

The international flow of news regarding the 2003 Iraq War: A comparative analysis

by

IVONNE PETRONELLA LOUW

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

In the subject

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR ELIRIA BORNMAN

CO-SUPERVISORS: DR. A.G. VAN DER VYVER

MR. G.M. KIRSTEN

JANUARY 2009

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to all those who contributed towards the completion of this study.

Special thanks are due to my supervisor Associate Professor Eliria Bornman for her guidance, patience and constructive criticism.

I am also indebted to the following people:

My dear friend Irene Maitland for her assistance, patience and unfaltering enthusiasm and for the hours that she spent proofreading my chapters.

My colleagues for the interest that they showed in my study.

My husband Frank for his contribution and support and my family for understanding my need for self-development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM FORMULATION, AIM AND METHOD

	PAGE
1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY	1
1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS	2
1.2.1 Information and the international flow of information	2
1.2.2 News as part of the international flow of information	3
1.2.3 The newspaper as a medium for disseminating news	5
1.3 AIM OF STUDY	8
1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND SUB-PROBLEMS	8
1.4.1 The main research problem	8
1.4.2 The sub-problems	8
1.5 ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES OF THE STUDY	9
1.6 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION	11
1.6.1 Theories of information flow	12
1.6.2 Patterns of news flow	13
1.6.3 Theoretical framework for the construction of news	13
1.6.3.1 <i>The selection of newsworthy events</i>	14
1.6.3.2 <i>Processing newsworthy events into news</i>	14
1.7 METHODOLOGY	16
1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION	18

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES AND PATTERNS OF INFORMATION FLOW

	PAGE
2.1 INTRODUCTION	20
2.2 INFORMATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF INFORMATION	20
2.2.1 The fall of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union	21
2.2.2 The development of information and communication technology (ICT)	21
2.2.3 An increase in the role players	22

2.2.4	The debates of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)	22
2.3	INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION	23
2.4	THEORIES OF INFORMATION FLOW	24
2.4.1	Dependency theory	25
2.4.2	Galtung's structural theory of imperialism	25
	2.4.2.1 <i>Communication and media Imperialism</i>	27
2.4.3	World system theory	27
	2.4.3.1 <i>World system theory and international communication</i>	29
2.4.4	Patterns of information flow	31
	2.4.4.1 <i>The centre-periphery pattern</i>	32
	2.4.4.2 <i>The North-South flow</i>	33
	2.4.4.3 <i>The triangular pattern</i>	34
2.5	IMPLICATIONS OF THEORIES AND PATTERNS OF INFORMATION FLOW FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION	35
2.6	THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER (NWICO)	37
2.7	SUMMARY	41

CHAPTER 3

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEWS: A PROCESS OF SELECTION AND PROCESSING

	PAGE	
3.1	INTRODUCTION	43
3.2	CONSTRUCTING NEWS: A PROCESS OF SELECTION AND PROCESSING	43
3.3	THE SELECTION OF NEWSWORTHY EVENTS	45
3.3.1	Context-related news determinants	46
	3.3.1.1 <i>The structural and hierarchical status of a country</i>	46
	3.3.1.2 <i>Political and ideological factors</i>	47
	3.3.1.3 <i>Economic factors</i>	48
	3.3.1.4 <i>Social and cultural factors</i>	48
	3.3.1.5 <i>Geographic proximity</i>	49
	3.3.1.6 <i>Attributes of the population</i>	50

3.3.2	Event-related news determinants	50
3.3.2.1	<i>Deviance as a news determinant</i>	51
3.3.2.2	<i>Relevance to elite nations, countries and people</i>	52
3.3.2.3	<i>Perceptions of journalists and editors</i>	52
3.3.2.4	<i>Timeliness</i>	53
3.3.2.5	<i>Foreign correspondents and news agencies</i>	53
3.3.2.6	The human factor	54
3.4	THE PROCESSING OF NEWSWORTHY EVENTS INTO NEWS	54
3.4.1	The agenda-setting role of the media	54
3.4.1.1	<i>The public agenda</i>	55
3.4.1.2	<i>The policy agenda</i>	56
3.4.1.3	<i>The media agenda</i>	57
3.4.2	First and second-level agenda setting	58
3.4.3	Shaping political agendas through agenda-building and priming	59
3.4.4	The framing of newsworthy events and issues	61
3.4.5	Gatekeeping forces	65
3.4.5.1	<i>Individual and routine levels of journalists</i>	67
	- <i>Individual journalists</i>	67
	- <i>Professional routines</i>	68
3.4.5.2	<i>Intermediate agenda-setting</i>	69
3.4.5.3	<i>Primary and secondary news sources</i>	70
	- <i>The president as a primary source</i>	71
	- <i>Other powerful sources</i>	72
	- <i>Routine and non-routine sources</i>	72
	- <i>Expert sources</i>	72
	- <i>News agencies as a secondary source</i>	73
	- <i>A critical evaluation of news agencies</i>	76
3.4.5.4	<i>Ideology and propaganda</i>	77
	- <i>Modern and traditional propaganda</i>	78
	- <i>Forms of propaganda</i>	79
	- <i>Propaganda and war</i>	81
	- <i>Psychological warfare</i>	82
	- <i>Classic propaganda strategy</i>	83
3.5	CONCLUSION	86

