for different audiences. Different norms and values could be used by journalists in the production of the news. These values vary between professional, marketing, and culture and these values determine the type of content that would reach to the targeted readers. For example, if Al Jazeera has to communicate to Arab and non-Arab audiences with two separate news websites, one might assume that what is acceptable to Arabs is unacceptable to non-Arabs and what is acceptable in the U.S. may not be as acceptable in the Arab countries (Barkho, 2006). However, this study is not interested in examining the conditions of why or how the content will be accepted or not by the readers, but it is interested to examine which values and norms are more apparent in news production in non-Western media.

This study proposes three different models: a professional journalism-driven approach, a profits-driven approach, and a cultural "ideological" based approach. These three models, which are developed from the literature, are used to predict the nature of media content that journalists might produce if they emphasize specific values during the news content production.

The professionalism approach is the basis of journalism culture, and it emphasizes telling people the truth. It relies on craft norms and journalists' expertise in defining what is newsworthy, how to report (Lowrey & Gade, 2011), and deciding

"what information their audience members should know to negotiate their world" (Beam, 1996, p. 287). The main logic of the professional approach in journalism is "identifying and responding to broad social or political needs" (Beam, 1996, p. 287). In other words, this approach focuses on public sphere issues such as governmental affairs and aims to provide the readers with adequate information to make informed decisions and get them involved in the political process. As for the market approach, this model is usually adopted when situations become very uncertain regarding the wants and needs of an audience and when news organizations face difficulties under economic pressure (Beam, 1996; Bennett, 2004; Lacy & Sohn, 2011; McCann, 2009; McManus, 1994; Picard, 2005; Underwood, 1993). Beam (1996) argued that at a news organization when "editors experience high levels of uncertainty about their organization's environment, a strong marketing orientation is most likely to emerge" (p. 285). Thus, the marketing model has prevailed among news organizations that have an uncertain environment and inability to predict the wants and needs of their readers. The marketing model is not related to public affairs issues; in general, it pays much attention to news stories related to entertainment, sports, and celebrities. The main purpose of the marketing model is to increase the profit of the news organization by using private sphere content to attract more audiences and advertisers. In the marketing model the content does not focus on the common interests of the public. Finally, when content reflects the cultural, religious, and social norms and values of the creators, then this can be considered a cultural model. In this model, journalists' cultural background influences the nature of media content that is presented to the readers (Barkho, 2006; Garyantes, 2006; Peterson, 1979; Schudson,

1989). In the cultural model, journalists tend to produce media content “biased toward their own cultures and perspectives” (Garyantes, 2006, p.4). In this study, these three models were tested on news content produced by a non-Western news organization, Al Jazeera.

To date, researchers have primarily concerned with studying each model separately and focus generally on news production in the U.S. and Western Europe, and especially the professional and marketing models. For example, many studies have been conducted using the marketing model in the West (e.g., Beam, 1993, 1996, 2003, 2008; Beam, Brownlee, Weaver, & DiCico, 2009; Cassidy, 2002; Cushion & Lewis, 2009; Patterson, 2000; Picard, 2005; Slattery & Hakanen, 1994). The professional journalism model also has focused on studying the Western media (e.g., Foote, & Gade, 2006; Gade et al., 1998; Gade et al., 2011; Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1972; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Lewis 2006). However, very few studies have paid attention to the cultural model in news production and most of them have studied AJ as a way to compare its content with Western media content or pattern of coverage (e.g., Abdl-Mageed & Herring, 2008; Barkho, 2006; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010; Kolmer & Semetko, 2009). Thus, most of the literature has paid attention to media content in the Western media, and most of it has examined how different news organizations have used only two models in news production, namely, the marketing and professional models. However, this study focuses on studying media content of a non-Western news organization by adding the cultural model to study the same news organization.

Another reason that makes this study important is related to the nature of Al Jazeera itself and the unknown model that it uses in news production. Al Jazeera is one of the most controversial news organizations in the modern history of the media. Al Jazeera has received an enormous amount of criticism as well as praise from all sides regarding its mission and editorial policy (Sharp, 2003, Wojcieszak, 2007). The ongoing argument and controversy on "the nature and impact of Al Jazeera has been vigorous" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 115). Different perspectives from scholars, politicians, media observers, official reports, and commentaries revolve around AJ and its true goals in the international media system. The first perspective views AJ as free, independent, objective and adopting Western professional values in news production (e.g. Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; El- Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Quinn & Walters, 2004; Sharp, 2003; Schleifer, 2001); the second trend views AJ as lacking objectivity, biased to the Arab and Muslim interests against the West, and supporting fundamentalist groups in the Middle East in its daily reporting (e.g., Ajami, 2001; Campagna, 2001; Darwish, 2001, Lynch, 2005; Negus, 2001; Taylor, 2001; Wojcieszak, 2007; Zednik, 2002). However, scholars and observers in their studies and impressions have focused on whether or not AJ has produced objective content or not and, thus, none of these scholars has developed an international model to explore how news websites that belong to the same news organization communicate to different audiences that have different languages, interests, and cultural backgrounds. Thus, this study aims to contribute in overcoming the non-systematic ways of judging any news organization, by developing a scientific way based on testing these three models on the content of a news organization to

know what values were more prevalent in news production. No study to date has attempted to identify which model of these three predominates in creation of the content of the two versions of AJ websites and whether they are similar to, or different from, each other in what they cover.

Statement of the Problem and the Purpose of the Dissertation

The problem of this study is that in an era of global communication little is known, through systematic study, about the role of professional, marketing, and cultural factors, together, in news production when the same news organization communicates to different audiences that have different interests, religious, and cultural backgrounds through content in multiple languages.

This study aims to identify which values are more prevalent in the content of both AJA and AJE to communicate to their audiences with different cultural, language, and interest backgrounds. There is no single study that explains which norms have been more reflected in the contents of both by AJE and AJA when targeting its Arab and non-Arab readers.

The main purpose of this study is to test these three models by applying them to the content of a non-Western news organization as well as to explore the degree to which these three proposed models predict the type of media content patterns. In particular, this dissertation examines how a leading news organization in the Middle East, Al Jazeera, frames its news in two languages when it targets readers from different cultures. Thus, these models were tested to identify whether or not AJ reflected professional values in news production or other non-professional values. However, the expectations were that the content would reveal some characteristics of

multiple models. The study did not attempt to fit the content neatly into any of the model, rather it showed how the study reflected the elements of the models and concluded which are most prevalent, as well as compare the elements of the models manifest in the content on both websites. These models are important because they bring together nuanced measures of multiple constructs that reflect three important broad concepts – professionalism, marketing and culture – in relation to journalism. The models contribute to creation and refinement of concepts that are often found in the literature, but seldom measured, particularly in relation to one another.

These models could be tested in two ways. The first is by comparing the content of two different news organizations in the same period of time (e.g., CNN English content and Al Jazeera English at the same period of time) or, by comparing the content of the same news organization in the same period of time (e.g., BBC Arabic and BBC English). This study applied these three models to compare the similarity and differences between AJE and AJA at the same period of time, to understand how they report news to different audiences that have different interests and languages.

This study came as a response to researchers' calls to conduct more studies to explore the main trends of news production and consumption in different areas in the world (Elareshi & Gunter, 2012). Also other academics have urged that more studies be conducted in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of multilingual news coverage in global news production (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008). Besides, this dissertation addresses the question that has arisen about whether or not AJ has an ideological balance in its news websites (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008). It also addresses the suggestion by Zeng and Tahat (2012) that future research "compare the

trends of coverage between the Arabic version and English version of the same news organization" (p. 445). In addition, other scholars lament the lack of studies on AJ news websites despite the importance of AJ. They pointed out that "its news site has been surprisingly under-researched thus far. The fact that Al Jazeera has an Arabic as well as an English news site makes it especially interesting as an object of comparative study" (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008, p. 2).

More broadly, this study responds to Beam (1996), who urged researchers to examine the content differences between news organizations that use different news production orientations (e.g., marketing and professional models). Most recently, Lowrey and Wan Woo (2010) mentioned that most studies were focused on the differences between the marketing model and professional model in media content in the U.S., Western Europe, Latin American, and Japan, and they suggested that more cross-national studies should be conducted on news organizations operating in areas other than the U.S and Western Europe (p. 55). This study aims to add to the body of the literature about the relationship between media content and media creators (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), by analyzing the content of both AJA and AJE to capture the most prevalent values that producers used when communicating to different audiences who have different interests and cultural backgrounds. It also aims to provide scholars in political science, journalism and mass communication, media observers and commentators insight about the nature of values that prevail in newsrooms in non-Western media. On a societal level, this study helps to better understand the role of media content in bridging the gap between nations and cultures by using different languages to reach different audiences with different interests,

languages, and cultural backgrounds. In addition, this study helps journalists, media practitioners, and owners of media see the specific criteria that distinguish content based on using these proposed three models in international news production.

To explore the problem presented in this chapter, the chapters in this dissertation are organized as follows. Chapter 2 includes the literature review and discusses these seven sections: professionalism in journalism from normative theory perspectives, the main professionalism values, and the norms of the Arab journalism; the change in newsroom culture that leads into the marketing model; the marketing approach and its main concepts; the cultural model; news sociology and the factors that influence the shape of the media content; the main research trends surrounding Al Jazeera; and framing. The research questions and hypotheses are presented in the end of Chapter 2. The study design, methodology and measures are explained in Chapter 3. Framing content analysis was used as the main method to analyze the data, and index for each model was used to determine which values were prevalent in the published stories. The results are presented in Chapter 4. And finally, discussion and conclusions about the results are offered in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To explore the problem of this study, this literature review discusses these three broad constructs: professionalism values in journalism from normative theory perspectives. This section highlights the democratic mission of journalism. The professional model provides people with different perspectives and with adequate information to enable them make informed and healthy decisions to get them involved in political process. The content under the professional model focuses more on public affairs issues and includes many perspectives from different sources. The second construct is the marketing values. Based on the marketing values, making profits comes first, audience driven content comes second, and news production focuses on the content of the private sphere more than the public sphere. The third construct is the culture values. In this viewpoint, news is a cultural product produced by journalists who might adhere to their specific cultural values. The assumption of the cultural values approach is that the content reflects its creator's cultural values and norms. Also, the literature addresses news sociology in particular the forces that impact shaping the media content. Other sections discuss the main research trends surrounding Al Jazeera, and framing. The research questions and hypotheses are presented in the end of Chapter 2.

Many important concepts need to be defined in the literature review. Objectivity, fairness, freedom, telling the truth, balance, and social responsibility of the press to serve public interests are the most important concepts related to the professionalism model. Public sphere and private sphere content, soft news and hard news, resource commitment, and source usage are the most important concepts in

media management literature relevant to this study. Cultural identity, in group and out group, gender presence, Arab cultural norms, story focus, geographic focus, source cultural identity, and culturally aware language are the most important concepts in the cultural model. The following sections discuss the main concepts of these three models in more detail. The following is a discussion of the most professional values of the Professional model.

The Professional Norms Model

The professional model in news production is a product of the Anglo-American culture (Freidson, 1984). Professionals proclaim to serve society and operate in a market shelter maintained by entry norms, including specialized degrees and educational training (Barber, 1965; Becker & Vlad, 2011; Larson, 1982). Professionals' values are informed by education and training (Abbott, 1988). While market journalism employs an emotionally-intense narrative style in an effort to involve news consumers and to secure greater advertising revenue by attracting larger audiences (Eveland, Seo, & Marton, 2002), the professionally model in journalism prefers fact-based objectivity to show detachment and focus on a democratic mission of journalism, not a commercial one (Zheng & Zhou, 2009). This section defines the meaning of the profession of journalism and discusses the roots of the professionalism model. In particular, the professional values of journalism are described through normative theories of the press, the Hutchins Commission, the main journalism functions in the Western society, and the norms of Arab journalism.

What is a profession? While some professions are defined based on licensing or membership (Durkheim, 1992; Parsons, 1951), others are defined mainly upon

their norms, attributes, values and functions (Beam, 2003; Becker & Carper, 1956). What is important here is that all professionals claim they are serving society and taking care of its public interests (Lynn, 1965). Professionals also claim that they are performing their tasks with a unique social standard because professionals hold a specific body of knowledge that distinguishes them from other workers (Freidson, 1984). Professionals' special attitude of "commitment and concern" to serve their society is what makes them different from non-professional people (Freidson, 1984, p. 2). Also, professionals hold some degree of specialized knowledge that is normally earned through education (Larson, 1982). Having a command of abstract knowledge through education is one quality of a profession that differentiates from non-professional workers (Haug, 1977). In fact, most occupations' members who want the status of an "ideal" profession begin by getting a four-year degree in the discipline (Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 251). The fact that professionals possess abstract academic knowledge, or to be more specific, have the ability to keep their "command" over specialized knowledge, leads to building a protective economic "market shelter" (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Freidson, 1984). The market shelter enhances professional autonomy, guards professionals from economic influences (Becker & Vlad, 2011) and makes them free in their practices from the control of the unseen hands of the economic marketplace (Lynn, 1965). In this view, professions gain control in the economic marketplace by building such a shelter, which "keeps out competitors and controls" who qualifies for the profession (Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 251). Professions must always develop and make a case that their practices are based on specialized knowledge and distinctive skill sets (Becker & Vlad, 2011).

Professionalism refers to "an organizing principle of an occupational cohort. The professional's work is based in a theoretical body of knowledge, shared values and norms, and common purpose" (Gade & Lowrey, 2011, p. 30). A profession is defined by its unique norms, values and goals, and by techniques and specialized knowledge (Abbott, 1988; Lieberman, 1956). These shared professional values and norms become codified, and generally reinforce their importance among the members of the profession through education, training, codes of ethics and professional societies and associations (Abbott, 1988; Lynn, 1965; Wilensky, 1964). The shared values become "institutionalized" among its members and help professionals to understand what is accepted or not accepted (Beam, 2003, p. 371).

Different scholars have identified various criteria that must be available for any occupation to be a profession. For example, Lieberman (1956) identified three norms that the members of the profession should meet, which include the following: the occupation must perform a unique and essential service, its members must accept large personal responsibility for judgments and actions, and the occupation must have a code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted through concrete cases (pp. 2-6). Most recently, Beam, Weaver and Brownlee (2009) also expanded these criteria for a profession; they identified seven attributes of a profession. First, the occupation should be organized around a body of knowledge of specialized technique; second, members of the occupation have a degree of autonomy to accomplish their work; third, they put public service interests ahead of economic gain; fourth, they establish professional culture based on institutions that promote its norms, values and symbols; fifth, members are socialized through education and training; sixth, members produce

an unstandardized product, and finally, the occupation usually should be lifelong and terminal (pp. 278-279).

In the case of journalism, there has been an ongoing discussion whether or not journalism should be labeled as a complete profession. It was considered as a "semi-profession," because reporters don't hold all of the attributes of professionals (Beam, 1993). For example, journalists do not enjoy a specialized body of knowledge, no comprehensive self-governing form, no specialized training, and there are no clear barriers to joining the journalism occupation (Merrill, 2006). Even though journalism is not fully a profession (Beam, 1993), journalists successfully developed an institutionalizing objectivity as a norm of professional practice. Also, journalists are socialized through training and education, and hold a body of knowledge and certain routines (Breed, 1955; Tuchman, 1978). As a profession, journalism is based upon the general value of upholding democracy through providing citizens the information they need to self-govern (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, p.17). Furthermore, if the basic logic of the profession in journalism lies in its mission to help people be good, informed citizens, then that mission should reflect itself in content that allows the citizens to be more informed, more knowledgeable, and gives them many different ideas and perspectives (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, pp. 15-32). Defining the profession of journalism leads to a discussion the roots of professional values, in particular, normative theories, namely, libertarian theory, social responsibility theory, and communitarian theory.

Libertarian and social responsibility theories. Normative theories of the press describe an ideal way for media systems, addressing what the press should and

should not do (Baran & Davis, 2006). These theories define the value system of journalism, and adherence to these values defines the specific attributes of journalism professionalism. Libertarian theory and social responsibility are two of the most important normative theories that guide journalism (Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). These two theories can explain how journalists visualize their roles in the society (Gade, et al., 1998). These theories seek to discuss the media system and the role mass media are assumed to have in the society (Merrill, 1974). Siebert (1956) argued that libertarian theorists believe that all types of information should be made public. They say that humans are rational beings (having the ability to think, to remember, to utilize experience and to arrive at a conclusion) and their rational thoughts lead them to distinguish between good and bad. Scientific and geographical discoveries, the emergence of the middle class, and the Enlightenment movement during the 17th and 18th centuries were the most important factors affecting the development of liberalism (Siebert, 1956, pp. 42-43). The Enlightenment prescribed science as a method for finding the truth rather than blind faith in God or monarchy (Merrill, 1974). Generally speaking, the spirit of the Enlightenment was marked by using the human mind, the freedom to think and express one's self, and avoiding self-imposed and other external controls (Williams, 1999). Therefore, using reason and common sense to find the truth provided the basis for free expression (Gade, 2011). To exercise these ideals (reasoning and common sense) people need to have unlimited access to the thoughts and ideas of others through an open and free environment for discussion. So, from the perspectives of libertarian theory, it is believed that if all the voices could be heard, truth would reveal itself in the marketplace of ideas, which is

the basis for the idea of free expression (Siebert, 1956). In this situation, to find the truth and to make sense of it, there must be a free flow of information without government control and media should be independent from outside restrictions on people's right to use their rationality (Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956).

In this theory, humans are seen as capable of using their reason to self-govern, if they have access to the ideas of others and free discussions, thus providing the rationale for an independent and free press that provides citizens with unbiased information. Different philosophers contributed to the development of the foundational concepts of media in democracy. For example, John Milton developed the idea of a "self-righting" principle, and he believed that truth was definite, demonstrable and that it had unique powers in an open encounter with falsehood. From this idea the concept of the "marketplace of ideas" developed (Siebert, 1956, p. 44). Milton's arguments supported the idea that the media's main function is to tell people the truth without any kind of content censorship, whether the truth is negative or positive. Milton also argued that people should have unlimited access to the ideas and thoughts of other people, which is "the right of free discussion." Therefore, by using the reasoning process, people can distinguish between what is right and what is wrong (Siebert, 1956, p. 44). Natural rights are another important foundational concept in media and democracy. This concept was articulated by John Locke and these rights were God-given and could not be morally restricted by human authority. These rights include: freedom of expression, and ownership or property (Siebert, 1956). Locke's ideas on private ownership are shown in the press as being privately (non-governmentally) owned. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison also contributed

to the growth of the essential rights of people, the most important of which being the values of individualism and freedom. Jefferson believed that a free press is the only safeguard of public liberty. Jefferson and Madison believed in the logic of science, reason and rationalism (Siebert, 1956).

Under these libertarian concepts, the media's main purpose is to help discover truth and solve the political and social problems in the society by presenting and providing all opinions as the basis for decisions (Siebert, 1956). This theory also assumes a multiplicity of voices reaching the public. The libertarians assume that every person has the same opportunity, if not the same ability of access to media. In this case, every person has the right to express him/herself, if he/she has something to say, regardless whether the content is true or false (Siebert, 1956, p. 51). This theory also stresses the rejection of any kind of government monopolies over mass communication; however, this assumption means that media is privately owned and competes in an open market (Siebert, 1956, p. 52). The libertarians argue that "anyone, citizens or alien, who had the inclination, should have the unrestricted opportunity to own and operate a unit of mass communication" (Siebert, 1956, p. 52). Media in democratic societies are free of government control or intervention; the public provides control only through the "self-righting process" and through the idea of "the market place of information" (Siebert, 1956, p. 53).

As for the social responsibility theory, which was developed by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, it is not only an extension to the libertarian theory but also goes beyond it (Merrill, 1974). Ostini and Fung (2002) argued that the core of this theory is based on the notion that the media have a moral commitment to

society to provide adequate information for citizens to make informed decisions" (p. 42). The fact is that the faith in virtually "absolute freedom" and that "the nature of man carried built-in correctives" (Peterson, 1956, p. 77) were diminished and new standards of press performance began to link responsibility with freedom; therefore, codes of ethical behavior were formulated (Peterson, 1956). This theory emphasized that if people are to remain free, they must live by reasons instead of passively accepting what they see, hear and feel. Therefore the more alert elements of the community must goad them into the exercise of their reason. Without such goading, people are not likely to be moved to seek truth. People's aim is not to find truth but to satisfy their immediate needs and desires (Peterson, 1956, p. 100). Thus, because man is not prone to use rationality, then it becomes necessary for the press to report the "truth about the facts" (Peterson, 1956).

The social responsibility theory emerged as a response when the free and open market of ideas was endangered (Peterson, 1956, p. 79). Journalism, by the middle of 19th century, started to "attract men of education and principle who set high standards for their craft" (Peterson, 1956, p. 83). These professional standards were emphasized by the Hutchins Commission, which debated, in its long 1947 report, about the challenges that faced the press in U.S. during and after WWII.

In contrast to the libertarian theory, scholars of social responsibility theory believe that the government has a function to make sure that freedom can operate effectively; freedom of expression is a moral right not a natural right; morality under social responsibility seems more relative than under libertarian theory; in social

responsibility the nature of man is viewed as lethargic. "Man's aim is not to find the truth but to satisfy his immediate needs and desires" (Peterson, 1956, p. 100).

Journalists, under these theories, have a freedom to say whatever they want without any constraints to serve society (Merrill, 1974). Therefore, "truth is what journalists consider fit to call truth, just as news is what they decide is news-nothing more and nothing less" (Merrill, 1974, p. 167). The Commission on Freedom of the Press summarized, in its long report, the main assumptions of social responsibility theory. The Commission feared that the public sphere (the area of public opinion which "put the state in touch with the needs of society") was disappearing, and press-led communal discourse was needed to revive it (Habermas, 1989, p. 31). The next paragraph briefly discusses the most important recommendations of the Hutchins Commission.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press. During the 1940s, there was a hot debate over the role of the press in the U.S., and the challenges that threatened the freedom of the press (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 2). The Hutchins Commission and its 133-page report responded to the shift from "the rights of the press to what the press should do" (Merrill, 1997 cited in Gade et al., 1998, p. 12). The Commission report outlines five responsibilities of the press. First, the press provides "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 21). Second, the press serves as "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 23). Third, the press projects "a representative picture of the constituent groups in society" (The

Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 26). Fourth, the press should be responsible for "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 27). And, finally, the press provides "full access to the day's intelligence" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 28). In general, the press has moral and ethical commitments toward the society in which it operates. The press needs to be accurate, separate news and opinion, present more than one side to a story, seek the whole truth, convey the public discussion, respect all the important viewpoints, accurately portray the social groups, report truthfully and impartially, and provide the public with more accurate information (Peterson, 1956, pp. 87-91). The next paragraphs discuss another perspective on professionalism, in particular, the communitarian theory.

The communitarian theory. Communitarianism is a normative model in the press which assumes that human identity is shaped through the social realm. It stresses that fulfillment cannot be found in isolation, but can only be achieved through human relations (Christians, 2004). Communitarian theorists emphasize the social nature and communal good of humans, and communitarians argue that journalists should support their community's obligations to substantive conceptions and values of the good life (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993).

Communitarian theory advocates a more egalitarian and democratic press that responds to citizens, pays attention to community building, provides a rich and interpretive dialogue among citizens, and puts less weight on social institutions (Christians, 2006; Christians et al., 1993; Merritt, 1997).

Communitarians believe in the importance of the press as a key element of democracy. The press under this theory has a strong obligation and responsibility to uphold the community's interests (Christians, et al., 1993). According to Christians and his colleagues (1993) the community "cannot be resuscitated without the leadership of the press" (p. 12). In fact, communitarians concluded that there is a direct relationship to reduced civic participation when journalism is disconnected from the public (Christians et al., 1993). Claude-Jean Bertrand (1993) summarized the main assumptions of the communitarian theory in the foreword of the book *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press*. He wrote, "mankind could not survive without solidarity; both the individual and the community matter; communication is essential to human nature; the mission of the media is to provide the public with a means of communication; whatever the media do that may jeopardize the persistence of mankind is unethical, evil" (p. vi). This means that media is essential to our life as humans, and the media's mission is providing the public with a tool of communication.

Communitarians critique the traditional journalism system because, they argue, it stresses autonomy and freedom at the expense of both community and responsibility (Christians et al., 1993). In the traditional model, the press has a unique position within democracy because the press has freedom from government intervention. However, having media with freedom at the expense of the sense of responsibility leads to marketing journalism that produces low quality content. This trend in news production has also enhanced elitist and detached journalism and supposedly unbiased and objective coverage that includes "bloodless information

bytes" (Christians et al., 1993, p. 7). Generally, communitarians believe that independence of the press without being responsible to the community gives the press power to frame and name public issues and present topics (Black, 1997; Rosen, 1996). The communitarians complain that reporters handle issues that journalists think are important in place of the issues that the community insists are critical and important (Christians et al., 1993; Coleman, 2007).

The communitarians emphasize that the profit-orientation of the press promotes more sensational news, gossip, entertainment, sports, and news that is not related to the public (Christians et al., 1993). Although the press has the freedom to do this kind of news production, communitarians maintain that the market's forces should not rule journalism. News coverage grounded in the ethics of communitarianism demands that decisions about reporting should be motivated by the values and norms of the community, not driven by the market forces (Christians et al., 1993).

Some values of the press in creating incorrect portrayals of communities are also criticized by the communitarians. For instance the communitarians believe that objectivity is not only impossible, but it can encourage journalists to be non-critical and accepting of particular practices and routines (Christians et al., 1993). This includes dependence on official sources and institutions for getting information. As a result, when journalists move to achieve objectivity and detachment, this pursuit could lead to a form of reality that does not reflect the community and is an incomplete picture of society (Christians et al., 1993). In short, communitarians believe that we cannot separate facts from values. Based on the above assumption, journalists need to pursue truthful narrative and their news coverage should be

interpretative rather than trying to sustain a façade of objectivity. Because of reporters' insistence on detachment, independence, and objectivity, this result in news coverage that does not reflect the values of the community (Christians et al., 1993; Rosen, 1996), and this trend leads journalists to rely more on elite sources (Christians et al., 1993). Thus, the judgments made by people like elites and by average citizens create a large gap between the sources' and citizens' perspectives on issues. Because journalists in their news coverage depend more on elites who are disconnected from the main issues as a quick method to get to the most credible and reliable form of the truth, this dependency leads to having a society with an incomplete picture (Christians et al., 1993). The assumption of communitarian theory about rejecting the idea that traditional media should depend heavily on elite sources suggests including other voices and different perspectives that match the logic of the professional model in news production. After reviewing the roots of professionalism in normative theories, the following paragraphs briefly summarize the most important professional values.

Professionalism main concepts. The previous literature identified what professionalism is about and pinpointed the main elements of journalism professional values that should be employed in the media content. Professionalism in journalism is summarized as a “number of discursively constructed ideal-typical values, journalists feel that these values give legitimacy and credibility to what they do. The concepts, values and elements are said to be part of journalism’s ideology” (Deuze, 2005, p. 446). Accuracy, comprehensiveness, balance, truthfulness, objectivity, and fairness are some professional values (The Hutchins Commission Report, 1947) – although, as

noted above, communitarian theory would disagree on the value of objectivity. The professional values that define Western journalism are based on Enlightenment ideas of human rationality, free expression, the relationship between the government and citizens, and the relative importance of freedom and social responsibility (Merrill, 1989; Siebert, 1956). According to other scholars, these professional values include public service, fairness, independence, allegiance to truth, journalistic autonomy, inclusivity, impartiality, objectivity (Gade, 2011; Hitchens, 2007; Kovach & Rosentiel, 2007; Weaver et al., 2007), and journalists view their social responsibility functions as being interpreters, watchdogs, disseminators, and populist mobilizers (Weaver et al., 2007).

Deuze (2005, p. 447) summarized that the professionalism values in journalism have been identified by other journalism scholars (Beam, Weaver, & Bronlee, 2009; Golding & Elliott, 1979; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Merritt, 1995) and are grouped to five: 1) public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or newshounds, active collectors and disseminators of information); 2) objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible; 3) autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work; 4) immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of 'news'); and 5) ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). The following paragraphs shed some light on specific professional values by focusing on their definitions as professional concepts, and their main dimensions that could be used to measure them empirically. In particular, objectivity, factuality, fairness, and public service are discussed shortly.

Objectivity. Schudson (2001) defined objectivity as a norm by which journalists separate facts from values and report only the facts. Objective reporting should not be emotional in tone. Objective reporting takes pains to "represent fairly" each side in a political controversy (p. 150). Based on the objectivity concept, the journalist should report "news" without commenting on it or slanting it. The basic elements of objectivity include "factuality, fairness, non-bias, independence, non-interpretation, and neutrality and detachment" (Ward, 2008, p. 19). Assertions that refer to facts are regarded as "objective" and, therefore, valid; whereas the judgments related to human affairs in which values play a leading role are "subjective" (Ward, 2008, p.19). Objectivity is a very important value to journalists, because value judgments, inasmuch as they distort reality, are deemed bad. Instead, the right thing for journalists is trying to be neutral, keeping equal distance from contending sources, because inserting one's opinions in a story is "risky" (Rich, 1997, p. 204). Objectivity means that journalists exclude themselves when reporting on societal issues by setting aside their own ideas and opinions (Munoz-Torres, 2007).

Detachment is another aspect of objectivity, and it is achieved when reporters keep their personal emotion and bias from impacting a story or maintain lack of preferences for one side of a conflict over another (Reese, 1990; Ryan, 2001). Hackett (1984) also pointed out that objectivity suggests that facts can be separated from opinions or value judgments, and that journalists can stand apart from the real-world events whose truth or meaning they transfer to the news audience by means of neutral language and competent reporting techniques (p. 232). Furthermore, MacLean (1981, p. 56) suggests that "When a story does not distinguish clearly between its author's

interpretations and the facts being reported, it is a biased or slanted report.” Donsbach (2003) summarized the main elements of objectivity in three things: first, separating facts from opinion; second, presenting an emotionally detached view of the news; and third, striving for fairness and balance (p. 384). Stensaas (1986) said that for a news story to be objective it should contain these elements: it includes only verifiable assertions, does not make claims to significance, and avoids statements of prediction, value, advocacy, or inductive generalizations without clear attribution to source (p. 53). According to the principle of balance, the goal of good reporting is to present multiple, or even opposing, views about a topic, as if they were all equally valid, that is, without giving privilege to any of them (Klaidman & Beauchamp, 1987, p. 46). This study used attribution as indicate of objectivity in media content in this way: no attribution in story means the story reflects no professional values, partial attribution [used in some cases, but some facts/ideas/opinions presented without attribution] and this means the story reflects moderate level of objectivity, and full attribution [all facts/ideas/opinions are attributed] means that the story reflects high level of objectivity.

Factuality. This is another important professional value. It means that reporters should base their news stories on facts, as facts can be easily verified (Reese, 1990; Condit & Selzer, 1985; Ryan, 2001). Journalists establish factuality in different ways, first, by using credible sources who make statements that can be quoted as fact without further investigation. Second, journalists also produce factuality through their peculiar means of making the accounts of sources seem objective (Ericson, 1998). Facts are clearly attributed to official sources, often in point-counterpoint format.

These attributions make the journalists seem to be operating in a detached, impartial, independent, fair, and balanced manner (Ericson, 1998, p. 86). News production is a perpetual process of authorizing facts through sources (Ericson, 1998, p. 86). Altmeppen, Arnold, and Kcossler (2012) said that impartiality in news is expected to be presented in a neutral way, without subjective evaluations and without being mixed with comment (p.338). Factuality will be measured by examining the extent to which the facts (Who, what, when, and where) are present before the opinions in the news story.

Fairness. As for the concept of fairness, Simon, Fico and Lacy (1989) defined fairness of source usage as the inclusion of statements from sources representing all sides of a story; therefore, presenting or not the sides of the event in the news story was used to measure fairness. Finally, the commitment to the public service is the core professional ideology of journalists (Hallin, 2000).

Public service. The concept of public service is often coupled with references to journalism's normative roles in educating the public or community, in helping society function properly, in taking actions to benefit the public, in serving a community generally or in serving various groups in a community (Beam et al., 2009). News organizations with strong professional orientation are likely to be ones where public service is important. And a news organization that is perceived to be market driven tends to get lower evaluations on its public service commitments (Beam et al, 2009). Below are some related studies that had been conducted on some of the above mentioned professional norms.

Fico and Cote (1999) analyzed the content of newspapers to examine how fair their news coverage of the 1996 presidential election was. They measured the fairness value in a news story by examining whether or not the story included relevant opponents or covered only one side and by examining what percentage of one-sided and two-sided stories favored Clinton and Dole. Operationally, Fico and Cote defined story fairness as the presence of quoted or paraphrased assertions by sources supporting both Clinton and Dole. The proportions of one-sided and two-sided stories address the probability of readers' exposure to individually fair or unfair story coverage, and whether there is an equal chance of encountering "unfair" stories dominated by each candidate. Fico and Cote found that the news coverage was imbalanced and favored Dole (62 percent) over Clinton (33 percent) and only 5 percent of the news coverage was balanced for both sides.

Also, Fico and Soffin (1995) examined 259 news stories for how many sources were cited on each side of a controversy, whether sources were cited in the headline, first paragraph, and/or graphics, and whether both sides were cited within the first five paragraphs of the story. They found that around half of the news stories were absolutely one-sided in their presentation of a controversy, and only seven percent of the news stories were entirely balanced (p. 626). However, this study examined the value of fairness in AJ content by examining whether or not AJE and AJA presented two sides of the news story. Also, the sourcing was used in this study as a measure of professionalism. In this case, the more sources used in the news story the more professional values in the story are. In another example, using judgments or interpretation statements in the news story doesn't match with the professionalism

standards to be objective. Pan and Kosicki (1993) pointed out that by using for example, "Iraqi dictator," inside the story this means that a news report places Saddam Hussein in the same category with Hitler, Noriega, Stalin, and other generally hated men in American culture. Also, they mentioned that by designating the 1989 uprising in China as a "prodemocracy movement," news reports interpreted the meaning of the uprising and categorized it in the same general category that the American Revolution might belong (p. 62). This study looked at the entire body of the news stories for attribution usage to examine how objective the story was in AJE and AJA.

Altmeppen and his colleagues (2012) pointed out that free and independent press should be able to reflect the diversity of a pluralistic society. Journalists are expected to present a wide range of issues, subjects, views and opinions. The diverse groups of society must have access to the media, and journalists should have access a wide range of news sources (p. 337). This dissertation examined to what extent each news story included wide range of views from different perspectives and many sources. This counted the number of sources used in the story.

Having these professional values in the news content is very important. In general, the professional model determines what the communicator thinks is "worth transmitting to the audience" and how the story should be developed (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p.99) to inform people in "a way that enables them to act as a citizen" (Meijer, 2001, p.189), to help citizens "refocus on issues important to a healthy democracy" (Gade et al., 1998, p. 15).

Overall, and in contrast with the market model which deals with the audience as customers, the professional model treats people as “citizens and helps them participate in civic activity” (Rosen, 2000, p. 680). Journalism values direct journalists to the idea that journalists have kind of a democratic mission of “public service” (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). In other words, the main mission of journalism is to give the people the information they need to be good citizens, so that they can participate in government and democracy (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Lewis (2006) asserts the importance of informed citizenship by “quality information that people should receive about politics and public affairs” (p.304).

However, if these were the main elements of the Western professionalism in journalism, does Arab journalism have the same norms of the Western standards of journalism? The next part discusses the basic norms of Arab journalism to see whether or not the Arab journalism shares the same Western professional norms.

Arab journalism values. Some scholars believe that the Western professional values can be found in newsrooms around the world, proposing a universal code of ethics (Callahan, 2003; Herrscher, 2002), and sharing "a global ideology of journalism" (Deuze, 2005, p. 445). According to Loo, "professional journalism across political cultural systems do share common inherent characteristics of news because human curiosity and demand for news and information transcends culture and politics" (Loo, 2009, p. 169). With some reasonable differences from one culture to another, researchers argue that certain values of journalism have universal application (Hanitzsch 2007). For example, Cooper (1998) studied more than 100 media ethics codes across the world— many of them non-Western. She found that

most of these media ethics codes consistently account for the values of telling the truth and avoiding harm. However, despite their universality, the way in which these norms are conceived in practice does occasionally vary from one culture to another.

In the Arab world and in Muslim-majority regions, where Islam is the main reference that determines the way of life, journalists follow the Islamic obligations of "telling the truth", seeking "justice" and working toward "the public interests" (Pintak, 2013, p. 1). Steele (2011) surveyed journalists in Malaysia and Indonesia and concluded that most journalistic values mirrored in Islam include the quest for truth, serving the public interests, independence, balance, and the promotion of good and the prevention of evil (p. 533). Objectivity and truth have very important place in the Islamic style to communication. Islam calls for providing people with "proper news, correct pieces of information and firm truths, which help the people to form a correct opinion of an event or problem" (Glass, 2001, pp. 223-224). In general, media in the Arab countries reflect the political, economic, and social contexts of those cultures. However, media in the Arab region are in a transition stage, and they are moving from a traditional-government controlled to a reformist stage. In the later stage, the media have been described to be more liberal and commercial with some governmental input (Ayish, 2002; Hafez, 2002). Hafez (2001) described two kinds of media systems in the Arab world: the soft authoritarianism systems like in Morocco, Jordan, Egypt; and hard authoritarianism like in Iraq, Syria, Tunisia, and Saudi Arabia. Hafez pointed out that the main role of media in the Arab world is to lead the Arab world into a transition stage to achieve political transformation by linking people to the civic society (pp. 327-336). At the same point, Ayish (2002) categorized

the Arab media into three patterns: traditional government-controlled (e.g., Syria), reformist government-controlled (e.g., Abu Dhabi), and liberal commercial patterns (e.g. Al Jazeera) where professional rather than political interests is the driving force behind news gathering. Furthermore, Rugh (2004) identified the primary trends of the media in the Arab world into four categories: the “mobilization” press controlled by revolutionary regimes (e.g., Syria, Libya, and Sudan); the “loyalist” press (e.g., Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf), the “diverse” press (e.g., Lebanon, Kuwait, and Morocco); and the “transitional” media (e.g., Jordan and Egypt). For example, Pintak and Ginges (2008) surveyed 601 Arab journalists to assess how Arab journalists perceived their mission, and how they defined themselves. Pintak and Ginges found that the Arab journalists perceived their mission as driving political and social change in the Middle East. The majority were most closely identifying themselves with the pan-Arab region and the broader Muslim world. About 64 percent selected “Arab society must be gradually improved by reforms,” and another 32 percent selected “the way Arab society is organized must be radically changed.”

In short, some of these professional values are not just Western values, but captured the same professional values in the Middle East. Regardless of the differences between cultures and regions there is a lot of commonality in sharing professional values around the world.

Summary

Public service, fairness, allegiance to truth, journalistic autonomy, factuality, and objectivity are the most important values of professional journalism (Gade, 2011; Hitchens, 2007; Kovach & Rosentiel, 2007; Weaver et al., 2007).The professional

model provides people with different perspectives and with adequate information to enable them make informed and healthy decisions to get them involved in political process. Professions are defined by a specialized body of knowledge and skills as well as their unique norms, values, functions and goals (Abbott, 1988; Lieberman, 1956). In general, the content under the professional model focuses more on public affairs issues and includes many perspectives from different sources.

Most studies in the literature widely discussed, conceptually, the main values of professionalism in journalism (e.g., Beam, 1993; Deuze, 2005; Johnson & Kelly, 2003; Hitchens, 2007; Kovach & Rosentiel, 2007; Merrill, 1989; Siebert, 1956, Peterson, 1956, the Hutchins Commission, 1947; Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007), but, empirically, few of them tested these values of professionalism (e.g., Beam, 1993; Beam, Weaver, & Brownlee, 2009; Fico & Soffin, 1995; Johnson, Slawski, & Bowman, 1972; Pan & Kosicki;1993). Also, most studies in the literature examined journalism professional values by focusing on journalists' attitudes and their perceptions, so this study adds to the body of literature of the journalism professionalism measurements by examining professionalism through content analysis method. In other words, this study uses media contents as indicators to measure the journalism professionalism in news production instead of depending on journalists' perceptions. In addition, this study directly examines journalism professionalism in areas outside the U.S. and Europe. Besides, most studies on professionalism focused, separately, on only one element of professional values (e.g., fairness value, or objectivity value, etc.); however, this study uses four professional values together and tests them in the same news content at the same time. Finally, the

content of newspapers and television has previously been researched, but there was no single study that paid attention these professional values in news websites. So, this study fills this gap in studying professional values in online media content. This dissertation examines professionalism in news production in the Middle East through analyzing the content of one of the most controversial non-Western networks, Al Jazeera.

The assumption that media organizations produce content controlled by professionalism values, which is rooted in libertarian and social responsibility theories, suggests the need to understand the factors that force some news organizations to use a marketing model in news production. The next section discusses the most important forces that impact the way the news organizations create their media content by adopting the marketing model instead of the traditional professional model.

Transition from Professionalism to Marketing

Journalism in the United States has been undergoing a fundamental change since the mid 1980s (McManus, 1995). The traditional roles of journalists as information providers to relatively massive and passive audiences is over with the advent of new technology and under the business pressure on most news organizations (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). This traditional role is summarized as providing citizens with adequate information about their public life to allow them to engage in democratic process (Peterson, 1956; Rosen, 2000). Scholars argue that the traditional mass communication era, defined as a system by which very few media channels disseminate messages to an anonymous and heterogeneous audience, has

been torn with the arrival of the new technology and the Internet (Chafee & Metzger, 2001; Lowrey & DeFleur, 1988). Most journalists who use the professional journalism approach tell their news stories by using well understood, predicted, safe, and well established techniques in the newsroom (Beam & Meeks, 2011; Mutter, 2008). However, in the postmodern era, changes have shaken journalists' professional world in terms of norms and practices, and have increased the feeling of uncertainty among journalists about their news organization's environment (Singer, 2011). This section addresses, in detail, how the two main forces bring changes in newsroom culture, in particular, economic pressures and new technology, and how they force many news organizations to move from the traditional professional approach into relying on the marketing approach in news production. Also, this section discusses how news organizations respond to these changes.

Beam and Meeks (2011) identified three ways by which these two forces have reshaped American journalism: "news work is being redefined," (p. 230), "journalism's public service mission may be at risk," (p. 231) and "professional autonomy is threatened" (p. 231). They argued that, in the digital age, journalists need to master new skills and tasks and have new ways to tell news stories amid heavier workloads. Also they pointed out that the Internet enables audience and ordinary citizens to access media and create their own content, and share and distribute it (Beam & Meeks, 2011; Castells, 2004). Beam and Meeks (2011) argued that with the business pressure on news organizations, journalists gradually give up serving the public's interests. This trend of not taking care of the public interests in journalism could "undermine the profession's ability to serve the public" (p. 231). They

concluded that the traditional role of journalism in serving the public's interests decreases as the news organizations take a more profit-driven approach. Finally, Beam and Meeks concluded that "smaller staffs, heavier workloads, stronger market pressure and greater attention to the bottom line" (p. 231) all threaten the professional autonomy values. The upcoming section sheds some light on the role of technology and the changes it brings to the newsroom culture.

Technology and the change in newsroom. The emergence of new technology has reshaped the way journalists do their work. The newspaper industry faces "formidable competitors" from other media and new technology in their business (e.g., online services and niche publication, cable, TV networks) (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Gade (2011) paid attention to this era of media change, which he related to postmodernism. Postmodernism "reflects societies where most things are at our fingertips, where the security of tradition and community is not apparent, where consumerism replaces production. Context and history are of minor importance; personal impulse and subjectivity are arbiters of truth" (p. 64). Postmodernism, which flourished since the late 1970s (Umphlett, 2006), has focused on the importance of interactions and social relationships in shaping the truth or the sense of reality's "meaning" among people (Castells, 2000; Friedman, 2007; Self, Beliveau & Lgiel, 2012). Gade (2011) argued that in postmodern times, journalism is moving to integrate postmodern ideals into its norms, and using online media as a way to do so. Journalism organizations are restructuring to adopt new practices that reflect changing social values and business environments. Gade also asserted that the new

innovations create additional uncertainties, which add to the complexity of understanding the shifting environment in which journalism resides (Gade, 2011).

For a long time, journalism has maintained its credibility by claiming that it uses quasi scientific and objective ways to report the truth. Scholars argued that the digital media in postmodern world enhance the individualism trend (Gade, 2011) by allowing people to control media they consume, to create their own media messages, increase their choices of publishing various content, to disseminate and share media and to choose which media network they want to engage and interact with (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Joyce, 2007; Gade, 2011). What is important here is that in this postmodern era, audiences expect to be provided with free content (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010). In addition, today's audience plays a major role in news production and is "actively chasing discovery rather than passively being informed" (Canter, 2011, p. 1). Today, the digital age gives the audience unlimited choices in platform and content and enables audience members to replace traditional sources of news with those that fit their tastes and confirm their beliefs (Gade & Lowrey, 2011, Hermida, Fletcher, Korell, & Logan, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). The current study examines whether the content is focused at individual-level topics and problems (private sphere) or topics/problems that are common to society and governance (public sphere).

Also, the digital age creates a new sense of communalism; however, news is no longer defined by time and space (Gade, 2011). In this new era, people are collaborating across cultures in unprecedented ways and contributing to the development of a global culture. So the digital age presents postmodern forces;

creating a networked, subjective, interactive, and consumer-oriented era that destroys the stability of the mass media, and these force traditional news organizations to reorder their priorities and work in teams, reducing hierarchical structures, decentralizing authority, and increasing collaboration (Gade, 2011).

The emergence of new technology is reshaping the way journalists do their work (Beam, Brownlee, Weaver, & DiCicco, 2009). The postmodern era makes institutional journalism appear in decline, whereas non-institutional journalism is gaining strength (Lowrey, 2011). Lowrey (2011) emphasized the importance of institutional structure for news industries because it legitimizes the way the world is presented through media. However, this change has also undermined the legitimacy of "journalists' control over work". Or as Singer (2011) indicated, the journalist's authority in controlling the information has vanished. Becker and Vlad (2011) summarized the impact of the postmodern era on journalism norms and practices by saying that journalism occupations have "shifted from the organization to the individual and become more deprofessionalized" (p. 177). After reviewing the impact of technology on the traditional newsroom culture, this leads to a discussion of the impact of the second important force, business pressure "competition.

Business pressure. Several scholars argue that the tension between professional goals and market forces in news organizations has been a cause for concern for years (Hallin, 2000, Picard, 2005; Croteau & Hoynes, 2006). The big concern of these scholars is that business pressure on news organizations undermines the ability of journalism "to do the job democracy requires of it" (Overholser, 2004, p. 13). Beam et al. (2009) identified four major challenges that face the professional

model's values and practices: the tough economic environment, commercial pressure, growing concentration of ownership, and content focusing on private sphere are the most significant factors that impact media organizations' ability to consistently provide coverage that serves the public interests (p. 7). A weak economy and loss of revenues have influenced news production and forced newspapers to cut their staffs, content, and budgets (State of the News Media, 2011).

Given the continuing economic pressure on many news organizations, these news organizations were facing one of the most hostile business environments in decades (Beam, 2001). The last decade had the greatest potential uncertainty for news media organizations. For example, most shares of stock newspapers and their advertising revenue went down. In this environment, journalists' feelings of uncertainty about their organization's environment and how to serve readers wants and needs is increasing, and this change increases their inability to predict accurately what the audience need to read (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Most recently, newspapers and other legacy media have faced huge financial struggles during the 2008-2010 recession. This business pressure has led to the rising of the cost of operations and heavy and complex debts, and this recessive economy has caused many of the newspapers to be unable to make payments (Fiedler, 1998; Lacy, Martin, 2004; Mutter, 2008; Rubinkam, 2006). Furthermore, under the decline of advertising revenues, most news organizations control the cost of news production through laying off employees (Lacy et al., 2004). Besides, the increasing cost of ink and newsprint has contributed to deepening the economic pressures on the newspaper industry (Jones, 2009). For example, newsprint costs rose up to 30% during 2010 and 2011

(State of the News Media, 2011). Also, the daily newspaper circulation in the U.S. continues a downward trend, dropping in 2009 to about 43 million, with overall circulation down about 20 percent in the first decade of the twenty-first century (cited in Gade & Lowrey, 2011, p. 27). Under the financial pressure on newspapers, they were forced to cut back the number of their journalists, throw out much of their most valuable content (e.g., international news and investigative reporting), and reduce publication at the expense of the quality of news content by paying little attention to government coverage (Bakker, 2011a; Jones, 2009; NOLA, 2012; State of the News Media, 2011). Under this kind of financial pressure, news organizations tend to produce cheap content because they don't spend a lot of their financial and human resources in gathering information for news stories. In the current study, this kind of cheap content is used as an indicator of the marketing values.

Under these business pressures, many news organizations carried out layoffs and buyouts. This process of downsizing the number of journalists in the newsroom makes journalists feel less autonomous. In fact, the audience today has more and different content choices along with a strong control over the content, and these new situations put legacy media under a true profit pressure and trigger the competition in the media marketplace to attract the audiences (Lacy & Sohn, 2011). For example, today niche sites (in fashion or sports) are competing with legacy media for audience; however, the old procedure in doing business by selling the available places in newspaper to businesses' services and products can be done today online on these niche sites without depending on these legacy media (Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Traditionally, newspapers and other mass media attract the audience, and then sell

this audience to businesses and advertisers to gain profits and revenues to better serve the audience (Picard, 2010; Picard & Brody, 1997).

Lacy and Sohn (2011) indicated how some newspapers reacted to this uncertainty which is caused by business pressure through different ways including: 1) introducing multiple specialty print and web products that attract a niche audience 2) finding out what audiences want and need, 3) using reader researcher by asking readers what they prefer to read in media content, and 4) prioritizing the news organization goals that shape their strategies. Thus, many news organizations began to use a strong market approach to face these financial pressures by giving audiences the content they want, not essentially the content they might need to be well-informed citizens in a democracy (Beam & Meeks, 2011, p. 236). The conflict between news organizations' professional and commercial goals has threatened the public service mission because public interests are not the priority in the business pressured environment (Beam & Meeks, 2011). However, many scholars attempt to address this kind of conflict between professional and marketing values by adopting the duality concept. The duality is that media companies in the West have to be both public service and commercial entities. And these dual purposes create two sets of values that can be in conflict in news organizations. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009) discussed the concept of "duality" in news production. They argued that media in the West can resolve and balance the tensions between the professional goals and commercial goals of news organizations in the production of the news. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009) said that, "media firms can benefit from actively managing their inherent tensions by viewing them as dualities, rather than as negative tensions to be

reduced." (p. 32) Conversely, AJ has no "duality" of purpose; AJ doesn't have to make a profit – it is government supported and well-funded. Unlike the Western news organizations which reflect the duality concept in news production, AJ is not bound by economic goals, and can accordingly focus on journalistic ones.

Lowrey (2011) and Singer (2011) mentioned some examples on how the digital age impacts journalists' practices in the newsroom. Journalists today tend to follow local bloggers and discussion comments, using blogs and social networking sites for source information, and publication for them is the first and the journalist doing the verifying next in the digital media. Besides, routines are different in digital media, journalists rely less on official sources, and journalists multitask in the newsroom (shoot photos, gather information, edit, etc) at the same time (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Today, most news organizations are multimedia and expect their reporters to understand how to adopt different strategies to communicate with audio, print, and video in the same news story (Wilson, 2008). The current study examines the resource commitments of the news organizations' and how they reflect marketing values in the media content decisions.

Summary

All in all, these new forces, the new technology and competition, have brought changes to the newsroom culture and shifted it from a creative to an administrative news culture (Gade, 2011). All of these changes in the news industry have increased the trend to have a strong marketing orientation. According to Gade and Lowrey (2011) the market oriented media have their own agenda to make money and serve the interests of their owners, advertisers, and audiences. These goals can conflict with

finding truths, creating a marketplace of ideas, and serving the broader goals of society and democracy (p. 70). The marketing model is a result of the change in the traditional newsroom culture caused by new technology and business pressure in news organizations. Business pressure has negatively affected the resource commitment of news organizations [this will be discussed in more details in the next section] and their ability to produce well-developed stories that require more efforts and resources to provide depth and context. Journalists under these postmodern forces rely less on official sources and tend to replace traditional sources of news with those who fit to their audiences' tastes and confirm their beliefs (Hermida, Fletcher, Korell, & Logan, 2011; Singer, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). This study measures whether or not AJE and AJA employ the marketing model in their content production. These days there are now many more media, and we now live in an era of information abundance. Thus, the news media have more competition in the marketplace to attract audiences. In the digital era, people are accustomed to getting news that fits their predispositions and biases. These factors together explain the audiences are leaving legacy media, seeking media that satisfy their desires and predispositions. Accordingly, to be economically competitive and attract audiences, news media are giving people more what they want, treating audiences as consumers whose needs should be met than citizens who need to be informed about public affairs. Reviewing the impact of new technology and business pressure on journalism norms and practices suggests the need to devote the next section to discuss more about the marketing model and its main concepts. The next section discusses in more details the main assumptions and the main concepts of the marketing model, in particular, public

sphere and private sphere, hard news and soft news, resource commitments, and sourcing usage.

The Marketing Model

The term "market journalism" has appeared in the last three decades and suggests that the media industry will "automatically produce entertainment-oriented information" (Lacy & Sohn, 2011, p.159). Entman (1989) mentioned that there is conflict between two outside forces that impacts media content, the audience who seeks entertainment over information, and politicians who seek to disseminate serious information. These forces, in addition, brought uncertainty into the newsroom culture and news production. The "audience is everything" in the marketing model (Mody, 2012, p. 99). The last decade was "one of great potential uncertainty" in the media industry (Beam, 1996, p. 286), where journalists cannot predict the "wants and needs" of the audience. Today, many news organizations around the world are "commercial entities" and their primary function is to create profits for owners (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; McCann, 2009, Picard, 2005, p. 337). In this new shift of the media industry from traditional model to the market model, "content" is the main tool to achieve the primary function of the news organizations: profits (Bennett, 2004, p. 73; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Liberalization of the media market is the main cause of this tendency in media content production (Bagdikian, 1997; McManus, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese 1996). In addition, Fog (2004) and Picard (2005) related the growing trend in using the marketing model in news production to the globalization [the media are owned by multinational companies across borders]; commercialization [advertisements are sneaked into entertainment as well as news stories]; concentration [media companies

are being merged tighter and controlled by fewer owners]; and convergence [different media outlets like radio, TV, newspapers, and Internet are increasingly being fused together, technologically as well as economically]. In this approach, it is the wants and needs of the audience that decides the news content (Beam, 2003; Hamilton, 2004; McManus, 1994). News organizations are “first and foremost businesses” (Dennis & Merrill, 2006, p. 116), and the profit-driven model looks at news as “commodity” or an “economic product” (Cohen, 2002). Audiences are viewed, in this model, as consumers and clients not as citizens (Campbell, 2004). As Beam (1996) put it, the marketing model “reflects a marketing concept of journalism, which emphasizes tailoring a product – the newspaper – to customers’ informational wants and needs” (p. 285).

Beam (1996) defines the market-driven model as “the degree to which achieving organizational goals consists of determining the needs and wants of target markets and delivering the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than competitors” (p. 289). In 2003, Beam added to the previous definition, “Although audience interests have traditionally been part of the calculus used to determine “what’s news,” market-driven news organizations pay extraordinarily close attention to readers’ or viewers’ desires when making decisions about content” (p. 369). Basically, under the business pressure environment; newspapers’ shares of audiences and advertising spending go down. In this environment, journalists feel uncertainty about their organizations’ environment as well as increased uncertainty on how to serve readers’ wants and needs. Also their uncertainty also shows in that they begin to feel pressure on their professional values and their commitment to them (Lowrey &

Gade, 2011). Emery and Emery (1984) argued that news organizations, during periods of heavy competition for news audience use a strategy of sensationalizing news as a rating booster. So, in the market driven approach the perspective of the individuals becomes the center of attention of news production (Bourdieu, 1998; Campbell, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

This section of the literature is about the marketing model, which explains the nature of the media content when a news organization employs the marketing values in news production. The following part discusses the definition of the market model, the main assumptions of this model, and other important concepts related to the marketing model: public sphere and private sphere, hard news and soft news, resource commitments, and sourcing usage. Also, the pros and cons of this model, and the most important studies related to this model, are discussed in this section. The beginning is with the "wants and needs" concept.

Wants and needs. A greater number of media outlets and increased competition are forcing news organizations to try and provide gratification opportunities for their audience members (Beam, 2003; Dimmick et al., 2011; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). The Internet gratifies audiences through opportunities for interaction and control over the place and time of news consumption (Dimmick et al., 2011). Gratification or "wants and needs" is the most important concept in the market model (Beam, 2003; Dennis & Merrill, 2006; Dimmick et al., 2011). Hantizsch (2007) emphasized that "when market orientation is high, journalism gives emphasis to what the audience wants to know" (p. 375). The content, in this model, does not respond to broad social or political needs, but focuses more on the individuals' desires (Beam,

1996, p. 287). Under this economically driven approach, news organizations will minimize reports about public affairs and expand their reporting about the private sphere to satisfy the needs of individuals (Beam, 2003; Hamilton, 2004; Hanitzsch, 2007). At this point, Hamilton (2004) explained that the producers of news content do not intend to attract general audiences or even the largest audiences. He emphasized that news organizations seek to attract the audience demographics that advertisers are willing to pay most to reach. The market model suggests that news stories contain "less informative and less intelligible content" (McManus, 1994), and audiences do not prefer information or news stories about public affairs content "but seek to be provided with more private sphere stories such as "lifestyle, entertainment, recreation, news to use" (Beam, 2003, p. 373). In short, a strong market orientation implies giving readers the content that they want, not necessarily the content they might need to be well-informed citizens in a democracy (Beam & Meeks, 2011, p. 236).

In other words, the market driven approach will produce/provide content to match the individuals' interests and their concerns (Beam, 2003, p. 372), and eventually readers "shape editorial content" (Beam, 1996, p. 285). Basically, news organizations use "surveys of news consumers," as well as "audience ratings of actual program content" by stating their demands and preferences about their wanted content (Bennett, 2004, p. 8). Underwood (1993) provided a good example of a news company's focus on such a news consumer: the Gannett chain project. The Gannett launched a program called "News 2000" to ask readers' wants and to provide them. Readers in this project were surveyed at shopping malls and participated in public meetings with the editors to see and identify what they wanted to read in the paper.

The feedback from the readers led the news organization to make major changes especially the format of the paper to increase satisfaction of their readers' desires. Underwood suggested that schools of journalism should "train journalists to accept the removal of barriers between newsroom, advertising department, business office, and corporate headquarters" (Underwood, 1993, p. 44). "The most popular news subjects reflect topics that affect people and their lifestyles," such as crime, health, entertainment, celebrities, and consumer features, and "political news and international affairs rank the lowest in news-interest surveys" (Bennett, 2004, p.8).

Thus, the focus of the marketing model is on the private sphere content not on the public sphere content. The following paragraphs address public sphere and private sphere content in the marketing model.

Public and private sphere. The public sphere content reflects the democratic mission of the journalism, while the private sphere reflects the commercial mission of the press. The public sphere was defined as the arena or a place where citizens come together as equals, involved in an open discussion of all issues of general concern, common problems, and public affairs, and they discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion on important issues (Habermas, 1989). So, the public sphere content is about topics and issues that are related to the common interest to the public. Generally these topics/issues impact the general public, the society, and quality of life; the private sphere content pays attention to the personal issues rather than to the public (Habermas, 1989). The market-driven model in journalism translates into more attention to "crime and scandal, celebrities, and less attention to reports that may be less exciting but would be better serve the public interests" (Beam, Brownlee, Weaver

& DiCicco, 2009, p.734). The role of news content in this approach is to attract "the right demographic audiences" (Bennett, 2004, p. 77). Cassidy (2002) stated that CNBC was a great example of a TV network with a profit model. When it struggled to hold its audience in the face of mounting competition, CNBC's content formats focused on sexy anchors and interviews, sports programs, and features on star celebrations and performers. Picard (2005) pointed that only 15% of the content of newspapers was considered as "news" and the rest was "lifestyle material" devoted to topics such as entertainment, sports, homes, fashion, and automobiles (p. 345). If this is the case of media content in television and newspapers, the question arises: do the news websites focus on the same contents "private sphere content" as in the traditional media?

The public sphere is defined as information about the government, civic affairs, current events, democratic process, and public interests (Beam, 2003; Croteau & Hoynes, 2006). The public sphere content is driven by professional values and focuses on public needs such as diplomacy, health care policy, education, social services, crime and justice, land use, and transportation news stories, whereas the assumption of the private sphere is that the emphasis is on the individual, and his/her wants and needs. The more individuals whose needs are met, the better or more healthy the society. An examples of private sphere such as reporting sports, entertainment, celebrities, family life, personal technology, personal recreation, personal health care, travel and housing, and vehicle care (Beam, 1993, 1996). This study uses these two concepts, public and private sphere content, to help to measure the marketing model in news production. If the news story focuses more on public

affairs this means it does not reflect marketing values, and if the content focuses on private sphere topics, then it means this story presents more marketing values in news production. Reviewing these two important concepts, public and private sphere contents, leads to addressing another important concept in the marketing model: hard news and soft news. The upcoming paragraphs explain how hard news and soft news could be used as an indicator of employing the marketing model in news production.

Hard news and soft news. Several studies examined the concept of hard news and soft news. However, there is "no consensus among scholars" on a certain definition of hard news and soft news (Gherghel, & Paraschiv, 2012, p. 102). Most scholars linked the hard news concept to the professional model and soft news to the marketing model in news production. To be more specific, while hard news has a democratic mission of informing citizens about the public affairs (Bennett, 2004; Patterson, 2000); soft news has a commercial mission of attracting larger audience through employing emotional styles (Mott, 1952; Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, & Legnante, 2011). There is a general trend among scholars who argue that softening the news coverage is a consequence of a market approach in the news production (Beam, 2008; Curran, Salovaara-Moring, Cohen & Iyengar, 2010; McManus, 1994; Scott & Gobetz, 1992; Patterson, 2000). While many scholars focus on the news topic to define hard and soft news (Scott & Gobetz, 1992; Curran et al., 2008), other scholars take into account the news timeliness element to define this concept (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006; Lehman-Wilzig & Seletzky, 2010).

Corresponding with Habermas's definition of public sphere, this study will adopt Patterson's definition of hard news and soft news:

Hard news refers to coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster. Information about these events is presumably important to citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs (...). Soft news (...) has been described (...) as news that typically is more personality-centered, less time-bound, more practical, and more planned event based than other news (...). Finally, soft news has been described as a change in the vocabulary of news. The news is said to have become more personal and familiar in its form of presentation and less distant and institutional (2000, pp.3-4).

This study uses the topic variable to measure the hard news and soft news concept. So, stories that help citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs are considered hard news (e.g., natural disasters, international relations, disputes, strikes, health epidemics, etc), while stories about personality-centered events are soft news. Soft news, according to Patterson (2000) has little to do with public affairs, is selected for its capacity to shock or entertain, and can distort people's perceptions of reality. The more a news organization reports soft news, the more it reflects the marketing values because it doesn't contribute in deepening the true understanding of the citizens to their public life. The next paragraphs discuss another concept in the marketing model: resource commitment.

Resource commitment. Much of the literature discusses the marketing model as providing "cheap" content, or content that takes few organizational resources [time, effort, and cost] to create (Bennett, 2004; McManus, 1994; Picard, 2005). Resource commitment refers to the ability of the news organization to use its different (e.g.,

human, technical, and financial) resources to produce media content. News organizations have been forced into producing cheap content as a result of a lack of resources. These news organizations will produce cheap content because they do not have to utilize a lot of resources in making these types of reports, and don't pay much money to their staff in gathering the information for the story. Most legacy media under a weak economy and loss of revenues have been forced to cut their staffs, content, and budgets (State of the News Media, 2011). This business pressure led to the rising of the cost of operations and heavy and complex debts., and this recessive economy caused many newspapers to be unable to make payments, and forced them to cut back the number of their journalists and throw out much of their most valuable content at the quality of news content by paying little attention to government coverage (Bakker, 2011a, Fiedler, 1998; Jones, 2009; Lacy, Martin & Hugh, 2004; Mutter, 2008; NOLA, 2012; State of the News Media, 2011; Rubinkam, 2006). Many studies argued that producing cheap content evolved as a result of these economic pressures. For example, McManus (1994) proposed the marketing model and defined it this way: "Market norms call for maximizing return to investors. Where purely economic norms prevail, coverage would center on the least expensively gathered information likely to generate the largest audience advertisers would pay to reach" (p. 35). Also Picard (2005) argued that media contents such as public affairs, political discussion, and social commentary "do not attract a large audience, are often costly, and are typically less profitable than producing other content" (p. 338). Picard (2005) and Lacy and Sohn (2011) assumed that profit maximization means low journalistic quality content. Bennett (2004) proposed three steps to achieve profit through content and these steps include, "Cheapening the content, marketing

content directly to the audiences that were most attractive to advertisers, and allowing the less costs" (p. 73). Effron (1996) suggested journalists create a rubric that guides them to when and under what conditions they can produce stories of specific lengths and complexity based on the news organization's resource commitment. The length, the complexity, and the number of stories that could be produced in a week would depend on different measures including, the amount of hours the reporters spent on gathering or traveling to collect the data (9 hours, 18 hours, etc.), where the data came from (e.g., press release, meeting, police case, cooperative sources/uncooperative sources, etc.), how many phone calls the reporters made to gather the data, and the amount of limited or extensive research that was spent on the story. However, adapting Effron (1996)'s rubric for capturing the manifest resources in media content, this study will measure resource commitments by designing four measures (length of the story, authorship of the story, interviewed people in the story, and the use of elements of multimedia in the story). In this case, for example, when content is not created by news organization staff this reflects no investment of the organization's journalists and news gathering resources to produce. The same is true if the news story is short, and if the number of interviewed sources in the story is few. In general, the less time spent on a news story, and the fewer people involved in the producing and gathering the data of the news story, the less a news organization uses its resources to produce the story and the more marketing values prevailed in the media content. The next part of this section elaborates the other main concept in the profit-driven model in news production: sourcing usage.

Sourcing usage. The decline in the use of official sources in the news stories is a sign of employing the marketing model in news production. There are two factors that

identify the type of source usage in media content that have been impacted by the marketing model. The first factor is related to the logic of economic assumption in news production (Meyer, 1987). The second factor is related to the main effects of postmodern forces on the traditional newsroom culture (Lowrey & Gade, 2011; Hermida et al., 2011). The basic assumption of using sources in the marketing model is that journalists tend not to depend heavily on using official sources in news production; rather they prefer to keep official sources away from the news content (Meyer, 1987). This market-based system, according to Meyer (1987), tends to keep government out of news production and reduces the potential for official propagandizing. Besides the logic of the economic factor, the postmodern forces [using new technologies and business pressure] have pushed most news organizations to change their traditional routines in news production. Today in the postmodern era, journalists rely less on official sources in news production as a result of the change in the traditional newsroom culture (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Today, the digital age gives the audience unlimited choices in platform and content and enables the audience to replace traditional sources of news with those who fit their tastes and confirm their beliefs (Gade & Lowrey, 2011, Hermida, et al., 2011; Singer, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). Consistent with Habermas's definition of public sphere, this study will adopt Carpenter's (2008) definition of official sources as people who speak on behalf of an organization. The official category includes only public sphere sources (or government elected or appointed and business people – e.g., prosecuting attorneys, representatives, police, CEO, business managers, NGOs, etc). Public sphere sources have the power and control the information that can affect people's lives. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argue that "news is about the powerful," (p. 56) and reflects in the selection

of sources, by relying on officials and other wealthy, corporate, and bureaucratic elites. These people have the power to "set the rules and exert greater control over the information" (p. 124). Because of the power they have, these people have important things to say (Paletz & Entman, 1981) which "affects people's lives" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 185). Meanwhile, these people who speak freely on their own behalfs and are not likely speaking on behalf of an organization will be categorized as non-official sources or private sphere sources (Carpenter, 2008). The unofficial source categories include for example average people, non-institutional representatives (e.g., experts, scientists, and academics), museum visitors, movie goers, witnesses, etc. This study used public sphere sources (e.g., officials) and private sphere sources (e.g., non-officials) to measure the marketing values.

Furthermore, the fact is that the logic of the marketing model is the opposite assumption of the professional model in news production. And the later approach depends heavily on citing more official sources, who tend to set the agenda of the public by focusing on public affairs topics. Hallin, Manoff and Jeddle (1993) pointed out that government or official sources are more usually quoted within news content, and this tendency to cite more official sources reflects one aspect of the professional model of journalism. They indicated that it is a journalist's job to discover what the government is doing and hold them to account therefore government officials will appear more often in the news than other sources. Hall et al., (1978, p. 57) argued that the agenda of the news arises from government or official sources who are representing institutional agencies and organizations: the police, the government, and spokespersons in these organizations. The logic of the professional model varies in different ways from the marketing model in

terms of the type of the content {public sphere vs. private sphere), and goals and mission (making profits vs. democratic mission); the type of sources is another aspect of differences between the professional model and the marketing approach in news production. This means that the content that is designed by marketing values does not depend heavily on official sources as in the case of the professional model. For example, Demers (1996) examined changes in source attributions in news stories over time in American newspapers. Demers content-analyzed source based on the assumption that media content reflects in a crude way the power structure of a society, changes in the power structure theoretically should be reflected in the sources that journalists use to report on the news. Demers expected that during the 20th century attributions of what he called capitalists and their representatives (e.g., officials, governmental appointed, etc) will have declined in news coverage, while attributions of what he called technocrats or non-governmental sourcing (e.g., experts, technicians, scientists, etc.) will have increased. To test this hypothesis, Demers analyzed source attributions on the front pages of the *New York Times* at four points in time over a 90-years period during the 20th century (1903, 1933, 1963, and 1993). In the study two constructed weeks of front pages in each time period were analyzed. The title or positions of the sources in those news stories were recorded, yielding a total of 533 different sources, and from this list he categorized the sources into two groups. The first was technocrat, which included educators, economists, academic, scientists, engineers and researchers; and the second group was capitalists, which included business owners, company executives, employers, corporations, companies, and business and banks. He found that the change is quite dramatic, declining more than 50 percent for capitalists and increasing more than four-

fold for technocrats (though his categorization differs somewhat from what is used in the current study). Reliance on official sources may be lessening. The current study uses the sourcing usage variable, in particular, public sphere sources and private sphere sources. In line with media management and change in newsroom literature, the non-official sources are used as an indicator of employing the marketing values in news production. In other words, the more use of non-official sources in media content, the more marketing values prevailed and the opposite is true. After reviewing how non-official sources could be used as an element of the marketing model, however, the next part of this section shed some light on the advantages and disadvantages of the market model in news production.

The pros and cons of marketing model. In the mid-1980s, McManus noted that there was a big debate about the future of journalism in the U.S. He said that “Journalism is either dying or being reborn” (McManus, 1994, p. 302). In particular, more news organizations began to employ the market model than the professional approach (Beam, 2003). The market model was a controversial issue in the U.S. newsrooms (Beam, 2003, p. 369). Critics and proponents debated about the pros and cons of this approach. For example, underestimation of media content, reduction in the role of a news organization’s adherence to public affairs in journalism, and decline in professional norms were the most critical points among all. At the same time, giving the news organization the opportunity to survive and to stand under the severe competition among their counterparts, with continuity in performing their obligations toward public service, were the profound advantages of the market model in journalism (Beam, 2003, p. 368; Beam, 1996, p. 285). Moreover, Meyer (1985) argued that using the marketing model

has at least three advantages. First, it reduces governmental propaganda and censorship by keeping it out of the production of the news. Second, by depending on the advertisers' money, the content of news production will be inexpensive and this leads to making news free for readers. Finally, producing news in this model came as a response to what the audience "wants and needs". Other observers negatively critiqued the market model because news production under this model could lead journalists to be "reluctant to report stories that offend their powerful bosses, also could lead them to a high level of overt censorship" (Hickey, 1997, p. 90-91). For instance, Cirino (1973) mentioned that advertisers such as smoking companies in this model will suppress information about the health hazards, which means that media could fail to report the wrongdoings of their own industry. Gilbert Cranberg, a scholar of journalism, also criticized the market-driven approach, saying that "the techniques and influence of marketers have degraded political campaigns and they could degrade the print press. They are catering to the self-interest of readers. What about interest in the larger community?" (Cited in Hoyt, 1992, p. 43). Other studies on news consumption revealed that the steady tendency in news production based on the marketing criteria, which focus on private sphere stories rather than public sphere, led to a decrease in voting process or even in registering to vote (Earl Bennett, Rhine, & Flickinger, 2004). In this point, Hamilton (2004) concluded that the result of adaptation of the profit approach in news production is segmenting and narrowing the democratic public sphere. Also, Picard (2005) argues that market model leads to the fragmentation of audiences and reduces their ability to be "together and to share similar experiences." At the end, this kind of change hinders the "flourishing democracy" (p. 347).

Related studies. The early studies used hard news and soft news as indicators to show media's tendency to use the marketing model or not. If media contents focus more on soft news, then it adopts marketing model. There are other scholars who used concepts like public sphere and private sphere to show the tendency of using the marketing model in news production.

Slattery and Hakanen (1994) analyzed the content of ten local news programs in four media markets at Pennsylvania. They found that the percentage of the hard news declined over the time and the news about government, education and politics had fallen from 54% in 1976 to 15 % in 1992. However, soft news (e.g., sensationalistic or human interests) rose from 25 % to 48%. These findings are clear evidence that media organizations tend to use the market model in news production by focusing on soft news [private sphere]. Also, Patterson (2000) analyzed 5331 news stories during 1980-1999 for three leading newspapers, two weekly news magazines, twenty six local dailies, and for two TV networks. Patterson found that news organizations publish more soft news (e.g., personal drama, scandals and social chaos) and less hard news (e.g., stories about government and politics).

Beam (1993) examined the impact of group ownership on news media practices at 58 U.S. daily newspapers. He found that there are few differences between independent and group-owned newspapers. Because professionalism is expensive, Beam concluded (p. 913), the larger news organization can have greater resources and "higher organizational professionalism" than the smaller news organizations (p. 913).

Three years later, Beam (1996) surveyed 167 editors of 78 U.S. daily newspapers and found that a strong market model will emerge at the news

organizations when there is a high amount of uncertainty among the journalists of the news organization about the needs of audience. A strong market approach implies more audience leverage on content decisions (Beam, 1996, p. 287). Beam hinted that there is a direct correlation between the level of uncertainty about the environment of the newspaper and about uncertainty in how to serve readers' needs. This situation of uncertainty increases media tendency toward a marketing orientation.

In his content analysis study, Beam (2003) analyzed 13,000 items published in the display pages in twelve daily newspapers. He found that both weak and strong market news organizations publish more public sphere contents which dominate the main pages of the studied publications. More specifically, newspapers with strong market orientation kept to produce reports with high levels of public affairs and even to provide more investigative reports than that of the weak market-driven newspapers. This means that possibility of adopting the marketing model is decreased with news organizations with large size and large resources. Such news organizations will be able to produce high quality news content.

Cushion and Lewis (2009) compared the news coverage of two British news organizations BBC, which represents a public service network, and Sky news, representing a commercial network, between 2004 and 2007. He found that although Sky and Fox both belonged to Murdoch channels, "Sky News is not the British version of Fox News," (p. 149) and it is still paying some attention to public service issues like the BBC. He found that Sky News tends to pay more attention to celebrity and entertainment news (20 percent) in 2007 compared to 9 percent in BBC in 2007. However, the majority of the news stories in both BBC and Sky News were about

politics and International/foreign policy (52 percent in BBC and 46 percent in Sky News in 2004); then about social policy (16 percent in BBC and 15 percent in Sky News), followed by crime (11 percent in BBC and 19 percent in Sky News). In terms of their global coverage they found that both BBC and Sky News spend more time on news related to the Middle East. In details, in 2004, BBC spent 34 percent of its total news coverage, and Sky news spent about 45 percent on the Middle East, after that U.S came next in Sky News (28%), while Australia came next at BBC on their coverage. Asia came in the third rank with 15 percent in BBC coverage and about 16 percent at Sky News.

Carpenter (2008) found that there are significant differences that exist between online citizen journalism (smaller) and online daily newspaper (larger) publications. Carpenter analyzed 482 stories from online citizen journalism and 480 articles from online newspapers. The findings show that larger publications were more likely to feature an official (75 percent) source than smaller publications (30.2 percent) articles, while smaller publication articles (60.6 percent) were significantly more likely to feature an unofficial source than larger publications (37.3 percent). This study partially adopted Carpenter's definition of official and unofficial sources.

Most recently, Beam, Brownlee, Weaver, and DiCicco (2009) surveyed 400 journalists about their performance in newspapers amid the economic and technological challenges faced by the news organizations. The majority of the respondents rated their news organizations "very good" (52 percent) or "outstanding" (15 percent), while only 7 percent said their news organizations' performance was "poor," and over a quarter (26 percent) said it was "good" in general at informing the

public. Also, they found public service responsibilities remain strong even in a tough time with economic pressure on news organizations. About three quarters (76 percent) of the participants said that serving public interests is "extremely important" and about 18 percent agreed that it is "quite important," while 5 percent said that it is "somewhat important". In short, Beam et al., found that serving public interests remains a core professional value. Out of ten journalists in this study, nine of them still believe the importance of news media to function through journalism that will serve the interests of the public. Reviewing the literature on the marketing model leads to the discussion of the main differences between the marketing and professional models.

The differences between marketing and professional models. Many scholars found it is useful to differentiate between the professional model and market model (e.g., Zaller, 1999). Zaller (1999) argued that good journalism must be both informative and entertaining. First and foremost, the principal norm of journalism is to inform the public (Wolfson, 1985); meanwhile, the principal norm of business is to increase profits (Main & Baird, 1981). The market media have their own agenda to make money and serve the interests of their owners, advertisers, and audiences (Gade, 2011). Gade (2011) argued that these goals can "conflict with finding truths, creating a marketplace of ideas, and serving the broader goals of society and of democracy" (p. 70). Thus, there are core differences between the professional journalism approach and the marketing-driven model and these differences could be summarized in these following points. In general, first, the professional model favors identifying and responding to broad social and political issues, while the marketing model

focuses on sensationalism issues (Beam, 1996, p. 287). Second, in the marketing model the audience has more control on decisions of content, while professional journalism is influenced more by reporters: "reporters based on their expertise have more control on the information-selection process" (Beam, 1996, p. 287). Third, the professional model deals with audience as citizens (Rosen, 2000), while the marketing model treats the audience as customers and clients (Campbell, 2004). Finally, the main goal of the marketing model is to survive and make profits among the high competition in the media industry, while the main goal of the professional model is to provide citizens with adequate information to make healthy decisions and get them involved in the democracy process (Peterson, 1956). Thus, the public interest is not always in the marketing model (Hallin, 2000). Nevertheless, research does not consistently reveal that news organizations always prioritize profitable goals over journalistic aims (Beam, 2001; Demers, 1996). In short, based on the above literature, the marketing model produces content that is often extremely different from the content that is produced by the professional model. While the marketing model tends to produce content with less informative content and not focused on public affairs issues, the professional model produces more informative content and pays attention to more democratic and public affairs issues. Also, the professional model tends to take a hard news format, and the marketing model takes a soft news format. Furthermore, the professional model focuses on public sphere content while the marketing model focuses on private sphere content. Finally, the professional model depends heavily on citing official sources, meanwhile, the marketing model replaces traditional sourcing with fewer official sources.

Summary

In short, in the marketing approach, journalists think about questions such as what are the most important topics to the audience? What values are individuals interested in? Based on this model, making profits comes first, audience driven content comes second, and news production focuses on the content of the private sphere more than the public sphere (Beam, 1993,1996, 2003; Dennis & Merrill, 2006; Hantizsch, 2007; Lacy & Sohn, 2011; Picard, 2005; McManus, 1994; Underwood, 1993). Most studies in the literature about the marketing model in the production of news have focused on studying this trend in news production in Western news organizations and analyzing the content of printed newspapers (Beam, 1993; Beam, 2003; Beam, 2008; Beam, Brownlee, Weaver, & DiCicco, 2009; Patterson, 2000; Salttery & Hakanen, 1994) or the content of TV networks (Cushion & Lewis, 2009; McManus, 1994). The current study examines the prevalence of the marketing values in news websites with new measures, in particular, the sourcing usage, and resource commitments. This study is interested in extent AJ creates its content to attract individuals as customers or citizens. The assumption that the news production is driven by the market values and from the desires of the audiences suggests the need to understand the third approach in news production that might be used by news organizations: the cultural-driven model. So, this leads to a discussion of the cultural model in news reporting in the next section of this dissertation.

Cultural Value Model

Culture refers to sets of traditions, values, and a way of life in a specific society, which are different from those of other societies or cultures (Scollon & Scollon, 1995). In this viewpoint, news is a cultural product produced by journalists who might adhere to their specific cultural values. Under this approach, Peterson (1979) suggested that a cultural model in news production is important, and cultural model indicated journalists of cultural background impacted the selecting and gathering news (p. 119).

This section discusses another model that could explain how media considers audiences when news organizations create their news reports. It is a cultural value model; the assumption of this approach is that the content reflects its creator's cultural values and norms. This section addresses issues including the logic of culture-driven models in news production (e.g., Garyantes, 2006; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), the concept of cultural identity of in group and out group (e.g., Barkho, 2006; Gans, 1979; Ting-Toomey et al., 2000; Mokros, 1996); and gender presence (e.g., Feghali, 1997; Hofstede, 1991; Kalliny & Gentry, 2007).

The cultural approach helps in understanding the impact of social and cultural values that shape the media content and explaining the relationship between media and society to give a clear view of how news organizations are influenced by the ideology of the society, which tells media what should and what should not be said (Schudson, 1989, p. 278). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explain how media contents are influenced by different forces. They mention five different factors that are addressed more fully in the following section including ideology, outside forces

“extramedia level,” organizational influences, media routines level, and the content creators “individual level.” Journalists in this model “tend to be biased toward their own cultures and perspectives” (Garyantes, 2006, p.4). This trend of bias in news production reflects the "cultural norms" of the communicator which are based on different elements including religious affiliation, language, physical contiguity, and real blood or kinship relationship among members (Mokros, 1996, p. 321). However, these social and cultural norms shape what could be called cultural identity. Geertz (1973) defines cultural identity as "identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has shared systems of symbols and meaning as well as norms/rules for conduct" (p. 113). This section addresses important concepts related to the cultural model values: the in-group/out group concept, culturally aware language, Arab cultural norms, and gender presence. Defining culture leads to a discussion of the concept of in group and out group. The next paragraphs talk more about this concept.

In-group and out-group identity. Cultural values and norms are different from one nation to another. For example, Americans have cultural values different from Asians’ cultural values that also have values different from Arabs’ cultural values. As for American cultural values, Gans (1979) in his book about the culture of news production based on an ethnographic study of NBC, CBS, *Newsweek*, and *Time*, said that "enduring values are built into news judgment; as a result, most values and opinions enter unconsciously" (p. 182). Gans identified eight important cultural values that reflect American life and beliefs, they include: ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, social order, and national leadership (p 79). As Gans (1979) points out,

journalists may agree more or less with these values, and some of these cultural values reflect "conservative ideology" and others reflect "liberalism ideology" (p. 79). One important concept that was studied by scholars is the feeling of belonging to a community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). Moreover, Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau (1993) argue that identities are located in communal memberships. This classification of in-group and out-group is inspired by the idea of feeling of belonging to a community in the theory of sense of community, which consists of four main elements that build the sense of community: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Membership is the most important element that will be discussed here and will be borrowed for the cultural model. Membership is the "feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness". Boundaries, emotional safety, personal investment, sense of belonging and identification, and a common symbols system among the members of the groups are the most important elements of membership (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Membership has boundaries; this "means that there are people who belong and people who do not" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). In other words, the boundaries of the membership define who is in and who is out of the group. These boundaries or barriers could be created by using "language, dress, and ritual" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). What is important is that these boundaries separate "us" from "them" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 10). These elements work side by side and contribute in defining who is a part of the community and who is not? In this study in group refers to Arab people/region/ initiatives/events in the news story, and out-group refers to non-Arab peoples/region/initiatives/events. The

concept of in group and out group is used in this study to measure some cultural values in news production. Keep in mind that AJA communicates to Arab readers, and AJE targets non-Arab readers out of the Arab world; based on the in-group and out-group concept, AJE is rooted in American news culture and its staff adopts the American ideological and professional values in their reporting (McKelvey, 2007). Many of AJE's journalists and reporters have American citizenship, received their education from U.S. and European journalism schools, and about many of them had worked in NBC, CBS, Fox News, Associated Press TV, and CNN (McKelvey, 2007). Meanwhile, most of AJA's journalists are Arab and Muslims, and graduated from journalism and other related schools in the Middle East (Auter, Arafa, & Al Jaber, 2005; Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005). So, this information leads to this hypothesis:

H1: AJA tends to adopt more Arab cultural values compared to AJE.

The next part discusses with more details the most important cultural values in the Arab society.

Arab cultural values. Relatively, less is written about culture values in the Arab world compared to those articles written about culture values in the U.S. (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000, p. 71). The Arab cultural norms and values are grounded in Islamic religion as well as other cultural factors, described to be collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980) and high-context, where the interpretation of a message is based not only on words, but on the context in which the message takes place (Hall, 1976). The Shari'a is a comprehensive code governing "the duties, morals and behavior of all Muslims,

individually, and collectively in all areas of life” (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000, p. 71; Kalliny & Gentry, 2007).

Arab main cultural values spring from Islam and Arab traditions. Different scholars mentioned these values, which in some cases overlap. For example, Al-Olayan and Karande (2000) concluded there are at least seven values that Muslims should hold including: Truth, justice, honesty, social obligations, collective responsibilities, individual freedom, equality and the role of men and women. Feghali (1997) summed up the most Arab cultural values in other literature. These values include endurance and certitude, loyalty and dignity, generosity, courage, self-respect, and pride, rivalry, and revenge. Then Feghali regrouped these values in three main concepts that include 1) collectivism 2) hospitality, and 3) honor. Meanwhile, Kalliny and Gentry (2007) came up with these values: Arab countries are traditional society and controlled by tribes who have maintained these traditions by displaying honor, honesty, generosity, avoiding losing face, and offering hospitality (p. 18). Other cultural values are: feminine appearance (how women should dress in the society); respect for the elderly –an Arab “would never make derogatory statement to his parents because of their immense loyalty and respect for parents and elders" (p. 19); and harmony with others: "Arabs are encouraged at early age to learn to live in harmony with one another, and Islam stresses that people within the Muslim faith should learn to get a long and strive for unity and harmony" (p. 19).

Kalliny and Gentry (2007) also mentioned other important cultural values in Arab society including: Interdependence "members of Arab culture have a high need for affiliation and value mutual dependence. Success is measured by what one does

for his family rather than individual earning or achievement" (p. 20); thriftiness, "one of the teachings that Islam stresses is for people to be thrifty and not waste what they have" (p. 20); competitiveness, "the Arab world is highly collectivist society, and Islam encourages people not to compete at the cost of harming others" (p. 20); attitude toward nature, "The Koran teaches that Allah's [God] creation is not to be altered, which implies that man is to respect and accept nature as it is" (p. 21); and attitude toward enjoyment, "Islam warned people not to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of this life at the expense of their afterlife" (p. 21). This study focuses on the gender appearance in the society, which is discussed at the end of this section, and the Arab cultural norms described to be collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980). Thus, story focus, geographic focus, and sources' cultural identity are used as variables to measure the prevalence of cultural values in news production.

Culturally aware language. Some studies have found that the way news is interpreted may differ from one person to another (Barkho, 2006). The difference greatly varies when two different cultures are involved (Barkho, 2006). Culturally aware language is references to special events, places, names, or persons in the culture in which news organization is based (Barkho, 2006). These culturally aware words have played a key role in explaining why a specific audience accepts news content from one news organization that reflects its cultural view, while at the same time, this audience does not accept the news content from other news organizations that do not represent its (audience) culture (Barkho, 2006). For example, Barkho indicates that cultural, religious, and historical values are the main factors that make the Western news organizations (e.g. CNN) unacceptable to the Arab audience

because “the Western media organizations have failed to meet international news production standards toward its targeted audience in the Middle East” (p. 14). Barkho (2006) also noted that the BBC keeps using some specific words in its news coverage that preserve the reference of historic and retrieved from Biblical reference. Barkho gives different examples to show how cultural values impact the news production in news organizations. For example, when it comes to the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Barkho mentions that while BBC and CNN refer to Israeli troops as “Israeli Defense Forces or IDF”, Al Jazeera describes them as “occupation troops”. Hamas in BBC and CNN are described as “militant,” and in Al Jazeera, are described as the “resistance or the Islamic Resistance Movement”. Also, “Unlike the BBC and CNN, Al Jazeera treats Muslim historical figures and geographical places with utmost respect” (Barkho, 2006, p. 5). In particular, this cultural difference appears when the news organization employs words related to holy places like Mecca, Al Qudus “Jerusalem” or Prophet Mohammad. In short, Al Jazeera, when reporting about Arab and Muslim issues, uses language that appears to meet the aspirations and traditions and cultural heritage of its audience in the Arab and Muslim world. Expanding on what Barkho did, this study developed two lists that include some examples of culturally sensitive words, one list for the in-group, and the second list for out-group that have prevailed in the Arab culture and been used in its media content. This study expects to find more culturally aware language in line with the Arab cultural values in the AJA compared to the AJE, testing this hypothesis:

H2: AJA tends to use more Arab cultural values than AJE.

Gender sourcing presence. Based on presence of gender-bound language in the media content, the fact is that the Arab society is a male-dominated society (Feghali, 1997). Gender sourcing presence refers to the presence of male and female genders in the news story (Carpenter, 2008). In these male-dominated societies women are viewed in a negative way and less represented (Ottom, 2010). In other words, this variable is interested to know "Who speaks in a news story?" (Barkho, 2006, p. 27) Are the male voices louder than the female voices in the news story? Based on this view, there are always restrictions on how women should appear in the Arabic society. The Quran provides some guidance as to how Islamic women should appear in the public: while most Islamic scholars interpret some Quran verses as that women may show only their hands and face to men outside of their immediate family, other stricter Islamic scholars interpret the same Quran verses as that women should be completely veiled (Kalliny & Gentry, 2007, p. 18).

This study measures the presence and the absence of the gender in the media content. If media content ignores female presence in the news stories, then it is used as an indicator of using the cultural values. Generally speaking, sourcing in Western media tends to be male-oriented too (Carpenter, 2008; Jha & Izard, 2005). But in the West there are more women in official and non-official roles (as business leaders, scholars, teachers, entrepreneurs, etc.). Accordingly, even though it would be expected that women will be less present than men in both the Arab and non-Arab world, the cultural roles and social expectations on women in Arab societies would place them less in the news communicated primarily to Arab audiences. Thus, the study posed this hypothesis:

H3: Women will be present significantly more often in AJE than in AJA.