CHAPTER 4

THE 2003 IRAQ WAR: A CASE STUDY

	PAGE
4.1 INTRODUCTION	87
4.2 THE 2003 IRAQ WAR: 2003 TO THE PRESENT	88
4.3 THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE 2003 IRAQ WAR	93
4.3.1 Context-related news determinants of the 2003 Iraq War	94
4.3.1.1 <i>Structural and hierarchical status of a county</i>	94
4.3.1.2 <i>Political and ideological determinants</i>	94
4.3.1.3 <i>Economic determinants</i>	97
4.3.1.4 <i>Social and cultural determinants</i>	98
4.1.3.5 <i>Geographic proximity</i>	100
4.1.3.6 <i>Attributes of the population</i>	101
4.3.2 Event-related news determinants of the 2003 Iraq War	103
4.3.2.1 <i>Deviance as a determinant</i>	103
4.3.2.2 <i>Relevance of elite people and nations</i>	106
4.3.2.3 <i>Perceptions of journalists and editors</i>	106
4.3.2.4 <i>The timeliness of the war</i>	107
4.3.2.5 <i>Human factor stories pertaining to the war</i>	107
4.4 THE AGENDA-SETTING ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE WAR	110
4.5 THE FRAMING OF THE WAR BY THE MEDIA GLOBALLY	116
4.6 GATEKEEPING FORCES AND THE WAR	122
4.6.1 Primary and secondary news sources	122
4.6.1.1 <i>The president as a primary news source</i>	122
4.6.1.2 <i>Other powerful sources</i>	123
4.6.1.3 <i>News agencies as a secondary news source</i>	123
4.6.2 Intermediate agenda-setting in the war	124
4.6.3 Individual and routine levels of journalists	125
4.6.3.1 <i>Embedded journalism and the 2003 Iraq War</i>	128
4.7 PROPAGANDA AND THE 2003 IRAQ WAR	131
4.7.1 Psychological warfare	132
4.7.1.1 <i>The psychological war of the coalition forces</i>	132
4.7.1.2 <i>The psychological war of the Insurgents</i>	136
4.7.2 The classical propaganda strategy of the coalition forces	139
4.8 CONCLUSION	145

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

	PAGE
5.1 INTRODUCTION	147
5.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	147
5.3 THE FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	148
5.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN	148
5.5 THE RESEARCH APPROACH	148
5.6 THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	150
5.6.1 Defining the population	150
5.6.2 The sampling procedure	150
5.6.2.1 <i>Sampling stage 1: The selection of a sample of newspapers</i>	151
5.6.2.1 <i>Sampling stage 2: The selection of the time-frames</i>	154
5.6.3 The unit of analysis	156
5.6.4 The coding scheme	156
5.6.4.1 <i>The quantitative coding scheme</i>	156
5.6.4.2 <i>The qualitative coding scheme</i>	164
5.6.5 The coding procedure	164
5.6.6 Data analysis	166
5.6.6.1 <i>Quantitative data analysis</i>	166
5.6.6.2 <i>Qualitative data analysis</i>	169
5.6.7 Reliability and validity	170
5.6.7.1 <i>Reliability</i>	170
5.6.7.2 <i>Validity</i>	174
5.7 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE STUDY	175
5.7.1 Limitations to the study	175
5.7.2 Strengths of the study	176
5.8 CONCLUSION	177

CHAPTER 6

THE RESULTS FOR THE STUDY CONDUCTED ON THE FLOW OF INFORMATION DURING THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

	PAGE
6.1 INTRODUCTION	178
6.2 THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE 2003 IRAQ WAR	178
6.3 THE DIRECTION OF THE FLOW OF INFORMATION	181
6.4 EVENT AND CONTEXT RELATED NEWS DETERMINANTS	183
6.4.1 Event-related news determinants	183
6.4.1.1 <i>Deviance</i>	183
6.4.1.2 <i>Elite nations, countries and people</i>	185
6.4.1.3 <i>Perceptions of journalists and editors</i>	186
6.4.1.4 <i>Timeliness</i>	187
6.4.1.5 <i>Foreign correspondents and agencies</i>	188
6.4.1.6 <i>Human factor stories</i>	189
6.4.2. Context-related news determinants	190
6.4.2.1 <i>Political and ideological factors</i>	190
6.4.2.2 <i>Structural and hierarchical status</i>	191
6.4.2.3 <i>Social and cultural factors</i>	192
6.4.2.4 <i>Economic factors</i>	193
6.4.2.5 <i>Geographic proximity</i>	193
6.5 THE USE OF SOURCES BY THE NEWSPAPERS	194
6.6 THE SOURCES QUOTED BY THE NEWSPAPERS	196
6.7 THE THEMATIC FRAMING OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR	199
6.8 THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN THE WAR REPORTING	204
6.8.1 Psychological warfare	204
6.8.1.1 <i>The weak versus strong tactic</i>	204
6.8.1.2 <i>The strong versus weak tactic</i>	205
6.8.1.3 <i>Presenting selective information to the audience</i>	205
6.8.1.4 <i>The control of communication mediums in the war</i>	206
6.8.2 Classic propaganda strategy	207
6.8.2.1 <i>Presenting the war as a war of defence</i>	207
6.8.2.2 <i>Presenting the war in a polarised manner</i>	208
6.8.2.3 <i>The control of information in the war</i>	209
6.8.2.4 <i>The use of drama and conspiracy in the war</i>	209

6.9	THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS THE WAR AND THE USA	210
6.9.1	The tone of the newspapers towards the war	210
6.9.2	The tone of the newspapers towards the United States	214
6.9.3	The association between the newspapers' attitude towards the 2003 Iraq War and the USA	218
6.9.4	The change in tone towards the war and the USA from 2003-2006	219
6.9.4.1	<i>The change in tone towards the war</i>	219
6.9.4.2	<i>The change in attitude towards the USA</i>	220
6.10	CONCLUSION	221

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

	PAGE	
7.1	INTRODUCTION	222
7.2	OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY	222
7.3	THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE WAR	224
7.4	THE NEWS DETERMINANTS OF THE WAR	225
7.5	THE DIRECTION AND PATTERNS OF FLOW	228
7.6	THE WAR AGENDA OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION	228
7.7	THE FRAMING OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR	230
7.8	THE SOURCES USED BY THE RESPECTIVE NEWSPAPERS	231
7.9	THE SOURCES QUOTED IN THE WAR COVERAGE	233
7.10	THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN THE WAR COVERAGE	234
7.11	THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS THE WAR AND THE USA	236
7.12	GUIDELINES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	238
7.13	CONCLUSIVE STATEMENTS	243

BIBLIOGRAPHY	244
---------------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