Summary

Briefly, the culture model suggests that news content reflects the society's cultural values, and the news, in this case, is a product of the cultural ideology of its producer. This model assumes that news organizations will focus primarily on news stories about Arab or "in group," their geographic areas, peoples, events, and interests compared to the out group. The Arab cultural values could be reflected in the media content in different ways. One of them is by focusing more on using cultural aware language like holy places, events, and persons. Based on this model, this dissertation assumes that news organizations will communicate with different audiences using different contents. This study answers this question: To what degree the "in-group" or "we", which refers to the Arab values, interests, people, and policies, was presented in both AJE and AJA, and to examine to what extent the non-Arab people, interests, and policies, or "out-group" or "they," were presented in both AJE and AJA news content. Also this study used other new measurements of the cultural model, in particular, the gender sourcing presence and the use of culturally aware language. Thus, if both AJE's and AJA's news content focus more on in-group than out-group, present more male sourcing, and pay much attention to use some culturally aware words in the news content, then researchers could conclude that the cultural values are prevalent in AJ content.

This dissertation develops a new model to test how media content could reflect the cultural values and norms. This model might predict whether or not the news organization that targeted audiences other than its original audience in another

language employs the values and norms of the culture which the news organization originally belonged to or operated in. Cultural identity of the sources, story focus, gender presence, culturally aware words, and geographic cultural regions focus of the news story were the main concepts of this model and were used for the first time in this model. Most studies in the literature used surveys (e.g., Banaji & Al-Ghabban, 2006) and discourse content analysis (e.g., Barkho, 2006) to examine the media content and cultural values; however, this study used quantitative content analysis as a new way to test how media content reflects the cultural values of its producers. In addition, the intent of this study was to explore the content of the non-Western media news website, Al Jazeera.

In short, this literature review has described elements of three possible models that could help to better understand what ways a leading news organization such as Al Jazeera communicates to two different audiences that have different cultural backgrounds and interests. The literature identified elements of the professional journalism model, the market driven model, and the cultural model that could explain how media considers audiences when news organizations create their news reports. However, the study expected that the content will reveal some characteristics of multiple models, and the study did not attempt to fit the content neatly into any one model, but rather to show how it reflects elements of each model and determine which models are most prevalent, as well as compare the elements of the models manifest in the content on both websites. The next section discusses other factors and forces, internal and external that might influence media content.

News Sociology

News sociology or media sociology refers to a theory that explores the factors influencing media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). This theory suggests that media content as “a social construction” phenomenon is a product of a number of factors that shape it (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 1). This means that news is not an impartial reflection of the real world events (Shoemaker, Zhang, & Wang, 2010).

The five influences range from micro-level to macro-level factors, and – as other theorists in social science have noted (e.g. McQuail) – the hierarchy assumes the macro to micro factors as a continuum, with influence greatest at the macro levels and least at the micro. The ideological level is the most powerful level of influence in shaping the media content, and the individual level is the weakest one in shaping the news content. Here is a brief description of each level:

Individual influences. The individual or personal factors that influence the formation and framing of media content are the journalists’ “personal attitudes, values and beliefs,” “professional orientations,” their work experiences as well as their “gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation,” income, etc., (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 65). According to Shoemaker and Reese, these personal and professional characteristics of journalists can have indirect impacts on news reports. Individual characteristics of journalists such as “gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation,” “personal background,” “religion,” and class can have an impact on how they cover the news about the above issues (p. 61). The professional backgrounds of the reporters and how they became journalists are other important issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Routine influences. Media routines are the everyday professional forces during news production under specific “time and space limitations” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 109). In other words, the news routines require news journalists to produce the news reports in ways that are acceptable to both audiences (consumers) and the financial suppliers (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Research shows that media routines are more powerful than individual factors in the hierarchy of influence (Cassidy, 2002; Shoemaker et al., 2001). This means that “routine forces are more successful in winning the competition to determine what news becomes than are individual forces” (Shoemaker et al., 2001, p. 242). Routines allow news producers to produce news through more predictable and manageable process (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). News routines include news values, deadlines, and media formats to make sure that there are enough news reports for the broadcast (Shoemaker et al., 2001). Time and space have become more important in broadcasting media and online media, where the outlets compete over the urgency and accuracy of breaking news (Cassidy, 2006; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker et al., 2001).

News values. News values are the core elements of journalistic routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker et al., 2001). The main news values are defined as prominence, human interest, conflict, novelty, timelessness and proximity (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Shoemaker et al. (2001) studied fifty congressional bills and conducted two surveys of journalists and news editors of the news coverage of those bills. They found a positive correlation between newsworthiness of the bill and the quality and quantity of news coverage on the bills. The study also showed that

those congressional bills that included more elements of the news values received better quality and more coverage.

Objectivity. Objectivity is another element of media routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). According to these scholars, objectivity is crucial when journalists use sources such as government officials or spokespersons, experts, interviewers, corporate reporters and so forth. Shoemaker and Reese say that journalists not only have to satisfy their sources with their neutral coverage, but they also have to be cautious of misinformation the sources provide them with.

Organizational influences. The organizational pressures are defined as the “ownership, goal and policy” of the news organizations and the hierarchical structure of journalists’ and editors’ positions in newsrooms (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 139). Organizational influence is a more powerful level than routines and individual influence levels in shaping media content.

The main goal of the news organization is very important in shaping the media content. Today, the primary goal of most news organizations is making profit, which now has played a greater role in defining the nature of media content that is delivered to the audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). For example, as previously noted, media with the marketing oriented goal to increase their profit tend to produce content focused on entertainment, sports, and celebrities and less public affairs contents (Beam, 1993, 1996). Not only business pressure impacts on the organization goal of news media, but also the new technology has the same impact.

Keith (2011) argues that the organizational level of influence is less influential in the online media because of the decrease in the numbers of employees in news

media organizations. Keith says that there are no longer hierarchies of editors to control news content that journalists produce.

Extramedia influences. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) define the extramedia influences as some pressures from governmental and non-governmental elites on media and journalists that shape news content. These elites often influence news coverage when they were used as news sources to provide information (Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004). According to Wanta et al., these sources influence news media to follow a government's foreign policy. Iyengar & Simon (1993) also found that the U.S. foreign policy has an influential extramedia impact on the international news coverage of the U.S. media. However, Entman (2003) argues that media and journalists do not follow the government and non-government sources passively, but still they are indirectly influenced by these elites. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) defined the non-governmental elites as "special interest groups," "revenue sources such as advertisers and audiences," "social institutions" etc., (p. 175). "The more closely media are to elites, the more media content will be consistent with those elite ideological values" (p. 270).

Ideological influences. Ideology, which was discussed briefly in the section on the cultural model, is the most powerful part of the hierarchy of influences, which has impacts on journalists and media content at all other levels in the hierarchy, extramedia, organizational, routine, and individual levels (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Ideologies shape us in ways that we are most often unaware. Because they are culturally created, accepted and ever-present, people accept them as the way things are or should be. Ideology is a "relatively formal and articulated system of meanings,

values and beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as a ‘world-view’ or a ‘class outlook’” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.222). Also, ideology is “the formulation of rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about topics while excluding other forms of talk” (Olstead, 2002, p. 626). Ideology is important in integrating “societal interests”, the way that some “values” and beliefs are described as acceptable while others are out of legitimacy (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Also, ideology is a “shared set of values and beliefs through which individuals live out their complex relations to range of social structures” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001, p. 21). According to Becker (1984), ideology is “an integrated set of frames of references through which each of us sees the world and through which all of us adjust our actions” (p. 69). Shoemaker and Reese, (1996) argued that ideology is a “societal level phenomenon” that is considered “a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrating force in society” (pp. 221-222). Van Dijk (2009) as a more specific definition of ideology:

Ideologies are not just any kind of social beliefs, but the fundamental, axiomatic beliefs underlying the social representations shared by a group, featuring fundamental norms and values (van Dijk, 2009, p. 193).

Van Dijk (2009) points out the “ideological nature of news,” and argues that journalists’ ideologies are the “typical actions of news making, values such as press freedom, objectivity, fairness or the protected resource of information, as well as the relations to the readers, sources, news actors and the state” (p.193). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) listed the ideological values of the U.S. media as “the capitalist economic system, private ownership, pursuit of profit by self-interested entrepreneurs, and free market” (p. 222). They added:

Media transmission of ideology works by drawing on familiar cultural themes that resonate with audiences. These themes, however, are selectively chosen and constructed into a coherent structure. Thus, both culture and ideology are concerned with meaning; ... ideology is meaning tied to interest – class and otherwise (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.222).

Summary

To summarize, this section explored the factors that influence media content and shape the message in news coverage, according to Shoemaker & Reese (1996). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) created a hierarchical model for the levels of influences: ideological (the most powerful factors), extramedia, organizational, media routines, and individual (the weakest levels). The importance of this hierarchical model in the current study is that it provides one framework for interpreting the results of this study. The discussion chapter will elaborate on the relevance of this model. After reviewing the most important forces that impact and shape media content, the next section addressed the most relevant studies have been conducted on Al Jazeera.

Al Jazeera

Since it was launched in 1996, Al Jazeera coverage has become a controversial debate among scholars, observers, politicians, and journalists (e.g., El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). While some praise the role of AJ in promoting democracy in the region of the world with the most dictatorships, adopting professional and Western journalism values in reporting, and expanding the margins of freedom of expression and speech among Arab viewers (e.g., Quinn & Walters, 2004; Sharp, 2003), others, Arab and non-Arab people, criticize AJ for not being objective, promoting culture of

hate against the West, and being a mouthpiece of Al Qaeda (e.g., AJami, 2001; Zednik, 2002). So, AJ has been surrounded with ongoing debate, from all sides, about the nature of its content and media editorial policy.

This section discusses a brief history about AJA, AJE, the controversial debate that has evolved around its coverage, and the main research trends on AJ including: research on the effect of AJ, studies comparing AJ with Western media, and studies on AJ content.

Al Jazeera Arabic. Amid the sea of state- controlled and owned media organizations, the Middle East has witnessed the birth of the first twenty-four-hour all-news, pan-Arab, and independent network: Al Jazeera, "the Island". Al Jazeera network, which is based in Doha, Qatar, was established in November 1996 and gets an annual funding reaching up to \$ 137-150 million from the Qatari government (Bahry, 2001; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005; Sharp, 2003), and has become one of the world's best-known brand names (Brandchannel.com, 2004). However, before the advent of Al Jazeera, the Arab people did not trust their run-governmental-run media and turned to the Western media which broadcast in Arabic (e.g., the BBC, French Radio Monte Carlo, and the U.S. Voice of America) for getting "objective analysis" (Bahry, 2001, p. 90; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Pintak, 2011). Al Jazeera was launched during the era of the former Emir of Qatar Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani as a sign of openness and as part of his move to democracy and political reform (Bahry, 2001). Al Jazeera is described by some scholars as network "free from government scrutiny, control, and manipulation" (Pintak, 2011, p 40). The story of AJ began when the BBC Arabic television station,

based in London, was closed in 1995. The Al Jazeera network founders decided to hire 120 of these Western-professional and well-trained journalists in its team (Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005). The new born network "took a Western style news format and adapted it to the cultural perspectives of a Middle Eastern audience" (Auter, Arafa, & Al Jaber, 2005, p. 188). Since its start, Al Jazeera has enjoyed a considerable margin of "freedom and independence unprecedented" in the Middle East (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008, p. 211). Al Jazeera is described to be the "closest thing to independent television journalism currently available in Arabic" (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004, p. 123). After five years of its broadcasting, Al Jazeera had about 35 million viewers in the Arab world (Ajami, 2001), and was ranked as the region's most viewed news station (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Telhami's (2011) annual survey of Arab public opinion supported the fact of the dominance of Al Jazeera in the Middle East. In his survey, Telhami found that 43 percent of the respondents preferred watching Al Jazeera compared to 14 percent for Al Arabiya (Telhami, 2011); Al Arabiya was launched in 2003 and was the first serious rival to Al Jazeera (Dajani, 2007). In another survey was conducted by the Arab Advisors Group in 2004, it was found that 75 percent of the Jordanian people preferred watching Al Jazeera, while, 88 percent of the Egyptians watched Al Jazeera. In addition, Al Jazeera expanded its operations and it operates in 31 countries around the world with 50 foreign correspondents and around 350 reporters (El-nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Al Jazeera, according to these public opinions, became the most important source of news for most viewers in the Arab regions.

Al Jazeera, after getting this wide popularity among its viewers in the Middle East, has moved to the international market and competes with others in the "global distribution" of news by targeting non-Arabic audiences outside the Middle East through its English version, which was launched in 2006 (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008, p. 212). So, AJ in this move decided to enter the global market of news production (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008). However, several scholars argued that covering debates on sensitive and controversial issues is another way to attract people in the region and make profits (Lynch, 2005; Wojcieszak, 2007). Today, Al Jazeera is described as a "solid competitor to well-known TV brands" (Cherribi, 2006, p. 123). Most recently, on August 20, 2013, Al Jazeera America was launched as one of the largest newsgathering capabilities of any news organization in the United States with "12 bureaus in major cities around the country, 3 broadcast centers, a headquarters in New York City and a team of close to 800 journalists and staff" (Al Jazeera, 2013, par.2).

The network in its statement of mission raised the slogan of "Opinion, and the other opinion" to reflect the network's philosophy of adopting impartiality, fairness, balance, and give a voice to every side in the news story (Quinn & Walters, 2004; Sharp, 2003). The names of its most famous talk shows are reflecting its core professional mission (e.g., More Than One Opinion, The Opposite Direction, Open Dialogue, No Limits) (Lynch, 2005). For example, Al Jazeera was the first Arab and Muslim news media allowing Israelis to present and take part in its airtime news bulletins and conduct live interviews with them (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; Sharp, 2003). Schleifer (2001) linked the emerging of civil society in the Arab world to Al

Jazeera as a strong ally to spread freedom of expression and democracy. Al Jazeera has never stopped criticizing other Arab governments, except Qatar, and has broken all types of taboos in its daily coverage (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008; Bahry, 2001; Lynch, 2005; Quinn & Walters, 2004). Nevertheless, despite the role of AJ in expanding the margins of freedom in the Middle East, this role does not reflect on its sponsor, Qatar, which ranked 114 out of 174 countries on the Freedom of Press Index (Reporters Without Borders, 2012).

As noted above, observers and some scholars believe that Al Jazeera has revolutionized the media which were controlled by dictatorship regimes for a long time, modernized the Arab media, and helped in spreading democratic values to its viewers (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2003; Sharp, 2003; Miles, 2005, Lynch, 2005; Zayani & Saraoui, 2007). However, others believe that Al Jazeera was just a strategic tool used by the Qatari government to increase its political leverage in the Middle East (Al-Najjar, 2009; Da Lage, 2005; Pintak, 2011). Al Jazeera rarely criticizes the Qatar regime (Bahry, 2001). Its negative coverage of the Arab world forced many Middle Eastern governments to shut down Al Jazeera bureaus, such as in Libya, Jordan, Egypt, Riyadh, Kuwait, Bahrain, Yemen, Tunisia, and Morocco (Seib, 2011), and excluded it from being a member of the Arab States Broadcasting Union (Miles, 2005). In other situations, Al Jazeera correspondents have been detained and questioned, and in other cases their accreditations were canceled (Negus, 2001; Zednik, 2002). Further, the Arab governments have "complained endlessly of the indignities heaped on them by Al Jazeera" (Lynch, 2005, p. 41), and some of them recalled their ambassadors to show their "dissatisfaction" with Al Jazeera coverage

(Bahry, 2001, p. 94). On this point, the Qatar government, by the end of 2001, had received about 450 official complaints from governments around the world about Al Jazeera coverage (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Some Arab regimes accused Al Jazeera of being the voice of dissidents and of conspiring against the stability of these regimes (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003).

Before 9/11, Al Jazeera was not significantly known to American people, but had received many praises from U.S. officials and some top journalists for being a free and independent network in the Middle East (Friedman, 2001). Moreover, in its annual report about human rights in Qatar, the 2000 U.S. State Department report listed Al Jazeera as a network operating "freely" (Miles, 2005, p. 382). Further, in his article about Al Jazeera in the *New York Times*, Thomas Friedman wrote:

Al Jazeera owes its success to the fact that, more than any other TV station in the Arab world, it airs free and lively debates, offers timely news, even interviews Israeli leaders, and allows anyone to criticize Arab regimes. If you polled Arab leaders and asked: Which would you get rid of first, Israel or Al Jazeera? Al Jazeera would win hands down (Friedman, 2001, 27 February, para. 2).

After broadcasting a taped interview for Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, Al Jazeera was the first network to operate in Afghanistan under Taliban permission. Al Jazeera was quickly recognized as a credible network and its live coverage of the aerial attacks made Al Jazeera a flagship news network in the Arab world (Ajami, 2001; Pintak, 2011).

During the 2001 war in Afghanistan, most news media networks around the world, including the American news media, picked up and shared Al Jazeera live

coverage from Afghanistan (Ajami, 2001). However, the tone of Al Jazeera coverage of war on Afghanistan and Iraq brought different critiques from journalists, and upset the American officials. For example, some of these articles published in the *Washington Post* accused Al Jazeera coverage as being "sensational" and described Al Jazeera as taking a "consistently hostile stance toward the U.S" (Waxman, 2001). Meanwhile, Washington administration started to put pressure on Qatari political leadership to control and restrict Al Jazeera (Curiel, 2001). One instance of this was Secretary of State Colin Powell's accusation that Al Jazeera was giving too much time to anti-U.S. activists, and to experts who were hostile to U.S. policy (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Salem, 2003; Zednik, 2002).

Most critiques of Al Jazeera have focused on its lack of objectivity (Campagna, 2001; Negus, 2001; Taylor, 2001), anti-Israeli and anti-Western bias (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Lynch, 2005), using slanted language (Sharp, 2003), promoting pan-Arabism (Ajami, 2001; Darwish, 2001), lack of domestic reporting (Sharp, 2003), and as being the mouthpiece of Al Qaeda and other fundamentalist groups in its reporting (Wojcieszak, 2007; Zednik, 2002). Other scholars concluded that "Al Jazeera not a liberal or neutral channel; it is a religious news channel" (Cherribi, 2006, p. 121). Many public opinion polls showed that Al Jazeera did not appear as an objective news organization. For example, Gallup's 2002 poll indicated that an overwhelming majority of the American respondents (78 percent) expressed their belief that the unfavorable views that Muslims had for the U.S. were based on misinformation provided by their media and governments (Saad, 2002a). Another Gallup poll, conducted in 2002, in five Arab countries (Kuwait, Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon, and

Saudi Arabia) revealed that the viewers of Al Jazeera tended to have more anti-American attitudes than viewers of other Arab stations (Saad, 2002b). Some scholars believe that the American government responded to Al Jazeera's impact by creating the Arabic TV station "Al Hurra" and funding it with "\$500 million" (Hoffman, 2002, p. 85). The main goal behind the launching of "Al Hurra" is to "get American's messages out in undiluted form" (Lynch, 2005, p. 45), through public diplomacy to reach the people in the Arab world by using "the Arabic" language (Hoffman, 2002). Finally, Al Jazeera, like many other traditional media in this world, has other language versions besides its Arabic version; in particular, Al Jazeera has an English station, and it also has two websites in Arabic and English from which they provide news to its readers free of charge (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010; Johnson & Fahmy, 2008).

Al Jazeera English. AJE network is the first international English-language network in the Middle East that was established in 2006 in Doha, Qatar. The Qatari government devoted an "open budget," (Al -Najjar, 2009, p. 2) reaching up to \$1 billion (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2008). Different reasons stand behind launching AJE. First, to provide international perspectives and different points of views in its daily coverage. Second, to attract the Western audience, especially the American viewers. Finally, to compete with other global news organizations, in particular, CNNI and BBC World, by devoting more time in covering stories ignored by other news organizations (Pintak, 2006; Potter, 2007; Rao, 2007; Turner, 2006). The AJE's mission according to its website is that it "aims to balance the information flow

between the South and the North." Currently, the AJE has bureaus in South America and Africa more than those of BBC and the CNN together (Sosibo, 2007).

Before Al Jazeera America was launched in 2013, AJE had faced two kinds of challenges. First is related to the bad image of its Arabic sister news organization, which had negatively impacted the English version (Khamis, 2007, p. 47). Secondly, an "unwillingness to listen" from the American people (Khamis, 2007, p. 47). Like its Arabic sister news organization, the AJE was not welcomed by more than half (53 percent) of Americans who were surveyed by the Accuracy In Media group in 2006, and they believed that AJE should not be available for viewers in the U.S.

Broadcasting taped records for the leader of Al Qaeda, and reporting on the wars on Afghanistan in 2001 and on Iraq in 2003 made Al Jazeera a big name and a strong competitor in the international news networks arena. The AJE also attracted more audiences during its coverage of the Gaza war in 2008 and the latest developments of the Arab Spring, which broke out in late 2010 in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, and spilled over into other Middle Eastern countries (Seib, 2011). However, AJE is rooted in American news culture and its staff adopts the American ideological and professional values in their reporting about the international news (McKelvey, 2007). Many of AJE's journalists and reporters have American citizenship, received their education from U.S. and European journalism schools, and about 140 of them had worked in NBC, CBS, Fox News, Associated Press TV, and CNN (McKelvey, 2007). Finally, as some observers believe that AJE has attracted about 220 million households in around 100 countries (Seib, 2011), others believe that Al Jazeera America failed to attract the American viewers (Atkinson, 2013).

Finally, AJA and AJE are part of AJ Network based in Doha, Qatar. But, they don't share the same building. Each of them has separate buildings. The English and Arabic sections are editorially independent. While AJA broadcasts from Doha, AJE broadcasts from three other centers besides Doha including London, Kuala Lumpur and Washington DC (Al Jazeera, 2013). An overview about Al Jazeera, both the Arabic and English news versions, leads to the discussion of the main trends in research about AJ.

The Al Jazeera effects. Most scholarly studies focused on the role of AJ and the impact of its coverage on its Arab audience which makes AJ the most credible sources of information (Auter, Arafa, & Al Jaber, 2004; Auter, Arafa, & Al Jaber, 2005; Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006), its ability to change trends of the flow of information (Figenschou, 2010) and to break the hegemony of the Western media in news production (Seib, 2005).

Auter, Arafa and Al-Jaber (2004) surveyed Al-Jazeera viewers through the Al-Jazeera website, and found overall Al Jazeera is providing accurate and balanced account. They found that Al Jazeera is a strong "credible source" and rated 3.9 on a five-point scale. Scores were highest for "reporters are trained well" (4.48) and "accurate" (4.22). Scores were lowest for "news stories do not contain too much opinion" (3.17), "watches out for your interests" (3.55), and "unbiased" (3.65). Also, Auter et al., (2005) surveyed 5300 users of the Al Jazeera Arabic news website in 2002, and found there is strong evidence about the relationship between the amount of time spent on watching Al Jazeera and belief in the station's credibility. They also

found that people who "live within their home culture utilize the media to feel stronger links to the culture they live in " (p. 200).

Bahry (2001) argued that there are three reasons that make Al Jazeera "the new Arab media phenomenon" (p. 88). First, Al Jazeera has become the news itself. For example, its slogan (the opinion and the other opinion) has become a political motto and has been accepted by Arab viewers. Second, the station has well-trained and strong group of journalists who apply Western standards and professional formats in coverage. Finally, AJ was the first Arab network to use technology and innovations in reporting and broadcasting and these innovations built faithful viewers.

Cherribi (2006) describes Al Jazeera as the "CNN of the Arab world," and he concluded that it devoted more of its programs to present the Islamic religious leaders and promote the values and the practices of Islamic culture among its viewers. The author uses the veil issue as a case study, where the French government in 2004 banned wearing head-scarves in public schools, to show the influence of Al Jazeera on its viewers and its role in building a "global Muslim identity" (p. 121).

Most recently, Figenschou (2010) found that AJE was able to change the trend of the flow of information by focusing in its daily coverage more on Southern areas of the world. About 61% of the total news items focused on Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. Seib (2005) also argued that the rise of Al Jazeera broke the hegemony of the Western media and allowed AJ to have diverse voices. Seib used the war on Iraq in 2003 as a case study and provided many examples to show the fact that Al Jazeera has become a major player in the international news media production and delivery. He concluded that people are getting more information than ever before,

and with the emergent of Al Jazeera, the "American media voices no longer held the world's attention by default" (p. 613). Thus, this dissertation examined the main trends of geographic news reporting to see which region in the world more frequently has received both AJE and AJA attention in their daily coverage. However, this dissertation did not focus on the audience perceptions toward AJ or the effect of AJ on its audience and its role in the global news production trends, but it focused on AJ's news content and what were the possible ways that might be used to explain how AJ communicates to different audiences. This study tested, for the first time, three possible models which employed on the same content to see which values (e.g., professional, commercial, or cultural norms) prevail inside AJ newsroom when producing its media content. For example, this dissertation, by testing the cultural model in news production, could explain why most Arabs consider AJ as the most credible sources of their information, especially if AJ pays attention to Arabic sources, region, and their interests in its news content. The next section reviews studies comparing AJ and other Western news organizations.

Comparison studies: Al Jazeera with other media organizations. Several studies have compared AJ with other news organizations. Some of these articles compare AJ with Western media, especially with CNN, BBC, (Barkho, 2006; El-Naway & Powers, 2010; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Kolmer & Semetko, 2009; Miladi, 2006) meanwhile, there are very few studies that have compared AJ with other Arabic media such as Al Arabiya (e.g., Zeng & Tahat, 2012).

Barkho (2006) analyzed 63 print stories and 24 news broadcasts that were collected from AJE, BBC and CNN during the period from September 1 to 15, 2004.

He found that the way news is interpreted may differ from one person to another. The difference greatly varies when two different cultures are involved (Barkho, 2006, p. 3). Cultural and historical values have played a key role in explaining why a specific audience accepts news content from one news organization that reflects its cultural view, while at the same time, this audience does not accept the news content from other news organizations that do not represent its (audience) culture (Barkho, 2006). Barkho indicates that cultural, religious, and historical values are the main factors that make the Western news organizations (e.g. CNN) unacceptable to the Arab audience because “the Western media organizations have failed to meet international news production standards toward its targeted audience in the Middle East” (p. 14). Barkho provides different examples to show how cultural values impact the news production in news organizations. In short, Al Jazeera, when reporting about Arabs and Muslim issues uses language that appears to meet the aspirations, traditions and cultural heritage of its audience in the Arab and Muslim world.

El-Nawawy and Powers (2010) conducted a cross-sectional survey on 597 participants from Indonesia, Malaysia, U.S. Kuwait, Qatar, and the U.K to evaluate the relationship between AJE, BBC, and CNN and people's political opinions and behaviors. They found that audiences seek out news media that "reinforce their predetermined ideologies and opinions" (p. 277). For example, viewers who depended more on AJE gave more importance to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict while those who depended more on CNN and BBC gave more importance to terror threats in the U.S and Europe. Also, AJE was the main source of information for viewers who opposed the U.S. policies in Iraq and Palestine, while CNN was the main source

of information for viewers who supported both the U.S foreign policy and the U.S. war on terror. In sum, people's pre-existing ideological orientations determine which news media they will choose.

Gentzkow and Shapiro (2004) surveyed about 10,000 participants in nine Muslim countries (Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Morocco, and Indonesia) to examine audiences' use of Al Jazeera and CNN and their attitudes toward the U.S. They found that viewers with relatively pro-U.S. attitudes tend to watch CNN and those who had anti-U.S. attitudes were more likely to watch Al Jazeera.

Kolmer and Semetko (2009) analyzed the content of 45,223 statements and 33,429 pictures that were published in leading TV news programs in five countries (U.S., U.K., Czech, German, and South Africa) besides Al Jazeera about their coverage of the war in Iraq. They found that only U.S. and U.K news were enthusiastic about the progress of military action in Iraq, but Al Jazeera had a critical tone to these actions. Also, Kolmer and Semetko's findings indicate that most of these TV programs report about the Iraqis in a negative way, in particular, the U.S. media (55 percent), but Al Jazeera was the least negative about the Iraqis (10 percent).

Miladi (2006) surveyed 146 Arabs in the U.K and he found that news in Al Jazeera attracted 87 percent of the participants, 69 percent religious programs, 63 percent political programs, 53 percent documentaries, and 38 percent like to watch sports. The findings showed that Arabs who live in the U.K perceived CNN, the BBC, and Sky news as inaccurate and biased networks against Arab and Muslims

issues and they believed that Al Jazeera filled this gap to present the news from an Arab perspective.

Johnson and Fahmy (2008) surveyed 731 viewers of Al Jazeera to examine how credible Al-Jazeera viewers judge the network. They found that Al Jazeera was rated as a more highly credible source of information than CNN, BBC, and other local Arab media. Respondents agreed that the Al Jazeera presents all views and opinions on an issue.

Most recently, Zeng and Tahat (2012) analyzed the coverage of terrorism in two leading Arab news websites, AJE and Al Arabiya English news website, for a 1-year period of time; from 11 September 2009 to 10 September 2010. The two sites demonstrated similar trends in their use of official frames and humanitarian frames. Al Arabiya displayed a clear preference for official sources (56 percent), expert source (16 percent), and witnesses (5 percent). In comparison, Al Jazeera used more experts (46 percent) than officials (37 percent) as news sources. The next section will review studies conducted on AJ content.

Studies on Al Jazeera content. This trend of research on AJ content has very few studies compared to other two trends that mentioned above. There was one study about the readers' comments of AJA (Abdul-Mageed & Herring, 2008); and two studies analyzed the content of AJE and AJA (Abdul-Mageed, 2008; Al-Najjar, 2009).

Abdul-Mageed and Herring (2008) compared the two language versions of AJE and AJA in terms of their layout and the structural features, regional and thematic coverage, and ideological perspective reflected in the headlines of news reports.

Content analysis and critical discourse analysis methods were used to analyze a sample that consisted of 114 Arabic reports and 74 English reports. The analyses reveal differences between the two versions for all aspects except thematic coverage, suggesting that the two language versions of Al Jazeera are editorially distinct and target different audiences. They used a modified version of van Dijk's (1988) thematic analysis of news categories. The thematic coding included the following categories: military and political violence, politics, foreign relations, religion and culture (including art and media), economy, police and crime, health, education, and welfare (including social affairs), disaster and human affairs, and other (including sport, science, and technology). Also Arab and non-Arab categories were developed to analyze the regional coverage. The non-Arab category had two subcategories including: Muslim and non-Muslim. Thus, this study used a regional coverage variable to see to what extent both versions of AJ (AJE and AJA) place emphasis on issues and events related to Arab world and Muslim countries. The distribution of top story themes was roughly similar for the two sites. The most common themes were military and police violence, foreign relations, and politics. In their discourse content analysis they found that the lexical choices in each website revealed a slight systematic pro-Arab bias in the AJA and a slight pro-West bias in the AJE. For example, the use of "hostage" versus "aid worker" in the below example explains how a Western participant is presented more positively in the English than in the Arabic version: ARABIC website headline: "Taliban free French hostage" (L: 05/12/2007) ENGLISH website headline: "Taliban free French aid worker" (M1, S1: 05/12/2007). Here, in the Arabic headline the French "hostage" is a passive victim, whereas in the

English version, the "aid worker" is represented as a constructive, empowered agent. They also found that religion and culture stories presented more in AJA than in AJE. Finally, they pointed out that that AJA focused more on the Arab countries than any other region, then it focused on the third world (Non-Arab Muslim World) more than the first and second worlds. Meanwhile, AJE covered regions belonging to the third world more than any other region, and then the Arab world came next.

Abdul-Mageed (2008) analyzed 5219 comments that were published in 189 different news stories published in the AJA news website from 3 September to 13 October, 2007. He found that reader comments focused mostly on themes related to military and political violence, politics, and foreign relations, and covered events related to the Arab world more than other regions. About 34 percent of the stories were about politics, 30 percent military and political violence, 24 percent foreign relations, 4 percent religion and culture, 1.5 percent economic, the same for disaster and the rest (5 percent) other news stories. Also, he found that 62 percent of these stories about the Arab world, 16 percent non-Arab Muslim world, and 22 percent about non-Arab non-Muslim world. About 73 percent of the total of these comments focused on stories about the Arab world, and 15 percent about the Non-Arab non-Muslim world.

Finally, Al-Najjar (2009) also analyzed 477 news stories (237 news stories were broadcast by AJE, and 240 by AJA) to identify the similarities and differences between AJE and AJA according to their representation by country and region on the one hand, and story placement and story type on the other. A comparison of the number of news stories broadcast by AJA and AJE about each country indicated that

AJA focused more on the Arab world and the Middle East – in particular, Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon – then the U.S. came next. Meanwhile, AJE, focused more on news stories about the United Kingdom, Russia, and other countries. Also, she found that both AJE and AJA broadcast more news stories about the South (70 percent) than about the North (30 percent). The AJA broadcast around 74 percent on the South regions, while AJE broadcast 66 percent about the South. In terms of the types of the topics, she found that 27 percent of the total broadcasting news stories in both AJE and AJA were about external diplomacy and political conflict, 19.3 percent domestic government, 17 percent nongovernment attacks/civil war/ terrorism, 13 percent military combat, 9 percent human interests, 3.1 percent religion, 2.9 percent accident/disasters, 2.9 percent also business/environment/science, 2.7 percent health and education, and 2.1 percent about celebrities/entertainment/modeling. While the most studies that analyzed AJE and AJA content used content topic (e.g., politics, economic, sport, environment, etc.), geographic focus (e.g., Arab world, western countries, etc.), and sources (e.g., official, experts, witness, etc.) as main variables to be measured, in this dissertation, content topic, sources, and geographic focus are used as dimensions to measure broader concepts like cultural norms and marketing, and professionalism variables.

Figenschou (2010) found that one third of all news stories in AJE focused on politics, one fifth on armed conflict, 13 percent legal affairs, 9 percent economy, 7 percent ecology, aid and social affairs 3 percent, and other categories (e.g., science, religion, culture) which received very limited coverage. However, only three of the total 1324 news items focused on celebrity news. Also, a quarter of the main sources

(25 percent) were independent elites, 18 percent officials, 11 percent ordinary people, 45 percent AJE editorial staff, and 1 percent others.

Most recently, Fahmy and Al-Emad (2011) analyzed the content of 238 online stories that focused on the conflict between the U.S. and Al Qaeda. About 139 news stories were downloaded from AJA and 99 were downloaded from the AJE. The main purpose was to examine how the AJE and AJA news sites framed the US/Al Qaeda conflict to different online users in different languages. Also, they tested whether the AJA website used fewer U.S. news sources than AJA and framed the U.S. negatively in this war compared to the AJE. They found that AJA cited more American sources (65 percent) than AJE (45 percent). A comparative analysis examining the use of sources in the two websites revealed no significant differences. This suggests that Al-Jazeera websites did not use different sources to report the conflict. For example, it did not try to present a one-sided perspective of the U.S. and its allies to its English-speaking audience, neither did it present a predominantly Al Qaeda perspective to its Arabic-speaking audience. Also they found that Al Qaeda agents were significantly framed more negatively (89.4 percent) and less positively (10.6 percent) than any other agents involved in the two websites combined.

Summary

Different research has been conducted on the first non-Western 24-hour news channel Al Jazeera. Some of these studies have focused on the influence of AJ on its audience and its role in breaking the hegemony of the western media in news production. Other studies have focused on comparing AJ with other Western media. And, the last trend has addressed AJ content and sometimes compared between AJA

and AJE. Unlike the previous literature, this dissertation did not focus on the audience perceptions toward AJ or the effect of AJ on its audience and its role in the global news production trends, but focused on studying the media content to examine which model that AJ adopts in news production. Finally, this dissertation also uses sources, the story focus, and the geographic focus of the news story as dimensions in studying the cultural values in news production. The next section of this dissertation reviews the most relevant literature on framing, which is examined in this study to capture the manifest content of the published stories in AJE and AJA.

Framing

This section reviews framing from a news sociology perspective, the origins of framing in psychology (Bartlett, 1932), sociology (Goffman, 1974), anthropology (Bateson, 1955), and the current situation of framing in journalism and mass communication (e.g., Entman, 1993). Also it discusses definitions of framing (e.g., Entman, 2004), framing key concepts (e.g., McCombs, 2005), thematic and episodic frames (e.g., Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Simon, 1993), and framing devices and mechanisms (e.g., Tankard, 2001).

Framing in sociology, psychology, and anthropology. The roots of framing theory completely differ and originate from other research traditions (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; van Gorp, 2007). However, Van Gorp tracked back the roots of framing theory to psychology and the work of Bartlett (1932), to the anthropology and the work of Bateson (1955), and to the work of Goffman (1974) in sociology.

In sociology, many mass communication scholars recognize Goffman as one of the "seminal figures" in the development framing theory (Edy & Meirick, 2007, p. 122). In fact, Goffman's concept of frame analysis (1974) was recognized by many scholars of mass communication to be the keystone of modern framing theory (Edy & Meirick, 2007). Goffman's main research focused on the process of sense making in interpersonal interaction. Goffman (1959), although he did not explicitly use framing as a term, noted that when an individual presents themselves to others (audience), the members of this audience, or observers as Goffman calls them, "can glean clues from his conduct and appearance" (p. 1). Therefore, "the individual will have to act so that he intentionally or unintentionally expresses himself, and the others will in turn have to be impressed in some way by him" (Goffman, 1959, p. 2). Different communication techniques could be used by the individual, including crucial omissions, strategic ambiguity, and innuendo to maintain a definition of the situation (Goffman, 1959). Media also apply these techniques, he stated: "the mass media have their own version of this and demonstrate that by judicious camera angles and editing, a trickle of response to a celebrity can be transformed into a wild stream" (p. 61). Goffman, for his frame analysis, made great use of Bateson's work and his management of impression work during these social interactions and observations (Goffman, 1959, 1967). Goffman argued that people continually fight to make sense of their world around them and for this reason they rely on what he named "schemata of information," which he also labeled "frames," that permit individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" (1974, p. 21). In psychology, framing origins lie in Bartlett's (1932) classic work, from which he developed schema theory which seeks

to explain how individuals interpret the reality of the world. He concluded from his classic work on how an individual could recall the information about a story depending on his/her memory that previous knowledge and background experience, and social and cultural context, influence our interpretation process of the world. Finally, Bateson (1955) and his work are considered to be the origins of framing in anthropology. Bateson was the first scholar in this field who articulated the concept of framing. He said that, a frame is "a spatial and temporal bonding of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson, 1955).

Framing in mass communication. Presently, framing theory is classically associated with the field of political and mass communication (Entman, 1991; Gitlin, 1980; Iyengar, 1991). Nevertheless, mass communication scholars argued that the framing literature is existing everywhere throughout the social science disciplines (Edy & Meirick, 2007 ; Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Van Gorp, 2007) including these research traditions: psychology (e.g., Kahneman & Tversky, 1984); linguistics (e.g., Lakoff, 2004; Tannen, 1979); economics (e.g., Kahneman & Tversky, 1984); public relations (e.g., Hallahan, 1999); social-movements (e.g., Snow & Benford, 1988); news making (e.g., Tuchman, 1978); policy research (e.g., Schon & Rein, 1994) media hegemony (e.g., Entman, 1991); media effects (e.g., Iyengar & Kinder, 1987); and health communication (e.g., Rothman & Salovey, 1997).

Based on the above traditions, framing theory's widespread background has produced a "plethora of meanings" (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 79); "polysemic nature of the word framing" (Maher, 2001, p. 89); "conceptual diversity and imprecision" (Kinder, 2007, p. 158); "Passé-partout" (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 60); and

"scattered conceptualization" (Entman, 1993; p. 52). The above definitions have resulted in this kind of diversity of concepts, which are used to describe frames (Matthes, 2009).

Multiple frame locations were identified by mass communication research in the process of communication. These locations of frames vary in their numbers from two to four sources, as discussed by different scholars. In this communication process there are considered to be two locations of frames, including message sender and its receiver (Entman, 1991; Friedland & Zhong, 1996; Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Kinder & Sanders, 1990; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007); three locations of frames including the audience, the media, and cultural actors (Scheufele, 2006); and four sources, which include "the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Entman (1993) elaborated on how these four locations work in the framing process: the communicator, "deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief system" (p. 52); the text, "manifested by the presence or absence of certain key frames, stock phrases {...} that provide thematically reinforcing cluster of facts or judgment" (p. 52); the receiver, whose thinking and conclusion are guided by the frames, "may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator" (p. 52); and the culture, whose location is "the stock of commonly invoked frames," (p 52). However, within one of these frame sources/locations, the framing concept will be clearer by contextualizing the definitions of framing concept. Entman (1991) says that "frames describe the attributes of news itself" (p. 7) and encourage the audience to think about the news in certain ways. Entman (1993) says that first, frames "prescribe" an issue,

then they “define the problems” based on “common cultural values”, and then make “moral judgments” about the problems and suggest “remedies” for them. In the framing literature, the most distinctions were made between the content producer and the content receiver. In general, both audiences and the media professionals use framing to make complex topics simple (Gitlin, 1980; Gamson et al., 1992; Reese, 2001).

In short, "to frame," as Entman (1993) puts it, "is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). However, the salience of issues and how individuals interpret the content/message are affected by the choices made by the journalists in presenting the news (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Episodic and thematic framing. Scholars identified two general organizing structures, episodic and thematic media framing (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Simon, 1993). These organizing structures of media framing are used by journalists as "ways of telling the story that make it understandable and accessible to readers" (Gross, 2008, p. 171). Episodic frames focus on specific events by providing a specific example of the issue being covered. Thematic frames, also called "backgrounders," place issues into a broader context by providing more information and cultural, historical, or other backgrounds and contexts (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p. 370). While some news stories could include both episodic and thematic frames in the time, according to Iyengar and Simon (1993), most news stories use one dominant frame. And according to Iyengar and Simon (1993), episodic framing is often used in

television news stories as the dominant frame. In general, journalists prefer to use an episodic frame because it is "more emotionally engaging" and they believe episodic frames to be more compelling and more likely to draw the reader or viewer into the story" (Gross, 2008, p. 171).

There are two levels of attribution of responsibility in media framing: causal and treatment levels (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). The causal level focuses on what or who caused the events, or on who is responsible for the issues being reported. As for the second level, treatment, it focuses on who could resolve the issue, or who is precluding the solutions to the issue/event. Iyengar and Simon (1993) found that there is a relationship between the type of media framing used in news coverage and the attributions of responsibility. They argued that by using thematic framing, the audience/readers attributed responsibility to general societal factors; meanwhile, under episodic framing, people attributed responsibility to specific agents. Iyengar (1991) found that most news stories employ episodic frames that focus on particular events, cases, or individuals. Episodic framing leads viewers to concentrate on the individuals directly involved, to make few connections to larger forces in society, and to deny accountability to anyone but those directly involved. Iyengar found that viewers exposed to thematic frames tend to raise large issues of cause and effect, to consider how public policy and social conditions might be related, and to take a longer-range view of policy problems and solutions. In other words, thematic framing stimulates the kind of inquiry characteristic of informed citizenship and aims to serve the public interests, which is one of the most important professional values. Gross's (2008) experiment found that those individuals who read opinion column in an

episodic-framing style arguing against mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses had more sympathetic response to the issue. He also found that those individuals who read the same topic in a thematic-framing style tended to express greater opposition to the drug offenses issue. However, Gross' findings only indicate that different kinds of framing led to different opinions on the same issue; the way the issue was framed brought different responses. In contrast, Iyengar's study found that thematic frames prompted broader perspective than episodic frames did. Also, Aaroe's (2011) findings show that episodic news frames have more direct effects on people, and they result in more emotional responses in them, such as "compassion," "pity," "anger," and "disgust" (p.220). However, thematic frames reduce the tendency of such emotional reactions. Iyengar (1991) found that episodic frames produced individual attributions for political problems and thematic frames produced societal attributions for political problems. Societal attributions of responsibility led people to offer greater support for government programs to solve political problems and to hold political leaders responsible. Episodic framing of political problems diverts attention from societal responsibility and leads people to hold individuals responsible for their own situation, thereby diminishing support for government programs designed to address the problem (Iyengar, 1991, p. 136). The main logic of thematic frames of providing many backgrounds and adequate information about public issues in broader context matches the logic of the professional value of serving the public and get them informed to be involved in the political process.

Finally, according to de Vreese (2005) a framing process has two phases: frame setting and frame building. Frame setting is defined as "the interaction between

media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predisposition." (p. 52). Thus, frame setting process is related to media effects and it affects individuals' learning, interpretation, and their evaluation of issues. The second phase is frame building (news sociology) and it refers "to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames" (p. 52). However, the second phase of frame building process leads to a review the internal and external forces that influence media's frames which can be best summarized through Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) explanation of such forces. This dissertation was interested in the second phase of the framing process; frame building and "news sociology" that examines factors which impact news shaping.

Tankard (2001) lists "headline," "subheads," "photographs," "captions," "leads," "selections of sources and affiliations," "selection of quotes," "pull quotes," "logos," "charts, graphs and statistics," and "concluding statements of the articles" as the most influential factors in framing effects (p.101). By this list, Tankard emphasizes that location is an important part of framing. "Repetition, placement and reinforcing" of these words and images can make some parts of the reality "salient" and "memorable," while others aspects of the reality are completely ignored or kept invisible (Entman, 1991, p. 7).

Finally, there are different framing devices where the frames appear in media content. These devices have been called "interpretive structure" (Norris et al., 2003, p. 10). Examples of these frame devices include metaphors, catch phrases, visual images, exemplars, depictions, rhetorical flourishes, and justification (Gamson & Lasch, 1980; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007).