	PAGE
FIGURES	
Figure 2.1:	The centre-periphery relation between nations 26
Figure 2.2:	The North- South pattern of flow 33
Figure 2.3:	The triangular pattern of flow 35
Figure 3.1:	The construction of news 44
Figure 3.2:	First and second level agenda-setting 58
Figure 3.3:	Gatekeeping forces 66
Figure 3.4:	Model of media influences 66
Figure 6.1:	The distribution of the means of the tone of the newspapers towards the war 211
Figure 6.2:	Mean of recorded attitudes towards the USA 215
Figure 6.3:	The collective tone of the newspapers towards the war 219
Figure 6.4:	The collective attitude of the newspapers towards the USA 220
TABLES	
Table 5.1:	Sample of online newspapers selected for the content analysis 152
Table 5.2:	Categories and sub-categories 157
Table 5.3:	The correlations between the two coding sessions 173
Table 6.1:	The volume of newspaper articles published 179
Table 6.2:	The direction of the flow of news flow during the war 181
Table 6.3:	Event-related news determinants of the war 183
Table 6.4:	Context-related news determinants 190
Table 6.5:	The sources used by the newspapers 194
Table 6.6:	The quoting of sources by the newspapers 196
Table 6.7:	The thematic framing of the events of the war 200
Table 6.8:	The frequency of propaganda in the war coverage 204
Table 6.9:	Descriptive statistics for the tone of the newspapers towards the war 211
Table 6.10:	Results for the post-hoc Scheffe tests 212
Table 6.11:	Results for the Bonferroni post-hoc test 213
Table 6.12:	Descriptive statistics for the attitude of the newspapers towards the USA 215
Table 6.13:	Results for the post-hoc Scheffe test 216
Table 6.14:	The Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test 217
Table 6.15:	Cross tabulation: Attitude towards the war versus attitude towards

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Broadcasting Company
AFP	Agence France Presse
AP	Associated Press
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting Station
CNN	Cable News Network
CD	Compact Disc
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
DPA	Deutsche Presse Agentur
DVD	Digital Video Device
EU	European Union
FAIR	Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting
GNP	Gross National Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IBC	Iraq Body Count
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
INC	Iraqi National Congress
IPS	Inter Press Service
ITAR-TASS	The official news agency of Russia
IRNA	Islamic Republic News Agency
INM	Independent Newspapers Media
IRA	Irish republican Army
MEMRI	Middle East Media Research Institute
MIT	Massachusetts Institute's Center for International Studies
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NBC	National Broadcasting Corporation
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
OANA	Organisation of Asian-Pacific News Agencies
ORHA	Garner's Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance
Psy Ops	Psychological Operations
RTP	Radio Television Portugal
SARS	Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SMS	Short Message Service
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SUV	Sport Utility Vehicle
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
UPI	United Press International
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
Xinhua	The official press agency of the People's Republic of China

SUMMARY

This comparative study conducted within the framework of world system theory aimed to analyse the international flow of news regarding the 2003 Iraq War in online newspapers representative of centre, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. Two of the newspapers represent centre nations directly involved in the war. Overall, the findings confirmed that the extensive war coverage of the newspapers can in part be attributed to the status of the USA and the UK as centre nations. The findings furthermore indicate the importance of both event and context-related factors as filters in the selection of items for news coverage of the war. Distinct differences emerged in the coverage of newspapers from the three spheres of the world system. These differences can be ascribed to the attitudes of the newspapers towards the war, the use of sources in the war coverage, the propaganda strategies deployed and the framing of the events.

Keywords

Centre nations, semi-periphery nations, periphery nations, 2003 Iraq War, online newspapers, event and context-related news determinants, news frames, news sources, propaganda, international news flow.

DECLARATION

I declare that “The International flow of information regarding the Iraq War: A comparative analysis” is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The 2003 Iraq War, in which George W. Bush claimed victory from the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln on 1 May 2003, has been labelled by many as one of the most newsworthy events of the post Cold War period (Thompson 2003). The newsworthiness of the event is evident from the volume of global news coverage that the event received in media such as television, the Internet and newspapers. It has been suggested that the direct involvement of elite nations such as the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) contributed significantly towards the newsworthiness of the war (see sections 3.3.2.2 and 4.3.1.1).

Newsworthy events such as the Iraq War are processed into news and disseminated by the media, in what has become known as the international flow of information (see section 2.2). There has been an increase in the international flow of information, which has been attributed to factors such as the development of technology and the end of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War signified a new era in information flow when countries from Eastern Europe became active participants in the flow. Some countries from Africa, Latin America and Asia that were previously excluded also entered in the flow (see section 2.2.3).

The development of technology has facilitated the flow of information in various forms, including news, across national borders (see section 2.2.2). News is delivered and accessed anywhere on the globe in a variety of media. The access that audiences now have to news has fostered an increased awareness and interest of countries in one another. Events such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the tsunami in Thailand on December 26, 2004 and the presidential elections in the USA in November 2008 are all examples of newsworthy events that have been covered extensively globally.

It is hardly surprising that the Iraq War was and to a certain extent still is a newsworthy event. The fact that images and information on the war were disseminated live into the living rooms of global audiences, by war correspondents known as “embedded journalists” that travelled with the troops, added a whole new dimension to news delivery (see section 4.6.3.1). Audiences globally could access and follow the events of the war in media such as traditional and online newspapers (Western and non-Western), several television stations including British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), Sky News and Al Jazeera and a multitude of Internet web sites. The journalists who constructed the war news that was disseminated in this diversity of media offered their interpretations of the events which were embedded in their culture. The result was that several interpretations of the events of the war emerged in the media.

This study examines and aims to give an indication of the nature of the flow of information in the modern era. The content of five online newspapers attached to Western and non-Western countries is examined and compared over a period of four years.

1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

In this section an overview of the concepts that have bearing on this study is given. The focus is on concepts such as information, information flow and news as a part of the international flow of information. In view of the fact that the content of online newspapers is analysed in this study, attention is given to this medium.

1.2.1 Information and the international flow of information

For the majority of people information is associated with aspects such as facts, data or news. News is considered by many as a valuable form of information, as it informs citizens globally of newsworthy events. It was mentioned in section 1.1 that newsworthy events are exchanged in the international flow of information and that since the end of the Cold War, the growing number of participants in the flow and the development of technology

are factors that have contributed towards an increase in the flow (see section 2.2) (Bornman, Fourie, Lesame & Schoonraad 2001:76).

The debates of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), that focused the attention globally on the unequal flow of information between the developed and the developing world, has also been cited as a contributing factor towards the increase in the flow. It has been suggested that the developed Western countries control the international flow of information through Western news agencies, and that they tend to focus their reporting on events that concern only the developed world. It has further been claimed that the developed countries portray themselves in a positive manner in the media, in contrast to the developing countries that are portrayed in a negative manner (see section 2.2 for an in-depth discussion on the factors that have led to an increase in the international flow of information) (Bornman et al 2001:149; Coetzee & De Beer 2002:291; Mowlana 1997:23)

1.2.2 News as part of the international flow of information

It was stated in section 1.2.1 that news is one form of information that is exchanged in the international flow of information. Various perceptions, explanations and definitions for the concept “news” exist. Overall, news appears to be associated with facts, information on issues or events, a press release, or a message (McQuail 2000:338). Ward (1995:88) regards news as merely content that attracts audiences and fills the airtime between, or in the case of newspapers, space surrounding advertisements. Fourie (2001:453) is of the opinion that news is important as it co-determines how individuals and groups perceive the world around them.

McQuail (2000:338) views Lippmann (1922) and Park (1955) as the “two founding fathers” of the sociology of news. Lippmann (1960:5) emphasised the process of newsgathering, which he viewed as “a search for an objective clear signal which signifies an event”. News is therefore not a mirror of social conditions, but rather a report on an event that attracted the attention of the media.

Park (1955:375) singled out several properties of a news report:

- News is timely; it is concerned with recent or recurring events.
- News is unsystematic; events that become news are unrelated and separate.
- News is perishable; the focus is on current events and for the purpose of record and later reference, other forms of knowledge will replace news.
- Park (1955:376) holds news to be both predictable and unexpected or unpredictable. Events such as a major war or a disaster are generally newsworthy and are well covered in the media. It is therefore predictable that these types of events will become news. News can also be unpredictable, for example when an outcome of an election is unexpected. In such an instance news is unpredictable.
- In addition to the criterion of unexpectedness, news events are characterised by other “news values” (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2) that are relative, and that are based on reader interest.
- News is not a substitute for knowledge; it serves to orientate the public on issues and events and directs their attention to certain aspects of the event or the issue.

Breed (1956:468) attributed characteristics such as saleable, superficial, simple, objective, action-centred, interesting and prudent to news. McQuail (2000:338) claims that events become news when they are visible to the public or the news producers. Hall (1973:180) cites three basic conditions for the visibility of news: it should be linked to a key event or occurrence, it should be recent, and it needs to be newsworthy (see chapter 3.3). An event such as the 2003 Iraq War, which is still a key event, in which an elite nation (the United States) is directly involved, has met the requirements as stated by Hall (1973:180).

1.2.3 The newspaper as a medium for disseminating news

With Gutenberg's invention of the movable printing press, the printed word became a dominant medium for mass communication. The newspaper, a product of the printing press monopolised the mass media market until the advent of radio and television (Bogart 1984:710). McQuail (2000:337) supports this view; he views the traditional newspaper as the archetype of all modern mass media. He maintains that the newspaper has a special status in society, as it is viewed as one of the main purveyors of news, and as an instrument for expressing opinion in the name of the public.

The main functions of a newspaper according to McQuail (2000:131) are to draw attention to events and to provide information about these events to its readership. The evolution of the newspaper has become a source of discussion amongst publishers, journalists, researchers and other professionals. In the United States, for example, 50% of the population does not subscribe to a newspaper, while 50% of the readers in the age group between 18 and 24 do not read a newspaper at all (Sussman 1994:1). In 2008 the *Readership Institute* conducted a study and found that readership among 18-24 year-olds in the general population continues to slowly decline; but the habit is fairly stable for 45-plus. Furthermore, people who read newspapers spend, on average, 27 minutes with them on weekdays, and 57 minutes on Sundays. The first figure has stayed stable, but the latter figure has been slowly dropping since 2002. Sigmund (2008) claims that although the readers of traditional newspapers may have shown a decline, the number of audience figures for newspaper websites grew by more than 3,6 million in 2007. He claims that in October 2007 more than 63 million people visited newspaper websites to read online newspapers.

Sussman (1994:2) defines an online newspaper as "a form of newspaper which is a digitalised, wireless, blend of text, graphics and colour photos dancing across a book-sized, portable computer screen." It was only in 1993 that newspaper publishers favoured online newspapers as an electronic platform for disseminating information to an audience (Ingle 1995:2). In 1998

Editor and Publisher Interactive claimed the existence of approximately 2 859 newspaper (both dailies and weeklies) web sites in the world, of which 1 749 are based in the USA (Peng, Tham & Xiaoming 1999:52). In 2008 the total number of online newspapers has grown to approximately 4 500 (Oliver 2008:3).

It is suggested that online newspapers show a number of advantages compared to traditional newspapers. Where traditional newspapers are limited by space and publication costs, electronic newspapers are easy to access, they are regularly updated and they have the ability to direct readers to vast amounts of information. Readers have access to a vast selection of newspapers and are therefore exposed to a diversity of viewpoints, on events ranging from sport, to current affairs (Lasica 1997:48; Morton 1993:20; Sussman 1994:2). Lasica (1997:48) adds that where publishers of traditional newspapers are hampered by the complicated process of a production cycle, Internet sites can be updated as events occur. Online newspapers can therefore establish themselves as a source for breaking stories.