Summary

This section reviewed framing literature, in particular framing roots and their origins in psychology, anthropology, and sociology, the development of framing in journalism and mass communication, and thematic and episodic frames. Frames play a major role in this study. First of all, these variables in each model are measuring big frames in the produced content; in this case, they are measuring the professionalism frame, marketing frame, and Arab cultural frame. Also, as Entman (1993) puts it, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52). So, some of these values will be emphasized and other values be less salient in the content. In turn, some of these models will be more prevalent in the content than others. In other words, these three constructs – professionalism, marketing, and Arab cultural models – are frames by themselves. If the results of this study, for example, reveal that the professional values were most prevalent in the content, this means that AJ reflects the professional frame.

Based on the literature review this study asked these questions and posed three hypotheses, specifically:

RQ1a: To what extent was the professional model of news production apparent in AJA?

RQ1b: To what extent was the professional model of news production apparent in AJE?

RQ1c: Was there a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the professional model was apparent?

RQ2a: To what extent was the marketing model of news production apparent in AJA?

RQ2b: To what extent was the marketing model of news production apparent in AJE?

RQ2c: Was there a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the marketing model was apparent?

RQ3a: To what extent was the cultural model of news production apparent in AJA?

RQ3b: To what extent was the cultural model of news production apparent in AJE?

RQ3c: Was there a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the cultural model was apparent?

RQ4a: Which model was more prevalent in the content of AJA?

RQ4b: Which model was more prevalent in the content of AJE?

RQ4c: Was there any significant difference between which model was more prevalent in AJA and AJE?

H1: AJA tends to adopt more Arab cultural values compared to AJE.

H2: AJA tends to use more Arab culturally aware language than AJE.

H3: Women will be present significantly more often in AJE than in AJA.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In the era of global communication where more and more efforts are paid to communicate with people of widely-varying cultures across the world, this study is interested in examining how one news organization communicates to international audiences with different languages and various cultural backgrounds and interests. The main purpose of this study is to examine what values are more prevalent in the content that a non-Western news organization produces to target different audiences.

The professional model, the marketing model, and the cultural model were tested on news stories that were published in the first four months of 2014 on the websites of Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English. This section discusses content analysis in detail in terms of its definition, advantages, and disadvantages; the constructed sample and the procedure of drawing the sample; unit of analysis; and the constructs, main variables, measurements and indices established for the three models tested in this study.

Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to test these three models. Different scholars define content analysis, for example, Berelson (1952) defines it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communication” (p. 489). Similarly, Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (p. 156). Weber (1990) describes content analysis as a "research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9). Krippendorff (1980) in his definition of content

analysis stressed reliability and validity: "Content analysis is a research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21).

The advantages of content analysis are many. First, content analysis is systematic. This means that the content to be analyzed is selected according to "explicit and consistently applied rules" (e.g., sample selection, all content under consideration is to be treated in exactly the same manner, there is uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures) (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, pp. 156-157). Second, content analysis is objective. This means that the researchers' "personal idiosyncrasies and biases" should stay away from the findings. Also it means that the analysis should yield the same results if another researcher replicates the study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 157). Finally, content analysis as defined above is typically quantitative (though some scholars have also done content analysis qualitatively). The main goal of this method is to get an accurate representation of a body of messages. This nature of quantification is important in fulfilling that objective because it helps researchers in "the quest for precision", and it allows researchers to summarize results and to report them "succinctly" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 157). In general, this method is used for different goals; for example, it is used in journalism and mass communication research to identify developments over long time periods, to compare media content to the real world, and to assess the image of particular groups in society (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Content analysis is the appropriate method for this study. It will be used to identify manifest elements that are related to each model in news content. Quantitative content analysis deals with manifest content, by definition (Riffe, Lacy,

& Fico, 2005. p. 38). Content analysis is used frequently in all areas of the media. The method is popular with mass media researchers because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of the media (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 156). Riffe and Freitag (1997) found that about 25% of the 1,977 full-length research articles published in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* from 1971 to 1995 were content analysis. Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) revealed that content analysis was the most popular data-gathering method reported in major mass communication journals between 1995 and 1999. An informal content analysis of three journals that focus on mass communication research (*Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, and *Mass Communication and Society*) from 2007 to 2008 found that content analysis was still a popular method, used in about one-third of all published articles (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 156). Content analysis helped to tell whether or not a news story reflected professional values such as objectivity, fairness, and factuality. Also, in the marketing model, the content analysis helped to examine what type of content and topics the story projected more as evidence of employing the marketing values or not. Finally content analysis helped to examine whether or not the news stories displayed any cultural values.

A potential disadvantage of content analysis is a lack of messages relevant to the research. A researcher interested in any topic of the study must prepare to examine a large body of media content to find sufficient quantities for analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 160). In addition, content analysis is frequently time consuming and expensive (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 160). The final limitation

of using content analysis that should be acknowledged here is that content analysis is not a direct indicator of the creator's intent.

Population, Sample, and Unit of Analysis

This study focused on the AJE and AJA versions of the news websites: AJE (www.english.aljazeera.com) and AJA (www.aljazeera.net). These two news sites were selected for several reasons. First, they are considered the most important news websites in the Middle East with the highest readership among all news websites (Galal, Galander & Auter, 2008). They are considered an influential agenda setter in their geographic region. In addition, they represent a variety of Arab and non-Arab world cultures and perspectives, as well as different political ideologies (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008; Galal, Galander & Auter, 2008).

The population of the dissertation was defined as: all content that was published on the homepages of AJA and AJE from January 1, 2014, until April 30, 2014. The homepage of each website is the page that opens when a user first goes to the website and it shows the headlines of the latest news stories. Only stories with links from headlines on the homepages of both websites were selected and analyzed.

AJE and AJA websites are designed in a way that the locations of their news stories can be categorized into two main groups: leading stories and top stories. First, leading stories: every AJE and AJA website has four leading stories at a time, and one of them has large picture with a few short lines that summarize the story. These leading stories are posted at the top left of the AJE homepage, and are posted in the top right of the AJA homepage. As for the top news stories: on AJE website there are fifteen headlines of top news stories come right below the leading stories. These

headlines work as links to the whole stories. These headlines are posted with a small picture with each one, and a few short lines that summarize the story. On the AJA website, the headlines of top news stories come right below the lead stories. They also come with a few short lines that summarize the story with a small picture with each one. However, AJA changed its news website design on April 1, 2014. Before April 1, 2014 the design of the AJA website allowed presenting 20 news stories arranged between eight leading stories and 12 top stories. But, the new design of AJA distributed the content under specific sections (e.g., economic, sport, health, etc.) and this new design had the following numbers of news stories under these news sections: four leading stories; Arabic and international had eight headlines; economy, entertainment, medicine and health, freedom and rights, reports and interviews, culture and art, and press tour had four headlines for each of them. Sport, and science and technology had three headlines for each. Meanwhile, the AJE website presented 19 news stories including four leading news stories and fifteen top news articles under News section including international, U.S., environment, health, sport, economy, technology, science, education, and culture. It happened that some of these stories stayed on the main page or under a specific news section for more than one day.

Because of the cycle process of the news on websites, it happened that the old leading stories went to be the first top story and so forth. The Al Jazeera websites had similar, but not identical, news sections. For example AJE had these news sections: economy, science, technology, health, culture, sport, education, environment, the U.S, and international news section. Meanwhile, the AJA had these news sections: Arabic,

international, economy, sport, entertainment, medicine and health, science and technology, freedom and rights, reports and interviews, culture and art, and press tour.

Since the online content of the news websites continuously changes, and following Massey and Levy (1999) in their study of the English-language online newspapers in Asia, both websites were accessed twice within 24 hours. Taking in consideration the 8 to 11- hour time-zone difference between the U.S. and the Middle East, an initial visit between 11 p.m. and 1 a.m. in Oklahoma, where the researcher accessed the stories, was between 8 a.m. and 1 a.m. in the Middle East. The second visit 12 hours later between 11a.m. and 1 p.m. in Oklahoma was between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. in the Middle East. The time 8 a.m. in the Middle East was selected because it represented the beginning of the day and 8 p.m. represented the end of the day. When it was 8 a.m. in the Middle East, the time in the U.S. ranged from 9 p.m. in the West to 12 a.m. in the East, which represented the time at which the news of that evening was available. Similarly, at the same time of 8 p.m. in the Middle East, the time in the U.S. ranged from 9 a.m. in the West to 12 p.m. in the East, which represented the time at which the news of that morning was available (Fahmy, & Al-Emad, 2011, p. 222).

The news story was the unit of analysis. The study focused on the text of the stories and the multimedia elements accompanied stories including videos, graphics, photos, and charts. However, audio, opinions, shows, schedules, and trending topics were excluded from analysis.

Constructed week sampling was used, the sample was stratified by day of the week, and 50 percent of the content of each day was randomly pulled by using interval systematic procedure. This kind of sampling, a constructed week, is designed to give each unit in the population an equal chance of being selected (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 99). Constructed weeks have been the most convincing response to the problem of systematic content variation in media content (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). Two constructed weeks were used to draw the sample of news stories collected in four months from AJE and AJA news websites. Not only is a constructed week regarded as the most convincing response to the problems of systematic content variation in media content (Riffe et al., 2005), but it also is considered as more "efficient" than simple random and consecutive day sampling (Hester & Dougall, 2007, p. 811). One constructed week adequately predicts and represents the population, and two constructed weeks works even better (Riffe et al., 2005, p. 98). In a constructed week sample, all Sundays are identified and then the researcher randomly selects one Sunday, then a Monday, a Tuesday, etc, until all seven days of the week are represented equally (Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993; Riffe, Lacy, & Drager, 1996). Riffe and his colleagues (1993) described constructed week sampling as "being superior in terms of its effectiveness compared to random and consecutive day sampling" (p. 133). Also, they found that constructed week sampling yields "better estimates" than other samples because it avoids the possibility of oversampling Sundays or Saturdays (p. 139). For all of these advantages, this study used two constructed weeks sampling.

There were 17 weeks of the time of the study [January 1 until April 30, 2014]. These weeks began with Sundays as the following dates: 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th of January; 2nd, 9th, 16th, and 23rd of February; 2nd, 9th, 16th, 23rd, and 30th of March; and 6th, 13th, 20th, and 27th of April 2014. Two days of Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays were randomly chosen, beginning with choosing two Sundays. A computerized random number generator (<https://www.random.org/>) was used to generate two random numbers between 1 [first week of the study] and 17 [last week of the study]. For example, the computer generated these two numbers, 2 and 4 weeks, of the 17 weeks. This means that Sunday of 12th of January was the first Sunday in the sample and 26th of January was the second Sunday. So, in this case the researcher looked at all the content of these two Sundays which together had a total of 99 stories for the AJA (e.g., in AJA and in the first Sunday January 12th there were 48 stories, and in the second Sunday of January 26th there were 51 stories). And the same procedure was done for Mondays, Tuesdays, etc. until the coder went through the entire 14 days. Each story for each day was assigned a number. For example, the 48 stories of the Sunday of week number 2 took numbers in order from 1 to 48, and then the other 51 stories of the second Sunday in week four also took numbers from 49 to 99. So, each day was treated as a unit. The same was done to Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. Based on this procedure, the total number of the initial sample yielded 701 stories for AJA and 464 stories for AJE. Fifty percent (50%) of the total number of each day was pulled through interval systematic sample, which involves "selecting every nth unit from a sampling frame. The particular number (n)

is determined by dividing the sampling size by the sample size" (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005, p. 102). In this study every 2nd story was selected from each day list sample. For example, Sundays had 99 news stories, and 49 news stories were drawn to represent fifty percent of Sundays, and the same procedure was repeated to the other days in both AJE and AJA. A systematic random sample of 358 stories from AJA news stories was selected, and the same sampling procedure yielded 234 stories constituting the AJE sample. Since the procedure so closely resembles a simple random sample, many researchers consider systematic sampling as effective as the random procedure (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). The goal of pulling 50 percent was to get a substantial, reasonable sample size that had adequate power for the study. (See Table 1 on page 259 for the sample of two constructed weeks of AJA, and see Table 2 on page 260 for the sample of AJE.

Time Frame

As previously noted, the time frame of this analysis was from January 1, 2014, until April 30, 2014. Riffe et al. (2005) suggested that in content analysis research there is no need to sample an entire year. The four-month period means that the coder cannot generalize to the entire year, however, the time frame was long enough to include numerous news events of international interest to reveal whether (and how) the news organization communicates to its main two audiences (the Arab world and the West). Also, since this study discussed how a news organization communicates to multiple cultures through different products, it was not a time-sensitive question. Thus, the four-month period was used as the time frame for this study. This time frame witnessed many important events that most news organizations would pay

attention to during their daily coverage such as the continuation of the Arab Spring events in the Middle East, in particular in Syria and Egypt, unrest in Venezuela, a massive mudslide in Washington state, an election in India, and Saudi Arabia designating the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization.

Also, the time of the study witnessed other events like the spread of the Ebola virus in some West African countries like in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Senegal, the escalation of violence in Ukraine, the nationwide Turkey municipal elections, Iran's nuclear deal with the U.S., missing Malaysia airlines flight 370, Sochi Olympics 2014 in Russia, Afghanistan presidential elections, and John Kerry's framework peace plan in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine.

Construct, Dimensions of Measurements, and Data Analysis

The study suggested that three possible models in news production could be used by news organizations, namely, professional journalism model, marketing model, and culture model. The following paragraphs address each model in terms of its conceptual definition, operational definition, and when coders can tell which values of these models were most prevalent in AJ.

The professional value. The first model, journalism professionalism, was constructed by incorporating two dimensions of literature: the study of professionalism, and normative theory. The journalism professionalism construct is about the press's main mission of helping people to inform citizens and to how be good citizens. That mission should then reflect itself in a content that allows the citizens to be more informed and more knowledgeable, as well as to give them multiple ideas and perspectives (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, pp. 15-32). Since the

press carries the responsibility of serving the interests of the public; the normative measures were drawn from the idealized role of journalism in democracy, which provides theoretical bases for freedom of the press and freedom of expression, telling the truth, and being objective.

The journalism professionalism concept was derived from different sources of the literature about professional values and norms (e.g., Beam, Weaver, & Brownlee, 2009; Deuze, 2005; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Lieberman, 1956; Lowrey & Gade, 2011; Merrill, 1974, Peterson, 1956; Siebert, 1956). The reviewed literature highlighted many important concepts that define the main characteristics of professionalism in journalism. Fairness, balance, serving the public interests, democratic function, factuality, objectivity, the press's social responsibility, detachment, freedom, autonomy, and ethics were the most important professional values that had been discussed in the literature, and they defined the conditions under which, or the situations when, the news coverage becomes professional. Thus, to test the professionalism model this study used four measures that had been obtained from the literature. These measures are: objectivity (e.g., Deuze, 2005; Donsbach, 2003; Hackett, 1984; Suhudson, 2001; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Ward, 2008); fairness (e.g., Fico & Cote, 1999; Fico & Soffin, 1995; Simon, Fico & Lacy, 1989); sourcing (e.g., Ericson; 1998; Stensaas, 1986); and factuality (e.g., Condit & Selzer, 1985; Hackett, 1984; Siebert, 1956; Reese, 1990; The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Reese, 1990). So, how were these concepts related to professionalism? How did objectivity, fairness, the use of sources, and factuality make the news content

reflecting the professional values? And how were these concepts measured? The next paragraphs explain in detail how these concepts were tested in the current study.

Objectivity means that journalists exclude themselves when reporting on society issues by setting aside their own ideas and opinions (Munoz-Torres, 2007). It is based on the reporting of facts rather than opinions (Patterson & Seib, 2005, p. 194). Attributing statements to sources is a key element of the objective ritual. It protects against accusations that journalists have been manipulated (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 108). Journalists use attributions to indicate their objectivity (to account for the value-laden statements and opinions in the content and make clear where these views come from). This variable was coded as: 0 = no attribution in story, 1 = partial attribution, 2 = full attribution. To determine when to code no attribution or partial attribution or full attribution, the process of coding depended on the situations of presenting none, or some or all facts/ideas/ opinions in the story with attribution. For example, partial attribution is when attribution is used in some cases, but some facts/ideas/opinions are presented without attribution. Also, full attribution is used when all facts/ideas/opinions are presented with attributions. Finally, when the ideas/opinions in the story has no attributions at all, then it was coded as no attribution. The frequencies and percentages were calculated, and used to decide how to interpret this measure (no attribution to full attribution). For example, let us say, hypothetically, that in AJA there are 100 news stories. Ten stories (10%) out of 100 coded as 0 "no attribution", 30 stories (30%) coded as 1 "partial attribution", and the rest stories (60%) coded as 2 "full attribution." In this case, coder might interpret these results by saying that AJA tends to be objective in its coverage by depending

heavily on attributions. This means that the more attributions used in the story, the more it is objective, the more it reflects professional values. (See codebook for more details and examples.)

Fairness is defined as presenting the sides of the event in the news story (Simon et al., 1989). "The side" refers to the attributed sources in the news story. In this study, a dichotomous measure was developed to measure the fairness variable. If both sides of the story had been told in the story it would be coded as 1, and if the story did not present the two sides it would be coded as 0. If a news story presented the two sides of the event, it was considered more fair and reflecting professional values; because the logic of professionalism in journalism is to provide a comprehensive account on the event from different perspectives or sides of the event. Also, any story that has more than two sides it was also coded as 1. To determine when the news story presented two sides of the event or not, this study used the following example for a news story published in AJE about the relationship between U.S.A and Iran. The story said that,

(Obama said Friday that the U.S. had informed Iran it would not grant a visa to Hamid Aboutalebi, a member of the group responsible for the 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

White House spokesman Jay Carney said. "Our position is that we will not be issuing him a visa."

Hamid Babaei, a spokesman for the Iranian U.N. Mission, said the decision "...".

As host country for the United Nations, the U.S. must provide rights to persons invited to the New York headquarters. However, exceptions can be made when a visa

applicant is found to have engaged in spying against the U.S. or poses a threat to American national security.

The White House said it did not expect the nuclear negotiations to be affected by the visa decision.

In the story above, the coder should note that the two sides of the event were presented and their views were told in the story. For example, the American side told his perspectives on visa issue through Obama, and the White House spokesman Jay Carney. Also, the Iranian side his view was presented in the story through Hamid Babaei, a spokesman for the Iranian U.N. Mission. In such example, the coder should record this story as fair and code it as 1 because it presented the two sides of the event.

Frequencies and percentages were used to interpret when to say the story was fair in its reporting or not. (See codebook for more details)

As for the sourcing variable, sources are defined as "the actors who journalists observe or interview including interviewees who appear on the air or who are quoted in magazine articles and those who supply background information or story suggestions" (Gans, 1979, p. 80). In specific, the term 'source' refers to all people and inanimate sources that are used in the news story and directly or indirectly quoted in the title, headline, lead, or the main text of the story. Sources include those who are paraphrased and those who provide actualities. They are identified through attribution that include the words 'said', 'say', 'told', 'informed', 'announced', 'urged', etc. In other words, the source must have a speaking part in the story (Foote & Gade, 2006). Source is considered the best way of handling information as it enables the readers to

evaluate the credibility of the source (Friendly, 1958). To measure the degree to which the news story cited sources directly or indirectly (human or inanimate sources); four categories were designed to measure this variable: if the news story did not cite any sources it was coded as zero sources = 0; if it cited only one source then it was coded as 1, if it cited two sources it was coded as 2, and if it had more than 2 sources it was coded as 3. What's most important was that a story (typically) has more than one source, representing some effort to confirm information or provide a different perspective or additional information. The more sources cited the more professional the news story was considered to be. Frequencies and percentages were used to interpret the data in this variable.

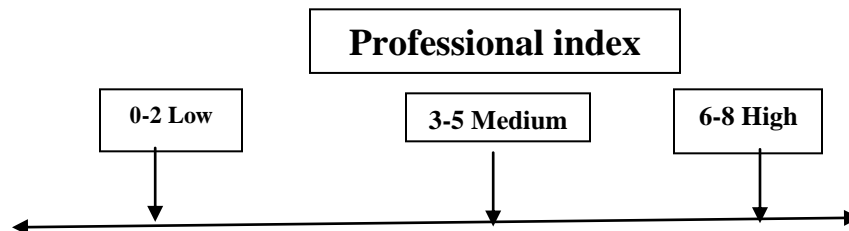
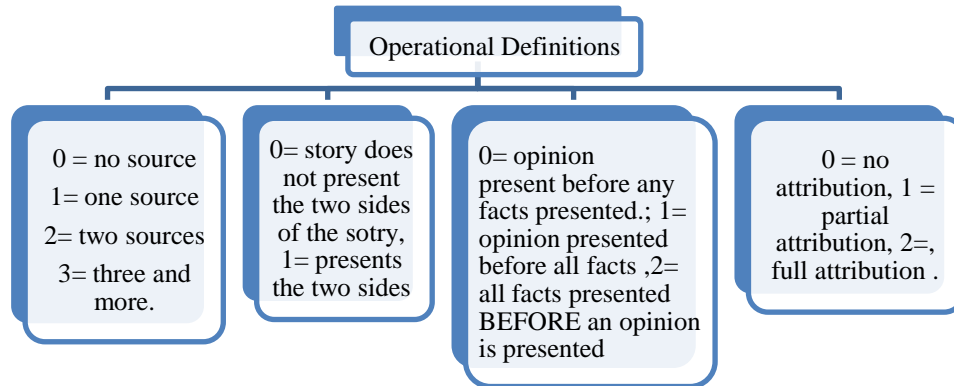
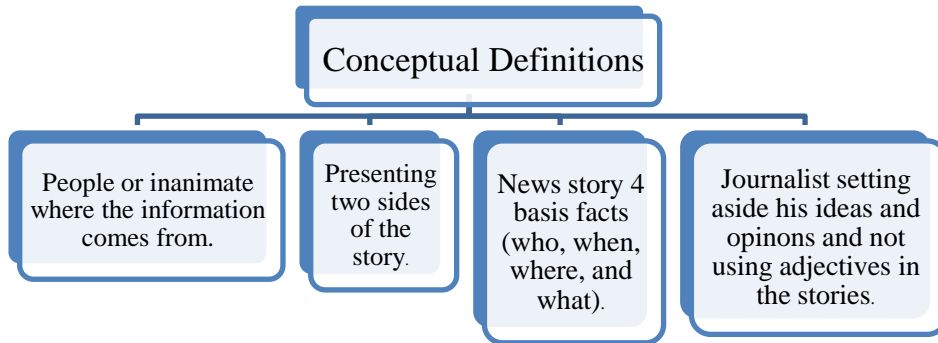
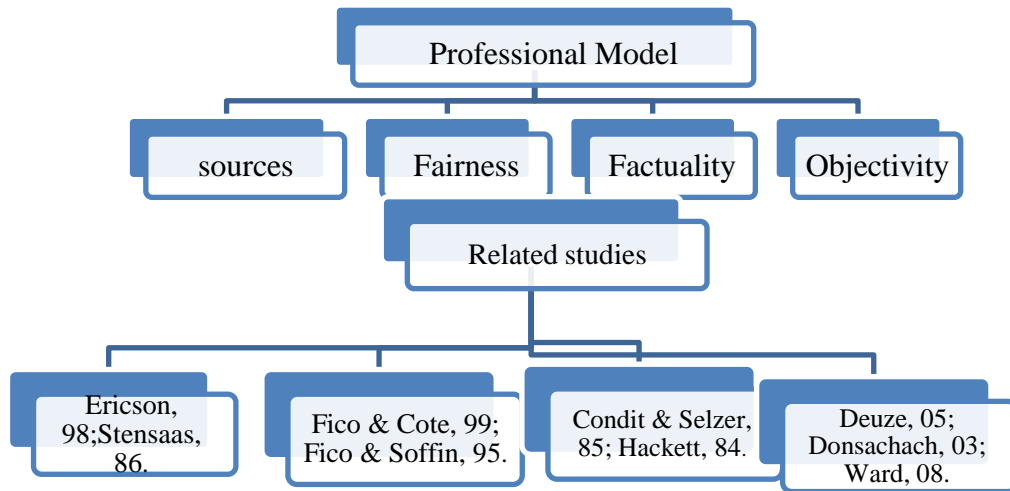
Finally, factuality is a very important professional standard. The professional news is a "factual presentation" of events deemed newsworthy (Condit & Selzer, 1985; Hackett, 1984). Factuality should be based on facts, which are phenomena that can be observed and demonstrated as the basis of the story. If the Who, What, When, and Where are present before the story provides an interpretation of these facts, then the story is more fact-based. However, because Why and How concepts are often interpretive and provided by sources, they would not be coded in the story. The other four elements describe everything basic and important to readers of a news story. The who question defines who are the people involved? What defines as what happened or happens? Where means where did/does this event take place? When defines as when in time did/does this take place? Factuality was measured by examining the extent to which the facts (Who, what, when, and where) are present before the opinions in the news story. To measure this variable: 0 = opinion present before any

facts (who, what, when, where) presented; 1 = opinion presented before all facts presented; and 2 = all facts presented BEFORE an opinion was presented. Opinion is a viewpoint, statement, or judgment about a matter/event normally regarded to be subjective because opinion rests on grounds not enough to produce absolute certainty, and opinion is the result of interpretation of facts or emotion. Frequencies and percentages were used to interpret the data. This way the higher measures reflected greater factuality, or that the basic facts were present before opinions, which should reflect that the story was fact-based.

This way, the researcher developed an index to measure the professionalism model that was aggregated from the values allocated to the criterion variables of professionalism where each dimension of professionalism has its own values. The highest value meant that the story reflected more professional values and vice versa. So, each story was coded based on the aforementioned four measures of professionalism: objectivity, fairness, factuality, and finally, the use of sources. The index of professionalism ranged from 0 points, corresponding to a lowest level of professionalism, to 8 points, corresponding to the highest level of professionalism. After presenting all of the variables related to professionalism in journalism, the researcher would be able to judge the degree to which the news story reflects the elements of the professionalism values.

To explain in more details, let us say, hypothetically, that coding of a news story showed these values: 2 on the objectivity measure, 1 on fairness, 2 on factuality, and 2 on the use of sources. In this case, all values were summed up and this yielded 7 points on the index [0-8]. The point of 7 could be explained in this way: a 7

reflected a story that included a high level of professionalism. The same analysis was done for both AJA and AJE. (See figure 1 on page 122 for a depiction of the elements of this model.)



The market values. This is the second concept in this study. This concept was derived from the media economics literature. Under the marketing journalism model, most news organizations around the world are "commercial entities" and their primary function is to make profits for owners (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; Gade, 2011; McCann, 2009, Picard, 2005, p. 337). However, the conflict between professional and commercial goals of the news organizations has threatened the public service mission because public interests are not the priority in the business pressured environment (Beam & Meeks, 2011). So, news organizations offer the audience content and news stories that "match the audience interests and potential interests" (Dennis & Merrill, 2006, p. 115). In addition, according to the marketing model the news organizations automatically produce entertainment-oriented information at the expense of serious news (Lacy & Sohn, 2011, p. 159) and the content does not respond to broad social or political needs but focuses more on the individuals' desires (Beam, 1996, p. 287). In general, in the marketing model journalists are giving readers the content they want, not necessarily the content which they may need to be well-informed citizens in a democratic setting (Beam & Meeks, 2011, p. 236). Also, journalists in this model tend to produce cheap content for their readers, which means that the news organization puts few resources and efforts to gather the data of the content.

The literature introduced many important concepts that defined the main characteristics of the marketing approach to news production. The foundational marketing values (that is, public sphere content and private sphere content, hard news and soft news, resource commitments, and sourcing usage) had been discussed in the

literature, which, as well, had defined the conditions under which, or the situations when, the news coverage adopts marketing norms. Thus, to test the marketing model this study used four measures that had been obtained from the literature. These measures are public sphere and private sphere (e.g., Beam, 1993, 1996, 2003); hard news and soft news (e.g., Bennett, 2004; Mott, 1952; Reinemann et al., 2011; Patterson, 2000); resource commitments (e.g., (Bennett, 2004; McManus, 1994; Picard, 2005), and sourcing usage (e.g., Demers, 1996; Hermida, et al., 2011; Lowrey & Gade, 2011; Singer, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). The next paragraphs explain in detail how these concepts were conceptually defined and tested in the current study.

Wants and needs. A greater number of new media outlets and increased competition are forcing news organizations to try and provide gratification opportunities for their audience members (Beam, 2003; Dimmick et al., 2011; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). The Internet gratifies audiences through opportunities for interaction and control over the place and time of news consumption (Dimmick et al., 2011).

The market value concept has this main construct "wants and needs" content and this construct has two categories, private sphere and public sphere content (Beam, 1993; Beam 1996; Beam, 2003; Dennis & Merrill, 2006; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Beam (1996) defines the market-driven model as "the degree to which achieving organizational goals consists of determining the needs and wants of target markets and delivering the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than competitors" (p. 289). Also, in a very competitive media marketplace, the audience has many choices for content. Thus, news media can no longer expect the audience to simply come to them. In fact, news organizations are trying to provide audiences with

additional gratification opportunities, which can be technical devices (e.g., mobile apps), or even things like comment places and ways to interact with content and journalists. However, these gratifications also extend to forms of content – e.g., giving people information they want, more than what they need (Dimmick et al., 2011). Wants and needs have two main categories to measure: the public sphere content and the private sphere content. Public sphere is the arena or a place where citizens come together as equals, to exchange freely their opinions regarding common problems and public affairs, discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion on important issues (Habermas, 1989). So, public sphere content is about topics and issues that are bringing the common interest to the public. In general, the public sphere content impacts the general public, society, and the quality of life. This study adopted Habermas's concept of public sphere and narrowed Beam's (2003) operational definition of private sphere content. But, as Beam (2003) notes below, not all stories, for example, of business and economics are public sphere. Content about personal (or private) financing are defined under private sphere as coping. Beam's definition was narrowed by considering those topics and issues that have a common interest for the public as public sphere content. Meanwhile, those topics did not focus on common interest of the public, were considered as private sphere content. Therefore, in this model the "wants content" usually focuses on private sphere topics, and in this case it most likely represents marketing model values. On the other hand, the "needs content" pays attention to the public sphere topics and represents a non-marketing model. For example, news stories about education, government, diplomacy, health care policy, and environment fall under public sphere content. The

private sphere content is an indicator of employing the marketing model because its focus goes into the "values of consumerism" in news production (Hantizsch, 2007, p. 375) by minimizing reporting about public affairs and expanding reporting about the private sphere to satisfy the desires of individuals (Beam, 2003; Hamilton, 2004; Hanitzsch, 2007). The private sphere contents reflect marketing values in news production because private sphere contents are not aimed at bringing citizens together to discuss their common interests. Also, private sphere content didn't identify what is important nor prioritize societal problems in ways they can be addressed; however, they only focus on personal issues that don't impact the public nor the quality of the public life.

Here is the definition of content, the public sphere content, the private sphere content, and how to measure them:

Content. It refers to the news story, which published in both AJE and AJA. Two nominal categories were used here. The first variable was the public sphere content and it was coded as 0. The second variable was the private sphere content, which was coded as 1.

Content for the public sphere. Public sphere content is about topics and issues that have a common interest of the public. Generally, these topics/issues impact the general public, the society, and quality of life. This included information about diplomacy, government and politics, military affairs, law enforcement, health care policy, education, social services, land use, transportation, the environment, business, commerce, economic development, labor, economic trends, economic conditions, trade, and social protests or activism (Beam, 2003, p. 376). For example, if a news

story is about the personal life of an ambassador or secretary and how he spends his time in travelling, playing basketball, hiking, etc., this type of content would not be considered as public sphere content but was coded as private sphere content because this kind of content does not impact general public or the society. However, a news story about the Obama administration position about the Russian intervention in Eastern Ukraine was coded as public sphere content. Another example, in Oklahoma, a strong tornado killed 24 people and injured more than 350 was coded as a tragic event and was considered as public sphere content. Also, news stories about the missing Malaysian flight were coded as public sphere content. If a news story about how a CEO of one corporation was spending his/her time with his/her kids, or how doing shopping in malls or how gathering some antiques while travelling around the world; this type of content was not considered as public sphere content but was coded as private sphere content because this kind of content did not impact the general public or the society. However, a news story about job market and trade with foreign countries was coded as public sphere content.

Content for the private sphere: This was defined as information about personal development, family life, personal consumerism, personal technology, personal recreation, personal health care, travel and housing, and vehicle care (Beam, 2003, p. 377). This variable was coded as 1. Generally, these topics/issues don't impact the general public, the society, and quality of public life.

News stories that were coded as 1 would be used as indicator of employing the marketing values. To answer questions 2 a and b the frequencies and percentages of each variable were used. If the total number of the frequencies and the percent of the

private sphere content were higher than the total number of the frequencies and the percent of the public sphere content, then coder could interpret this result in this way; the news organization, in this case AJ, tended to reflect more marketing values in its content.

Soft news and hard news. This study adopted Patterson's definition of hard news and soft news:

Hard news refers to coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster. Information about these events is presumably important to citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs (...). Soft news (...) has been described (...) as news that typically is more personality-centered, less time-bound, more practical, and more incident based than other news (...). Finally, soft news has been described as a change in the vocabulary of news. The news is said to have become more personal and familiar in its form of presentation and less distant and institutional (Patterson, 2000, pp. 3-4).

This study used a topic variable to measure the hard news and soft news concept. So, stories that help citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs and at the same time are not-focused on personality, entertainment, or human element were coded as 0 hard news (e.g., natural disasters, international relations, disputes, strikes, health epidemics, etc.), while stories about personality-centered events were coded as 1 soft news. Soft news according to Patterson (2000) has little to do with public affairs and is selected for its capacity to shock or entertain,

and can distort people's perceptions of reality. Generally speaking, hard news has a democratic mission to serve the public interests through providing the citizens with the information they need to be good citizens (Bennett, 2004; Patterson, 2000). On the other hand, soft news in this study was used as one indicator of the marketing model because it contains some marketing values; especially attracting more audience to make more money by focusing more on human element (interesting people, social trends and fads, etc...) (Mott, 1952; Reinemann et al., 2011). The more a news organization is reporting soft news, the more it reflects the marketing values because it doesn't contribute to deepening the true understanding of the citizens to their public life. The frequencies and the percentages of hard news and soft news variable were determined and were also used to answer questions 2a and b. If the frequencies and percentages of the soft news were higher than those of hard news, then this means that marketing values were most apparent in the story.

Resource commitments. Several studies discussed the marketing model as providing "cheap" content, or content that takes few organizational resources to create (Bennett, 2004; McManus, 1994; Picard, 2005). Resource commitments refer to the particular human, technical, and financial efforts and time the news organization puts to produce its content. Effron (1996) established a rubric to guide reporters about when and under what conditions they can produce stories of specific lengths and complexity based on the news organization's resource commitment. The length, the complexity, and the number of stories that could be produced in a week depended on different measures, including the amount of hours the reporters spent gathering or traveling to collect the data (9 hours, 18 hours, etc.), where the data

come from (e.g., press release, meeting, police case, cooperative sources/uncooperative sources, etc.), how many phone calls the reporters made to gather the data, and the amount of limited or extensive research spent on the story. However, this study borrowed and adjusted Effron's (1996) rubric to capture the manifest resources in media content. It would be impossible to figure out, in a content analysis study, how many call phones reporters made for gathering the data, or to know how many miles they traveled or how many hours they spent to get the information of the news story. Simply, this study measured resource commitments by designing four measures by expanding Effron's (1996) notion of media commitment in producing stories. These four measures were the length of news story, the number of the news organization's reporters in the byline, the number of interviewed people in the news story, and the elements of multimedia in the story. News organizations have been forced into producing cheap content as a result of diminishing resources. Most legacy media, and under the weak economy and the loss of revenues, have been forced to cut their staff, content, and budgets (State of the News Media, 2011). For example, traditional media have faced huge financial struggles which caused many newspapers to be unable to make payments on existing debts, forced to cutback the number of their journalists and throw out much of their most valuable contents at the quality of news content by paying little attention to government coverage (Bakker, 2011a, Fiedler, 1998; Jones, 2009; Lacy, Martin & Hugh, 2004; Mutter, 2008; NOLA, 2012; State of the News Media, 2011; Rubinkam, 2006). To measure resource commitments, this study established four variables (Story length, number of

journalists in the byline, the number of interviewed sources, and the use elements of multimedia in the story).

The first one was the story length and it refers to the extent to which the news organization produces a specific size of content. Short stories, because they lack the space/length allotment to provide depth, complexity and context, do not require the same effort – or resource commitment – by the news organization to produce them as they do to produce large stories or medium ones. These stories can be produced more quickly, generally cost less to produce, and often do not attempt to provide depth and context that journalism norms suggest. Meanwhile, large stories require more efforts and resources to produce them and they generally cost more to produce and provide depth context. This variable was measured by using three nominal categories: short, medium, and large size. This study adopted Cissel's (2012, p. 71) measurement of story length. News story that has less than 400 words was coded as 2 and this means it was less likely to cost news organization a lot to produce. News story with words over 401-800 was medium and was coded as 1. News story with over 800 words was considered as a large size and was coded as 0. The shorter the news story generally means that fewer resources were used to create it; accordingly, shorter stories reflected the marketing model. The frequencies and percentages of the length of all stories were used as an indicator to test whether or not the AJA and AJE produce cheap contents. If AJ published more short stories this means the stories reflected the marketing values of producing cheap content and the opposite was true, and the longer the story, it is assumed the more resources were required to produce it.

The second variable was the authorship of the story, which refers to the name of the author/s of the published news story. To measure authorship as a resource commitment, it is operationalized as the degree to which the news organization puts its OWN human resources (e.g., staff/journalists/correspondents) to create the news story. When a news organization commits multiple reporters to a story, then this means that the organization deems the story important enough to dedicate additional resources to get it. To measure this variable, a news story that was not created by Al Jazeera (e.g., Agency France Press (AFP)) was coded as 2, which means that Al Jazeera did not put a lot of its resources to create this story. A news story that was created by a single name of Al Jazeera's staff and/or combined with another news agency name (e.g., Al Jazeera or Jazeera and AFP) was coded as 1, and this means that Al Jazeera dedicated some of its human resources to get this story. Finally, if the news story used multiple authors belonging to Al Jazeera then it was coded as 0, and this means that Al Jazeera put a lot of its human resources to get this story. The frequencies and percentages of the number of story's author/s were used to examine whether or not AJ produces cheap contents. The fewer Al Jazeera's journalists in the byline in the news story, the more the news organization tended to produce cheap content and then employed the marketing values in the production of the news.

The third variable was the interviewed sources. It refers to the people who had been exclusively given a news organization a special interview or statement in the media content. This variable is operationalized as the degree to which the news organization puts its OWN resources to create the news story through interviewing people in the news content. When a news organization commits to reach more people

to include different perspectives in the story, then this means that the stories take additional time from reporters. Reporters have to contact sources, often needing to make appointments for interviews or adjust their work to fit the schedules of the sources. Interviewing also takes time, as does trying to synthesize the information gleaned from multiple sources into creating the story. Accordingly, stories with multiple interviewed sources reflect a greater investment of time on the part of the organization in the production of the story. To measure this variable, a news story that was not created by Al Jazeera (e.g., AFP) was coded as 2 even it has sources interviewed by media other than Al Jazeera because Al Jazeera did not put any of its resources to interview people in the story. A news story that interviewed a single source by Al Jazeera staff and/or combined with another news agency name (e.g., Al Jazeera or Al Jazeera and AFP) was coded as 1, and this means that Al Jazeera dedicated some of its resources to get this story. Finally, if the news story included interviews done by AJ journalists with multiple sources, then this story required a significant resource allotment by AJ, coming closest to fitting the professional, not marketing model. Accordingly, such stories were coded as 0, as they do not reflect a marketing approach.

The frequencies and percentages of the number of the interviewed sources in all stories were used to examine whether or not AJ produced cheap content. The fewer interviewed sources in the news story, the more the news organization tended to produce cheap content and then employed the marketing values in the production of the news.

The last variable under the resource commitments was using elements of multimedia in the news story. Was the article combined with a video, graphic, photo, charts, etc.? All of these elements would reflect additional resource commitments, because somebody in the news organization has to spend time to produce them and these people have to be paid. Video and still photography are now often captured by the same tool (a DSL camera or even a phone), but graphics and charts may involve a greater investment of resources. So, this variable was measured in this way: 2 = photo or video AND graphic or chart used in the story; 1 = photo or video OR graphic or chart; and the story was coded as 0 = no visual or informational elements used in the story. In this variable, if other media organizations other than AJ produced these multimedia elements, they were recorded as 0. In general, the less resources the news organization puts in news gathering the more the news story reflects the marketing values, which means less pay and less time was spent to produce the story.

Sourcing usage. The decline in the use of official sources or public sphere sources in the news stories is a sign of employing the marketing model in news production. This market-based system tends to keep government away from the news production process, and reduces the potential for official propagandizing (Meyer, 1987). Moreover, in the postmodern era, journalists do not rely much on official sources in news production as a result of the change in the traditional newsroom culture (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Today, the digital age gives the audience unlimited choices in platform and content and enables them to replace traditional sources of news with those that fit to their tastes and confirm their beliefs (Gade & Lowrey, 2011; Hermida, et al., 2011; Singer, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). The marketing model is

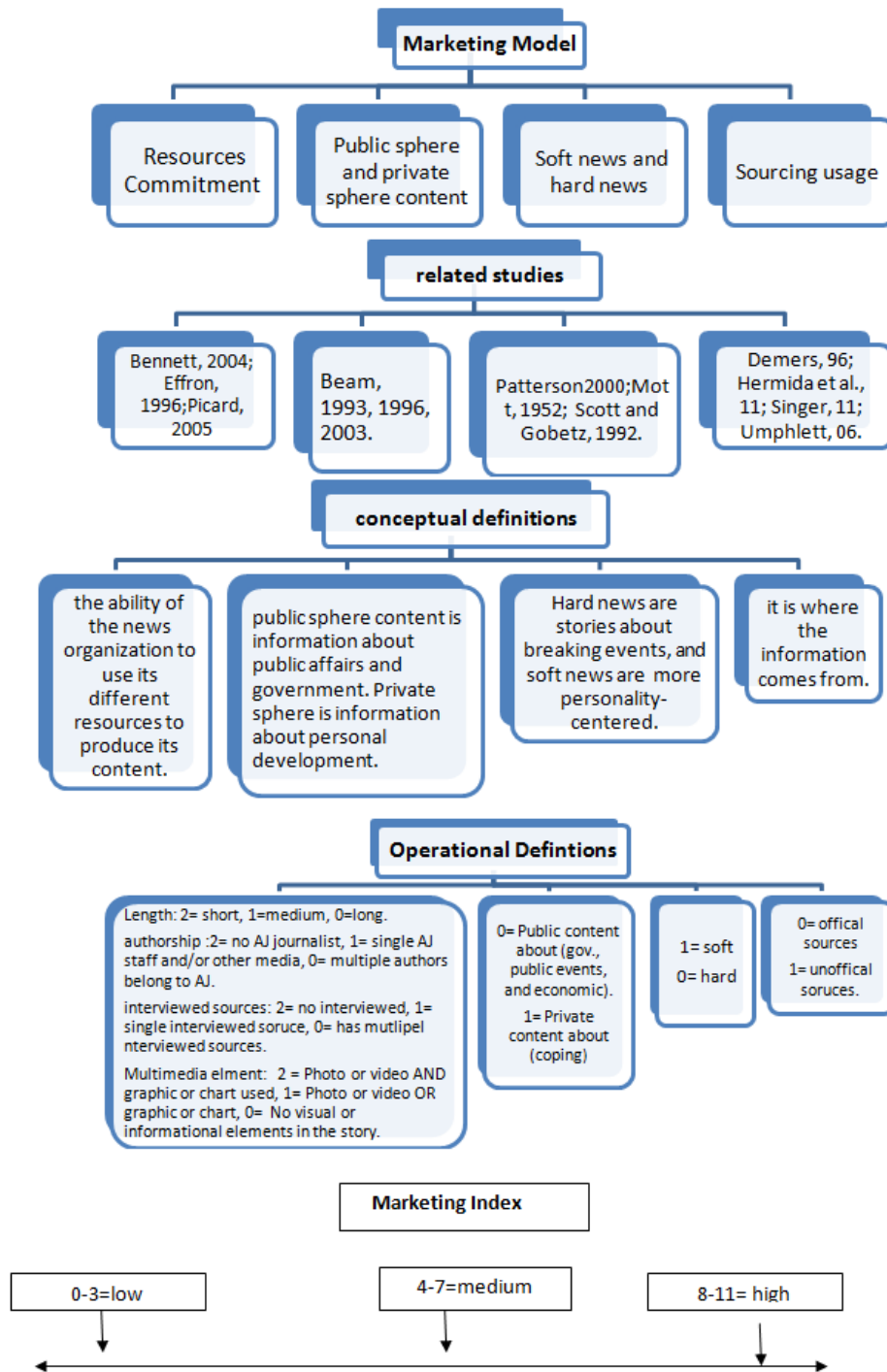
the result of the change in the newsroom culture that has been imposed by postmodern forces, new technologies, and competition. Therefore, the transition from the traditional model to the marketing model has impacted professionalism values and practices including the limited reliance of journalists on official/public sphere sources.