Several studies have been conducted on various aspects of online newspapers. In 1999 Peng et al (1999:52) found the USA newspaper industry was leading the world in Web publishing, with 61% of all the existing newspapers. Chyi and Sylvie (2001:231) found that as of April 2000 more than 1 200 North American dailies were offered online and that worldwide more than 4 400 newspapers provided online services, of which more than 2 900 were based in the US. Reuters (2008) reported a 16 percent year-over-year increase in unique visitors to the top 10 newspaper Web sites, growing from 34.6 million unique visitors in December 2007 to 40.1 million in December 2008. *NYTimes.com* was the number one online newspaper destination in December 2008, with 18.2 million unique visitors. *USATODAY.com* and *washingtonpost.com* took the No. 2 and No. 3 spots, with 11.4 million and 9.5 million unique visitors, respectively.

The Society of Professional Journalists (2005:46) found several trends as far as the users of online newspapers are concerned. They found that 21% of

Internet users who read newspapers prefer reading them online. These findings are indicative of the overall trend in the newspaper industry namely that more and more consumers are using the Web as a source for current affairs. The websites of the *New York Times*, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post* were found to be the three most popular USA newspaper sites. Chiy and Ladorsa (1999:2) conducted an e-mail survey of 40 online newspapers from the online readers' perspective. Their respondents indicated that the computer has become a part of their personal lives and 78% indicated that they read a daily newspaper online at least once a week.

Overall however, the results showed that the traditional print newspaper was more accessible, used more and preferred by most people. Nine out of ten respondents believed that although online newspapers will not replace the print newspaper online and print newspapers will flourish together (Ladorsa 1992:2).

Alexander (1997:7) also conducted a mail survey of 210 New England dailies and weeklies. His findings also showed that online newspapers are unlikely to replace the traditional newspaper. Lowrey (2003:86) conducted a study to determine why some smaller daily newspapers publish online and others not. He found that communities that are less pluralistic, are less likely to have access to the Internet or computers and have less expertise in computer based information and as a result a smaller demand for an online newspaper exists. More heterogeneous communities have more stakeholders, more voices and therefore a greater need for interactivity and feedback, which has as implication that there is a demand for online newspapers in these communities.

Nielsen (1985:1), a reporter for the *Manchester Guardian* in the UK claims that newspapers emerge as "contradicting beasts", both powerful and fragile. They are powerful in that "crusading" editors and journalists have changed public opinion and international policy and they are fragile as editors and journalists have and still are fired, sued, boycotted jailed and assassinated for presenting their views. As far as the status of newspapers is concerned he

singled out *Le Monde* (France) for its depth, prescience and sensitivity of its reporting. He placed the *New York Times* (USA) second, *The Times* (UK) third and *The Washington Post* (USA) fourth. Other influential newspapers in his opinion are the *Asahi Shimbun* (Japan), the *Age of Melbourne* (Australia), and the *Corriera Della Serra* (Italy). He claims that newspapers such as the *Toronto Globe* (Canada), and the *Al Ahram* (Egypt) although influential, showed little concern for informing readers accurately. The newspapers rated by Nielsen all have online versions of their newspapers.

1.3 AIM OF STUDY

The aim of this study was to determine by means of a comparative content analysis the newsworthiness of the 2003 Iraq War, how five online newspapers attached to countries at different levels in the world system namely *The Washington Post* (The United States), the *Daily Mirror* (the United Kingdom), the *Daily Telegraph* (Australia), the *New Straits Times* (Malaysia) and *The Star* (South Africa) (see section 5.6.2.1) covered selected events of the war. The aim was further to determine the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the USA (this country was and still is directly involved in the war) and the change in tone between 2003 and 2006.

1.4 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND SUB-PROBLEMS

1.4.1 The main research problem

The main research problem is formulated as follows:

How did five online newspapers attached to countries situated at different levels of the world system cover selected events of the Iraq War between 2003 and 2006?

1.4.2 The sub-problems

Based on the main research problem and to clarify the investigation, the following sub-problems were formulated:

1. How newsworthy was the Iraq War between 2003 and 2006?
2. Which context and event-related news determinants emerged in

the coverage of the newspapers?

3. What were the directions and the patterns of information flow during the Iraq War?
4. What was the role of agenda-setting in the war?
5. How was the Iraq War framed by the respective newspapers?
6. What role did gatekeeping forces play in the coverage of the events of the war?
7. What was the tone of the newspapers towards the USA and the war?

1.5 ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES IN TERMS OF SUB-PROBLEMS

Sub-problem 1

Although most wars are generally newsworthy, it is anticipated that the newsworthiness of the Iraq War was heightened by the fact that the USA and the UK were directly involved in the war. The most newsworthy period in the war is likely to be the fall of Baghdad. As the war was prolonged the newsworthiness of the war is likely to decrease and more current newsworthy events are bound to move onto the media agenda.

Sub-problem 2

Both event and context-related news determinants such as deviance, political, economical and human related stories are likely to act as filters for the newsworthy events of the war. Due to the fact that the war was highly political and that most wars generally have a large number of casualties, deviance and political factors are likely to emerge as two key news determinants in the war.

Sub-problem 3

It is anticipated that the main pattern of news flow in the Iraq War was a North-South pattern of flow. Information is likely to have flown vertically from the developed countries in the North to countries in the South. It is further anticipated that Western news agencies such as

Reuters and Associated Press provided news to countries such as South Africa that do not have war correspondents in Iraq.

Sub-problem 4

In its preparation for the war, the Bush administration is likely to set the agenda for the war well in advance in conjunction with elite media such as the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. These elite media are likely to disseminate the war agenda of the governments that they are attached to in order to secure public support for the war.

Sub-problem 5

A number of themes common in a situation of war, for instance human suffering, atrocities that were committed, military manoeuvres of the coalition forces and freedom and victory are likely to emerge in the coverage of the newspapers. The themes applied by Western countries are likely to differ from those of the non-Western countries.

Sub-problem 6

The newspapers are likely to use a diversity of sources to construct their interpretation of the events of the war. The Western and the non-Western newspapers will presumably use different sources in their war coverage. It is unlikely that the non-Western newspapers will use Western news agencies with a pro-war stance such as Reuters to obtain information on the events of the war.

As far as the quoting of sources is concerned, it is anticipated that a similar pattern to the one in the First Gulf War (August 2 1990 – February 28 1991) will emerge. In the First Gulf War a multitude of military sources were used to offer information on the progress and the events of the war. It is anticipated that the same pattern will prevail in the 2003 Iraq War. It is further anticipated that elite persons such as the leaders of the USA and the UK will be prominent sources in the war coverage of the newspapers, but for different reasons.

Propaganda is likely to form an integral part of the war coverage of the 2003 Iraq War.

A pro-war Western propaganda campaign, in which the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq is claimed, is likely to be initiated by the Bush administration. It can be expected that the Bush administration in conjunction with the Pentagon will deploy a variety of propaganda strategies to justify the war and its course. Western newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and the *New York Times* are likely to rally behind the president and non-Western newspapers will most probably focus on the destruction and loss of Iraqi lives in the war.

Sub-problem 7

The tone of the media towards the parties involved in the war is likely to differ according to the ideologies of the journalists that construct the war news. The tone of reporting of the Western newspapers is anticipated to initially be victorious, and as the war is prolonged the tone is likely to become increasingly critical as the cost of the war escalated and the casualties among the American soldiers increased over the four-year period. The war focus of the Bush administration may therefore change from finding weapons of mass destruction to securing the peace and withdrawing the troops to end the “invasion”. The tone of non-Western newspapers is likely to be negative and critical in the run-up to, during the war and in the aftermath of the war.

1.6 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

This study was conducted within the framework of international information flow. It was noted in section 1.2 that there has been an increase in the international flow of information across national borders (Mowlana 1997:25) and the factors that contributed towards the increase in the flow, such as the end of the Cold War were briefly mentioned. It was during the Cold War that the notion of the free flow of information first emerged as an East-West

debate, when a discernable distinction existed between Western liberalism and capitalism and Marxists. In the context of information flow this implies that the West argued for a free flow of information, in contrast to the Marxists who supported regulation and control of information. The end of the Cold War and the fact that African, Asian and Latin American countries entered the arena of international information flow redirected the East-West debates to North-South issues (Ayish 2001; Thusso 2000, 2005) (See section 2.3).

North-South debates centred on the notion that the flow of information is unequal in that developed countries in the North receive a higher level of news coverage than the developing countries in the South. In addition, the coverage that the North receives is generally positive, in contrast to the South that receives negative coverage (Ayish 2001; Thusso 2000, 2005). The unequal flow of information culminated in theories of information flow such as dependency theory, Galtung's theory of structural imperialism and world system theory (Bornman et al 2001:163) (see section 2.4).

1.6.1 Theories of information flow

Dependency theorists and Galtung (1971) claim that historical colonialism, exploitation and domination of the South by the North has resulted in a global hierarchical two-tier structure which comprises the centre (the developed countries) and the periphery (the developing countries) (Chang 1998:529; Galtung 1971:89; Thusso 2005:50) (see sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2).

World system theorists proposed the semi-periphery as a third sphere to the centre-periphery structure. Countries that mediate between the periphery and the centre nations are situated in the semi-periphery. The world is therefore not perceived as a two-tier structure, but rather as a global social system, in which not only countries, but also autonomous nation states, cultural minorities as well as organisations are hierarchically arranged in the three strata, according to their level of development. Countries, nations and all other entities interact and exchange essential goods in all forms including news (Shannon 1996; Wallerstein in Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993) (see section 2.4.3).

The hierarchy in the world system has as implication that news flows from the centre to the semi-periphery and then finally to the periphery. The centre countries control the volume and the nature of the information that is exchanged between countries. The volume and the nature of the news that a country receives can therefore be explained within the context of the three levels of the world system (Chang 1998:532) (see section 2.4.3.1).

1.6.2 Patterns of news flow

Several patterns of news flow that correlate strongly with the theories of information flow have been identified namely, a centre-periphery, a North-South and a triangular pattern (see section 2.4.4). The North-South and the centre-periphery patterns of news flow are dominant and hold that news flows from the developed countries to the developing countries. This dominant direction of flow supports the assumptions of Galtung and world system theory namely that the developed countries in the North control the volume and content of information in the world system (Mowlana 1997:44).

This study used world system theory as a framework to analyse and explain the flow of information in the Iraq War in online newspapers. The fact that the war was a newsworthy event that was well covered in a diversity of online newspapers attached to countries situated at different levels of the world system made this a suitable event for an analysis of contemporary global information flow. Newspapers representative of countries at different levels of the world system could be selected and their construction of the war news could be analysed and compared.

1.6.3 Theoretical framework for the construction of news

For the purpose of this study the theoretical framework for the construction of news is centred on two main processes namely the selection of a newsworthy event and the processing of the newsworthy event into news (see section 3.2).

1.6.3.1 The selection of a newsworthy event

Journalists use news values or news determinants to select newsworthy events (see section 3.3). News values have been grouped as external (context-related) or internal (event-related) (Chang, Shoemaker & Brendlinger 1987:398). Context-related news values are external attributes of an event that make the event newsworthy, for example, political or economical factors (see section 3.3.1). Event-related factors are factors that relate directly to an event for example deviance or human tragedies (Chang, Shoemaker & Brendlinger 1987:398; Ostgaardt 1965:41 & Rosengren 1970; 1977) (see section 3.3.2). In this study one of the aims was to determine how newsworthy selected events of the war were, and which event and context-related attributes contributed towards the newsworthiness of the events.

1.6.3.2 Processing newsworthy events into news

Several processes used to construct newsworthy events have been incorporated into the theoretical framework of this study. These processes include agenda-setting, news framing and gatekeeping forces, for example, news sources and propaganda. The role of these processes in this study is briefly outlined.