This study adopted Carpenter (2008) who defines official sources as people who speak on behalf of an organization. The official category includes public sphere sources (or government elected or appointed and business people (e.g., prosecuting attorneys, institutional representatives, police, CEO, business managers, NGOs, etc). Public sphere sources have the power and control the information that can affect people's lives. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argue that "news is about the powerful," (p. 56) and reflects in the selection of sources, by relying on officials and other wealthy, corporate, and bureaucratic elites. These people have the power to "set the rules and exert greater control over the information" (p. 124). Because of the power they have, these people have important things to say (Paletz & Entman, 1981) which "affects people's lives" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 185). Meanwhile, these people who speak freely on their own behalves and are not likely speaking on behalf of an organization will be categorized as non-official sources or private sphere sources (Carpenter, 2008). The unofficial source categories include for example average people, museum visitors, movie goers, witnesses, etc. This study used public sphere sources (e.g., officials) and private sphere sources (e.g., non-officials) to measure the marketing values. When NGOs talking about public issues and when they definitely engage in the public affairs they were coded as public sphere sources because they

advocate to the public interests and issues. For example, Greenpeace is an environmental NGO and focuses its campaigning on worldwide issues such as deforestation, overfishing, climate change, commercial whaling, and anti-nuclear issues. It uses direct action, lobbying, and research to achieve its goals. If the spokesperson of any representative of this NGO talks about such public affairs issues then he/she coded as public sphere source. Another example, a news story about the Argentine footballer, Lionel Messi [plays as a forward for Spanish club FC Barcelona] who serves as UNICEF Global Goodwill Ambassador to help improve the lives of children and women around the world, by creating public awareness of children's issues and helping to mobilize resources, would be coded as public sphere sources not as private one. But, if a news story about Messi features him celebrating his girlfriend's birthday, then this would be considered as private sphere source. Each source mentioned in the story was counted and the most frequent category was taken as indicator of whether or not the content reflected marketing value. For example, if the frequencies of public sphere sources, and private sphere sources in a news story were 1, and 3, respectively, then this story was coded as 1, which refers to dominance of private sphere sources and to that this news story satisfied a marketing model criterion, namely, using non-official sources. However, in some cases, the private and powerful people would not be coded as public sphere sources when they were speaking on private sphere issues. Because they were not contributing to the public sphere, which reflected content that served people wants more than needs, and thus it was coded as private sphere sources. The fine line to decide which source would be coded as private or public sphere source was depending on when the source talked on

issues contributed to the public sphere and impacted on the public interests and their life or not. For instance, Mark Zuckerberg, the Facebook founder, was coded as public sphere source when he spoke about his donating of \$120 million to support the San Francisco Bay Area's public school system. But, Zuckerberg was coded as a private sphere source when the news story talked about his fancy cars and big boats.

Using these four concepts (public and private sphere content, hard and soft news, resources commitment, and sourcing usage) that were related to the marketing model, the researcher developed an index to measure marketing values in media content. The index of marketing was calculated from the values of the measured marketing variables.. High scores in private sphere content, soft news, and non-official sourcing usage variables mean that the story reflects the marketing model while low scores mean that the news story did not reflect the marketing value. Accordingly, the marketing index had a total score ranging from 0 point (the total number of the lowest points in all dimensions) to 11 points (the total number of the highest points in all dimensions). As an example, let us assume that a news story did hypothetically receive the following codes: 1 for the private sphere content, 1 for the soft news, 1 for unofficial sources, 2 to indicate the story is short, 1 for the authors in the byline, 1 for the interviewed sources, and 0 for using multimedia elements. In this case, when all points were summed up they count 7 points on the market index [0-11]. This total score implied that the news story reflected some of the marketing values, but was lacking on others (See Figure 2, p. 138).



Culture values. The culture values construct the third model in this study. It refers to sets of traditions, values, and way of life of a specific society, which are different from those of other societies or cultures (Scollon & Scollon, 1995). In this

viewpoint, news is a cultural product that is produced by journalists who believe in values that are specific to their culture. In this approach, Peterson (1979) argued that the cultural model in news production is important and that it indicates the effects of the journalists' cultural background on selection, collection, and reporting of news (Peterson, 1979, p. 119). Culture values are subsumed other influences on news, as they are the most macro level in the 'Ideology' hierarchical model of Shoemaker and Rees (1996). The media transmission of ideology works as it does by drawing on familiar cultural themes that resonate with audiences (Shoemaker & Rees, 1996, p. 222). The identity, or feeling of belonging to community, attribute is one of many important cultural values. The cultural identity includes in-group or "we" and out-of-group or "they" categories. These two concepts were derived from sociology, sense of community studies, and the ethnic and cultural communication literature (e.g., Garyantes, 2006; Gans, 1979; Ting-Toomey, et al., 2000; Feghali, 1997; Hofstede, 1991; Kalliny & Gentry, 2007; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Mokros, 1996). To link the concepts of in-group and out-of-group membership to the cultural model, it should be underscored that a news agency like Al Jazeera has journalists and reporters from different cultural backgrounds and they communicate with two different audiences. For example, most staff and journalists of the AJA are Arab Muslims who received degrees in Journalism from Arab schools. Meanwhile, most staff, editors, and reporters of the AJE are Europeans and Americans who earned their degrees from journalism schools in the West. These differences in the backgrounds of the staff and reporters of Al Jazeera can impact the shaping of the news content. Thus, because reporters reflect different backgrounds, professional training and

cultural experiences, one can expect that the content will reflect these differences (which means the content reflects their cultural – not just geographic – differences). Hence, one can expect that the AJA will have news content different from AJE, and it will pay more attention to Arab issues, values, topics, sources, and region than the AJE.

The news story would be considered as using a culture model if it paid attention to the in-group characteristics, especially if the news story which was published in the AJA and AJE focused primarily more on the Arabic sources, Arabic topics, Arabic geographic area, use more culturally aware language, and focused on Arabic interests at the expenses of others who belong to non-Arab region, use more Arab sources, and use culturally aware Arab language in the news story.

To test the cultural values model this study borrowed some and added other measures from Foote and Gade (2006) after due revising that aimed at adjusting the statements such that they will fit with the main purpose of the study. Sourcing identity and story focus were borrowed from Foote and Gade, and culturally aware language was added. Specifically, the in-group and out-of-group concepts were measured by using four dimensions: geographic focus by region/continent, story focus, source attribution, and culturally aware words. Gender presence was another important concept in this model. To explain, if most news stories in both AJE and AJA focus primarily on the Arabic region, sources, interests, and culturally aware words then it was considered as reflecting the cultural values in news production. Further details on these dimensions follow.

Story geographic focus by region/continent. Geographic focus refers to the geographic region/continent on which the story focuses. To identify geographic focus for region and country, coders read the story in this order a) title, b) main, c) lead paragraph. These regions included eight nominal categories, then they regrouped into two main cultural regions: 1) Arab countries such as Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Qatar, Palestine (including Gaza Strip and West Bank but not Israel), Kuwait, etc. 2) Non-Arab Middle Eastern countries include Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. 3) Other parts of Asia refer to Asian countries or regions out of the Middle East, such as: China, Japan, Philippines, etc. 4) The U.S.A 5) Other parts of America refer to American countries or regions out of U.S (North and South America), such as: Mexico, Canada, Columbia, Argentina, Brazil, etc. 6) Europe refers to all countries and region in Europe, such as Britain, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, etc. 7) Africa refers to all countries and region in Africa such as: Nigeria, Congo, Senegal, etc. 8) Australia and New Zealand refers to all countries and region in Australia and New Zealand. If the news story did not mention any of the above eight categories it will be coded “not mentioned.” Also, the above regions were regrouped into two cultural regions categories by adopting and adjusting Abudl-Mageed and Herring' (2008) method through classifying these regions into two cultural region groups: Arab region, and non-Arab countries. Thus, if the focus of the news story was primary on category "the Arab countries" which would be coded as 1, then this means the media content of AJ reflected cultural values and the opposite was true. For example, if the news story in both AJE and AJA paid more attention to the non- Arab region, which would be coded as 0 then this means that media content of

AJ did not reflect the cultural values. What deserves to be noted, and in line with the logic of in group and out group concept, is that despite the fact that all Arab countries are Muslim countries, not all non-Arab Muslim countries are Arab. Only 20% of the Muslim population is Arab (Pew Research Center, 2009). For example, Iran is a Muslim country and it belongs to Persian ethnicity not to Arabic ethnicity. Indonesia, Turkey, Pakistan, Mali, etc. also share with Arab countries Islamic principles but do not share the same Arab cultural norms and values. So, in this analysis, all non-Arab Muslim countries were coded as non-Arab.

Story focus. Story focus refers to whether or not the news story presents the Arab world interests. This study borrowed Foote and Gade (2006)'s method with little adjustment to serve the goal of the study. Five categories were designed to measure this variable and were coded in this way: 4) Arabs domestic: Story about any of Arabs events, people, policies, interests in which any of Arab/Muslim countries appears in the headline, or lead, or text and no other countries are mentioned in the story. 3) International-Arab primary: Story about non-Arabic events, people, policies, and interests in which the Arabic region (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) appear first in the headline, or lead or text. 2) International-Arab secondary: Story about non-Arab events, people, policies, interests in which the Arab (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) appear in the title, headline, or intro, but reference to Arab is not the first country present in these elements. 1) International-Arab tertiary: Story about non-Arab events, people, policies, interests in which the Arab (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) does not appear in the headline, or lead or text, but reference to Arab is in the body of the story. And

0) International –No Arab involvement: Story about non-Arab events, people, and policies, interests in which there are no references to Arab or Arab sources in the story. Thus, if the news story in AJA paid attention primary to Arabic events, interests, and policies this means that it adopted a cultural model. And, if the news story in the AJE paid attention to international-non Arab involvement, then it did not reflect Arab cultural values.

Source. Source refers to all people and inanimate sources used in the news story, directly or indirectly quoted in the title, headline, intro, and text of the stories. Sources include those who are paraphrased and those who provide actualities. Sources are identified by attributions that include the words said, say, told, informed, announced, urged, etc. In other words, the sources must have a speaking part in the story (Foote & Gade, 2006). This variable was operationalized as the extent to which the sourcing was Arab-based or not. This variable was measured in this way: The news story was coded as 0 = no Arab sources (people or inanimate); 1 = Arab and non-Arab sources; and coded as 2 = Arab sources only (people or inanimate).

Frequencies and percentages were used to determine whether or not the news story has cultural values or not. If the news story cited more Arab sources and inanimate sources belong to Arab, then this story was considered as containing cultural values. Here is more detail on these categories:

Arab sources. This category refers to people who are belonging to Arab identity or belong to groups live in the Arab countries. This category comprised all Arab people quoted, paraphrased or attributed in the story regardless of their positions, occupations, gender, etc. This might include, for example, officials, experts, witness,

victims, activists, religious leaders, citizens, students, etc. Copts in Egypt, Tamazight in North Africa, Kurds in Iraq and Syrian, Maronites in Lebanon, Chechens, Circassians, and Druze in Jordan, and the Jews of Morocco and Yemen all belong to this category.

Non-Arab sources. The category refers to people who are belonging to non-Arab countries (e.g., U.S., U.K, German, Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Albania, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uganda, Bangladesh, Comoros, Gambia, Guinea, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mali, Japan, Canada, Russia, South Africa, Peru, New Zealand, Australia, South Korea, France, etc.). This category is comprised all non-Arab people who are quoted, paraphrased or attributed in the story. This category might include, for example, officials, experts, witness, victims, activists, religious leaders, citizens, students, etc.

Inanimate Arab sources. These non-human sources are reports, documents, writings and other produced materials that are created by Arab sources (e.g., reports, press release, etc.). This should also include web, YouTube, Facebook, banners, and other sources.

Inanimate non -Arab sources. These non- human sources are reports, documents, writings and other produced materials that are created by non-Arab sources (e.g., U.N. reports, press release, etc.). This should also include web, YouTube, Facebook and other sources.

For example, the frequency of each source type was recorded first, which was used to code the dominant source in news story. If two different types of sources had equal frequencies, then the first mentioned would consider as the dominant source. In

short, if both AJE and AJA cited more Arab sources in the news stories than non-Arab sources, then coder could say that the cultural values are prevalent in the news story. If the news story, in both AJA and AJE, focused more on Arab sources, Arabic geographic regions, and Arab interests "in group" than other categories "out group", then this story would be defined as reflecting the cultural values in news production.

Culturally aware words. These are references to special events, places, names, or persons in the culture in which news organization is based (Barkho, 2006). Expanding on what Barkho did, this study developed two lists that included some examples of culturally sensitive words that have prevailed in the Arab/Islamic culture. This variable was measured in this way: 0 = no examples of culturally aware language, 1 = uses culturally aware Arab and non-Arab language, and 2 = culturally-aware Arab language. Frequencies and percentages were calculated and analyzed to examine if AJ used culturally sensitive language or not (See Table 3 below).

Table 3. Culturally Aware Words

Culturally Aware words	In group "Arab"	Out group "Non-Arab"
Religious	Martyr, Jihad, Ramadan Holy Quran	Infidels, secularists, Kuffaar
Places	Occupied Palestine, Madina, Mecca, Qudes	The West
Persons	Prophet Mohamad peace be upon him	Jesus
War/conflict event	resistance movements	Zionist, occupiers, Crusaders, imperialists,
Politics	Islamic conquests (e.g., Istanbul, Andules " Spain"; Islam is a religion o peace and moderation.	Westerners, capitalis the free, democratic, civilized west, materialists, liberals

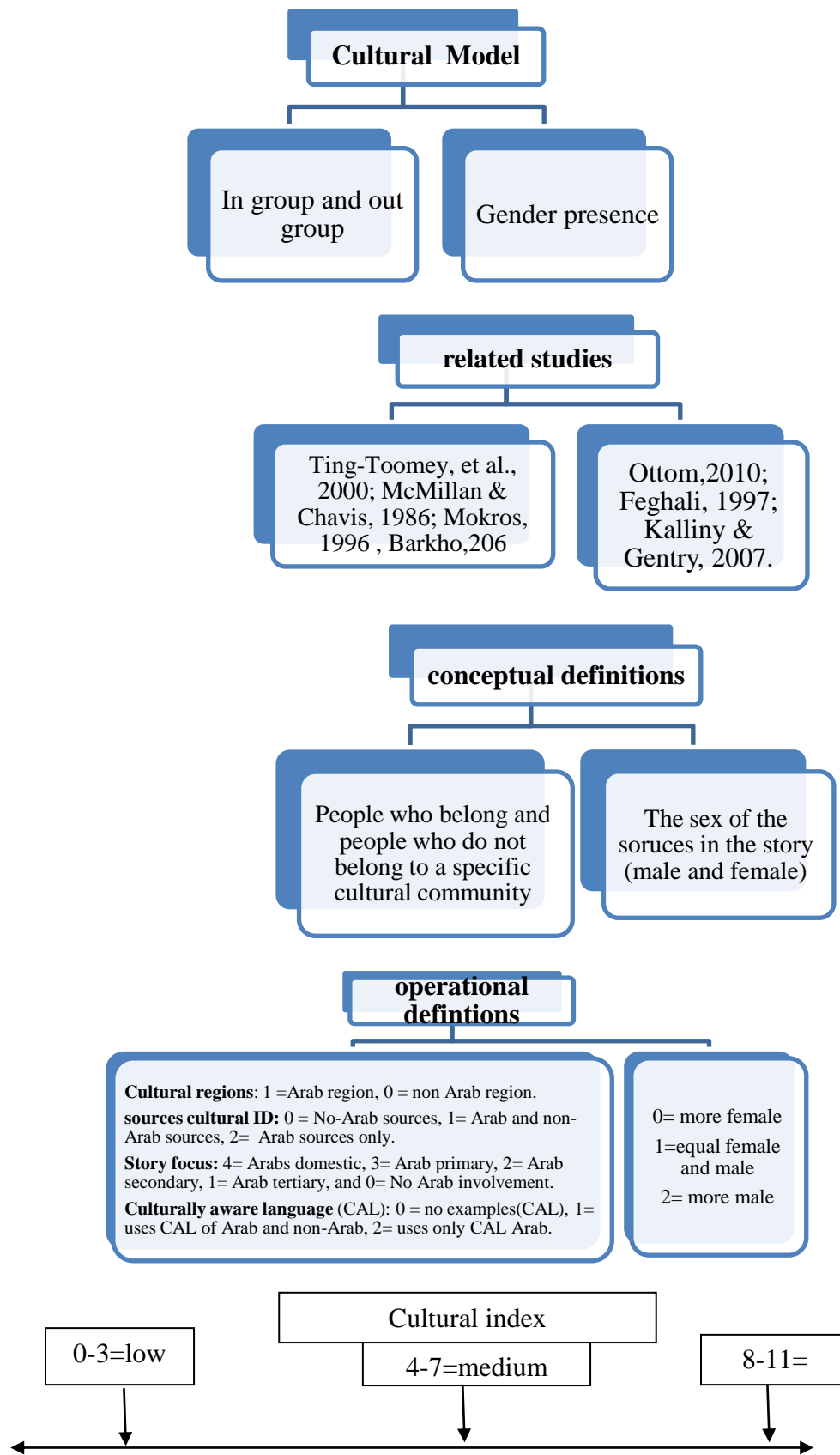
Gender presence. The fact is that the Arab society is a male-dominated society (Feghali, 1997), and women in the society are directed by Koran teachings to cover up when they go out of their houses (Kalliny & Gentry, 2007, p. 18). This study followed Carpenter's (2008) method that determined the sex of the source by first identifying whether the first name appears to be male or female. Furthermore, this method considered use of pronouns such as 'he' or 'she' to help identify source's gender. This variable was measured in this way 0 = more women sources; 1 = equal number of male/female sources; and 2 = more male sources. If the news stories had more male than female sources, based on the frequencies and the percentages of each,

the media coverage was considered as adopting Arab cultural values. It was expected both media would have a majority of male sources; however, because of the cultural differences (females in less visible role outside the family in the Arab world) the study expected fewer women as sources in AJA than AJE.

These concepts (cultural identity "in-group and out-of-group" concepts, and gender sourcing presence) were used to develop an index to measure the cultural values in the content to help the researcher to determine if the news story did or did not meet cultural values in the production of news. The index of cultural values was derived by summing the scores allocated to each measured variable of the cultural model. Total scores were calculated and assessed. A high score means that the story corresponds with Arab culture values, and a low score means that the story does not broadly reflect Arab culture. The total score of the cultural index ranges from 0 to 11 points that were derived in this way: the in-group and out-of-group dimension has four main variables. The first variable was region of coverage, which comprises two points: Arabic region which was coded as 1, and non-Arab region which was coded as 0. The second variable of the in-group and out-of-group dimension was the story focus. This variable had five points, ranging from 0 to 4. A score of 0 means that the news story did not pay attention to the Arab events and interests while the score of 4 means that the news story paid high attention to the Arab countries, policies, and interests. The third variable in the in-group and out-of-group dimension was the source identity which has three: 0 = no Arab sources (people or inanimate), 1 = Arab and non-Arab sources, and 2 = Arab sources only (people or inanimate). The culturally aware language has three dimensions, and this variable was measured in this way: 0 =

no examples of culturally aware language, 1 = uses culturally aware Arab and non-Arab language, and 2 = culturally-aware Arab. Finally, in the gender sourcing presence variable was coded in this way: 0 = more women sources in news stories, 1 = equal number of male/female sources, and 2 = more male sources in the story.

As an example, assume that a news story was coded as follows: 0 as it focused on the non-Arab region, 1 as it paid tertiary to the Arab policies and interests, 0 as non Arab human sources, 0 as the story cited more female sources, and 0 as the story did not present any cultural sensitive words. In this case, these points sum up (0+1+0+0+0) to a total of 1 point which means that this news story reflects little of the cultural values in news production in the index of [0-11] (See figure 3 on page 148).



Finally, non-parametric statistics were used to test the three foregoing models and to answer the research questions and the hypotheses. In particular, the Chi-square test was used to test for any differences between the contents of the AJE and AJA in the use of these three models in their daily coverage. The Chi-square test was used to answer questions 1c, 2c, 3c, and 4c. Also, the same test was used to test hypotheses in the cultural model. The level of significance was set at $p > .05$. However, according to the methodological scholars, the level at which a variable is measured determines what types of statistical procedure can be used because each procedure assumes a level of measurements. Procedures that assume interval or ratio levels are called parametric procedures, which require a certain population distribution to describe more precisely the population parameters with sample statistics. Nominal and ordinal measures make no such assumption about the population distribution (Riffe, et al., 2005, p. 85). Content analysis data "are often not normally distributed" (dispersion of scores) within a population and this violates the main assumption of using sophisticated statistical analysis (Riffe, et al., 2005, p. 201). Because each of the models includes multiple measures at the nominal level (non-parametric level), which has no basis in mathematics or assumptions of normal distribution, the researcher is limited to testing the models using non-parametric statistics.

Although ordinal scales use numbers in much the same way interval or ratio scales do, an ordinal scale does not meet the mathematical assumption of the higher levels (Riffe et al., 2005, p.179). The safe solution to analyzing data measured at ordinal level is to report proportions for the separate values that make up the scale (Riffe et al., 2005, p. 180).

Chi square indicates the statistical significance of the relationship between two variables measured at the nominal level (Riffe et al., 2005, p.189). Chi square was run to test each construct/measures individually within the indices. This allowed the researcher to see where the differences were in the variables. So, the test of the professional model included tests on the four variables and the holistic index for the model. This gave the researcher more precise testing.

To answer these RQs the researcher summed the measures to each variable in the model and assessed whether the sum of the measures reflected a low, medium or high presence of the measures. Chi square tests were used to determine whether there were significant differences on the variable measures by language version of the web site (AJA and JJE), and whether the total model scores differed by web site. Also the researcher ran chi square tests on the model index scores to test for differences by web site in the overall model. In this test, the average of each index in AJE and AJA was used and the significant level was set at .05 to determine the significant differences between AJA and AJE.

Finally, to test these three hypotheses in the cultural model: AJA tended to adopt more Arab cultural values compared to AJE; and AJA tended to use more Arab culturally aware language than AJE, and women will be present significantly more often in AJE than in AJA, Chi-square test was used and the significant level was set at .05. All the findings of these questions and hypotheses were presented in tables.

Inter-coder Reliability

The two websites of Al Jazeera were written in two different languages; in Arabic and in English. The inter-coder reliability was calculated for both languages.

Two other coders helped the author of this research. To calculate the inter-coder reliability for the English stories, a graduate student from Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication was trained through multiple Skype and Facebook calls. The author of this study spent 9 hours with the graduate student to train her on how the codebook worked. And to calculate the inter-coder reliability for the Arabic stories, a faculty member in Jordan who earned his master degree in journalism from an American journalism school, whose mother tongue is Arabic, was trained. The author of this study spent 11 hours with him to train him on how the codebook worked. Many examples of stories in Arabic and English from the population were used for the training purpose. When an approximate percentage of agreement on coding decisions reached 80 percent, then the additional coders each coded independently, 24 stories in English and 35 in Arabic (about 10 percent of each sample).

Inter-coder reliability was calculated using Cohen's kappa, which calculates expected agreement between two coders (Riffe et al., 2005, p. 151) and is used for nominal-level measurements (Riffe et al., 2005, p. 152). Cohen's kappa coefficients range from 0 to 1, with a calculated value of .75 or above acceptable (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 175). The intercoder reliability for the Arabic stories ranged from .76 to 1.0, and for the English stories from .78 to 1.0. The Cohen's Kappa coefficients for the Arabic and English stories are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Intercoder Reliability Results for Arabic and English Stories

Variables	Cohen's Kappa for AJA	Cohen's Kappa for AJE
Objectivity	.76	.82
Fairness	.94	1.00
Sourcing citation	1.00	1.00
Factuality	.79	.86
Public/private sphere content	1.00	1.00
Hard/soft news	1.00	1.00
Public/private source	1.00	1.00
Story length	1.00	1.00
Story authorship	1.00	1.00
Sources	.83	.87
Multimedia elements	.89	1.00
Cultural region	1.00	1.00
Story focus	.96	.78
Cultural ID of source	1.00	.89
Cultural aware language	.85	1.00
Gender presence	1.00	1.00

The 16 variables, all of them reached an acceptable level of inter-coder reliability, including 8 measures that had perfect reliability across both sets of stories (Arabic and English). Table 4 shows that Cohen's Kappa coefficient for the objectivity of the Arabic stories was at about the minimum acceptable levels (.76). It was noted that coders coded this measure differently, and the possible reason could explain why this variable got low

agreement is that the Arabic coder not have a true professional background in journalism as the author does. Also, in the English stories, the story interests' focus was the least Cohen's Kappa coefficient and got the lowest agreement (.78). This low agreement could be explained through how the measure was hard to define as when talking about non-Arab issues, the English coder may miss the fact that some news stories could be related to certain Arabic regions, cities or towns that the English coder might not be familiar with as the Arabic coder is.

The Table also shows that there is perfect agreement for variables in both AJE and AJA stories including sourcing in professional model, public and private sphere contents, public and private sphere sources hard/soft news, story, length, authorship, cultural region, and gender presence.

Summary of Method Chapter

This section discusses content analysis in detail in terms of its definition, advantages, and disadvantages; the constructed sample and the procedure of drawing the sample; unit of analysis; and the constructs, main variables, measurements and indices established for the three models tested in this study. This study focused on the AJE and AJA versions of the news websites. The population of the dissertation was defined as: all content that was published on the homepages of AJA and AJE from January 1, 2014, until April 30, 2014. Only stories with links from headlines on the homepages of both websites were selected and analyzed. The news story was the unit of analysis. The study focused on the text of the stories and the multimedia elements accompanied stories including videos, graphics, photos, and charts. However, audio, opinions, shows, schedules, and trending topics were excluded from analysis. Constructed week sampling

was used, the sample was stratified by day of the week, and 50 percent of the content of each day was randomly pulled by using interval systematic procedure. There were 17 weeks of the time of the study [January 1 until April 30, 2014). Fifty percent (50%) of the total number of each day was pulled through interval systematic sample. In this study every 2nd story was selected from each day list sample. A systematic random sample of 358 stories from AJA news stories was selected, and the same sampling procedure yielded 234 stories constituting the AJE sample.

To test the professionalism model this study used four measures that had been obtained from the literature. These measures are: Objectivity, fairness, sourcing, and factuality. To test the marketing model this study used four measures: public sphere and private sphere, hard news and soft news, resource commitments, and sourcing usage. And to test the cultural values model was measured by using five measures: geographic focus by region/continent, story focus, source attribution, and culturally aware words, and gender presence. Non-parametric statistics were used to test the three foregoing models and to answer the research questions and the hypotheses. In particular, the Chi-square test was used to test for any differences between the contents of the AJE and AJA in the use of these three models in their daily coverage. The level of significance was set at $p > .05$. Besides, frequencies and percentages were determined to present the findings of this study. Finally, the inter-coder reliability was calculated for both languages. The inter-coder reliability for the Arabic stories ranged from .76 to 1.0, and for the English stories from .78 to 1.0. So, the reviewing the main measures of the professional, marketing, and cultural values in news production, this leads to a discussion of the main findings in the next section of this dissertation.

Chapter 4: Results

This study examined the values that are more prevalent in the content in AJA and AJE when they communicate to their audiences that have different cultural, language, and interest backgrounds. A total of 592 news stories – 234 from AJE and 358 from AJA – published from January 1, 2014, to April 30, 2014, were analyzed. The number of stories published varied by month, ranging from 90 stories in April to 221 stories in March (see Table 5).

Table 5. Stories of AJA and AJE by Months

Month	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
January	75	20.9%	35	15%	110	18.6%
February	74	20.7%	97	41.5%	171	28.9%
March	153	42.7%	68	29%	221	37.3%
April	56	15.6%	34	14.5%	90	15.2%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

This chapter answers the research questions and the hypotheses by first presenting the results of the professional model and then the marketing model, and finally presenting the cultural model in both AJA and AJE.

The Professional Model

Research Question 1 (a)

Research Question 1(a) in this study asked to what extent the professional model of news production is apparent in AJA.

The professional values were reflected at a high level in AJA stories. The mean of professional values for AJA stories on the professional index was 5.98 out of 8 points ($SD = 1.48$), placing it closest to the high range of 6 to 8 (.02 of a point short). The data in Table 6 indicated that about two thirds ($n = 233$, 65.1 percent) of the published stories in AJA reflected a high level of professional values, about a third ($n = 119$, 33.2 percent) of the sample reflected a moderate level of professional values and only a few stories ($n = 6$, 1.7 percent) reflected a low level of professional values in their coverage.

Table 6. The Professional Index Values in AJA and AJE

The professional Index	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	frequency	Percent	frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Low values (0-2)	6	1.7%	16	6.4%	21	3.5%
Middle values (3-5)	119	33.2%	73	31.2%	192	32.4%
High values (6-8)	233	65.1%	146	62.4%	379	64%
<i>M</i> (0-8)		5.98		5.88		5.93
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100%

$X^2=5.991$, $df = 2$, $p. = .060$. *M* of professional index in AJA= 5.98, $SD= 1.48$, in AJE *M* = 5.87, $SD= 1.75$.

By examining the variables that comprise the professional model (objectivity, fairness, sourcing, and factuality), the data show that AJA tended to embed professional values at somewhat differing levels in its news production. The professional values of fairness and sourcing were reflected most strongly.

The first value to be discussed in the professional model is objectivity. Nearly half (n = 169, 47.2 percent) of the stories in AJA included full attribution. They were about equally likely to include partial attribution (n = 168, 46.9 percent), and few stories (n = 21, 5.9 percent) included no attribution (See Table 7). The data about the fairness value in Table 8 showed that AJA tended to reflect this value in its coverage to a high degree. The vast majority of the stories (n= 265, 74 percent) in AJA presented two sides of the event in the story, and about a quarter (n = 93, 26 percent) of the published stories did not present two sides of the event. As for the sourcing use value, the overwhelming majority (n = 315, 87.9 percent) had two or more sources, just over a tenth (n = 41, 11.5 percent) had one source, and very few stories (n= 2, 0.6 percent) did not cite any sources (See Tables 7, 8, and 9). Factuality is the last value in the professional model. The AJA tended to be a fact-based news website. Over half (n = 206, 57.5 percent) of the analyzed stories presented all facts before an opinion was presented, but in more than a quarter (n = 96, 26.8 percent) of these stories an opinion was presented before any facts, and about a sixth (n = 56, 15.6 percent) of the published stories presented opinion before all facts were presented (See Table 10).

Table 7. Objectivity Value in AJA and AJE

Objectivity	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No attribution	21	5.9%	9	3.8%	30	5.1%
Partial attribution	168	46.9%	101	43.2%	269	45.4%
Full attribution	169	47.2%	124	53%	293	49.5%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=2.537$, $df=2$, $p=.281$

Table 8. Fairness Value in AJA and AJE

Fairness	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No two sides	93	26%	68	29.1%	161	27.2%
Presents two sides	265	74%	166	70.9%	431	72.8%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2 = .0679$, $df = 1$, $p = .410$

Table 9. Sourcing Value in AJA and AJE

Sourcing citation	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No source cited	2	0.6%	5	2.1%	7	1.2%
Cite one source	41	11.5%	26	11.1%	67	11.3%
Cite two sources	92	25.7%	47	20.1%	139	23.5%
Multiple sources	223	62.2%	156	66.7%	379	64%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2 = 6.317$, $df = 3$, $p = .150$.

Table 10. Factuality Value in AJA and AJE

Factuality	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Opinion present before ANY facts presented.	96	26.8%	69	29.5%	165	27.9%
Opinion presented before ALL facts presented	56	15.6%	41	17.5%	97	16.4%
all facts presented BEFORE an opinion is presented	206	57.5%	124	53%	330	55.7%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$$X^2=1.193, df =2, p. = .551$$

Research Question 1 (b)

Research Question 1(b) in this study asked to what extent the professional model of news production is apparent in AJE.

The professional values were reflected at a high level in AJE stories. The mean of professional values for AJE stories on the professional index was 5.88 out of 8 points ($SD = 1.75$), placing it closest to the high level of 6 to 8 (.12 of a point short). The data in Table 6 (See p. 157) indicated a little less than two thirds ($n = 146, 62.4$ percent) of the published stories in AJE reflected a high level of professional values, about a third ($n = 73, 31.2$ percent) reflected a moderate level of professional values and few stories ($n = 16, 6.4$ percent) reflected a low level of professional values in their coverage.

Frequencies and percentages as displayed in Tables 7-10 for each of the four individual professional values (objectivity, fairness, factuality, and sourcing) show

that AJE, like AJA, tended to embed these professional values in the production of its news, though at somewhat differing levels. Again fairness and sourcing were most strongly evident.

For the objectivity value, nearly over half (n = 124, 53 percent) of the stories had full attribution, about two fifths (n = 101, 43.2 percent) included partial attribution, and very few stories included no attribution (n = 9, 3.8 percent) (See Table 7, p. 159). Also, the data show that AJE tended to be fair in its coverage. Fairness is the second value in the professional model. The data show that large majority (n= 166, 70.9 percent) of the stories in AJE presented two sides of the event, and less a third (n = 68, 29.1 percent) of the published stories did not present two sides of the event. As for the sourcing use value, AJE provided its readers multiple sources. The overwhelming majority (n = 203, 86.8 percent) of the published stories cited two or more different sources, just over a tenth (n = 26, 11.1 percent) had only one source, and very few stories (n= 5, 2.1 percent) had no sources. The last professional concept is factuality, and over half (n = 124, 53 percent) of the analyzed stories presented all facts before an opinion, but in more than a quarter (n = 69, 29.5 percent) of these stories an opinion was presented before any facts, and about a sixth (n = 41, 17.5 percent) of the published stories presented opinion before all facts were presented.

Research Question 1 (c)

Research question 1(c) asked if there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the professional model is apparent. As the data analysis shows in Table 6, at a broad level there were no statistically significant

differences between the two sites in terms of employing professional values in news production ($X^2=5.991$, $df = 2$, $p. = .060$). The professional values were reflected highly, and nearly two thirds ($n = 379$, 64 percent for both sites together) of the stories had professional values in the content ($n = 233$, 65.1 percent for AJA, and $n = 146$, 62.4 percent for AJE), and about a third ($n =192$, 32.4 percent for both sites) employed a medium amount of professional values ($n = 119$, 33.2 percent for AJA, and $n = 73$, 31.2 percent for AJE). Only a small percentage of stories on the two sites ($n = 21$, 3.5 percent) reflected a low amount of professional values in the published news stories ($n = 6$, 1.7 percent for AJA, and $n = 16$, 6.4 percent for AJE). Also the means for the professional value index were nearly the same: 5.98 for AJA and 5.88 for AJE. See Table 6 (p. 158).

Another way to examine the differences in the professional model is to look at the Chi square test of each value between the AJA and AJE. As displayed in Tables 7-10, the four variables of the professional model had frequency/percentage differences, but overall the patterns are similar, with no statistically significant differences.

No significant differences in using the objectivity value between AJA and AJE were identified ($X^2=2.537$, $df =2$, $p = .281$). As for the fairness value, the analysis of data revealed that there were no significant differences in presence of the fairness value between AJA and AJE ($X^2= .0679$, $df =1$, $p. = .410$). In addition there were no significant differences between AJA and AJE in terms of the sources they cited and provided in their published stories ($X^2=6.317$, $df =3$, $p. = .150$). Finally, as for the factuality value, the data indicated that there were no significant differences between

AJA and AJE in terms of employing the factuality value in their published stories ($X^2=1.193$, $df =2$, $p = .551$).

In short, for the professional values the indices reveal a story mean of 5.98 for AJA and 5.88 for AJE., both closest to the “high” range of professionalism. The measures reveal more specifics on where the stories fell short of high professionalism: nearly half the stories were not fully attributed; about one-quarter of the stories lacked balance, presenting one side only of an issue, and about one-quarter of the stories reported opinions before core facts. The chi square tests show there are frequency/percentage differences between AJA and AJE, but overall the patterns are similar, with no statistically significant differences. The next section presents the findings of the marketing model.

The Marketing Values

Research Question 2 (a)

Research question 2 (a) asked to what extent the marketing model of news production is apparent in AJA.

The marketing model was apparent at a low moderate level. The mean value for AJA stories on the marketing index was 3.85 out of 11 points ($SD = 1.77$), closest to the moderate range (0.15 short of it). Over a half ($n= 201$, 56 percent) of the published stories in AJA reflected a moderate level of marketing values, about two fifths ($n = 149$, 42 percent) of the sample reflected a low level of marketing values and few stories ($n= 8$, 2 percent) reflected a high level of marketing values in their coverage (See Table 11).

Table 11. The Marketing Index Values in AJA and AJE

The Marketing Index	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	percent	frequency	percent	Total	percent
Low values (0-3)	149	42 %	58	24.8%	207	35%
Middle values (4-7)	201	56 %	156	66.7%	357	60%
High values (8-11)	8	2 %	20	8.5%	28	5%
<i>M</i> (0-11)		3.85		5.87		5.93
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100%

$X^2=54.029$, $df = 2$, $p. = .001$

By examining individually the seven variables that comprise the marketing model (public sphere and private sphere content, hard and soft news, public sphere and private sphere sources, story length, authorship, interviewed sources, and multimedia elements usage), these variables had a mixed picture in the AJA content. Frequencies and percentages as displayed in Tables 12- 18 for each of the seven individual marketing values indicated that Al Jazeera Arabic reflected some of these marketing values to a moderate degree and at the same time showed little evidence of other values. The AJA reflected low level of marketing values on public sphere content and private sphere content value. AJA preferred to focus on publishing public sphere content than private sphere content. Public sphere content focuses on public interests and responding to broader social and political issues in the society, which does not match the logic of the marketing model which pays attentions to private sphere issues personal-centered topics. The vast majority ($n= 338$, 94.4 percent)

focused on public sphere topics compared to only few stories (n = 20, 5.6 percent) in AJA presented private sphere content (See Table 12).

Table 12. Public Sphere and Private Sphere Content in AJA and AJE

Content Type	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Public sphere	338	94.4%	187	79.9%	525	88.7%
Private sphere	20	5.6%	47	20.1%	67	11.3%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2 = 29.638$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$

Also, presenting more hard news than soft news is another indicator that AJA reflects low level of marketing values in its news production. The data about the hard news and soft news variable in Table 13 showed that AJA tended to publish far more hard news (n = 318, 89 percent) than soft news stories (n = 40, 11 percent) (See Table 13)

Table 13. Hard News and Soft News Content in AJA and AJE

Hard/ Soft news	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Hard news	318	89%	187	80%	505	85%
Soft news	40	11%	47	20%	87	15%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2 = 14.744$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$

The data in Table 14 suggested that AJA also reflected a low level of marketing values by citing more public sphere sources (n = 307, 86 percent) in its published

stories, and few stories (n = 51, 14 percent) depended on private sphere sources (See Table 14).

Table 14. Public and Private Sphere Sources in AJA and AJE

Sources type	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Public sphere	307	86%	182	78%	489	82%
Private sphere	51	14%	52	22%	103	18%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=8.635$, $df=1$, $p. = .003$

The story length is a variable in the marketing model which was found to be reflected at a moderate level in the content of AJA. While over two fifths (n = 153, 42.7 percent) of the content in AJA was large stories, the rest the stories in AJA were small and medium size. In particular, about two fifths (n = 149, 41.6 percent) were medium size, and about a sixth (n = 56, 15.6 percent) of the published stories in AJA were small size. This result means that AJA, by producing more large size and medium size stories and fewer small size stories, did not tend to produce a cheap content, because this result means that AJA committed some resources to present more detailed stories (See Table 15).

Table 15. Story Length in AJA and AJE

Story length	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Short story	56	15.6%	86	36.8%	142	24%
Medium story	149	41.6%	75	32.1%	224	37.8%
Large story	153	42.7%	73	31.2%	226	38.2%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=34.650$, $df=2$, $p=.001$

The authorship variable reflected marketing values at a low level in the content of AJA. The overwhelming majority of the stories in AJA were produced by one or more AJA staffers, while about quarter of these stories were not produced by AJA. In more detail, data in Table 16 indicated that over a half ($n = 189$, 52.8 percent) of these published stories were produced by AJA's staff or combined with other news agencies such as AP, AFP, etc., over a fifth ($n = 82$, 22.9 percent) produced by multiple authors of AJA's staff, and about a quarter of the stories were not produced by AJA ($n = 87$, 24%) (See Table 16). These results mean that AJA is a true content creator, not a news aggregator, because it depends on its staff to produce the news.

Table 16. The Authorship in AJA and AJE

Authorship	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Not reported by AJ's journalist	87	24.3%	130	55.6%	217	36.7%
A single author from AJ and other media	189	52.8%	103	44%	292	49.3%
multiple authors belong to Al Jazeera	82	22.9%	1	.4%	83	14%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$\chi^2 = 95.421, df = 2, p. = .001$

Interviewed sources is another variable in the marketing model. In this study only interviewed sources included in a story that produced by only AJ's staff were coded. This variable was reflected at low level in the marketing model in the AJA. While over a third (n = 130, 36.3 percent) of the published stories did not have any interview with any source, nearly two thirds (n = 228, 63.7 percent) of the published stories had interviewed sources either a single source (n = 159, 44.4 percent) or multiple interviews (n = 69, 19.3 percent) (See Table 17).

Table 17. Interviewed Sources in AJA and AJE

Interviewed Sources	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No sources interviewed	130	36.3%	176	75.2%	306	51.9%
A single interview	159	44.4%	25	10.7%	184	31.1%
multiple interviews	69	19.3%	33	14.1%	102	17%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$$X^2 = 95.421, df = 2, p. = .001$$

The last variable in the marketing model is the multimedia elements. The data analysis in Table 18 revealed that AJA reflected the marketing value moderately in its news production. While over a third (n = 143, 39.9 percent) of the stories did not have visual or informational elements, nearly two thirds of the stories (n = 215, 60.1 percent) presented some multimedia elements. But of those with multimedia elements, about two fifths (n = 147, 41.1 percent) of the stories presented either photos/video or graphic/ chart, and only about a fifth (n = 68, 19 percent) of these published stories presented both photo/ video and graphic/chart that were produced by AJA's staff.

Table 18. Using Multimedia Elements in AJA and AJE

Multimedia	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No visual or informational elements	143	39.9%	196	83.8%	339	57.3%
Photo or video OR graphic or chart	147	41.1%	34	14.5%	181	30.6%
Photo or video AND graphic or chart used	68	19%	4	1.7%	72	12.2%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=114.785$, $df=2$, $p=.001$

Taken together, the findings suggest that AJA reflects marketing values in its news production to a moderate degree but with some individual values being less evident. The mean of the marketing model fell closest to the moderate level. The measures reveal more specifics on where the stories fell low in the marketing model: a large majority of the stories were public sphere topics and hard news; the large majority of the provided sources were public sphere sources; the large majority of the stories in AJA were produced by one or more staffers of AJA; nearly two thirds of the published stories had interviewed sources, one source or more. However, other measures reveal more marketing values and fell in the moderate level in the marketing model: over half of the stories were small and medium size, and two fifths of the stories did not have visual or informational elements.

Research Question 2 (b)

Research question 2 (b) asked to what extent the marketing model of news production is apparent in AJE.

The marketing model was apparent at a moderate level. The mean for AJE stories on the marketing index was 5.87 out of 11 points ($SD = 1.77$), placing it in the middle of the moderate level of 4 to 7. About two thirds ($n = 156$, 66.7 percent) of the published stories in AJE reflected a moderate level of marketing values, about a quarter ($n = 58$, 24.8 percent) of the sample reflected a low level of marketing values and few stories ($n = 20$, 8.5%) reflected a high level of marketing values in the coverage (See Table 11, p.165).

An individual examination of the seven variables that comprise the marketing model (public sphere and private sphere content, hard and soft news, public sphere and private sphere sources, story length, authorship, interviewed sources, and multimedia elements usage) presents a mixed picture of the AJE content. Frequencies and percentages as displayed in Tables 12- 18 for each of the seven individual marketing values indicated that AJE reflected some of these marketing values to a moderate degree, others to a high degree, and at the same time showed little evidence of other values.

The first measure in the marketing model is the public sphere and private sphere content. The AJE reflected a low level of marketing values on this variable. AJE as AJA preferred to focus on publishing public sphere content than private sphere content. The vast majority ($n = 187$, 79.9 percent) focused on public sphere topics compared to about a fifth of the stories ($n = 47$, 20.1 percent) in AJE presenting private sphere content (See Table 12, p. 166).

Also, presenting hard news than soft news is another indicator that AJE reflects a low level of marketing values in its news production. The data about the hard news

and soft news variable in Table 13 showed that AJE tended to publish far more hard news (n = 187, 80 percent) than soft news stories (n = 47, 20 percent) (See Table 13, p.166).

In addition, the data in Table 14 suggested that AJA also reflected a low level of marketing values by citing more officials and public sphere sources (n = 182, 78 percent) in its published stories, compared with a fifth of the stories (n = 52, 22 percent) that depended on private sphere sources (See Table 14, p. 167).

The story length is a variable in the marketing model which was found to be reflected at a moderate level in the content of AJE. While over a third (n = 68, 36.8 percent) of the published stories in AJE were small size, about a third (n = 73, 31.2 percent) of the content in AJE was large stories and about two fifths (n = 75, 32.1 percent) were medium size (See Table 15, p. 168). This result means that AJE made some resource commitment because the percentages for all three categories were close to one another.

Al Jazeera English reflected a moderate level of marketing value in the authorship variable. Over a half (n = 130, 55.6 percent) of these published stories were not produced by AJE's staff, and more than two fifths (103, 44 percent) of the stories were created by one of AJE's staff or combined with other news agencies such as AP, AFP, etc., and very few stories (n = 1, 0.4 percent) were produced by multiple authors of AJE (See Table 16, p, 169). AJE tended to be an aggregator news organization, not a producer news organization. It depends on news stories that are produced by other news agencies.

Interviewed sources is another variable in the marketing model. In this study only interviewed sources who were included in a story produced by only AJ's staff were coded. This variable was reflected at a high level in the marketing model in the AJE. While about a quarter (n = 58, 24.8 percent) of the published stories had interviews with one or more sources, three quarters (n = 176, 75.2 percent) of the published stories had no sources interviewed by AJE's staff (See Table, 17, p. 170).

The last variable in the marketing model is the multimedia elements. This variable was reflected at a high level of the marketing model in AJE content. The data analysis in Table 18 revealed that the vast majority (n = 196, 83.8 percent) of the stories has no visual or informational elements, while about a sixth of the stories (n = 38, 16.2 percent) presented some multimedia elements. To be more specific, about a sixth (n = 34, 14.5 percent) of the stories presented photos/video or graphic/ chart, and very few stories (n = 4, 1.7 percent) presented photo/video and graphic/ chart that were produced by AJE's staff (See Table18, p. 171).

Thus, data from Tables 17 and 18 reveal that AJE is often not investing a great deal of human resources into the content, as three fourths of the stories included no interviewed sources, and five sixths of stories included no visual or multimedia content; they were simply text.

All in all, the findings suggest that AJE reflects marketing values in its news production to a moderate degree. The mean of the marketing model put it in the moderate level. The measures reveal more specifics on where the stories fell low in the marketing model: a large majority of the stories were public sphere topics and, were hard news, and a large majority of the provided sources were public sphere

sources. At the same time, other measures reveal that AJE fell in the moderate level of the marketing model: nearly two thirds of the stories were small and medium size, and overall a half of the stories were not produced by AJE's staff. Finally, other measures reveal that AJE fell in the high level of the marketing model: over three quarters of the published stories had no interviewed sources by AJE's staff, and the vast majority of the stories had no visual or informational elements.

Research Question 2 (c)

Research question 2(c) asked if there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the marketing model is apparent.

At a broad level, Chi-square results, as displayed in Table 11 (See p. 164), show that there were significant differences between the two sites in terms of employing marketing values in their media contents ($X^2=54.029$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$), with the marketing model being more apparent on AJE. While a little more than half (56 percent) of AJA stories reflected a medium amount of marketing values, around two thirds (66.7 percent) of the published stories in AJE did. About two fifths (42 percent) of stories in AJA reflected a low level of marketing values, but that was true for only about a quarter (25 percent) of AJE stories. Finally, while only 2 percent reflected a high amount of marketing values in AJA, 8.5 percent of the published stories in the AJE employed a high amount of marketing values. The mean for the marketing value index was 3.85 for AJA while it was 5.87 for AJE. Generally speaking, AJE reflects more marketing values in its news production than AJE does.

Another way to examine the differences in the marketing model is to look at the Chi square tests of each variable comparing AJA and AJE. The chi square test was

run because it includes and reveals the patterns by individual variables that comprise the index to give a precise picture. The chi square tests showed statistically significant differences for each variable. For each one, AJE scores higher on marketing measures than AJA. There is a clear pattern, and in some cases the differences are pronounced and stark.

As displayed in Table 12 (See p. 165), there were significant differences in types of content between AJA and AJE ($X^2=29.638$, $df =1$, $p = .001$). Although the vast majority of the published stories on both sites were public sphere content, the percentage was lower on AJE. Data from Table 12 show that AJE published more private sphere content (20.1 percent) compared to AJA (5.6 percent). In short, AJA was responding more to the broader social and political issues in the society compared to AJE, which paid more attention to report less pressing issues to the public.

As displayed in Table 13 (See p, 165), significant differences in the hard and soft news variable between the sites were identified ($X^2=14.744$, $df =1$, $p = .001$). Although the vast majority of the stories on both sites were hard news, the percentage was lower on AJE. AJE tended to publish more soft news (20 percent) compared to AJA (11 percent).

When it comes to the third variable in the marketing model, public sphere and private sphere sources, the chi-square test in Table 14 (See p, 166) revealed that there was also a significant difference between AJA and AJE ($X^2=8.635$, $df =1$, $p = .003$). Although the vast majority of the published stories on both sites cited more public sphere sources, the percentage was lower on AJE. AJE tended to cite more private

sphere sources (22 percent) compared to AJA (14 percent). In short, AJA provided more official views in its content compared to AJE, which tried to vary its news sources other than the official ones.

The fourth marketing variable is the story length and the chi-square test, as displayed in Table 15 (See p, 167), indicated that there were also significant differences between AJA and AJE ($X^2=34.650$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). AJE tended to publish mixed sizes of stories ranging between short size stories (36.8 percent), medium (32.1 percent), and long (31.2 percent) while AJA tended mostly to publish large size stories (42.7 percent), and then moderate size (41.6 percent). In general, AJA invests more in its human and financial resources to produce more detailed stories for the public compared to AJE, which made less resource commitment.

The data in Table 16 (See p, 169) explains the authorship variable in the marketing model. The chi-square test in the Table 15 indicated that there were significant differences in authorship of stories between AJA and AJE ($X^2= 95.421$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). The data analysis revealed that over a half (55.6 percent) of news stories for English content were not reported by Al Jazeera journalists, compared with only 24.3 percent for AJA, and almost no stories from AJE had multiple authors from Al Jazeera versus nearly a quarter for the Arabic website. AJA tended to publish news stories that were reported by a single author belonging to AJA's staff (52.8 percent). In general, AJA produced more content by its staff than AJE, which depended heavily on publishing news stories produced by other news agencies. Thus, AJA is a true content creator for news compared to AJE, which could be described as an aggregator news organization.

Also, as the data analysis shown in Table 17 (See p, 170), there were significant differences in interviewing sources between AJA and AJE ($X^2= 95.421$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). Three fourths of news stories (75.2 percent) in AJE did not have any interviewed sources by AJE's staff, while that was the case for only about a third (36 percent) of AJA stories. This difference means that AJE is often not investing a great deal of human resources into the content, as 3 of 4 stories included no interviewed sources compared to AJA, which was investing more including more interviewed sources in its content.

The final variable in the marketing model is using multimedia elements in the news stories. As appeared in Table 18 (See p, 171), there was a significant difference in using multimedia elements between AJA and AJE ($X^2=114.785$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). While the huge majority (83.8 percent) of the stories in AJE had no visual or informational elements, it was a much smaller percentage for AJA (39.9 percent). Also, while AJA tended to present more multimedia elements, in particular, using photo/ video and graphic/ chart used (19 percent), AJE paid less attention to these elements (1.7 percent). In general, AJE is often not investing a great deal of human and technological resources into the content by providing simply a pure text without multimedia compared with AJA, which provided mixed content (multimedia with text).

All in all, and at a broad level, Al Jazeera reflects marketing values at a moderate level in the marketing model. For individual variables of each news website, AJE scores higher on marketing measures than AJA. In the marketing index, AJA reflects the marketing values at the end top of the low level (3.85 out of 11), and

AJE reflects the marketing values in the middle of the moderate level (5.87 out of 11).

After presenting the most important findings on the marketing model, the next section presents the most important findings on the cultural model.

The Cultural Model

Research Question 3 (a)

Research question 3 (a) asked to what extent the cultural model of news production is apparent in AJA.

The cultural model was apparent at the end of the moderate level. The mean value for AJA stories on the cultural index was 6.6 out of 11 points ($SD = 3.68$) close to the top end range of the moderate level of the cultural index. By examining the five cultural variables together, Table 19, which presents the cultural index, showed that over half ($n = 199$, 55.6 percent) of the published stories in AJA reflected a high level of cultural values, about a third ($n = 128$, 35.7 percent) of the sample reflected a low level of cultural values, and few stories ($n = 31$, 8.9 percent) reflected a moderate level of cultural values in their news coverage (See Table 19).

Table 19. The Cultural Index Values in AJA and AJE

The cultural Index	AJA (N=35 8)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	frequency	percent	frequency	percent	Total	percent
Low values (0-3)	128	35.7%	188	80.3%	316	53.5%
Middle values (4-7)	31	8.9%	10	4.3%	41	6.7%
High values (8-11)	199	55.4%	36	15.4%	235	39.8%
M (0-11)		6.603		3.038		4.82
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100%

$X^2=114.248$, $df=2$, $p. = .001$

By examining individually the five variables that comprise the cultural model (cultural region, story focus, sources' cultural identity, culturally aware language, and gender presence), AJA pays much attention to the Arab cultural values in the production of its news. Frequencies and percentages as displayed in Tables 20- 24 for each of the five cultural variables indicated that Al Jazeera Arabic reflected most of these Arab cultural values to a moderate to high degree and at the same time showed little evidence on the culturally aware language variable. The first variable in the cultural model is the cultural region. Three fifths (n= 216, 60.3 percent) of the stories were about the Arab region and countries, and two fifths (n = 142, 39.7 percent) of its published stories focused on non Arab region and countries (See Table 20).

Table 20. Cultural Region focus in AJA and AJE

Cultural region	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Arab region	216	60.3%	41	17.5%	257	43.4%
Non-Arab region	142	39.7%	193	82.5%	335	56.6%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=105.587$, $df =1$, $p. = .001$

As for the second variable in the cultural model, the story focus, also over half (n = 203, 56.7 percent) of the published stories were about Arab events, people, policies, and interests; however, about a third (n = 125, 34.9 percent) were about non-Arab events, people, polices, and interests (See Table 21). In general, Arab events and interests come first then non Arab interests come second in AJA media policy.

Table 21. Story focus in AJA and AJE

Story focus	AJA		AJE		(N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
Arabs domestic	203	56.7%	38	16.2%	241	40.7%
International-Arab primary	9	2.5%	4	1.7%	13	2.2%
International-Arab secondary	7	2%	3	1.3%	10	1.7%
International-Arab tertiary	14	3.9%	4	1.7%	18	3%
International –No Arab involvement	125	34.9%	185	79.1%	310	52.4%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=112.627$, $df =4$, $p. = .001$

Similarly, AJA reflected more Arab sources in its content than non Arab sources. Over a half (n = 192, 53.6 percent) of the published stories in AJA cited only Arab sources, while a little over a third (n = 125, 34.9 percent) cited only non-Arab sources (See Table 22). These results mean that AJA is interested to give more voice to the Arab people when targeting its Arab readers when it is covering Arab region, issues and interests.

Table 22. Sources' Cultural ID in AJA and AJE

Sources	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No Arab sources	125	34.9 %	192	82.1%	317	53.5%
Arab and Non-Arab sources	41	11.5 %	19	8.1%	60	10.1%
Arab sources only	192	53.6 %	23	9.8%	215	36.3%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$$X^2=135.020, df=2, p. = .001$$

The culturally aware language variable is the fourth variable in the cultural model. AJA reflected a low level on this variable. In fact about three quarters (n = 263, 73.5 percent) of the published stories use no examples of culturally aware Arab language, but about a fifth (n = 71, 19.8%) use culturally-aware Arab language, and finally few stories (n = 24, 6.7 percent) used both culturally aware Arab and non-Arab language in the stories (See Table 23).

As for the last cultural value variable, gender presence, AJA reflected high level of cultural values. The vast majority (n = 311, 86.9 percent) of the published stories

presented more male sources, than female sources (n = 42, 11.7 percent) (See Table 24).

Table 23. Culturally Aware Language in AJA and AJE

Culturally Aware Language (CAL)	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N=592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
No examples of CAL	263	73.5%	215	91.9%	478	80.7%
Uses CAL Arab and non-Arab	24	6.7%	15	6.4%	39	6.6%
Only using CA Arab	71	19.8%	4	1.7%	75	12.7%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=42.648$, $df=2$, $p=.001$

Table 24. Gender Sourcing Presence in AJA and AJE

Gender	AJA (N=358)		AJE (N=234)		AJA & AJE (N= 592)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	percent
More Men	311	86.9%	192	82.1%	503	85%
Equal number of male/male	42	11.7%	17	7.3%	59	10%
More women	5	1.4%	25	10.7%	30	5.1%
Total	358	100	234	100	592	100

$X^2=27.305$, $df=2$, $p=.001$

Taken together, the findings suggest that AJA reflects Arab cultural values in its news production at a moderate level. The mean of the cultural model was at the end top of the moderate range of the cultural index. The measures reveal more specifics on where the stories fell in a moderate or high level in the cultural model: the majority of the stories were about Arab countries; were about Arab people, events, and interests; and used Arab sources. The overwhelming majority of the stories in

AJA presented more male sources than female. However, the other measure revealed less Arab cultural values and fell in the low level in the cultural model: nearly three quarters of the stories did not include Arab culturally aware language in the content.

Research Question 3 (b)

Research question 3 (b) asked to what extent the cultural model of news production is apparent in AJE.

The mean value for AJE stories on the cultural index was 3.038 out of 11 points (SD = 2.68) at a low level of the cultural index. By examining the five cultural variables together, Table 19, which presents the cultural index, showed that the great majority (n= 188, 80.3 percent) of the published stories in AJE reflected a low level of cultural values, about a sixth (n = 36, 15.4 percent) of the sample reflected a high level of cultural values, and few stories (n = 10, 4.3 percent) reflected a moderate level of cultural values in their news coverage (See Table 19, p, 179).

By examining individually the five variables that comprise the cultural model (cultural region, story focus, sources' cultural identity, culturally aware language, and gender presence), it is evident that AJE seldom adopts the Arab cultural values in its news coverage except for gender presence. Frequencies and percentages as displayed in Tables 20- 24 for each of the five cultural variables indicated that Al Jazeera English seldom reflected these Arab cultural values except for the gender presence variable. The first variable in the cultural models is the cultural region. The vast majority (n= 193, 82.5 percent) of the stories were about the non-Arab region, and less than a fifth (n = 41, 17.5 percent) of its published stories focused on Arab region and countries (See Table 20, p, 180).

As for the second variable in the cultural model, story focus, AJE showed a low level on this variable and it did not focus on the Arab people, events, and interests. More than three fourths (n = 185, 79.1 percent) of the published stories were about international topics with no Arab involvement in events, people, policies, and interests. Less than a fifth (n = 38, 16.2 percent) were about Arab domestic events, people, policies, and interests (See Table 21, p.180).

Similarly, AJE showed another low level of reflecting Arab cultural values on the cultural sources variable. The great majority (n = 192, 82.1 percent) of the published stories in AJE did not cite Arab sources, while 9.8 percent (n = 23) cited only Arab sources, and 8.1 percent (n = 19) of the published stories cited both Arab and non-Arab sources in the same story (See Table 22, p. 181).

Likewise a low level of Arab cultural values was found in the culturally aware language variable. The vast majority (n = 215, 91.9 percent) of the published stories in AJE used no examples of culturally aware Arab language, and just a few stories (n = 4, 1.7 percent) used only culturally aware -Arab language in the stories. In contrast, for the last cultural value variable, gender presence, stories reflected a high level of Arab cultural values in AJE. The great majority (n = 192, 82.1 percent) of the published stories presented more male sources, and about a tenth (n = 25, 10.7 percent) presented more female sources (See Tables 23, p. 182).

Overall, most variables in the cultural model showed a low level of the Arab culture values. In particular, the large majority of the stories were about the non-Arab region and about non-Arab people, events, and interests, and a large majority did not

provide Arab sources or include Arab culturally aware language. Only the gender presence variable reflected a high level of Arab cultural values.

Research Question 3 (c)

Research question 3(c) asked if there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in the extent to which the cultural model is apparent. At a broad level, Chi-square results, as displayed in Table 18, suggested that there were significant differences between the two sites in terms of reflecting Arab cultural values in their media contents ($X^2=114.248$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$), with the Arab cultural values being more apparent on AJA. While over half ($n = 199$, 55.4 percent) of the published stories in AJA reflected a high level of cultural values, the large majority ($n = 188$, 80.3%) of the stories in AJE reflected a low level of cultural values. The mean for AJA on the cultural values index was 6.6, whereas it was 3.04 for AJE (See Table 19, p.179). Generally speaking, AJA reflects more Arab cultural values in its news production than AJE does.

Another way to examine the differences in the cultural model is to look at the Chi square tests of each variable comparing AJA and AJE. The chi square test was run because it includes and reveals the patterns by individual variables that comprise the cultural index to give a precise picture. The chi square tests showed statistically significant differences for each variable. For each one, AJA scores higher on cultural measures than AJE.

As displayed in Table 20 (See p. 180), there were significant differences in the cultural region variable between AJA and AJE ($X^2=105.587$, $df = 1$, $p. = .001$). Data from Table 20 show that AJE focused more on non-Arab region and countries in its

coverage (82.5 percent), while AJA paid attention more to Arab region and countries (60.3 percent). This means that AJ does not impose its Arab cultural values on its non-Arab readers when communicating them.

As for the second cultural variable, the story focus, data in Table 21 (See p. 190) show that there is a significant difference in story focus between AJA and AJE ($X^2=112.627$, $df =4$, $p. = .001$). While AJA paid more attention to Arab domestic events, people, policies and interests ($n = 203$, 56.7 percent), AJE focused more on non-Arab events, people, policies and interests ($n = 185$, 79.1 percent). These results suggest that AJ considered the cultural differences of its different audiences when producing its media contents. Al Jazeera does not produce media content in its English version that might not be acceptable to its non-Arab readers or could conflict with their Western cultural values.

As for the cultural sources variable, the data in Table 22 (See p. 181) revealed that there is a significant difference in identity of cultural sources between AJA and AJE ($X^2=135.020$, $df =2$, $p = .001$). The data indicated that AJA was more likely to cite only Arab sources ($n = 192$, 53.6 percent), while AJE tended to cite more non-Arab sources in its published stories ($n = 192$, 82.1 percent).

Also, the chi-square test of the culturally aware language variable, as displayed in Table 23 (See p. 182), indicated that there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in terms of including examples of culturally aware words ($X^2=42.648$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). The data revealed that AJA was more likely to use culturally-aware Arab words ($n = 71$, 19.8 percent) compared to AJE, which paid almost no attention to

culturally-aware Arab words ($n = 4, 1.7\%$). This means that AJA shows respect to its Arab religious, social, and cultural norms than the AJE does.

The last variable in the cultural model is gender presence. Data from Table 24 (See p. 182) show that there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in terms of gender presence in the stories ($X^2=27.305, df =2, p. = .001$). AJE was more likely to present more women sources ($n = 25, 10.7$ percent) than AJA ($n = 5, 1.4$ percent). This means that AJA tends to be male-oriented and obeys the cultural roles, and social expectations and restrictions on women in Arab societies which place them less in the news communicated primarily to Arab audiences.

All in all, and at a broad level, Al Jazeera reflects Arab cultural values at a moderate level on the cultural index. At the individual level of each news website, AJA scores higher on the cultural measures than AJE. First by looking at the cultural index, AJA reflects the cultural values at the top end of the moderate level, and AJE reflects the cultural values in the low level. The chi square test was used to test Arab culture construct, because it includes and reveals the patterns by individual variables that comprise the cultural index. It shows statistically significant differences. For example, AJA focused on the Arab region while AJE focused on the non-Arab region; AJA reporting more Arab events, people, and interests while AJE did not focus on Arab events, people, and interests in its coverage. Also, AJA reflected more Arab culturally aware words than AJE. Besides, AJA is more male-dominant compared to AJE which presented more female sources in its news coverage. After presenting the most important findings on the cultural model, the next section

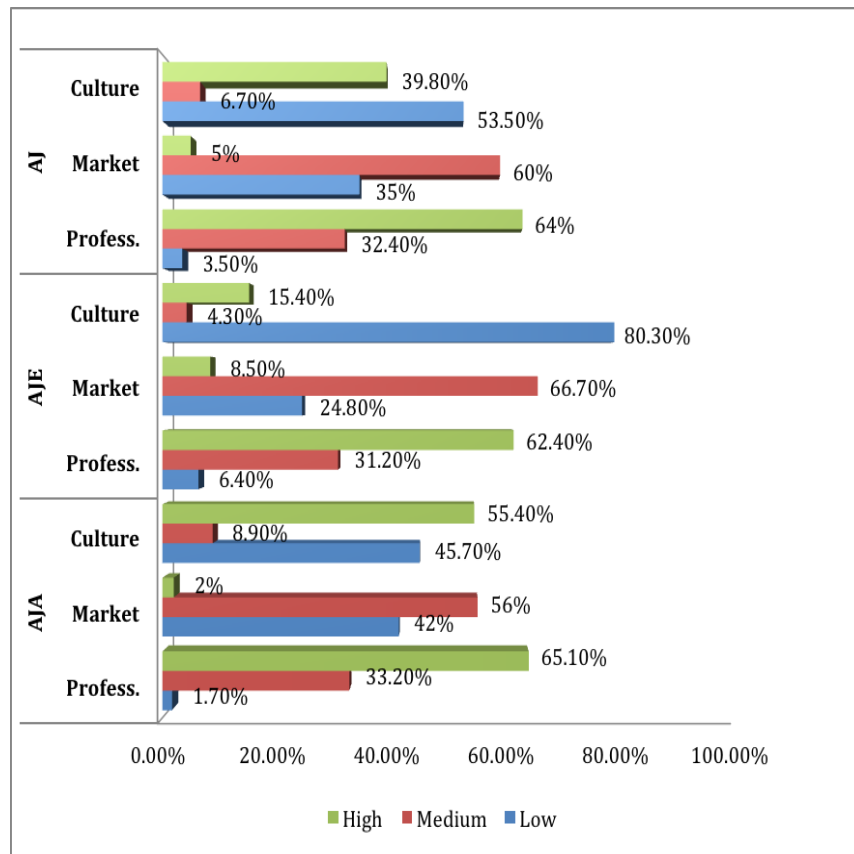
presents the most important findings on the most prevalent values in AJ in general, and in AJE and AJA individually.

Research Question 4 (a)

Research question 4 (a) asked: Which model is more prevalent in the content of AJA? The professional model was most prevalent in AJA with a mean of 5.98, placing it .02 of a point short of the high level of 6 to 8.

The marketing model was just short of moderate (3.85 out of 11), and the cultural model was moderate (6.6 out of 11). In percentages, the data from Table 24 show that about two thirds (65.1 percent) of the published stories in AJA reflect a high level of professional values. See Table 25 and Figure 4.

Figure 4. The Percentages of All Models



Research Question 4 (b)

Research question 4 (b) asked: Which model is more prevalent in the content of AJE? The professional model was again the most prevalent with a mean 5.88, just short of the high range for that index (See Table 25, p. 191)

The marketing model was moderate (4.816 out of 11), and the cultural model was low (3.038 out of 11). In percentages, the data from Table 24 show that about two thirds (62.4 percent) of the published stories in AJE reflected a high level of professional values, while 31.2 percent reflected a moderate level of professional values, with 6.2 percent reflecting a low level of professional values. This means that AJE's professional values are a very important consideration in the newsroom of AJE with some tendency to include marketing values, and finally AJE shows little interest in reflecting the values of the Arab culture when communicating with its Western readers.

Research Question 4 (c)

Research question 4 (c) asked: Is there any significant difference between which model is more prevalent in AJA and AJE?

To answer this question the researcher summed the measures to each variable in the model and assessed whether the sum of the measures reflected a low, medium or high presence of the measures. Four measures of professionalism: objectivity, fairness, factuality, and finally, the use of sources were used in the professionalism index. The index of professionalism ranged from 0 points, corresponding to a lowest level of professionalism, to 8 points, corresponding to the highest level of professionalism. Also different variables were used in the marketing index: public

and private sphere content, hard and soft news, resources commitment, and sourcing usage). The marketing index had a total score ranging from 0 point (the total number of the lowest points in all dimensions) to 11 points (the total number of the highest points in all dimensions). Also the culture index comprises from five variables: (cultural region, story focus, sources cultural identity, culturally aware language, and gender presence). The cultural index had a total score ranging from 0 point (the total number of the lowest points in all dimensions) to 11 points (the total number of the highest points in all dimensions).

Chi square tests were used to determine whether there were significant differences on the variable measures by language version of the web site (AJA and AJE).

The Chi square test, as displayed in Table 25, showed that there is a significant difference between which model is more prevalent in AJA and AJE ($X^2=13.28$, $df = 4$, $p = .001$). Although professional values were most prevalent in both websites, AJA and AJE show some difference in prevalence of the three models. Data from Table 25 show that professional model is the most prevalent in Al Jazeera content for both. Nearly two thirds (65.1% for AJA and 62.4% for AJE) of the published stories reflected high professional level. However, there are significant differences between cultural and marketing values that are evident in AJA and AJE. The data show that AJA tended to reflect more cultural values than AJE. And AJE tended to reflect more marketing values than AJA. First, AJA reflected more cultural values than AJE. While AJA reflected moderate level of cultural values (6.603 out of 11), AJE reflected low level of these values (3.038 out of 11). Another significant difference

between AJA and AJE is the marketing values. AJE tended to adopt more marketing values than AJA. While AJE reflected moderate level of these marketing values (4.816 out of 11), AJA reflected low level of the marketing values (3.857 out of 11). Generally speaking, professional model is the most prevalent models in Al Jazeera. While Al Jazeera reflects a high level of professional values, the marketing and cultural values were reflected at moderate levels.

Table 25. Model Indices by AJ News Websites

Index Values	AJA			AJE			AJ		
	Profess.	Market	Culture	Profess.	Market	Culture	Profess.	Market	Culture
Low	1.7%	42%	45.7%	6.4%	24.8%	80.3%	3.5%	35%	53.5%
Medium	33.2%	56%	8.9%	31.2%	66.7%	4.3%	32.4%	60%	6.7%
High	65.1%	2%	55.4%	62.4%	8.5%	15.4%	64%	5%	39.8%
Mean	5.98	3.857	6.603	5.88	4.816	3.038	5.93	4.34	4.82
S.D	1.485	1.77	3.682	1.759	1.773	2.687	1.62	1.77	3.18
Total	358	358	358	234	234	234	592	592	592

$$X^2=13.28, df = 4, p. = .001$$

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 said that AJA tends to adopt more Arab cultural values compared to AJE. The Chi-square test in Table 19 (See p. 179) suggest that there is a

significant difference between AJA and AJE in terms of adopting cultural values ($X^2=114.248$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). Therefore, hypothesis 1 was supported.

The data showed that the large majority (80.3 percent) of the published stories in AJE reflected a low level of Arab cultural values. At the same time the data revealed that AJA reflected a high level of Arab cultural values in more than half of the stories (55.4 percent). These results mean that AJ considers the cultural differences of its different audiences when producing its media contents. Al Jazeera does not produce media content in its English version that might not be acceptable to its non-Arab readers or could conflict with their Western cultural values.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 predicted that: AJA tends to use more Arab culturally-aware language than AJE. The Chi-square test in Table 23 (See p. 182) of the culturally-aware language variable indicated that there is a significant difference between AJA and AJE in terms of including examples of culturally aware words ($X^2=42.648$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). Thus , hypothesis 2 was supported. The data revealed that AJA was more likely to use stories with only culturally-aware Arab words ($n = 71$, 19.8 percent) compared to AJE ($n = 4$, 1.7 percent) (See Table 23, p. 182). These results mean that AJA shows respect to its Arab religious, social, and cultural norms and values. And AJ when targeting non-Arab readers it does not impose its Arab and Islamic cultural values on them, but communicates in two different ways.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 stated that: women will be present significantly more often in AJE than in AJA.

Data from Table 24 (See p. 182) show that there is a significant difference in women as sources presented in AJE and AJA ($X^2=27.305$, $df =2$, $p. = .001$). Therefore, hypothesis 3 was supported. Data show that AJE was more likely to present more women sources ($n = 25$, 10.7 percent) in news stories than AJA ($n = 5$, 1.4 percent), though in neither site were these stories common. This means that AJA tends to be male-oriented and obeys the cultural roles, and social expectations and restrictions on women in Arab societies which place them less in the news communicated primarily to Arab audiences.

Summary

In short, professional values were the most values reflected in Al Jazeera content. The indices reveal a story mean of 5.88 for AJE and 5.98 for AJA out of 8 – both approaching, but falling slightly below the “high” range of professionalism. The measures reveal more specifics on where the stories fell short of high professionalism: nearly half the stories were not fully attributed; about one-quarter of the stories lacked balance, presenting one side only of an issue, and about one-quarter of the stories reported opinions before core facts. The chi square tests shows there are frequency/percentage differences, but overall the patterns are similar, with no statistically significant differences in the AJA and AJE.

As for the marketing model, Al Jazeera reflects these values at a moderate level (5.93) at the marketing model. At individual level of each news website, AJE scores higher on marketing measures than AJA. AJA reflects the marketing values at the end top of the low level (3.85 out of 11), and AJE reflects the marketing values in the middle of the moderate level (5.87 out of 11). The chi square test shows that there are

statistically significant differences. For example, AJA tended to be a content creator news organization by depending on its staff producing its media content compared to AJE which played the role of aggregator news organization by depending heavily on news produced by other news organizations. Another important difference is that AJ invests far fewer resources into the production of AJE than it does in AJA. What is important, AJE focused on reporting news that may interest its Western readers by providing more private sphere content and soft news compared to AJA which paid high attention to issues that are related to the public and the society in broader sense.

When it comes to the cultural values, Al Jazeera reflects Arab cultural values at a moderate level (4.8) on the cultural index. AJA reflects the marketing values at the end top of the moderate level (6.6 out of 11), and AJE reflects the cultural values in the low level (3.04 out of 11). The chi square test shows statistically significant differences. For example, AJA focused on the Arab region while AJE focused on the non-Arab region; AJA reported more on Arab events, people, and interests while AJE did not focus on Arab events, people, and interests in its coverage. Also, AJA reflected more Arab culturally aware words than AJE. Besides, AJA is more male dominant compared to AJE which presents more female sources in its news coverage.

Taken together, professional model is the most prevalent model in Al Jazeera. While Al Jazeera reflects a high level of professional values, the marketing and cultural values were reflected at moderate levels.

There are significant differences between cultural and marketing values that were evident in AJA and AJE. The data show that AJA tended to reflect more cultural values than AJE. And AJE tended to reflect more marketing values than AJA.

Presenting the results of the research questions and hypotheses leads to a discussion of possible explanations for why Al Jazeera reflects more professional values than marketing and the cultural values in its news production when communicating to its different readers. The next chapter will also examine scholarly and practical implications of the findings, limitations, and ideas for future research.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The study was interested in testing professional, marketing, and cultural models in news production by applying them to the content of a non-Western news organization, and in exploring the degree to which these three proposed models predict the type of media content patterns.

The findings of this study indicated that Al Jazeera tended to reflect professional values to a substantial degree in its production of the news – just under the high level on the professional model index established for this study. Marketing values and cultural values were evident at a moderate level in AJ content, though the individual values studied in these models appeared at different levels. The professional values thus were most prevalent in the news content. Fairness (presenting two sides of the story) and sourcing (citing multiple sources in the stories) were most strongly evident in the content of Al Jazeera, and both objectivity (shown by attribution of information) and factuality (all facts presented before an opinion) were present to a lesser degree.

Al Jazeera operates in a non-democratic region unlike its global competitors CNN and BBC do. However, because Al Jazeera reflects many professional values in news production that makes it a strong, credible source of news in the global news production. At a broad level, this means that Al Jazeera tends to adopt the professional model, which reflects the democratic mission of journalism to provide the public with adequate information to enable them to make good decisions and get them involved in the democracy process.

Also, the analysis shows that Al Jazeera in its news production reflects marketing values to a lesser extent than professional values. AJE was in the middle range of the marketing model, and AJA was just under the middle range for the marketing model. Interestingly, even though there are many reasons that could influence Al Jazeera to adopt more marketing values in the news production, the marketing values were reflected at only a moderate level. Although Al Jazeera receives annual Qatari government subsidies, it is still under many business pressures. These reasons are enough to influence Al Jazeera or any other news organization to produce media content that reflects the logic of the marketing model. However, Al Jazeera reflected some of these marketing values to a moderate degree and at the same time showed little evidence of other values. The findings of this study show that both AJA and AJE focus more on producing public sphere content, hard news stories, and depending more on public sphere sources and all of these criteria don't match the main assumption of using the marketing values in the news production. At the same time, depending less on its staff in reporting the stories, having fewer sources to be interviewed, publishing more short and moderate size stories, and not offering multimedia elements in the stories are clear indicators that Al Jazeera reflects some marketing values in the production of the news.

The chi square tests show there are frequency/percentage differences for the variables in the model, but overall the patterns are similar, with no statistically significant differences in the AJA and AJE. For the marketing measures, the chi square test shows statistically significant differences between AJA and AJE. For example, AJA tended to be a content creator news organization by depending on its

staff producing its media content compared to AJE, which played the role of aggregator news organization by depending heavily on news produced by other news organizations. Another important difference is that AJ invests far fewer resources into the production of AJE than it does in AJA. When it comes to the cultural model, the chi square test indicated that there are significant differences between AJA and AJE in reflecting Arab cultural values. AJA focused on the Arab region while AJE focused on the non-Arab region; AJA reporting more Arab events, people, and interests while AJE did not focus on Arab events, people, and interests in its coverage. Also, AJA reflected more Arab culturally aware words than AJE. Besides, AJA was more male-dominant compared to AJE, which presented more female sources in its news coverage. Practically, this means that Al Jazeera is not producing the same content and has not embedded its Arab and Islamic norms and values for its non-Arab readers.

Based on the values that appeared in Al Jazeera content, the professional frame was most prevalent overall. However, both AJA and AJE used different frames during the process of news production when communicating to their targeted audiences. AJE used more marketing frame than cultural frame when communicating to its non-Arab readers. And AJA used more cultural frame than marketing frame when communicating to its Arab readers.

Explanations for Levels of Professional, Marketing, and Cultural Values

This analysis has three parts. The first one presents six potential explanations and factors of why Al Jazeera reflects more professional values in the production of the news; the second part addresses six other reasonable explanations and factors of

why Al Jazeera reflects some of the marketing values; and the final part discusses five possible explanations to understand why Al Jazeera reflects a mixed level of the culture values in the production of the news between the Arabic and English websites.

It is important to note that some of these explanations overlap between two models. For example, while a specific factor could be presented to support one model, it might be used at the same time against another model. For instance, the growing number of Al Jazeera staff and reporters is an indicator of why professional values are prevalent, but at the same time this factor is an explanation against the marketing model. In another example, interviewing Israeli officials in Al Jazeera content will be an indicator of presenting different sides of the story which is consistent with the main assumption of the professional model and at the same time will be used as a factor to support the conclusion that Al Jazeera does not tend to reflect Arabic cultural values.

More Professional Values

Political Liberalization and Modernizing the Media Environment

The first point that explains the level of professionalism in AJ is related to the nature of the political and economic incubator environment for Al Jazeera. This point could be explained through normative theories, in particular, libertarian and social responsibility theory, and also through Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchy influences model that shapes news content. Here are some potential explanations of why Al Jazeera reflects more professional values:

Media is the face of a democracy (Krimsky, 1997). The idea of democracy implies a public life, meaning that individuals think critically about how to solve

common problems in their society (Habermas, 1989). Simply, the quality of public input into democratic decisions depends on people sharing public communication forums in which to express their concerns, try out new ideas, and see if they stand the test of everyday debate (Bennett, 2004, p.107).

It is no wonder then to say that professionalism is a product of the democratic role of journalism in society. However, for a media organization to be able to perform its democratic mission, it needs an incubator environment that accommodates freedom of expression. This environment reflects the political, social, and economic context where the news organization operates. Professionalism is rarely spread in countries or societies where media are run and controlled by governments (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) such as in China, Russia, and the Middle East countries. So, this point takes us back to the normative theories, in particular the logic of libertarianism and social responsibility theory, which define the role of media in the society.

Normative theories are the dominant and emerging theoretical frameworks for understanding the traditional roles of media in democracy and in democratic transitions. Normative theories of the press describe an ideal way for media systems and they address the should and should not of the press (Baran & Davis, 2006). These theories define the value system of journalism, and adherence to these values defines the specific attribute of journalism professionalism. Basically, libertarianism and social responsibility have been the most important normative theories guiding Western journalism (Merrill, 1974; Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 1963). There are many important foundational conceptualizations of media and democracy sprung

from these normative theories including freedom, autonomy, and rationality which can be traced to the Enlightenment movement in the 17th and 18th centuries (Siebert, 1956; Merrill, 1974). Simply, the movement of the Enlightenment prescribed science as a method for finding the truth rather than blind faith in God or monarchy (Merrill, 1974). In this theory, man is seen as capable of using his reason to self-govern if he has access to the ideas of others and free discussion, thus providing the rationale for an independent and free press that provides citizens with unbiased information.

Libertarianism and social responsibility theories and their assumptions were designed to describe only the roles and functions of media in the democratic West. So, how could such democratic ideals work in a news organization that operates from a non-democratic region, the Middle East? Is it the place where the news organization belongs to or operates in? Or is it the way a news organization exercises its expected role in the society? How could a news organization seek to achieve professional values in journalism amid a dictatorship immersed by social and religious restrictions and complicated contexts? What kind of media content could be presented under such social and political context?

If it is all about the place where the news organization operates, then AJ can never be judged or identified as a professional or objective news organization. The fact is that Qatar is not part of the West and it belongs to a region ruled by non-democratic and authoritarian regimes (Benssahel & Byman, 2004). Scholars and commentators have lamented that democracy is difficult to achieve in the Middle East. For instance, Diamond, Plattner and Brumberg (2003) edited a volume of essays considering the prospects and challenges for democracy in an Islamic Middle East.

The Middle East is one of the largest authoritarian regions in the world (Posusney & Angrist, 2005, p.2). A small part of the population runs institutions, and wealthy families wield extraordinary power, leaving a huge underclass. Political and judicial institutions are weak and unable to rein in the authoritarian propensity many institutions (e.g., parliament, press, universities, etc.) (Rosenberg, 2012). Most Arab countries rank in the lower half of the Corruptions Perceptions Index, with scores below 4 on a 10-point scale (Kujundzic, 2012). In particular, eight countries are in the bottom half of the global rankings. Among the worst offenders are Egypt (112), Syria (126), Yemen (164), Libya (168) and Iraq (175) on the list of 183 countries worldwide (Rosenberg, 2012). Repressive governments control—public expression, restrict media and put many limitations on citizens’ participation in civic organizations and decision making processes. Also they silence dissenting voices, and limit popular access to certain communication technologies (Bensahel & Byman, 2004). So, what makes Qatar an exception-from other countries in the Middle East?

To answer the above question it depends on what kind of future vision of Qatar that the Qatari political leadership seeks to place on the global map. In other words, what kind of frames do the Qatari leadership want to link their country to? And how does this vision affect AJ’s function to advance democracy in the region?

Al Jazeera was launched in 1996 during the era of the former Emir of Qatar Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani as a sign of openness and as part of his move to democracy and political liberalization ideology (Bahry, 2001). This point could be understood through the ideological level in the hierarchical model of Shoemaker and Reese (1996). In fact the former Emir undertook wide-ranging reforms to prepare the

genuine environment to accommodate and facilitate Al Jazeera's role in shaping and directing the Arab awareness. For examples, at media and economic levels: the Ministry of the Information was cancelled; this eventually meant no censorship on media content anymore. Qatar government also provided annual financial support to cover AJ operations and news productions; and hiring the most well-trained and professional staff from Arabic BBC to enable AJ to achieve its organizational goals. On the political level, despite the Arab decision of boycotting normalization with Israel, Doha agreed to open Israeli trade representative office in September 1996; this move helped AJ to move freely to achieve its objectivity and fairness when presenting the two sides on the historical Arab-Israeli conflict. Further, approving the permanent constitution that provides the real press freedoms and political reform, establishing the Central Municipal Council and electing its members, giving women the right to run for election and voting are also aspects of liberalizing Qatar. Moreover, granting Christians who live in Qatar to have the right to build churches and freely perform their worship, and hosting foreign branches of Western and American universities in Qatar are also part of the Qatari liberalization and openness move. For example, six American universities (Carnegie Mellon University, Cornell University, Georgetown University, Northwestern University, Texas A&M University, and Virginia Commonwealth University) have branch campuses in Doha. At social and culture level, Sheikha Mozah, the wife of the former Emir and the current Emir's mother, was the first wife of a Qatari leader to have her picture appear in newspapers and media, and from that time her photo appearance in the media broke the local taboo that prevents Qatari women from appearing in published photos.

Today, reading or surfing any Qatar news organization shows that Qatari women have been interviewed and shared in the political, social, educational, and economic process. These kinds of moves at different levels (political, social, media, educational, and cultural levels) have contributed to creating a solid and fertile basis for enabling AJ to operate in a relatively freer environment which reflects directly on producing content with professional values.

The results of this study that Al Jazeera employs more professional values in its news production are also consistent with what other scholars found about the role of AJ in promoting democracy in the region of the world with the most dictatorships, adopting professional and Western journalism values in reporting, and expanding the margins of freedom of expression and speech among Arab audience (e.g., Quinn & Walters, 2004; Sharp, 2003). Also, it matches with the logic of the ideological and extramedia levels in Shoemaker and Reese (1996)'s model that the openness and move to democracy and political liberalization ideology in Qatar enhance spreading of the professional values in Al Jazeera content.

In short, professional values of journalism don't prevail in non-democratic countries; however, the Qatari political leadership as part of its democratization of Qatar has made efforts to help to make Al Jazeera an exceptional example in enhancing freedom of expression and advancing democratic and political reform amid a desert of dictatorship regimes. Simply, if AJ's media content has embedded professional values, then this ultimately means that AJ is a true reflection of a relatively democratic environment.

Al Jazeera's Mission, Vision, and Values

Second, AJ's main mission and its organizational values match the core assumption of the professional model. The professional values that define Western journalism are based on the Enlightenment ideas of human rationality, free expression, the relationship between the government and citizens, and the relative importance of freedom and social responsibility (Merrill, 1989; Siebert, 1956). According to media scholars, these professional values include public service, fairness, independence, allegiance to truth, journalistic autonomy, impartiality, and objectivity (Gade, 2011; Hitchens, 2007; Kovack & Rosentiel, 2007; The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Weaver et al., 2007). Also this point could be explained through the organizational level of Shoemaker and Reese model (1996), In fact, Al Jazeera on the top of its organization agenda insists to uphold these professional values in doing its reports. For example, in its Arabic version and under About icon, AJ identifies itself as Arabic media service affiliation with global orientation and adopts the motto of "Opinion and the Other Opinion," the motto reflects a desire for pluralism, and inclusion of global views that transcend the Arab region. Also, AJE in its Vision, Mission and Values icon on its website identifies its main purpose to "maintain credibility through impartial, accurate and comprehensive representation of the story" (Al Jazeera English website, 2014). Thus, the main goal of AJ is to be an objective network and produce more professional content to its audience and this main goal matches with the findings of other scholars (e.g. Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; El- Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Quinn & Walters, 2004; Schleifer, 2001; Zeng & Tahat, 2012) who found that AJ is

free, independent, objective and adopting Western professional values in news production. The top editorial leaders in both AJE and AJA have insisted that Al Jazeera has a completely independent editorial policy from the Qatari government, which has nothing to do with the content (Attard, 2012). Wadah Khanfar, the former general director of Al Jazeera Network said, “We are completely independent. The only one who runs this network is the editorial board that has the upper hand in defining editorial policies and the agendas of reporting and we don’t have any relationship politically with the politicians and we don’t take guidance from any politician at all” (Attard, 2012, par.33).

Al Jazeera and its Media Practices

The third possible explanation of why AJ has more likely adopted professional values in the production of the news is related to the nature of Al Jazeera’s practices. Sometimes it is not enough to claim that a news organization seeks to adhere to the professional values if its actions on the ground don’t match its words.

Al Jazeera was given suitable conditions and an acceptable margin of freedom to operate in. The question arises here how AJ takes advantage of this new political environment in the Middle East. In other words, do AJ’s actions reflect this true openness move in Qatar? And does AJ employ the real functions of media in democracy as expected in the libertarian and social responsibility theories?

Media according to libertarian and social responsibility logic have basic functions in contributing to democracy, namely, promoting accountability, transparency and public scrutiny, watchdog over the powerful, promoting a political debate, having well-informed citizens to make healthy and productive decisions.

Unfortunately, most news organizations in the Middle East have failed doing these roles (Anzawa, 2011). However, AJ and a very few media organizations in the Middle East have high level of “freedom” margins that make them operate completely differently from the rest of news organizations and this margin of freedom enables it to exercise its expected roles in a democracy.

The reality is that Al Jazeera’s practices reflect both the democratic incubator environment that accommodates the freedom of expression, and are consistent with Al Jazeera’s main goal to dedicate professional values in doing journalism. Many possible evidences can be shown here to prove how AJ’s practices reflect its tendency to uphold the professional values in news production.