- **Agenda-setting**

The media introduce newsworthy events to their respective audiences and then identify and emphasise the newsworthy attributes of the event. This role of the media known as the agenda-setting role guides the audience how to view an event (McCombs 2004:23; Entman 1993:53; Kosicki 1993:101) (see section 3.4.1). In this study, the manner in which the Bush administration set the agenda for the war in elite newspapers is analysed and discussed comprehensively and the implications of the role that the media played in setting the war agenda are outlined.

- **News Framing**

Closely related to agenda-setting is the process of framing a newsworthy event. Slices of information are selected and framed to create a meaningful story. The framed reality is then relayed to the audience. In print media events are framed thematically, which implies that news frames are constructed by using sentences that form integrated thematic clusters (Entman 1993:52; Ghanem 1997:6; Iyenger & Simon 1993:366) (see section 3.4.4). This study analysed and compared the manner in which Western and non-Western newspapers selected and framed slices of information of the war in the run-up to, during the war and in the aftermath of the war.

- **Gatekeeping forces**

Several gatekeeping forces such as individual and routine levels of journalists, intermediate agenda-setting, which refers to the manner in which elite media in a country influence the less influential media in terms of which events to cover, primary news sources such as the President of a country, official sources for example government officials and spokespersons, expert sources and secondary sources such as news agencies play a role in the construction of news. These forces may either constrain or facilitate the passage of news items through the gatekeeping process (McCombs 1994:94; Shoemaker 1991:28; Shoemaker & Reese 1991:49) (see section 3.4.5).

It has been suggested that propaganda is an influential gatekeeping force in time of war (Bytwerk 1998:38; Patrick & Thrall 2001:4; Steiner 1993:291). Propaganda is associated with the efforts of worldly organisations and nations to influence and manipulate the perceptions of the masses (Ellul 1973:61). The media have been noted to play a key role in disseminating the views of the propagandist to their intended audience (Warren & Guscott 2000:12; Wilson 2000:4) (see section 3.4.5.4). In this study the role of gatekeeping forces such as sources and propaganda in the construction of the events of the war

by the respective newspapers was analysed and compared. The manner in which the newspapers constructed their war news reflected their tone towards the war and towards the countries that were directly involved in the war, namely the USA and the UK.

In summary, the war coverage of the newspapers was compared by analysing the context and event related news determinants that contributed towards the newsworthiness of the events of the war in the newspapers. Different newspapers may have focused on different attributes of an event with the result that more than one interpretation of an event emerged. The manner in which the agenda was set for the war, the framing of the events of the war, the gatekeeping forces that contributed towards the content, and the use of propaganda by the newspapers was also analysed and compared.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

To achieve the objectives of the study as outlined in section 1.3, a comparative quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 289 news articles was conducted. These articles were published in five daily newspapers – the *Daily Mirror* (the UK), the *Daily Telegraph* (Australia), the *New Straits Times* (Malaysia), *The Star* (South Africa) and *The Washington Post* (USA) – between 2003 and 2006 (see section 5.6.2.1). These newspapers were selected on the basis of their circulation (all have a circulation figure that exceeds 100 000, their reputation as leading newspapers in their countries, and the fact that all are online English daily newspapers.

Further reasons for the selection of *The Washington Post* were its status as an elite American newspaper, and the assumption that it would report on the war from an American perspective. It could furthermore be expected that, as the United Kingdom (UK) was a formal ally of the USA in the war, British newspapers would report positively on the war. The *Daily Mirror* was thus selected to establish whether that was indeed the case. The *Daily Telegraph* was selected as a newspaper representative of a semi-peripheral country and for its status as an American ally in the war. It would therefore be interesting

to establish whether or not this newspaper was indeed supportive of the war. The *New Straits Times* was selected as a representative of an Asian country and a newspaper representative of a semi-peripheral country. It was anticipated that the newspaper would adopt an anti-war perspective in its reporting. *The Star* was selected as a representative of newspapers from peripheral countries, and it was assumed that its stance regarding the war would vary from neutral to negative. Due to the volume of articles published on the war, it was decided to select four five-day samples (one for each year from 2003 to 2006). The purposive samples comprised:

- 9–13 April 2003 (The fall of Baghdad). During this period Baghdad was formally secured by the coalition forces.
- 20–24 March 2004 (The one-year anniversary of the war).
- 19–23 November 2005 (The Haditha killings: 4 marines killed 25 Iraqi civilians after a member of their unit was ambushed on 19 November 2005 (Buncombe 2006).
- 27–31 October 2006 (This was the month in which the most American soldiers lost their lives from the onset of the war until that date) (see section 5.6.2.2).

The units of analysis were the newspaper articles that covered the Iraq War. The articles from *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *New Straits Times* were accessed from the Australian E-Library database, and the articles from *The Star* from its own archive. All articles on the Iraq War published in the selected newspapers during the sampled time frames were analysed (see section 5.6.3).

A quantitative and a qualitative coding sheet were developed for the purpose of the study (see section 5.6.4). The quantitative coding sheet contained 12 categories, some with sub-categories (see section 5.6.4.1). For the qualitative element of the study a qualitative coding sheet of three categories with sub-categories was developed (see section 5.6.4.2).

A pilot study was conducted and the main body of the data was then coded by the researcher to ensure the detection of subtle message elements and to ensure consistency in the coding of the content (see section 5.6.5). To assess intra-coder reliability, 20% of the data was re-coded at a different time. Holsti's (1969) method for calculating intra-coder reliability was used and an acceptable .82 reliability coefficient was calculated (see section 5.6.7.1).

1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

The study is presented as follows:

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study. The chapter offers a framework of the study by providing the background of the study, definition of concepts, the aim of the study, the research problem and the sub-problems, the anticipated outcomes of the study and the theoretical foundation on which the study was conducted. The final sections of the chapter outlined the methodology applied in the study and finally an overview of the chapters of the study is given.

Chapter 2 presents the first part of the literature review which includes theories of information flow, in particular world system theory which is an extension of theories of imperialism such as Galtung's structural theory of imperialism and dependency theory. Issues and patterns pertaining to international information flow are addressed and the establishment of the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) and the consequences of these debates for the international flow of information are highlighted.