First, it may be that Al Jazeera doesn’t care about other governments’ desires, but gives priority to tell its readers story with facts. If professional values are not a priority on Al Jazeera’s agenda, then it will report the way Qatar’s neighbors want. However, Al Jazeera has never stopped criticizing other Arab governments, and has broken all types of taboos in its daily coverage (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008; Bahry, 2001; Lynch, 2005; Quinn & Walters, 2004). This point could be also understood from the extramedia level in Shoemaker and Reese model (1996). Al Jazeera coverage of the Arab world forced many Arab governments to shut down Al Jazeera bureaus such as in Libya, Jordan, Egypt, Riyadh, Kuwait, Bahrain, Yemen, Tunisia, and Morocco (Seib, 2011), and excluded it from being a member of the Arab States Broadcasting Union (Miles, 2005). In other situations, Al Jazeera correspondents have been detained and questioned, and in other cases their accreditations were canceled (Negus, 2001; Zednik, 2002). Further, the Arab

governments have “complained endlessly of the indignities heaped on them by Al Jazeera” (Lynch, 2005, p. 41), and some of them recalled their ambassadors to show their “dissatisfaction” with Al Jazeera coverage (Bahry, 2001, p. 94). On this point, the Qatari government had received ten hundreds of official complaints from governments around the world about Al Jazeera coverage (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Some Arab regimes accused Al Jazeera of being the voice of dissidents and of conspiring against the stability of these regimes (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Thus, if Al Jazeera cares more to make profits at the expense of producing a professional type of content, then why would it lose one of the most important advertising markets such as the Saudi advertisers? The findings of this study correspond with the third attribute of profession in Beam, Weaver and Brownlee’s (2009) study: when a news organization “put public service interests ahead of economic gain” (p. 279) That is, AJ doesn’t have to make a profit – it is government supported and well-funded. Al Jazeera's mission is to present a pluralism of ideas and views that reflect more than the views of governments. It’s fair to say that the way that most Arab governments respond to Al Jazeera’s coverage means that AJ is really acting in a very free context and supporting the assumption that AJ has an independent editorial policy from its financial supporter, the Qatari government. This point highlights very important concepts in libertarian theory and social responsibility theory: freedom and autonomy (which will be discussed in the sixth factor of why AJ is professional.)

Second, it perhaps that Al Jazeera is committed to produce professional content to its readers (opposite to the logic of the marketing model which tends to create

cheaper content) through expanding its outreach plan. Al Jazeera is a fast growing network in international media production. In 2003, Al Jazeera was operating in 31 countries around the world with 50 foreign correspondents and nearly 300 reporters (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). Today, Al Jazeera network has more than 65 bureaus across the globe with more than 3,000 staff members, including more than 400 journalists from more than 60 countries (Al Jazeera English website, 2012). Jazeera America has one of the largest newsgathering capabilities of any news organization in the United States with 12 bureaus in major cities around the country, 3 broadcast centers, a headquarters in New York City and a team of close to 800 journalists and staff (Al Jazeera English website, 2014). These numbers of reporters, staff, different headquarters, correspondents, and bureaus are supporting AJ's capabilities in news gathering and global news production.

Third, it may be that Al Jazeera upholds its long-term philosophy of maintaining “the right to speak up” (Al Jazeera English website, 2014) by allowing people to express their opinion freely, encouraging debates, viewpoints and counter viewpoints. Al Jazeera seeks to express a diversity of views, from both within and outside the Arab world. Al Jazeera has given voices to ordinary people in the street to express their grievances and ambitions. Many guest speakers from different schools of thought were interviewed, and many Arab opposition representatives have also been given the chances to debate and present freely their opinions, ideas and thoughts on the most pressing issues in the Arab world. These kinds of actions enable AJ to perform its main role in promoting democracy and expanding the margins of freedom in the region. The names of its most famous talk shows reflect its core professional

mission stated in its slogan "Opinion, and the other opinion": e.g., More Than One Opinion, The Opposite Direction, Open Dialogue, No Limits (Lynch, 2005). By focusing on the common interests of the public and providing different perspectives on these issues that impact on the society and the public life, AJ in this role is consistent with the logic of the concept of public service, which is considered one of the most important professional values in libertarian and social responsibility theories.

Finally, it may be that Al Jazeera was the first Arab and Muslim news organization that allows Israelis to appear in its airtime news bulletins and conducts live interviews with them (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; Sharp, 2003). Allowing Israelis to presents their opinions matches with the logic of fairness value in professionalism. Palestine is a holy cause for all Arabs and Muslims because it is the land of the prophets and the place where the Prophet Muhammad ascended on a journey of "Isra and Mi'raj" to the seven heavens. Since 1948 Israel has occupied Arab lands, and since then Arabs have fought many wars over this land. Some Arab governments decided to have a peace with Israel (e.g., Egypt in 1977, Palestinian National Authority in 1990, and Jordan in 1994). But, Israel is still in the eyes of most Arab people as an occupier, and the Arab people have refused any kind of political, cultural, and media normalization with Israel, and they don't recognize it as a state. Al Jazeera's decision to include Israeli perspectives in its coverage could be explained through the routine level in Shoemaker and Reese model (1996), in particular, they consider the content professional when it presenting objective and fair reports from different perspectives. If AJ adopts the Arab culture in its news production, then the

logic of the cultural model assumes that AJ should not interview any Israelis; otherwise, this kind of interviewing will be considered as kind of normalization with its audience's enemy. (More on this will be discussed in the cultural model.) However, Al Jazeera is keen to provide multiple perspectives and sides. Thus, AJ, by presenting Israelis perspectives on the Arab-Israeli conflict and other issues, upholds the professional values of fairness, independence, neutrality, allegiance to truth, journalistic autonomy, impartiality, and objectivity (Deuze, 2005; Gade, 2011; Hitchens, 2007; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Weaver et al., 2007). Otherwise, if Al Jazeera does not do this, it will be biased to its audience's cultural norms at the expense of telling the truth.

Al Jazeera and its Well-Trained Staff

Al Jazeera's Western-professional and well-trained journalists are the fourth factor that might explain why AJ upholds professional values in the production of the news. The story of AJ began when the BBC Arabic television station, based in London, was closed in 1995. The Al Jazeera network founders decided to hire 120 of these Western-professional and well-trained journalists in its team (Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005). Al Jazeera has strong professional values that make it more objective (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011). Al Jazeera inherited the BBC network's editorial "spirit, freedom, style, and adapted Western journalistic values" (El Nawawy, 2003; Scott, 2003).

This point could be understood from the individual level of the Shoemaker and Reese model (1996). Al Jazeera's team of journalists, with their multi-national education and diversified backgrounds, share a common set of attributes: objectivity,

accuracy, and a passion for truth (Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005).

The role of AJ's team in bringing its journalists professionally trained from London to Doha has contributed in producing media content armed with Western professional values in doing journalism. This result matches with other scholars' findings (e.g., Auter, Arafa & Al-Jaber, 2004; Bahry, 2001) who found that scores of credibility were highest from AJ's viewers perspectives' that AJ's reporters are trained well.

Beam, Weaver and Brownlee (2009, p. 278) mentioned that "members are socialized through education and training" is a very important attribution of the professionalism in journalism. Many of AJE's journalists and reporters have received their educations from U.S. and European journalism schools, and most of them had worked in NBC, CBS, Fox News, Associated Press TV, and CNN (McKelvey, 2007). Meanwhile, most of AJA's journalists graduated from journalism and other related schools in Europe and the Middle East and had worked for a long time in BBC Arabic in London (Auter, Arafa, & Al Jaber, 2005; Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005). Having a well-qualified and well-trained staff will help AJ to achieve its organizational goals of producing well-balanced and more professional values content. To keep up with changes in the global media landscape and the fast growing in technical developments and modern means of communication, Al Jazeera in 2004 launched Al Jazeera Media Center for Training. The idea of this center emerged from a belief in the importance of the training for

skills development, capacity building, exchange of expertise, and excellence in performance (Al Jazeera Arabic Website, 2014).

This kind of qualifications in training and education in AJ's journalists matches the definition of the meaning of profession, in which professionals proclaim to serve society and operate in a market shelter maintained by entry norms, including specialized degrees and educational training (Barber, 1965; Becker & Vlad, 2011; Larson, 1982). Professionals' values are informed by education and training (Abbott, 1988).

Independence and Freedom Context

The independence of Al Jazeera in its editorial policy provides it with a wider margin to act in an exceptional freedom context and this could explain why Al Jazeera tends to adopt more professional values in the production of the news.

By having media that act in a free context, this type of environment could lead to expand the space for freedom of expression, promote public debate, help mobilize democrats, and prompt authoritarian governments to become less authoritarian (Kaul, 2012, p 53). Al Jazeera has enjoyed this kind of free context and this makes its journalists enjoy with some degree of autonomy to accomplish their work. This result is consistent with the assumption of professionalism in the West, and many scholars in journalism (e.g., Beam, Weaver, & Brownlee, 2009; Deuze, 2005) believed that one of the most important attributions of the profession is that journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work.

Linking the above assumption to the reality of Al Jazeera, one can note that Al Jazeera has enjoyed a considerable margin of "freedom and independence

unprecedented" in the Middle East (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008, p. 211). Al Jazeera is also described to be the "closest thing to independent television journalism currently available in Arabic" (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004, p. 123). Despite the fact that Al Jazeera gets an annual funding reaching up to \$ 137-150 million from the Qatari government (Bahry, 2001; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005; Sharp, 2003), Al Jazeera is described by some scholars as a network "free from government scrutiny, control, and manipulation" (Pintak, 2011, p 40). The Qatari fund helped Al Jazeera not to worry about any financial problems, and makes AJ focuses more on its content rather profits. That is, AJ has no "duality" of purpose. Al Jazeera's freedom of the press model is not a preferred one to the Arab governments, and this model did not enable Al Jazeera to attract advertising revenues from the Arab market controlled by Saudi companies. So, Al Jazeera has given priority to its content at the expense of revenues and has faced these financial difficulties through the Qatari subsidies. The Qatar financial support has provided Al Jazeera with more degree of autonomy from the advertisers and large degree of freedom from the market pressures in terms of content. Thus, Al Jazeera never stopped producing content that criticizing the Arab governments, and presenting public interests at the expense of gaining more profits. However, this continued financial assistance from the Qatar inevitably questions the editorial impartiality of Al Jazeera. Neglecting the reporting unfavorable Qatari internal affairs does not make AJ a truly independent news organization at all. The fact that this kind of financial reliance limits Al Jazeera's independence because AJ ignores and avoids dealing with domestic issues of Qatar while it did not do the same for other Arab cases.

The worst outcomes of the absence of freedom value from media function in developing world is that the traditional media never challenges the legitimacy of the powers that tends to lend support to establish authority and norms. In this point, it is worth to mentioning that the Qatari government has received tens hundreds of complaints from other Arab and western governments because of Al Jazeera coverage.

The Absence of Political Parties in Qatar

Finally, the absence of political parties, unions and associations is another factor that could explain Al Jazeera's tendency to reflect more professional values in the production of the news. At the individual level of Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchy model, they argued that "One of the most controversial questions facing those who study mass media content is the extent to which communicators' attitudes, values, and beliefs affect content" (p. 84). Journalists who embed their personal religious or political attitudes in their reports may undermine the credibility of their news organizations. When it comes to Qatar, the reality is that political parties remain prohibited and civil liberties remain restricted. Many human rights' reports have noted that Qatar bans political parties and puts restrictions on assembly and association. However, this absence of political parties in the Qatari arena, even though it is not a democratic indicator, may help Al Jazeera' staff and reporters avoid any political orientation or sectarian ideas. In short, the misfortunes of some people may be advantages to others.

Summary. Al Jazeera tends to produce media content that reflects more professional values, although the picture of professionalism is somewhat mixed for

individual professional values. At a more precise level and by examining each variable in the professional model, the chi square tests show there are frequency/percentage differences, but overall the patterns are similar, with no statistically significant differences in the AJA and AJE. The findings showed that there are no significant differences between them in the four measures of the professional construct: objectivity, sourcing, fairness, and factuality.

There are many reasonable explanations of why Al Jazeera reports more professional content. The nature of the political liberalization, modernizing the media, and economic incubator environment in Qatar provides a great context for Al Jazeera to act, relatively, with acceptable margins of freedom. In fact the former Emir undertook wide-ranging reforms to prepare the environment to accommodate and facilitate Al Jazeera' role in the shaping and directing the Arab awareness (e.g., Quinn & Walters, 2004; Sharp, 2003). Besides, Al Jazeera's main mission and its organizational values match the core assumption of the professional model. The main goal of AJ is to be an objective network and produce more professional content to its audience and this main goal matches with the findings of other scholars (e.g. Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; El- Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Quinn & Walters, 2004; Schleifer, 2001; Zeng & Tahat, 2012) who found that Al Jazeera is a free, independent, objective and adopting Western professional values in news production. In addition, Al Jazeera's practices reflect its tendency to uphold the professional values in news production. Al Jazeera does not give other governments' desires but gives priority to tell its readers the story with facts (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008; Bahry, 2001; Lynch, 2005; Quinn & Walters, 2004). Also, Al Jazeera

committed to produce a professional content to its readers through reporting more public sphere content by focusing on the common interests of the public and providing different perspectives on these issues that impact on the society and the public life. AJ in this role matches the logic of the concept of public service, which is considered one of the most important professional values in libertarian and social responsibility theories.

Other potential factors could explain why Al Jazeera upholds more professional values. For example, Al Jazeera was the first Arab and Muslim news media allowing Israelis to present and take part in its airtime news bulletins and conduct live interviews with them and this matches the fairness value in professionalism (Boyd-Barrett & Xie, 2008; Sharp, 2003). Also, Al Jazeera's western-professional and well-trained team of dedicated journalists with their multi-national education and diversified backgrounds share a common set of attributes: objectivity, accuracy, and a passion for truth (Bahry, 2001; Cherribi, 2006; El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003; Lynch, 2005). Finally, the absence of political and activities parties in Qatar, even though it is not a democratic sign, may help Al Jazeera "staff and reporters to avoid any political orientation or sectarian ideas.

All in all, Qatar is not classified as a democratic country. But the vision of the former emir of Qatar and his personal political willingness, specifically in moving into the political liberalization and democratic openness, has created fertile ground, comparable to those freedom standards prevailing in the developed world. This political liberalization provides a larger space and relatively wider freedom margins that enable Al Jazeera to act in more objective, free, and professional way compared

to its counterparts in the same region. The fact is that Al Jazeera has shown alternative perspectives in doing its professional journalism job that matches the professional Western media. Al Jazeera could be classified under the professional model as an international news organization which seeks to reflect more professional values in the production of the news compared to its counterparts in the same region.

Moderately Reflects Marketing Values

The analysis of the data shows that Al Jazeera in its news production reflects marketing values to a lesser extent than professional values. AJE was in the middle range of the marketing model, and AJA was just under the middle range for the marketing model. This conclusion that only a moderate level of marketing values are prevalent in Al Jazeera content supports the fact that Al Jazeera follows the professional model. The tension between professional goals and market forces in news organizations has been a concern to some scholars for years (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; Hallin, 2000, Picard, 2005). The professional model and the marketing model are contradictory to each other in terms of their mission, logic, and ultimate goals. The conflict between professional and commercial goals of the news organizations has threatened the public service mission because public interests are not the priority in the business pressure environment (Beam & Meeks, 2011).

The principal norm of business model is to increase profits (Main & Baird, 1981). The market media have their own agenda to make money and serve the interests of their owners, advertisers, and audiences (Gade, 2011). The term "market journalism" suggests that the media industry will "automatically produce entertainment-oriented information" (Lacy & Sohn, 2011, p. 159). Under this

economically driven approach, news organizations will minimize reports about public affairs and expand their reporting about the private sphere to satisfy the needs of individuals (Beam, 2003; Hamilton, 2004; Hanitzsch, 2007). However, content driven by marketing values leads to the fragmentation of audiences and hinders the "flourishing democracy" (Picard, 2005. p. 347). In the market driven approach the perspective of the individuals becomes the center of attention of news production (Bourdieu, 1998; Campbell, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Moreover, one advantage of using the marketing model is producing inexpensive content (Meyer, 1985).

By linking the above assumptions of the marketing model to Al Jazeera's reality, one can see different possible explanations that Al Jazeera does not apply as high a level of marketing values as professional values in the production of the news.

Al Jazeera's Online Products Free of Charge

First, Al Jazeera offers some of its products for free online in English and operates with vast resources, with relative independence from the market and geopolitical forces (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p. 25). Al Jazeera for Android provides all the latest news and live broadcast of Al Jazeera English, free of charge. Al Jazeera has no strong motivation to adopt marketing model because it does not sell its products online. It "provides distribution oftentimes free of charges" (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p. 31). Offering some of its news production free of charge makes Al Jazeera a less marketing news organization and this could be understood through the organizational level in Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) model. This means that the

main goal of Al Jazeera as a news organization is not to make a profit but to produce professional news.

The Saudi Advertising Boycott and the Qatari Financial Support

Second, Al Jazeera's financial management has depended heavily on annual subsidies from the Qatari government that reach over \$100 million (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p.31; Fahmy & Johnson, 2011, p. 251), and the Qatari government devoted an “open budget,” (Al -Najjar, 2009, p. 2) reaching up to \$1 billion (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2008) to support Al Jazeera English. Advertising was limited on both its English and Arabic version. This kind of financial support from the Qatari government makes Al Jazeera free from any kind of business pressures that have forced most of news organizations around the world to adopt strong marketing model in the news production (Beam, 2003) at the expense of the professionalism. This point exactly reflects the extramedia level in the model of Shoemaker and Reese (1996) which explains the relationship between Al Jazeera and Qatari government and how this relationship affects the type of the produced content in Al Jazeera. The Qatari annual fund enables Al Jazeera network to cover the cost of its expensive operations, thousands of staff, bureaus, hundreds of foreign correspondents around the world. Also this fund enables Al Jazeera to survive and face the Gulf advertising boycott which was led by Saudi Arabia in response to Al Jazeera's editorial policy that is critical of these governments (Sakr, 2007). In fact, Al Jazeera has not become a self-financing organization and could not attract advertising revenues. In order to compensate the shortage in revenues and the absence of Arab and international advertisers, the Qatari state-owned companies in telecommunications, banking and

insurance, transportation, and oil and gas such as Qatar Petroleum, Qatar Telecom (Qtel), RasGas, and Qatar Airways sponsor Al Jazeera's popular talk shows such as More Than One Opinion, The Opposite Direction, Open Dialogue, and No Limits. This kind of sponsorship could be seen in each advertising break in the talk shows. In short, the availability of generous funding from the Qatari government and the heavy sponsorship from the significant rich Qatari enterprises to all talk shows programs in Al Jazeera is enough reason not to force Al Jazeera network to adopt the marketing model as other news organizations have done under the formidable competition and business pressure. Not generating revenues and the lack of advertisements amid a highly competitive media environment with other Arab rivals such as Al Arabiya is enough reason to force Al Jazeera to use the marketing model in its news production. But the generous fund from the Qatari government makes Al Jazeera an exceptional case. The Qatari fund offers Al Jazeera the opportunity to focus on advancing its professional values in the production of the content instead of struggling to make money and increase profits. In short, with the Qatari subsidies Al Jazeera has been given the oxygen to breathe deeply and to move freely amid all types of economic crisis and business pressures.

Al Jazeera Favors Content over Revenues

Third, in its mission statement Al Jazeera stresses that it gives no priority to the commercial or political interests over professional consideration. Al Jazeera in its mission statement emphasizes adoption of the Western professional values in its news production and assures audiences that it "adheres to the journalistic values of honesty, courage, fairness, balance, independence, credibility and diversity, giving no priority

to commercial or political interests over professional consideration” (Al Jazeera English website, 2012). This means that Al Jazeera’s strategy to achieve its business aim is not to get its profits right away, but to make itself continuous for the future by building up a trusted brand for its audience. The mission statement of Al Jazeera leads us to understand its main goal in this way: Al Jazeera's long term plan is to focus on connecting with its audience rather than just producing income.

Al Jazeera Promotes its Original Brand in Various Forms

Fourth, Al Jazeera’s business model which keeps depending on Qatar's funds and political stability will be at risk at any time if, for one reason or another, the conditions that support launching Al Jazeera might change. Al Jazeera found itself obligated to look for other sources of revenue to support its operations. Al Jazeera adopts a long term business strategy to attract advertisers and increase its revenues by promoting its original brand in various forms and targets specific markets and audiences.

The lack of advertising revenues because of the Gulf advertising boycott for approximately seven years on Al Jazeera Arabic news channel was fair enough to push Al Jazeera to look at other best alternatives to compensate for the lack of revenues by expanding its financial resources. Before Al Jazeera's decision of expanding its financial resources, Al Jazeera's advertising revenue could not meet its rising expenses of the operations. Until 2004, the average time of advertising on Al Jazeera was about 40 minutes each day, compared to about 300 minutes of daily commercial advertising on CNN (Miles, 2005b).

This new business strategy was implemented by offering different channels that produce specific content, which target a specific audience and areas. For example, this expansion plan includes beside Al Jazeera Arabic which launched in 1996 offering other channels such as Al Jazeera Sports (November 2003), Al Jazeera Mobile (November 2003), Al Jazeera Mubashar "Live" (April 2005), Al Jazeera Atfal "Children" (September 2005), Al Jazeera Documentary (November 2006), and Al Jazeera English (November 2006), Al Jazeera Balkans based in Sarajevo launched in 2011, and Al Jazeera America news channel (August 2013). The network also has different websites in different languages, this include Al Jazeera.net Arabic (January 2001), Al Jazeera English website (September 2003), and Turkish website (2014). In addition to these channels and websites, Al Jazeera in 2004 established Media Training and Development Center to advance Arab journalism in the region, and in 2006 it also founded Al Jazeera Center for Studies. For instance, Al Jazeera Sports presently has 15 channels including 12 subscription channels. Al Jazeera Sports owns the exclusive broadcasting right for international popular football clubs, such as the Italian, English, and Spanish leagues, and in the Middle East (Al Jazeera English website, 2014).

In short, the creating of the sports and children channels and the other websites was part of Al Jazeera Network's plan to face the financial struggles in its news channel. The lack of advertising revenues on the news channels forced Al Jazeera to find out different financial alternatives to support its news production operations through adopting the logic of marketing model by offering channels that produce private sphere content (e.g., Al Jazeera sports and Al Jazeera Children) (Beam, 2003;

Dimmick et al., 2011; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Thus, the logic of the marketing model does not prevail directly and highly in the news channels or websites, but it will be easier to catch these marketing values in other products of Al Jazeera such as Al Jazeera sports and Al Jazeera children, which are beyond the purpose of this study.

Al Jazeera is not Driven to Private Sphere Content Production

Fifth, Al Jazeera is not driven to produce news content that matches the logic of the marketing model. The market-driven model in journalism translates into more attention to private sphere content “crime and scandal, celebrities, and less attention to reports that may be less exciting but would be better serve the public interests” (Beam, Brownlee, Weaver & Cicco, 2009, p.734). Also, there is a general trend among scholars who argue that softening the news coverage is a consequence of a market approach in the news production (Beam, 2008; Curran, Salovaara-Moring, Cohen & Iyengar, 2010; Scott & Gobetz, 1992; Patterson, 2000).

The findings from this study show that both AJA and AJE focus more on producing public sphere content, hard news stories, depending more on public sphere sources. All of these criteria don't match the main assumption of using the marketing values in the news production.

The public sphere is defined as information about the government, civic affairs, current events, democratic process, and public interests (Beam, 2003; Croteau & Hoynes, 2006). The public sphere content is driven by professional values and focuses on public needs.

Both AJA and AJE produce stories that help citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs (e.g., natural disasters, international relations, disputes, strikes, health epidemics, etc.).

In general, the finding of this study came in line with other scholars' findings (e.g., Abdul-Mageed, 2008; Al-Najjar, 2009; Figenschou, 2010; Miladi, 2006) who found that Al Jazeera focuses more on public sphere content. Al Jazeera's political programs attracted 63 percent of its viewers, 53 percent documentaries, and 38 percent like to watch sports (Miladi, 2006). Abdul-Mageed (2008) also found that Al Jazeera's reader comments focused mostly on themes related to military and political violence, politics, and foreign relations. About 34 percent of the stories were about politics, 30 percent military and political violence, 24 percent foreign relations, 4 percent religion and culture, 1.5 percent economic, the same for disaster and the rest (5 percent) other news stories. In her analyses, Al-Najjar (2009) found that 27 percent of the total broadcasting news stories in both AJE and AJA was about external diplomacy and political conflict, 19.3 percent domestic government, 17 percent nongovernment attacks/civil war/ terrorism, 13 percent military combat, 9 percent human interests, 3.1 percent religion, 2.9 percent accident/disasters, 2.9 percent also business/environment/science, 2.7 percent health and education, and 2.1 percent about celebrities/entertainment/modeling. Finally, Figenschou (2010) found that one third of all news stories in AJE focused on politics, one fifth on armed conflict, 13 percent legal affairs, 9 percent economy, 7 percent ecology, aid and social affairs 3 percent, and other categories (e.g., science, religion, culture) which received very limited coverage. Only three of the total 1324 news items focused on celebrity news.

Also, a quarter of the main source (25 percent) were independent elites, 18 percent officials, 11 percent ordinary people, 45 percent AJE editorial staff, and 1 percent others. Generally speaking, Al Jazeera is not interested to produce private sphere content as the marketing model suggest, but Al Jazeera pays big attention to produce public sphere content that focus on political, health, military, diplomatic, education, and other public affairs topics that don't match the logic of the marketing model.

In short, both AJA and AJE are public sphere driven-content. Most stories in both of them focus on political issues, governmental relationships, military and defense, health, business, education, environment, human rights, etc. This trend in producing more public affairs content does not match the main logic of the marketing model which pays attention to personal-centered topics that are not related at anyway to the public life. Unlike other Arab media, where most of their content is filled up with entertainment or propaganda materials; Al Jazeera reports on public affairs issues.

No Layoffs Amid Business Pressure

Opposing the marketing model, which assumes that media organizations under the financial pressure were forced to cut back the number of their journalists (Bakker, 2011a; Jones, 2009; NOLA, 2012; State of the News Media, 2011), Al Jazeera, since it was established in 1996, has never laid off any of its employees or journalists for economic difficulties. Quite the contrary of the marketing model assumption, Al Jazeera has expanded the size of its staff and reporters to meet its organizational vision (Al Jazeera English website, 2014). A weak economy and loss of revenues

have influenced news production and forced newspapers to cut off their staffs, contents, and budgets (State of the News Media, 2011).

The studies have found that under the decline of advertising revenues, most news organizations control the cost of news production through laying off employees (Lacy et al., 2004), throw out much of their most valuable content (e.g., international news and investigative reporting), and reduce publication at the expense of the quality of news content by paying little attention to government coverage (Bakker, 2011a; Jones, 2009; NOLA, 2012; State of the News Media, 2011). These kinds of procedures, in the logic of the marketing model, push news organizations to produce cheap content because the news organization does not put a lot of its resources commitments to produce a detailed content.

The large numbers of reporters, staff, different headquarters, correspondents, and bureaus prove AJ's capabilities in news gathering and global news production and reflect its organizational commitment to news coverage.

At a finer level, the chi square test was used to test the variables in the marketing construct. The test includes and reveals the patterns by individual variables that comprise the marketing index to give a precise picture. Overall the patterns show statistically significant differences. For example, AJA tended to be a content creator news organization by depending on its staff producing its media content compared to AJE, which played the role of an aggregator news organization by depending heavily on news produced by other news organizations. AJ invests far fewer resources into the production of AJE than it does in AJA. AJE did not provide as much multimedia as AJA did, and did not prefer to produce detailed content as AJA did by producing

medium and large size stories. This could reflect AJ thinking that AJE is a secondary audience, or that AJ thinks its AJE content fits better to its English audience by adhering to marketing values. AJA may be responding to the broader social and political issues compared to AJE, which pays more attention to reporting less pressing issues to the public. This could be related to the fact that AJE's Western journalists reflect in the production of the news more individualistic culture values compared to AJA's Arabic journalists, who reflect more collectivist cultural values.

Summary

Al Jazeera pays some attention to marketing values, but not at the same level of the professional values. Many indicators support this analysis including these facts: Al Jazeera offers its online products for free (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p. 25). Also, Al Jazeera's financial management has depended heavily on annual subsidies from the Qatari government (El Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p.31; Fahmy & Johnson, 2011, p. 251). In addition, Al Jazeera's mission is based on giving no priority to the commercial interests (Al Jazeera English website, 2012), or to be more specific AJ has no duality purpose so this is why it focus on public service in reporting .Besides, Al Jazeera's strategy is not aim to get its profits right away, but to increase it and make it continuous for the future by building up a trusted brand for its audience. What is important here is that Al Jazeera is not driven to produce private sphere content production; and quite the contrary of the marketing model assumption. Finally, Al Jazeera has expanded the size of its staff and reporters to meet its organizational vision. Considering why Al Jazeera moderately reflects marketing values leads to the

discussion of why Al Jazeera is interested at differing levels to employ cultural values in its news production. The next section discusses possible reasons.

The Cultural Values

The contents of the two news websites together, AJA and AJE, which are produced by the same news organization, Al Jazeera, moderately reflect the Arab cultural values in the production of the news. However, AJA was in the middle range of the culture index, and AJE was in the low level. In the cultural viewpoint, news is a cultural product produced by journalists who might adhere to their specific cultural values. The assumption of this approach is that the content reflects its creator's cultural values and norms (e.g., Garyantes, 2006; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Under this approach, Peterson (1979) argued that a cultural model in news production is important, and it indicated journalists' cultural background impacted the selecting and gathering of news (p. 119).

It is important to remember that this study primarily aims to examine the nature of two media contents (AJA and AJE) produced by the same news organization, Al Jazeera. This is important because studying and comparing the contents of the two websites AJE and AJA gives the true meaning to understanding the logic of the cultural model in the production of the news. To be more specific, studying the nature of two contents produced by the same news organization to communicate to two different audiences could lead to different ways of understanding the relationship between media content and media creator. The first way could be understood in a negative way; in this way, the news organization will use only its cultural values as a tool to impose them on its audience regardless of their cultural, religious, language,

and social backgrounds. In this way the news organization does not respect the cultural values of the out group audience and will produce the same media content or translate its original content to target the out group audience in the same way it targets the local audience "in group". This kind of content will be fully cultural biased and will not be easy to accept by the out group audience who don't share the same religious, social, and cultural backgrounds of the local audience "in group". This first way of communicating is a pure culturally driven media content. However, the other way of understanding the relationship between media content and its makers would be positive. In this trend of news production, the news organization will use the cultural values to design media content that respects both in group and out group audiences. The same news organization will communicate to its "out group" audience by designing a media content that respects their readers' religious, social, and cultural values and norms in different ways of communicating to its original local readers "in group". This second trend in using cultural values in the production of the news is more close to employing some kind of marketing values through using cultural values to design media content that fits the in group and the out group cultural values which could narrow the cultural gap between nations and cultures.

For example, both the English and the Arabic websites of Al Alam "the world" channel, based in Tehran, have reflected the Iranian culture and have been used as a tool to promote the Persian culture among its different audiences (Tahat & Fowler, 2010). In the cultural model, this kind of practice means that regardless of readers/audiences' cultural, religious, and social backgrounds, the content of the news organization reflects the cultural values of its creator or the side that funds the news

organization. Thus, journalists in this model “tend to be biased toward their own cultures and perspectives” (Garyantes, 2006, p.4). This trend of bias in news production reflects the "cultural norms" of the communicator which is based on different elements including religious affiliation, language, physical contiguity, and real blood or kinship relationship among members (Mokros, 1996, p. 321).

Typically there is nothing wrong to find, for example, the French BBC website to communicate to the French readers by focusing its news production on France or regions dominated by the French culture, their interests, policies, and people. Meanwhile, the Persian BBC version also communicates to the Iranian people by using their language and focusing on their people, interests, region, and the Persian cultural values. Again, this kind of news production trend is subsumed under the second trend of news production, which is based on using the cultural values of the out group audience to design media contents that meet their cultural values.

Based on these two approaches in using the cultural values in the production of the news, and by examining the data analysis of both websites together (AJE and AJA), then one could conclude that Al Jazeera at a broad level shows little reflection of the culture values in its news production in the first sense. To be more specific, Al Jazeera as a pan-Arab news organization does not attempt to impose its cultural values on its Western readers. But, it targets its in group and out group readers in different ways that respect the cultural values they share.

There are different reasonable indicators that could lead to the above conclusion that Al Jazeera as a news organization does little to reflect its Arabic culture in its AJE content and this could be summarized in the following points or indicators.

Al Jazeera Communicates to its Different Audiences with Different Content

First, Al Jazeera Arabic communicates to its Arabic audience in a way different from Al Jazeera English to its Western audience. When communicating, Al Jazeera reflected the cultural values of its Arab readers' values; however, AJ does not impose those Arab cultural values when communicating with non Arab readers. The findings of this study revealed that the vast majority of stories in AJA focused on the Arab regions, topics, and Arab sources; while the vast majority of AJE focused on non-Arab region. Also AJA reflected more culturally aware language than AJE did. This finding of the study came in line with Abudl-Mageed and Herring's (2008) study which compared the two language versions of AJE and AJA in terms of their layout and the structural features, regional and thematic coverage, and ideological perspective reflected in the headlines of news reports. The analyses revealed differences between the two versions for all aspects except thematic coverage, suggesting that the two language versions of Al Jazeera are editorially distinct and target different audiences. The distribution of top story themes was roughly similar for the two sites. The most common themes were military and police violence, foreign relations, and politics. In their discourse content analysis Abudl-Mageed and Herring found that the lexical choices in each website revealed a slight systematic pro-Arab bias in the AJA and a slight pro-West bias in the AJE. They also found that religious and cultural stories were presented more in AJA than in AJE. Finally, Abudl-Mageed and Herring (2008) pointed out that that AJA focused more on the Arab countries than any other region, then it focused on the third world (Non-Arab Muslim World) more than the first and second worlds. Meanwhile, AJE covered

regions belonging to the third world more than any other region, and then the Arab world came next. Another example, Cherribi (2006) concluded that Al Jazeera Arabic devoted more of its programs to present the Islamic religious leaders and promote the values and the practices of Islamic culture among its viewers. The author uses the veil issue as a case study, where the French government in 2004 banned wearing headscarves in public schools. Also, Abdul-Mageed (2008) analyzed 5219 comments that were published in 189 different news stories published in the AJA news website. He found that 62 percent of these stories about the Arab world, 16 percent non-Arab Muslim world, and 22 percent about non-Arab non-Muslim world. About 73 percent of the total of these comments focused on stories about the Arab world, and 15 percent about the Non-Arab non-Muslim world. Finally, Al-Najjar (2009) also analyzed 477 news stories (237 news stories were broadcast by AJE, and 240 by AJA) to identify the similarities and differences between AJE and AJA. She found that AJA focused more on the Arab world and the Middle East; in particular, Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon, then the U.S. comes next. Meanwhile, AJE focused more on news stories about the United Kingdom, Russia, and other countries.

Al Jazeera does not Impose Arab Cultural Values on its Western Readers

Second, Al Jazeera when communicating to its Western audience doesn't impose its Arab cultural values as BBC and CNN do when reporting on Arabic and Islamic issues. This kind of communication which does not respect the cultural values of the out group will make media content unacceptable. The finding of this study corresponds with Barkho findings' (2006) and Fahmy and Al-Emad (2011)'s study. Barkho analyzed 63 print stories and 24 news broadcasts that were collected from Al

Jazeera, BBC and CNN during the period from September 1 to 15, 2004. He found that the cultural and historical values have played a key role in explaining why a specific audience accepts news content from one news organization that reflects its cultural view, while at the same time, this audience does not accept the news content from other news organizations that does not represent its (audience) culture. Barkho indicates that cultural, religious, and historical values are the main factors that make the Western news organizations (e.g. CNN) unacceptable to the Arab audience because “the Western media organizations have failed to meet international news production standards toward its targeted audience in the Middle East” (p. 14). Barkho provides different examples to show how cultural values impact the news production in news organizations. For example, when it comes to the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Barkho mentions that while BBC and CNN referred to Israeli troops as “Israeli Defense Forces or IDF”, Al Jazeera describes them as “occupation troops.” Hamas in BBC and CNN are described as “militant,” and in Al Jazeera, are described as the “resistance or the Islamic Resistance Movement.” Also, “Unlike the BBC and CNN, Al Jazeera treats Muslim historical figures and geographical places with utmost respect” (Barkho, 2006, p. 5). In particular, this cultural difference appears when the news organization employs words related to holy places like Mecca, Al Qudus “Jerusalem” or Prophet Mohammad. In short, Al Jazeera, when reporting about Arabs and Muslim issues uses language that appears to meet the aspirations, traditions and cultural heritage of its audience in the Arab and Muslim world.

Most recently, Fahmy and Al-Emad (2011) analyzed the content of 238 online stories that focused on the conflict between the U.S. and Al Qaeda. They tested whether the AJA website used fewer U.S. news sources than AJA and framed the U.S. negatively in this war compared to the AJE. They found that AJA cited more American sources (65 percent) than AJE (45 percent). This comparative analysis suggests that Al Jazeera websites did not use different sources to report the conflict in Iraq. For example, it did not try to present a one-sided perspective of the U.S. and its allies to its English-speaking audience, neither did it present a predominantly Al Qaeda perspective to its Arabic-speaking audience. Also they found that Al Qaeda agents were significantly framed more negatively (89.4 percent) and less positively (10.6 percent) than any other agents involved in the two websites combined. This means that Al Jazeera only shares the Arab cultural values with its in group readers, and uses different cultural values when communication out group readers.

Al Jazeera English is an Acceptable News Organization in the West

Another indicator that might explain why Al Jazeera does not intend to produce a content that reflects Arab values is related to the fact that AJE has grown to be much bigger than the Arab version and it is available in 220 million households compared to its Arab version which covered almost 50 million households. Al Jazeera English is available worldwide in more than 100 countries (Al Jazeera English website, 2012; Seib, 2011). The fact is that about 81 percent of AJE website's users originate from the U.S and other Western countries (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011). This expansion to the Western market and these numbers indicate that AJE has become an acceptable news organization to the Western people, and if this is the reality, then AJE

communicates to its Western audience through their cultural values not through the Arabic cultural that AJA use to target its Middle Eastern audience. In addition, Al Jazeera as a network transformed from a pan-Arabic news channel into an international news production and industry by launching the AJE. For example, AJE is less aggressive in its coverage of U.S. affairs than the AJA version (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011).

Al Jazeera and Interviewing Israeli Officials

Finally, hosting and interviewing different Israeli officials on Al Jazeera is a clear indicator that AJ is a professional not a cultural-driven news organization. If it is true that Al Jazeera adheres to the Arabic and Islamic cultural values then it would not present the opinions and perspectives of the enemy of its readers who occupied Palestine. Al Jazeera stunned its audience because it has frequently interviewed Israeli officials and experts and they appear on Al Jazeera screen in English, Arabic, and Hebrew languages (Hugh, 2006). Thus, it is not at all a cultural norm to present the Israel's perspective on an Arabic media network because most of its audience dislikes Israel. This kind of action has only one explanation; it is the professional values to present all the opinions and different perspectives of all sides on the issue or the event.

At a detailed level, and by examining the five variables that comprise the cultural model (cultural region, story focus, sources' cultural identity, culturally aware language, and gender presence), the chi square tests show that there are significant differences between AJA and AJE in reflecting Arab cultural values in their news production. That is, AJ communicates differently to different audiences.

Specifically, AJE did little coverage of the Arab region, few stories focused on the Arab world, and it used few Arab sources and very little culturally aware language compared to AJA. Clearly, AJE is creating content that it perceives will interest and “fit” culturally with its non-Arabic audience. Al Jazeera as a pan-Arab news organization does not attempt to impose its cultural values on its Western readers. But, AJ targets its in group and out group readers in different ways that respect the cultural values they share.

This kind of communication which respects the cultural values of the out group makes the media content more acceptable for the targeted audience. The finding of this study corresponds with Barkho’s findings (2006) and Fahmy and Al-Emad’s (2011) study, which found that the cultural and historical values have played a key role in explaining why a specific audience accepts news content from one news organization that reflects its cultural view, while at the same time, this audience does not accept the news content from other news organizations that do not represent its (audience) culture.

Summary

In short, Al Jazeera at a broad level communicates its different audiences (in group and out group) in different ways. Al Jazeera respects the cultural values of its target audience. For example, when communicating to its Arabic audience, AJA creates media content that makes it acceptable to its readers who share religious, social and cultural norms. As well, AJE when communicating to its non-Arab audience produce media content that also fits with the cultural norms of its non-Arab readers in the West. This means that Al Jazeera does not impose the Arab cultural

values when communicating to different audiences that have different cultural, religious, social, interests, and language backgrounds (Abdul-Mageed, 2008; Abdul-Majeed and Herring, 2008; Al-Najjar, 2009; Barkho, 2006; Fahmy & Al-Emad, 2011). In other words, Al Jazeera is not producing the same content and is not embedded its Arab and Islamic norms and values to its non-Arab readers.

Conclusion

This study aims to identify which values are more prevalent in the content of both AJA and AJE to communicate to their audiences with different cultural, language, and interest backgrounds. This study has intended to contribute in establishing an international journalism model in the production of the news to find out which news values are more prevalent in non-Western newsroom when the same news organization communicates to two or more audiences that have different cultural, social, language, and interest backgrounds. The study came up with these importation conclusions.

Al Jazeera, at the larger level (both AJA and AJE) attempts to provide professional news coverage that reflects more professional values in the production of news. Most of these values are consistent with the logic of both the libertarian and the social responsibility theories in Western journalism. Al Jazeera has a tendency to be objective, fair, and present more perspectives on the same issue from different sources. While the professional model in journalism has grown and thrived especially in democratic societies, Al Jazeera, by adopting professional values in reporting, has to be treated in a completely different way. Al Jazeera emerged in a very complicated

geopolitical context, where freedom of expression is the last priority in the agenda of the Middle Eastern governments.

Despite the fact that Al Jazeera has enough reasons to use the marketing model in the production of the news, Al Jazeera moderately reflects these marketing values. The annual generous financial support from the Qatar government to Al Jazeera has changed the formula in the production of the news. The reality is that Al Jazeera has failed to make profits or attract advertisers other than those local ones, and this business pressure forces Al Jazeera to depend heavily on subsidies from Qatar government since it was established in 1996. This new reality and with its dependency on Qatari government, Al Jazeera was not under any obligation to apply the marketing approach in news production as the Western media did.

Al Jazeera did not pay much attention to its Arabic cultural values in the production of the news when communicating to its English audience, while paying a moderate amount of attention for its Arabic audience. To consider whether or not Al Jazeera is biased to the Arab cultural values, all media contents that produced in all languages by Al Jazeera (e.g., Arabic, English, and Turkish) should reflect the Arab values in the region that Al Jazeera, as news organization, belongs to. The analysis shows that Al Jazeera used cultural model in one sense when communicating to different audiences by reflecting their own cultural values and does not communicate its different audiences who have different cultural, language, and interest background in the same way of its original audience, the Arab. The organizational agenda of Al Jazeera is not to be the voice of only Arab people, but to be a strong and reliable player in the international news production. So, reaching new audiences other than

Arab people such as Western and, recently, Turkish people, reflects Al Jazeera's trend of moving towards international news industry to attract global audience through the media content.

Finally, by looking at the statistical tests, although professional values were most prevalent in both websites, AJA and AJE showed some difference in prevalence of the three models. While AJE reflected a moderate level of marketing values, and a low level of the cultural values when communicating to its non-Arab readers, AJA gave moderate priority to the cultural values and reflected a relatively low level of marketing values (just below the moderate level) when communicating to its Arab readers.

Scholarly and Practical Implications

We live today in a world dominated by global media, and news corporations that produce content for an international audience with multiple cultural backgrounds. This shows that global news organizations consider the composition of their audiences and shape their content accordingly. The AJ model involves the production of different content for different audiences, and the content tends to reflect the values of the audience it is trying to reach. This dissertation is contributing conceptually and hopefully laying the groundwork for future studies. The value of this dissertation is the models the researcher created and the ways it brings together multiple considerations under each of them in a nuanced way. For the first time, this dissertation tested different related concepts together that comprise large constructs in the relationship between media content and media creator. Most studies done before this dissertation tested professionalism by using and examining only one variable

such as objectivity or fairness and balance, etc. However, this study established three models comprising multiple variables that could be tested together to judge whether or not the news content reflects more or less professional values or other values such as marketing or cultural values. This study also contributed to refinement of measurement of a number of concepts often found in the literature. For example, sourcing usage, factuality in the professional model; official sources and non-official sources, resources commitments in the marketing model; and culturally aware language, gender presence in the cultural model.

Further, this study contributes in overcoming personal impressions and non systematic ways of judging any news organization, by developing a scientific approach based on testing the content of any news organization through applying these three models; researchers or observers will be able to judge/interpret what values were more prevalent in news production. Applying these models to study the content of news organizations in different parts of this globe might find them more professional in the production of the news than the American or European news organizations. In other words, this study aimed examining what values are more prevalent in news content that produce by non-Western news organization that communicating to international audiences that have different cultural, languages, social, and religious backgrounds.

This study offers a wide variety of options and ways to test these models and these values in the production of news at different levels: local, regional, and international levels. So, these models fit for conducting not only national studies on news production but also cross-cultural studies that could be used to compare to what

these values apply to different areas in this globe. In other words, these models are very flexible to use and apply.

This study through applying these three models could help different people, media organizations, and institutions in different ways. For example, the models provide scholars in political science, journalism and mass communication, media observers and commentators a deep description about the nature of values that prevail in newsrooms in non-Western media. On a societal level, this study will help to better understand the role of media content in bridging the gap between nations and cultures by using different languages to reach different audiences with different interests, languages, and cultural backgrounds. In addition, this study will help journalists, media practitioners, and owners of media see the specific criteria that distinguish content based on using these proposed three models in international news production. For example, they could help journalism students to decide which news organization they would like to join/apply to. For example, when students understand the logic and the basic criteria of these three models in the production of the news this could help him/her to support his decision as a job seeker where to go or which news organization to apply for after the graduation.

As for the decision makers in news organization, these models could be used as a practical recipe to better understand their relationship with their audience in the era of global communication. Based on the logic of each model; decision makers in media industry could easily follow the characteristics of the model they want to follow if they want to achieve the organizational mission/goals/ agenda. Also, these models could help any news organization, if it decided for one reason or another, to

shift its organizational goals when it faces troubles in the production of the news. For example, if a news organization already adopted the cultural model and targeted out-group audience by using their language, at the same time, the out-group audience doesn't accept the content of the news organization; practically, this cultural model provides the news organization a good solution to make its communication to targeted audience more acceptable by reflecting the cultural values of its targeted audience. In other words, these three models provide a clear guidance for the decision makers in news media on how to communicate to their audiences to achieve their news organizations' goals.

From a scholarly perspective, this study has many applications that it has added to the body of the literature in different ways: this study explored trends of news production in different areas in the world (Elareshi & Gunter, 2012). The study examined the relationship between media content and media creator (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) in a news organization operating in areas other than the U.S. and Western Europe (Lowery & Wan Woo, 2010) by analyzing the content of both AJA and AJE, which operate in the Middle East. Also, it provided a full understanding of multilingual news coverage (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008) by examining the prevalent values that the professionals usually use in the newsrooms. This study also addressed the suggestion by Zeng and Tahat (2012) that future research must be conducted to compare the trends of coverage between news websites that were created by the same news organization. Also, this study helped to address the lack of studies on AJ's news websites despite the importance of AJ (Abudl-Mageed & Herring, 2008). Furthermore, this study tested for the first time different ways of

examining the content between news organizations that used different news production orientation beyond using, only in the past, the professional and marketing models (Beam, 1996; Lowery & Wan Woo, 2010) by adding a third approach in studying media content: the cultural approach.

The researcher acknowledges that these models overlap. For example, use of cultural values might also be done in support of marketing considerations. Or use of cultural values might be both good marketing and reflect professional values – e.g. an Arab cultural issue in the private sphere might be covered with excellent professional standards. For instance, the cultural region measure is one place where these models overlap. AJE focuses more on the non-Arab region compared to AJA, which pays attention more to Arab countries. This could be understood through both cultural and marketing values. People in the West will not accept media content that does not respect their cultural values, and at the same time they will not likely be interested in content that is not relevant to their daily life. Also, marketing and professional models could overlap in terms of the nature of topics they are reporting. For example, Beam (1993) examined the impact of group ownership on news media practices at 58 U.S. daily newspapers. He found even marketing-focused organizations may exhibit high professional values. Beam noted that market-oriented papers ran more public affairs and in-depth journalism. Because professionalism is expensive, Beam concluded (p. 913), the larger news organizations can have greater resources and "higher organizational professionalism" than the smaller news organizations (p. 913). Another way to understand the overlapping between these models is related to the idea of duality. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009) discussed the concept of "duality" in news

production. They argued that media in the West can resolve and balance the tensions between the professional goals and commercial goals of news organizations in the production of the news. Achtenhagen and Raviola (2009) said that, "media firms can benefit from actively managing their inherent tensions by viewing them as dualities, rather than as negative tensions to be reduced." (p. 32) Conversely, AJ has no "duality" of purpose; AJ doesn't have to make a profit – it is government supported and well-funded. Unlike the Western news organizations which reflect the duality concept in news production, AJ is not bound by economic goals, and can accordingly focus on journalistic ones.

Limitations

As with all research, this dissertation does have some shortcomings. This study faced several limitations. First of all, the study focused on the content drawn from one influential global news producer with the highest readership. Other websites may display different features and follow different patterns when reporting on different issues. For example, Al Arabiya also has besides the Arabic version other three websites in Urdu, Persian, and English languages to communicate its audiences outside the Arab region. The findings of studying contents that produced by the same news organization to target four different audiences who completely vary in their cultural, languages, religious, and social norms and values might produce different findings from studying contents of two websites that target only two different audiences and are produced by the same news organization. Future studies can incorporate more news websites in the Arab world or international news websites, to

better identify the similarities and differences between them in terms of which values are most prevalent in different newsrooms around the world.

Another limitation is related to the time frame of the study. The study analyzed Al Jazeera coverage from January 1st, 2014– April 30th, 2014. Therefore, the coverage may reflect media reaction to unique events during the period, such as Arab Spring. Future studies can expand the time to include more weeks from different months of the year. Therefore, the generalizability of this sample is limited to the extent to the four months from where the sample was drawn. Another limitation is related to using content analysis as an indicator of the influence of professional, marketing, and culture values without directly seeking the perspectives of Al Jazeera journalists about how they think about or apply these values.

Future Studies

This research suggests several directions for future investigations. Comparison studies are beneficial and necessary in this field. The focus of this study was on how the same news organization uses different contents to communicate to different audiences. These models also could be used to measure different media contents that also target the same audience (French or Arabic or Persians, etc) by different news organizations (e.g., CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera, etc.). For example, more studies should be conducted to compare Al Jazeera news websites with other competitive regional websites in the Arab world such as Al Arabiya Arabic and English websites to examine the extent to which these values (professional, marketing, and cultural) are most prevalent in the production of the news in these news organizations. At the same time, future research could compare Arabic websites such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya

websites with other international websites such as CNN and BBC websites to test which values are more dominant in the content of news organizations that operate in developed countries and those operating in developing world to see if these news organizations share the similar or different professional values in the production of the news.

The overlap of the models needs to be evaluated further in future research. This could be done by addressing more variables such as the type of media ownership (e.g., run by government, or semi-government, or private); the size of the news organization (e.g., big, medium, or small); the age of the news organization in years, the number of its staff, number of professional associations the news organization is affiliated to, and the number of training courses the news organization held to develop its staff's and journalists' skills.

Finally, these models could expand cooperation between scholars, academics, and graduate students in journalism and mass communication colleges around the world. First, they might use these models, together or separately, on media content that published in the same language. Second, this type of cooperation between scholars and researchers from different journalism schools in the globe could help to overcome the language barriers in studying media content. In this point, hypothetically, four researchers from four countries could shape a research team to analyze, for example, four websites produced by BBC that communicates with four different audiences (e.g., French BBC, Arabic BBC, English BBC, and Persian BBC). In this example, a researcher from France could apply these three models by analyzing the French BBC content, a researcher from Syria could apply the same

coding system on the Arabic BBC content, an Iranian researcher might apply the analysis on the Persian BBC content, and a Canadian researcher might also apply the same procedures on the English version of the BBC to find out the extent to which these professional, marketing, and cultural values are prevalent in media content produced by the same news organization, and whether or not the same news organization communicates with its different audiences in the same or different patterns.

Other methods could be used to test these models. For example, a survey could be used to test the perceptions and attitudes of Al Jazeera journalists about why they did not reflect more marketing values in the production of the news in the Arabic version. Also, ethnographic methods could be used to deepen understanding of how and why Al Jazeera journalists use, for example, more marketing values in the English versions compared to the Arabic version. Also, other studies need to pay close attention to study each variable, separately, in each model (e.g., objectivity, fairness, factuality, and sourcing in professional model); to see how each contributes to the content studies, and the relationship between media content and media creator.

Also in future studies, the cultural model may need to be revised for use in other cultures. To be more specific, the operational definitions of the in group/out group measures need to be revised if researchers use them in another culture other than the Arab culture because they are operationalized from the perspective of Arab culture (e.g. Arab region and Arab culturally aware language). More broadly, the gender presence variable may be less relevant in some cultures where it is not a clear cultural marker.

Overall, the study of the values and norms in the production of news is a very important research area in conceptual and practical ways. This is important because these values help to define the nature of the content and the patterns of the news coverage that readers see. At the same time, there are always logical and core assumptions for each of these models under the study and the specific values that belong to them.

However, when applying these models to the media content of a non-Western media organization as in the case of Al Jazeera, one can find that the main assumptions of these models work in a way relatively different from the Western media within which these models are designed basically to describe their missions, visions, and functions.

While it might seem that professional values need a free and democratic field to be adopted, Al Jazeera based on the analysis of this study reflects Western professional values more than any other values, even though Al Jazeera operates in a low freedom environment in one of the most non-democratic regions in the world. Also, while Al Jazeera has the reasons to adopt a high level of marketing values since it does not make profits, it reflects these values moderately because of the generous fund it gets annually from Qatar government. Finally, unlike the expectations of observers, commentaries, and reporters that Al Jazeera usually reflects its Arabic and Islamic values and norms when communicating to non-Arab readers, Al Jazeera showed high level of respect to its targeted readers in the West by choosing not to impose its Arab cultural values when producing content to them.

Practically, the applications of these models could be found in areas other than those mainly designed for the West. But these applications need to be provided with a suitable environment to operate in as in the case of Al Jazeera, which was given a large margin of freedom. More precisely, when operating outside the West, these models are risky, because they depend on artificial circumstances which were created not granted as in the case of giving Al Jazeera a margin of freedom to operate in. This kind of risky situation requires the extensive study of these values and these models in the contents of Al Jazeera from time to time and other media organizations' contents to make sure how validly and precisely these models could predict the media content.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Two Constructed Weeks Sample of AJA

Day	Date	Story	50%	# of sample
Sunday 1	1/12	48		
Sunday2	1/26	51		
Total		99	50%	50
Monday1	2/24	61		
Monday2	3/24	51		
Total		112	50%	56
Tuesday1	3/11	55		
Tuesday2	4/8	56		
Total		111	50%	56
Wednesday1	3/19	49		
Wednesday2	4/9	58		
Total		107	50%	54
Thursday1	1/23	56		
Thursday2	3/13	48		
Total		94	50%	47
Friday1	4/4	62		
Friday2	2/21	47		
Total		109	50%	55
Saturday1	2/8	36		
Saturday2	3/15	43		
Total		79	50%	40
TOTAL		711		358

Table 2. Two Constructed Weeks Sample of AJE

Day	Date	Story	50%	# of sample
Sunday 1	2/2	29		
Sunday2	3/2	28		
Total		57	50%	29
Monday1	3/24	36		
Monday2	1/6	35		
Total		71	50%	36
Tuesday1	2/11	33		
Tuesday2	4/22	39		
Total		72	50 %	36
Wedensday1	2/26	35		
Wedensday2	2/12	30		
Total		65	50%	33
Thursday1	3/20	34		
Thursday2	1/23	36		
Total		70	50%	35
Friday1	2/14	33		
Friday2	3/21	34		
Total		67	50%	34
Saturday1	2/8	33		
Saturday2	4/19	29		
Total		62	50%	31
TOTAL		464		234

Appendix B: Al Jazeera Codebook

Variables

1) **Story number.** A story number will be assigned to each story. The coder will write the number on the top of the first page of the printed copy of the story and on the coding sheet.

2) **Name of news Website:**

1) **Al Jazeera English news Website**

2) **Al Jazeera Arabic news Website**

3) **Date:** Is the date on which the story is published (MMDD) (e.g., February 23 coded as 0223; January 7 coded as 0107).

Professional value: The journalism professionalism construct is about the press's main mission of helping people to be good citizens and to inform citizens. That mission should then reflect itself in a content that allows the citizens to be more informed and more knowledgeable, and to give them multiple ideas and perspectives from different sources (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, p. 15-32). The normative measures were drawn from the idealized role of journalism in democracy, which provides theoretical bases for freedom of the press and freedom of expression, telling the truth, fairness, and being objective since the press carries the responsibility of serving the interests of the public. Thus, to test the professionalism model this study will use four measures. These measures are: objectivity, fairness, sourcing, and factuality.

For example, the following story from AJE about the U.S. and Iran relationship and will be used to apply the professional measures,

(Obama said Friday that the U.S. had informed Iran it would not grant a visa to Hamid Aboutalebi, a member of the group responsible for the 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

White House spokesman Jay Carney said. "Our position is that we will not be issuing him a visa."

Hamid Babaei, a spokesman for the Iranian U.N. Mission, said the decision "...".

As host country for the United Nations, the U.S. must provide rights to persons invited to the New York headquarters. However, exceptions can be made when a visa applicant is found to have engaged in spying against the U.S. or poses a threat to American national security.

The White House said it did not expect the nuclear negotiations to be affected by the visa decision.

4) Objectivity:

Means that journalists exclude themselves when reporting on society issues by setting aside their own ideas and opinions (Munoz-Torres, 2007). It is based on the reporting of facts rather than opinions (Patterson & Seib, 2005, p. 194). Journalists use attribution to indicate their objectivity (to account for the value-laden statements and opinions in the content and make clear where these views come from. This variable will be coded as:

0 = no attribution in story.

1 = partial attribution [used in some cases, but some facts/ideas/opinions presented without attribution].

2 = full attribution, all facts/ideas/opinions are attributed facts/ideas/opinions are attributed

Here is another example, a news story about Scotland offering asylum to Ugandans:

(1)...{" Scotland has proposed a plan to offer asylum to "any Ugandan" persecuted by the country's new anti-gay laws, Scottish daily The Herald reported on Friday.

(2)...Humza Yusuf, Scotland's Minister for External Affairs, submitted a letter to U.K. (3)...Foreign Secretary William Hague outlining the proposal and urging him "to offer asylum to any Ugandans who feel threatened or persecuted by the legislation."

(4)...“Scotland will play her part in providing asylum for those seeking refuge from this draconian legislation,” Yusuf wrote.

(5)...Uganda's new law, enacted by president Yoweri Museveni on Monday, calls for life imprisonment for those convicted of engaging in gay sex and creates the offenses of "conspiracy to commit homosexuality" and "aiding and abetting homosexuality," both of which are punishable by seven years behind bars. Those convicted of "promoting homosexuality" face similar punishment.

(6)...While widely popular within Uganda, the law has spurred several European countries to curtail aid to the Ugandan government. Uganda has also been hit with harsh rebuke from world leaders like U.S. President Barack Obama, who called the legislation “a step backward” and warned that it might “complicate our valued relationship.”

(7)...Scotland’s offer of asylum responds to fears from gay activists in Uganda that the law could license anti-gay Ugandans to partake in a witch-hunt against the country’s sexual minorities.

(8)...In 2011, prominent gay activist David Kato was murdered shortly after being identified as gay in a Ugandan tabloid. On Tuesday, another tabloid published a list of the nation’s “200 top homosexuals,” spurring fears that others might be similarly targeted.

(9)...There is precedent in the U.K. for offering asylum to gay people who face persecution in their home countries. A landmark 2010 ruling from the U.K. Supreme Court said that it would be unreasonable to return two gay men to their home countries of Cameroon and Iran, where homosexuality is forbidden, because they should not be required to keep their sexual orientation hidden.

(10)...The Kaleidoscope Trust, a gay rights advocacy group, encouraged Scotland to use the Commonwealth Games as a platform to address regressive anti-gay laws in its participating states.

(11)...“We have always felt the Games had an important part to play in tackling the scandal of LGBT abuses in the Commonwealth and welcome the Scottish government taking the bull by the horns,” the group told The Herald.

(12)...As of Friday afternoon, the U.K. Foreign Office had not yet received Scotland’s letter. “We will continue to press the government of Uganda to defend human rights for all, without discrimination on any grounds,” Hague said in an earlier statement. }

***The above story about Scotland. These attributions belong directly and indirectly to human and inanimate sources (eg., Obama, advocacy group, British newspapers, and Uganda's new law). In such example, the coder will code it as 2(full attribution story).

5) Fairness:

is defined as presenting the both sides of the event in the news story (Simon et al., 1989). "The side" refers to the attributed sources in the news story. In this study, a dichotomous measure was developed to measure the fairness variable. If both sides of the story have been told in the story it will be coded as 1, and if not presented the two sides it will be coded as 0. The more a news story presents the two sides of the event, the more it is fair, then the more it reflects professional values; because the logic of professional in journalism is to provide a comprehensive account on the event from different perspectives or sides of the event.

Measurement of this variable will proceed as follows:

0 = if the news story does not present the two sides

1 = If both sides of the story have been told in the story.

***For example, in the U.S. and Iran relationship story above, coder should record it as 1, because the story presented both sides (the Iranian and American views on the issue). Also, the Scotland story will be coded as 1.

6). The Use of Sources:

are defined as "the actors who journalists observe or interview including interviewees who appear on the air or who are quoted in magazine articles and those who supply background information or story suggestions" (Gans,1979, p. 80). In specific, the term 'source' refers to all people and inanimate sources that are used in the news story and directly or indirectly quoted in the title, headline, intro, or the main text of the story. Sources include those who are paraphrased and those who provide actualities. They are identified by attributions that include the words 'said', 'say', 'told', 'informed', 'announced', 'urged', etc. In other words, the source must have a speaking part in the story (Foote & Gade, 2006). To measure the degree to which the news story cites sources directly or indirectly (human or inanimate sources); four nominal categories were designed to measure this variable:

Code as:

0= If the news story dose not cite any sources.

1= If the story cites only one source.

2= if the story cite two different sources.

3= if he story cite three or more different sources.

For example, the following story from AJE has five sources, then coder will code it as 3, here is part of the story:

(The Chinese government blamed militants from the restive far western region of Xinjiang on Sunday for the attack.

Chinese President Xi Jinping ordered that no effort be spared to track down those behind the attack.

"Severely punish in accordance with the law the violent terrorists and resolutely crack down on those who have been swollen with arrogance," Xinhua quoted him as saying.

Kunming resident Yang Haifei told Xinhua that he was buying a ticket when he saw a group of people, mostly wearing black, rush into the station and start attacking bystanders.

"I saw a person come straight at me with a long knife and I ran away with everyone," he said. Those who were slower were caught by the attackers. They just fell on the ground.")

***Coder in the above paragraphs should count five sources (The Chinese government said, Xi Jipinig ordered, Xinhua quoted him as saying, Yang Haifei told, and the pronoun in he said).

*** Coder will code the same source one time if the same sources cited more than one time in the same paragraph. But, if the same source comes in a new paragraph the coder will count it as second or third, etc., depending on how many times it cited in different paragraphs in the same stories.

***Regardless of the gender, the position, the cultural identity, or whether the sources human or inanimate, coder should count every source cited in the story in this variable.

7). Factuality:

The professional news is a "factual presentation" of events deemed newsworthy. Factuality should be based on facts, which are phenomena that can be observed and demonstrated as the basis of the story. The Who, What, When, and Where are present before the story provides an interpretation of these facts, then the story is more fact-based. However, because Why and How concepts are often interpretive and provided by sources, they will not be coded in the story. The four basis of the story constitute a formula for getting the complete story on a subject. They describe everything basic and important to readers of a news story. The who question defines who are the people involved? What defines as what happened or happens? Where means where did/does this event take place? When defines as when in time did/does this take place? Opinion is a viewpoint, statement, or judgment about a matter/event normally regarded to be subjective because opinion rests on grounds not enough to produce absolute certainty, and opinion is the result of interpretation of facts or emotion. Factuality will be measured by examining the extent to which the facts (Who, what, when, and where) are present before the opinions in the news story.

This study will assess factuality in this way:

0 = opinion present before any facts (who, what, when, where) presented.

1 = opinion presented before all facts presented.

2 = all facts presented BEFORE an opinion is presented.

*** This way the higher measures reflect greater factuality, or that the basic facts are present before opinions, which should reflect the story is fact-based.

***For example, the following story from AJE about the assassination of Palestinian ambassador in Prague will be coded as 2 (all facts presented before an opinion is presented):

"The Palestinian ambassador to Prague (Who?) was killed in an explosion (What happened?) at his residence (Where?) on Wednesday (When?) in what Czech authorities believe was probably an accident (How?). Palestinian Foreign Minister Riyad al-Malki told Al Jazeera ambassador Jamal al-Jamal had been trying to open a safe that had been moved to his new home recently (Why?). A Czech government source said that the explosion was probably caused by a security device on the unit (Why?)".

8). The Professional index:

is aggregated from the points allocated to the criterion variables of professionalism where each dimension of professionalism has its own points. The highest weight means that the story reflects more values of professionalism and vice versa. So, each story will be coded based on the aforementioned four measures of professionalism: objectivity will be measured on a nominal level ranges from from 0-2, fairness will be measured on a dichotomous variable, factuality will be measured on a nominal level from 0 to 2, and finally, the use of sources will be measure on nominal level from 0 to 3. The index of professionalism will range from 0 point, corresponding to a lowest level of professionalism, to 8 points, corresponding to the highest level of professionalism. After presenting all of the variables related to professionalism in journalism, the researcher will be able to judge the degree to which

the news story reflects the elements of the professionalism values. To explain in more details, let us say, hypothetically, that a coded process of a news story ended up with these values: 2 on the objectivity measure, 1 on fairness, 2 on factuality, and 2 on the use of sources. In this case, all values will be summed up and this yields 7 points on the index [0-8]. The point of 7 could be explained in this way: a 7 reflects a story that includes high elements of professionalism, but is lacking in others. The same will be done to AJE. (See drawing 3-1 on page 150)

Based on this professional index: 0 will be an indicator that the news story has not any professional values, 1 to 3 mean that the story has low professional values; the range of middle level of professional values is ranged from 4 to 6. And 7 to 8 indicate that the story implies very high level of professional values. So, the coder will calculate the values of all the variables of professional and put it as a ratio value to each news story.

Code as:

----- The aggregate values of the professional variable of the story.

The marketing values: This concept was derived from the media economic literature. Under the marketing journalism model, most news organizations around the world are "commercial entities" and their primary function is to make profits for owners (Croteau & Hoynes, 2006; Gade. 2011; McCann, 2009, Picard, 2005, p. 337). However, the conflict between professional and commercial goals of the news organizations has threatened the public service mission because public interests are not the priority in the

business pressure environment (Beam & Meeks, 2011). So, news organizations offer the audience content and news stories that “match the audience interests and potential interests” (Dennis & Merrill, 2006, p. 115). In addition, according to the marketing model the news organizations automatically produce entertainment-oriented information at the expense of serious news (Lacy & Sohn, 2011, p.159) and the content does not respond to broad social or political needs but focuses more on the individuals’ desires (Beam, 1996, p. 287). In general, in the marketing model journalists are giving readers the content they want, not necessarily the content which they may need to be well-informed citizens in a democratic setting (Beam & Meeks, 2011, p. 236). Also, journalists in this model tend to produce cheap content for their readers, which mean that the news organization puts little of its resources and efforts to create the content.

Thus, to test the marketing model this study will use four measures that have been obtained from the literature. These measures are public sphere and private sphere content; hard news and soft news; resources commitments; and sourcing usage. Here are these measures:

9). The public sphere content and the private sphere content:

To test the public sphere content and the private sphere content, this study will narrow Beam’s (2003, pp. 376-377) method to consistent with Habermas's definition of public sphere concept. Public sphere is the arena or a place where citizens come together equals, to exchange freely their opinions regarding common problems,

public affairs, discuss, deliberate, and eventually form public opinion on important issues (Habermas, 1989).

To measure this variable, **Code as:**

0= Content for the public sphere. is about topics and issues that have a common interest of the public. Generally, these topics/issues impact the general public, the society, and quality of life. This included information about diplomacy, government and politics, military affairs, law enforcement health care policy, education, social services, land use, transportation, the environment, business, commerce, economic development, labor, economic trends, economic conditions, trade, and social protests or activism (Beam, 2003, p. 376). For example, if a news story about the personal life of an ambassador or secretary and how he spends his time in travelling, playing basketball, hiking, etc., this type of content will not be considered as public sphere content but will be coded as private sphere content because this kind of content does not impact general public or the society. However, a news story about Obama administration position about the Russian intervention in Eastern Ukraine will be coded as public sphere content. Another example, in Oklahoma, a strong tornado killed 24 people and more than 350 injured will be coded as a tragic event and will be considered as public sphere content. Also, news stories about the missing Malaysian flight will be coded as public sphere content. One more example, if a news story about how a CEO of one corporation spending his/her time with his/her kids, or how doing shopping in malls or how gathering some antiques while travelling around the world; this type of content will not be considered as public sphere content but will be coded as private sphere content because this kind of

content does not impact the general public or the society. However, a news story about job market and trade with foreign countries will be coded as public sphere content.

1= Content for the private sphere: defines as information about personal development, family life, personal consumerism, personal technology, personal recreation, personal health care, travel and housing, and vehicle care (Beam, 2003, p. 377). This variable will be coded as 1. Generally, these topics/issues don't impact the general public, the society, and quality of public life.

If the total number of the frequencies and the percent of the private sphere content are higher than the total number of the frequencies and the percent of the public sphere content, then coder could interpret this result in this way; the news organization, in this case AJ, tend to reflect more marketing values in its content.

10). Hard news and Soft news:

Corresponding with Habermas's definition of public sphere, this study will adopt Patterson's definition of hard news and soft news: Hard news refers to coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster. Information about these events is presumably important to citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs (...). Soft news (...) has been described (...) as news that

typically is more personality-centered, less time-bound, more practical, and more incident based than other news (...). Finally, soft news has been described as a change in the vocabulary of news. The news is said to have become more personal and familiar in its form of presentation and less distant and institutional (2000, pp.3-4). This study will use topic variable to measure hard news and soft news concept.

So, **coded as:**

0= stories that help citizens' ability to understand and respond to the word of public affairs and at the same time are not-focused on personality, entertainment, or human element will be coded as hard news (e.g., natural disasters, international relations, disputes, strikes, health epidemics, etc).

1= stories about personality-centered events will be coded as soft news.

***The more news organization reporting soft news, the more it reflects the marketing values because it doesn't contribute in deepening the true understanding of the citizens to their public life. If the frequencies and percentages of the soft news are higher than those of hard news, then this variable will be used as indicator that the news story contains marketing values.

11). Resource commitments:

It refers to the particular amount of human, technical, and financial efforts and time the news organization puts to produce its content. News organizations have forced into producing cheap content as a result of the lack or limited resources. How many phone calls did journalists make to gather the information of the news story? How

many hours did the journalists spend to gather the news story? Did news organizations report anything outside the press release, how long the story, did news organization put its reporters on the news story are examples of using resources commitments. These stories can be produced more quickly, generally cost less to produce, and often do not attempt to provide depth and context that journalism norms suggests. Well-developed stories required more efforts and resources to produce them and they are generally cost more to produce and provide depth context. To measure resources commitments, this study borrows and adjusts Effron's (1996) variables to fit the purpose of this study (Story length, story's authorship, the extent to which the story has interviewed people, and using multimedia elements).

Story length: it refers to the extent to which the news organization produces a specific size of content. Short stories, because they lack the space/length allotment to provide depth, complexity and context, do not require the same effort – or resource commitment – by the news organization to produce them as they do to produce large stories or medium ones. These stories can be produced more quickly, generally cost less to produce, and often do not attempt to provide depth and context that journalism norms suggest. Meanwhile, large stories required more efforts and resources to produce them and they are generally cost more to produce and provide depth context. This variable will be measured by using three nominal categories: short, medium, and large size. This study will adopt Cissel's (2012, p. 71) measurement of story length.

Code as:

2= Short news story that has less than 400 words.

1 = News story with words over 401 -800 will be coded as medium.

0 = News story with over 800 words is considered as a large size.

*** The shorter the news story generally means that fewer resources were used to create it; accordingly, shorter stories reflect the marketing model. The frequencies and percentages of the length of all stories will be used as indicator to test whether or not the AJA and AJE produce cheap contents. If AJ published more short stories this means the story reflects the marketing values of producing cheap content and the opposite is true.

The authorship of the story: refers to news story authorship. To measure authorship as a resources commitment, it is operationalized as the degree to which the news organization puts its OWN human resources (e.g., staff/journalists/correspondents) to create the news story. When a news organization commits multiple reporters to a story, then this means that the organization deems the story important enough to dedicate additional resources to get it.

Code as:

2 = if a news story that was not created by Al Jazeera (e.g., AFP).

1 = if the story was reported by a single name of Al Jazeera's staff and/or combined with another news agency name (e.g., Al Al Jazeera or Jazeera and AFP).

0 = if f the news story used multiple authors belong to Al Jazeera.

***The fewer journalists in the byline in the news story, the more the news organization tends to produce cheap content and then employs the marketing values in the production of the news.

*** If the byline in the news story did not mention any name/s but Al Jazeera then code it as 2.

The interviews sources: It refers to the people who had been exclusively given a news organization a special interview or statement in the media content. This variable is operationalized as the degree to which the news organization puts its OWN resources to create the news story through interviewing human sources in the news content. When a news organization commits to reach more sources/people to include different perspectives in the story, then this means that the stories takes additional time from reporters. Reporters have to contact sources, often needing to make appointments for interviews or adjust their work to fit the schedules of the sources. Interviewing also takes time, as does trying to synthesize the information gleaned from multiple sources into creating the story. Accordingly, stories with multiple interviewed sources reflect a greater investment of time on the part of the organization in the production of the story.

Code as:

2 = A news story that was not created by Al Jazeera (e.g., AFP) will be coded as 2 even it has interviewed sources but had been reported by media other than Al Jazeera, which means that Al Jazeera don't put any of its resources to interview sources in the story.

1 = A news story that interview a single source by Al Jazeera staff and/or combined with another news agency name (e.g., Al Jazeera or Al Jazeera and AFP).

0 = if the news story has multiple interviewed sources.

*** The fewer interviewed sources in the news story, the more the news organization tends to produce cheap contents and then employs the marketing values in the production of the news.

***Don't code the inanimate sources. They are not included in this variable.

*** These stories which produced by only other media (e.g., AP or Reuters, etc.) will coded as 2 even they have interviewed sources because they don't reflect AJ's efforts or don't reflect AJ's true resources commitment.

Using elements of multimedia in the news story. Is the article combined with a video, graphic, photo, charts, etc.? All of these elements would reflect additional resources commitment, because somebody in the news organization has to spend time to produce them and these people have to be paid. Video and still photography are now often captured by the same tool (a DSL camera or even a phone), but graphics and charts involved a greater investment of resources. So, this variable will be measure in this way; **code as:**

2 = Photo or video AND graphic or chart used in the story.

1= Photo or video OR graphic or chart.

0= No visual or informational elements used in the story.

*** In this variable, if other media organizations other than AJ produced these multimedia elements, they will not be recorded.

*** In general, the less resources the news organization puts in news gathering the more the news story reflect the marketing values, which mean less pay and less time spend to produce the story.

13) Sourcing usage:

The sources are from where the information in news story comes from. The decline in the use of official sources in the news stories is a sign of employing the marketing model in news production. This market-based system tends to keep government away from the news production process, and reduces the potential for official propagandizing (Meyer, 1987). Moreover, in the postmodern era, journalists do not rely much on official sources in news production as a result of the change in the traditional newsroom culture (Lowrey & Gade, 2011). Today, the digital age gives the audience unlimited choices in platform and content and enables them to replace traditional sources of news with those that fit to their tastes and confirm their beliefs (Gade & Lowrey, 2011, Hermida, et al., 2011; Singer, 2011; Umphlett, 2006).

Consistent with Habermas's definition of public sphere, this study will adopt Carpenter (2008) who defines official sources as people who speak on behalf of an organization. The official category includes public sphere sources (or government elected or appointed and business people (e.g., prosecuting attorneys, representatives, police, CEO, business managers, NGOs, etc). *Public sphere sources* have the power and control the information that can affect people's lives. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argue that "news is about the powerful," (p. 56) and reflects in the selection of

sources, by relying on officials and other wealthy, corporate, and bureaucratic elites. These people have the power to "set the rules and exert greater control over the information" (p. 124). Because of the power they have, these people have important things to say (Paletz & Entman, 1981) which "affects people's lives" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 185) and impacts the general public, the society, and the quality of life.

Private sphere sources: define as people who able to speak freely on their own behalves or speaking on personal issues and don't speak on public sphere issues .The unofficial source categories include for example average people, non-institutional representatives (e.g., experts, scientists, and academics), museum visitors, movie goers, witnesses, etc. **Code as:**

0 = public sphere sources.

1 = private sphere sources.

*** Human sources will be coded in this variable, if the names of the countries or their capitals or governmental agencies mention in the news stories with attribution such as announce, said, etc., then coder need to code it as public sphere source. An example, "Syria said that fighting against ISSI will continue until..." Syria in this case will be coded as public sphere sources. Also, any official reports or statements issued by governmental agencies will be coded as public sphere sources, for example, "The White House issued a report Tuesday warning that the United States could face billions of dollars in added economic costs if it delays action to curb the greenhouse-gas emissions linked to climate change". Here coder needs to code The White House report as a public sphere source.

*** Each source mentioned in the story will be counted and the most frequent category will be taken as indicator of whether or not the content reflects marketing value. For example, if the frequencies of the public sphere sources, and the private sources in a news story were 5, and 2, respectively, then this story will be coded as 1, which refers to dominance of private sphere sources and to that this news story satisfies a marketing model criterion, namely, using private sphere sources.

***in some cases, the private and powerful people will not be coded as public sphere sources when they are speaking on private sphere issues because they are not contributing to the public sphere, which reflects content that serves people wants more than needs, and thus it will be coded as private sphere sources.

***The fine line to decide which source will be coded as private or public sphere source is depending on when the source talks or speaks on issues that contribute to the public sphere and impact on the public interests and their life or not. For instance, Mark Zuckerberg, the Facebook owner, will be coded as public sphere source when he speaks about his donating of \$120 million to support the San Francisco Bay Area's public school system. But, Zuckerberg will be coded as private sphere sources when the news story talks about his fancy cars and big boats.

*** When NGOs and PR people talking about public issues and when they definitely engage in the public affairs they will be coded as public sphere sources because they advocate to the public interests and issues. For example, Greenpeace is an environmental NGO and focuses its campaigning on worldwide issues such as deforestation, overfishing, climate change, commercial whaling, and anti-nuclear issues. It uses direct action, lobbying, and research to achieve its goals. If the

spokesperson of any representative of this NGO talks in such public affairs issues then he/she will coded as public sphere source.

14). The index of marketing:

The index of marketing will be calculated from the values of the measured marketing variables. Collectively, these four concepts have eighteen categories, two for the public and private sphere content, two for the hard and soft news content, twelve for resource commitment (story length, number of journalists in the byline, number of interviewed sources, and using multimedia elements) and two for sourcing usage. Accordingly, the marketing index will have a total score ranging from 0 point (the total number of the lowest points in all dimensions) to 11 points (the total number of the highest points in all dimensions). As an example, let us assume that a news story did hypothetically receive the following codes: 1 for the private sphere content, 1 for the soft news, 1 for unofficial sources, 2 to indicate the story is short, 2 AJ's journalists in the byline, 0 for using multimedia elements, and 2 for interviewed sources. In this case, when all points are summed up they count 9 points on the market index [0-11]. This total score implies that the news story reflects most of the marketing values, but is lacking on others (See drawing 3.2, page 151).

Code as:

----- The aggregate values of the marketing variable of the story.

Cultural values: It refers to sets of traditions, values, and way of life of a specific society, which are different from those of other societies or cultures (Scollon & Scollon, 1995). In this viewpoint, news is a cultural product that is produced by journalists who believe in values that are specific to their culture. Two variables will be used to measure cultural value: 1) the in-group and out group concept which has four subcategories: cultural regions, cultural sourcing identity, story focus, and culturally aware words, and 2) Gender presence. Here are the conceptual definitions and how to measure these variables:

15). In group and out group:

It refers to people who belong to and people who do not belong to a specific community. To link the concepts of in-group and out-of-group membership to the cultural model, it should be underscored that a news agency like Al Jazeera has journalists and reporters from different cultural backgrounds and they communicate with two different audiences. For example, most staff and journalists of the AJA are Arab Muslims who received degrees in Journalism from Arab schools. Meanwhile, most staff, editors, and reporters of the AJE are European and American Christians who earned their degrees from journalism schools in the West. These differences in the backgrounds of the staff and reporters of Al Jazeera can impact the shaping of the news content. Thus, because reporters reflect different backgrounds, professional training and cultural experiences, one can expect that the content will reflect these differences (which mean the content reflects their cultural – not just geographic – differences). Hence, one can expect that the AJA will have news content different from AJE and it will pay more attention to Arab issues, values, topics, sources, and region

than the AJE. The news story will be considered as using a culture model if BOTH websites pay attention to the in-group characteristics, especially if the news story which is published in the AJA and AJE focuses on the Arabic sources, Arabic topics, Arabic geographic area, and Arabic interests at the expenses of others who belong to non-Arab region, sources, and interests. And the news story will be considered as out group if it focuses on non Arab events, sources, topic, interests, and geographic region. Specifically, the in-group and out-of-group concepts will be measured by using four dimensions: geographic focus by region, story focus, sources, and culturally aware language. Here are more details:

1) **Story geographic focus** it refers to the geographic region on which the story focuses. To identify geographic focus for region and country, coders will read the story in this order a) headline, b) lead, c) text. These regions will include the following nominal categories.

Coded as:

1) Arab region such as Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Palestine (Gaza Strip and West Bank), Qatar, Kuwait, etc.

2) Non-Arab Middle East countries include Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc.

3) Other parts of Asia refer to Asian countries or regions out of the Middle East, such as: China, Japan, Philippine, etc.

4) North America includes only U.S.A.

5) Other parts of America refer to American countries or regions out of U.S. such as: Canada, Mexico, Columbia, Argentina, Brazil, etc.

6) Europe refers to all countries and region in Europe, such as Britain, Israel, France, Germany, Italy, etc.

7) Africa refers to all countries and region in Africa such as: Nigeria, Congo, Senegal, etc.

8) Australia and New Zealand refers to all countries and region in Australia and New Zealand.

9) If the news story did not mention any of the above eight categories it will be coded “not mentioned.”

These above geographic regions will be re-coded into cultural regions as this way:

Cultural Regions classification:

These eight regions will be regrouped into two region groups: Arab, and non-Arab region.

Code as:

1= Arab region (e.g., Morocco, Kuwait, Qatar, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, etc.)

0= Non- Arab region (e.g., France, Italy, South Africa, U.S.A, Argentina, Russia, U.K, Japan, South Korea Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc.)

*** What deserves to be noted, and in line with the logic of in group and out group concept, is that despite the fact that all Arab countries are Muslim countries, but not all non-Arab Muslims countries are Arab. For example, Iran is a Muslim country and it belongs to Persian ethnicity not to Arabic ethnicity. Indonesia, Turkey, Pakistan,

Mali, etc. also are shared with Arab countries Islamic principles but not shared the same Arab cultural norms and values. So, in this analysis, all non-Arab Muslim countries will be coded as non-Arab.

2) Story focus refers to whether or not the news story presents the Arab world interests. Five categories were designed to measure this variable and will be coded in this way:

4) *Arabs domestic*: Story about any of Arabs events, people, policies, interests in which any of Arab/Muslim countries appears in the headline, or lead or the text and no other countries are mentioned in the story.

3) *International-Arab primary*: Story about non-Arabic events, people, policies, and interests in which the Arabic region (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) appear first in the headline, or lead or text.

2) *International-Arab secondary*: Story about non-Arab events, people, policies, interests in which the Arab (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) appear in the headline, or lead or text but reference to Arab is not the first country present in these elements.

1) *International-Arab tertiary*: Story about non-Arab events, people, policies, interests in which the Arab (or references to Arab people, policies, and interests) does not appear in the headline, or lead or text but reference to Arab is in the body of the story.

0) *International –No Arab involvement*: Story about non-Arab event, people, and policies, interests in which there are no references to Arab or Arab sources in the story.

3) Sources: refer to all people and inanimate sources used in the news story, directly or indirectly quoted in the headline, lead and text of the stories. Sources include those who are paraphrased and those who provide actualities. Sources are identified by attributions that include the words said, say, told, informed, announced, urged, etc. In other words, the sources must have a speaking part in the story (Foote & Gade, 2006). To measure this variable, this variable is operationalized as the extent to which the sourcing is Arab-based or not? **This variable will be measure in this way:**

0 = no Arab sources (people or inanimate).

1 = Arab and non-Arab sources.

2 = Arab sources only (people or inanimate).

*** For example, a news story said that, "Hanan Ashrawi, a leader in the Palestine Liberation Organization {...}, said they would move ahead with the plan even if the resolution was be vetoed by the United States." Hanan Ashrawi should be counted as Arab source. Another example, a story said "I think they'll talk about a range of issues. There's obviously an ongoing cease-fire discussion and upcoming negotiations that will take place. There's a range of longer-term issues," said U.S. State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki regarding the meeting in Washington, without going into further details. The coder will record Jen Paski as non Arab source. Further, a news story said that, "European diplomat saying the decision was especially frustrating because it came within days of reaching a cease-fire in

Gaza,..etc.," The European diplomat in this story will be counted as as non-Arab sources

As for inanimate sources, these sources are from Arabic government, political parties/interests, companies, organizations, or other entities to whom information is attributed in the story but the sources are not identified by name throughout the story (e.g., U.N. reports, press release, etc.). For example, "the Syria-based Local Coordination Committees also reported the Aleppo blasts. It said in its daily press release that there was an unknown number of casualties on the government side." The Local Coordination Committees report will be counted as Arab inanimate source. An example of non-Arab inanimate source will be The U.N Human Right Watch press release in the following story, "A Human Right Watch press release says all Iraqis must take responsibility to help stop the violence".

***The frequency of each source type will be recorded first, which will be used to code the dominant source in news story. If two different types of sources have equal frequencies, then the first mentioned will consider as the dominant source.

*** Also, if two different sources (e.g., Arab source told another Non-Arab media) cited in the AJE or AJA, then recode the first source as number 1 as Arab sources (e.g., The King of Jordan King Abdullah told CNN that...). In this example there are two sources, King Abdullah who is considered as Arab source, and CNN which is should be under the Non-Arab inanimate source. In this case, record in your code sheet only King of Jordan as 1. Another example, " "The five Iranian soldiers kidnapped and taken to Pakistan have been freed," said General Massoud Jazayeri in remarks carried by the Fars news agency." In this quotation there is two sources, the

first one is General Massoud Jazayeri, and the second source is the Fars news agency. In this example record Jazayri as number 0 "Non-Arab sources" and do not record it as "inanimate non-Arab source".

***If the news story include direct quotation like this "Russia said that ..." in this case record Russia as # 0" non- Arab source in your code sheet.

4)- Culturally aware words:

They are references to special events, places, names, or persons in the culture in which news organization is based (Barkho, 2006). Expanding on Barkho's (2006) work, this study developed two lists that include some examples of culturally sensitive words that have prevailed in the Arab/Islamic culture. For example, the Arab media describe Israeli troops as "occupation" troops, Hamas and Hezbollah as "resistant movements," and they use the word "martyrs" to refer to the people who have been killed by non-Muslim troops, Jihad, occupied Palestine, Mujahideen (people who fight against non-Muslims to free their lands from occupation), Madina El Monawara which means the blooming city, Mecca El Mokarmah, which means the honored Mecca, Al Qudes Al Shareef which means the honorable Jerusalem, the holy and blessed Ramadan month (the month when Muslims fast from the sunrise until sunset), the holy Koran, Prophet Mohammad peace be upon him, Prophet Mohammad's companions just to name a few. As for the out group list this includes, invaders, occupiers, Zionist (for Jewish), Westerners, capitalists, crusaders, infidels or kuffaar, Shirk or mushrikeen means devoting worship to anyone or anything other than Allah, the free world, the democratic world, imperialists, materialists, the civilized west, secularists, the West," liberals just to name a few. **Coded as:**

0 = no examples of culturally aware language.

1= uses culturally aware Arab and non-Arab language.

2= culturally-aware Arab.

16) Gender Sourcing Presence:

This variable is a measure of cultural differences by gender. This study will follow Carpenter's (2008) method which determines the sex of the source by first identifying whether the first name appears to be male or female. Furthermore, this method considers use of pronouns such as 'he' or 'she' to help identify source's gender. Also, this method considers use of a "kunya" or the nickname in the Arab world to help identify source's gender. Kunya or nickname is the name of an adult derived from his/her eldest child (Abu Mohammad which means the father of Mohammad) or (Umm Mohammad which means the mother of Mohammad). The number of sources by gender will be counted and the dominant gender sources will be **coded as:**

0= more women sources in news stories.

1 = equal number of male/female sources.

2 = more male sources

*** Coder will only record human sources in the story, and inanimate sources will be ignored. For example, if the news story says that "The White House said it did not expect the nuclear negotiations to be affected by the visa decision." In this story White House will not be coded under gender category. Another example, "U.N. officials preferred not to comment on the U.S. decision", U.N. officials will not also be coded under in this variable and will be ignored.

*** Specialists, lobbyist, witness, etc. also are other examples that did not indicate the type of the speaker's gender, so they will be also ignored.

***Some stories give a direct indicator about the gender type for example using words such as spokesman or spokeswomen. Her is an example, " But Yue Yuen's spokesman said: "If we raise the social security payment on the company part, which we are committed to do, it will also be a larger deduction from the employees' monthly checks, so the net they can pay may be lower as a result." In this case coder will record Yue Yen's spokesman as male not female. As an example on coding pronouns, here is an example, (" Perez said a way to do that is to increase the minimum wage and expand the Earning Income Tax Credit program.

“When you put money in people’s pockets, they buy more things and then businesses have to make more things and they sell more things and they hire more workers and everybody benefits,” he said). So, "Perez" and "he" will be coded as male.

*** If the news stories have more male than female sources, based on the frequencies and the percentages of each, the media coverage will be considered as adopting the cultural values.

17)The cultural index:

This study develops a special index to measure the cultural values in the content to help the researcher to determine if the news story does, or does not, reflect cultural values. The index of cultural values was derived from the scores allocated to each measured variable of the cultural model. Total scores will be calculated and assessed. A high total score means that the story corresponds to the cultural content while a low

score means that the news story did not meet the specific cultural values. The total scores of the cultural index ranges from 0 to 11. As an example, a news story in AJE was coded as follows: 0 as it focused on the non-Arab region, 1 as it paid tertiary to the Arab policies and interests, 0 as no Arab sources cited in the story, 0 as the story cited more female sources, and 0 as the story did not present any cultural sensitive words. In this case, these points sum up (0+1+0+0+0) to a total of 1 point which means that this news story reflects very little of the cultural values in news production in the index of [0-11].

Code as:

----- The aggregate values of the cultural variable of the story.