Chapter 3 forms the second part of the literature review and address the selection of newsworthy events and the processing of newsworthy events into news. In the selection of newsworthy events the focus is on context and event related news determinants. In the processing of newsworthy events into news organisational practices such as agenda-setting effects, news framing and gatekeeping forces are addressed.

Chapter 4 takes the form of a case study of the 2003 Iraq War and is presented in the context of the theoretical framework of international information flow presented in chapters two and three. The focus of the case study is on research studies conducted on the newsworthiness of the war and the construction of the events of the war by media globally. The role that propaganda played in the construction of the events of the war was also addressed.

Chapter 5 presents the research methodology for the empirical study.

Chapter 6 presents the findings for the study

The study concludes with Chapter 7 and offers suggestions for further research in international communication.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES AND PARADIGMS OF INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION FLOW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one, the research design for the study was presented by outlining the purpose and the background of the study, the theoretical departures, the research questions and the methodology applied in the study. The problems associated with the study and the division of the chapters for the study were also discussed.

This chapter forms part of the literature review, and the focus of this chapter is primarily on the international flow of information. Information and information flow is discussed in the context of the free flow of information which has been found to be predominantly unequal (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). The inequality in the free flow of information has resulted in the formulation of theories of information flow such as dependency theory, Galtung's theory of imperialism and world system theory. Distinct patterns of information flow have also been identified in the flow of information. These theories and the patterns are discussed and their implications for international information flow are outlined. The final section of the chapter deals with the origin and the importance of the New Information and Communication Order (NWICO) for developing countries.

2.2 INFORMATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF INFORMATION

The term information is used in many contexts. In Medieval Latin, it referred to instruction and formation, whereas in French the term was used to process and gather facts in a legal context (Mowlana 1997:25). Moisy (1996:1) views information as raw material, which is meaningless unless it is processed. Only then can information create meaning and new knowledge for the person who receives the data (McQuail 2000:497; Moisy 1996:1). McQuail (2000:497)

adds that information is valuable in that it can be exchanged between individuals, groups and societies.

A key form of information exchange is the international flow of information, which refers to the movement or transfer of messages among two or more national and cultural boundaries (Mowlana 1997:25). Bornman et al (2001:76) claim that the growing interest in information flow within and across the borders of nation states (see section 1.2.1) can be attributed to a number of factors:

2.2.1 The fall of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union

Chang (1998:530) notes that prior to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the capitalist world economy expanded its initial European base and in so doing created a complex interdependent global network of economic activities and a flow of information between capitalist countries. The collapse of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union changed the geopolitical landscape of the world. Factors such as the alleviation of the totalitarian control of the media in large parts of the world opened up media channels for many countries resulting in an increased global flow of information (Moisy 1996:8).

2.2.2 The development of information and communication technology (ICT)

A key contributor towards the increase in information flow is the development of information and communication technology (ICT) such as the communications' satellite and the Internet in the eighties and the nineties (Bornman et al 2001:148). Characteristic of this era, labelled the "information era", is the development of information highways, which have enabled "global communities" to exchange information through "global media". The expression "global village" is used to describe this modern era (Moisy 1996:9).

Bornman et al (2001:148) note that the development of ICT has had several significant implications for societies. Information is now packaged and

delivered anywhere on the globe and individual citizens have access to a variety of global communication sources such as television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet. The result has been an increase in the content, volume and the direction of information flows (Bornman et al 2001:151; Moisy 1996:3; Sreberny-Muhammadi 1997:xii).

2.2.3 An increase in the role players

The number of international and transnational actors involved in international communication has increased significantly. Several countries from Africa and Latin America, that were previously not a part of the flow, have now become active participants (Mowlana 1997:23). Bornman et al (2001:148) add that there is currently an increased awareness by individuals, groups, governments and other institutions that information flow affects all nations and that it has major implications for decision-making processes at all levels.

2.2.4 The debates of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

Bornman et al (2001:149) note that the debates of the NWICO (see section 2.6), which focused on the unequal flow of information between the developing world and the developed world, have to some extent contributed towards an increase in the flow of information to and from developing countries.

The growth and the increased awareness in the field of international information flow have led to a reformulation of the term “international communication” by theorists such as Mowlana (1997:6) and Thusso (2000:14). Mowlana (1997:6) suggested the term “global communication” to encompass the scope of communication between nation-states, institutions, groups and individuals across national, geographical and cultural borders. Thusso (2000:1) describes international communication as communication that occurs across borders. The Massachusetts Institute’s Center for International Studies (MIT Centre) clarify that “words, acts or attitudes can be depicted as international communication whenever they impinge intentionally

or unintentionally upon the minds of private individuals officials or groups from other countries”.

Madikiza and Bornman (2007:16) are of the opinion that these definitions of international communication firstly broaden the scope of international communication beyond the parameters of inter-state and inter-government communication. Secondly they deviate from a mere technological focus, by depicting international communication as a complex field that comprises the attitude and social circumstances of the sources, the media and technology that enable the communication and the predisposition of the receivers and the effects of the content. The international flow of information and the aspects that relate to this field are all an integral part of “the free flow of information”.

2.3 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

The notion of the free flow of information emerged during the Cold War, when a clear distinction existed between Western liberalism and capitalism and Marxism. Where the West argued for an unrestricted flow of information, free from state regulation and censorship, Marxist countries supported regulation and the control of the flow of news and broadcasting materials into their societies (Ayish 2001; Thusso 2000, 2005). The free flow paradigm is therefore embedded in principles of democracy such as “free market place of ideas” and “freedom of expression and information”, which became central components of the United States foreign policy between the 1940s and the 1960s. These principles have also been endorsed in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other related UNESCO declarations.

Where free flow debates were initially focused on East-West issues, the changing geopolitics in the 1960’s (newly independent African and Asian states became role players in the international flow of information), redirected the focus to North-South debates. Developing countries initiated these debates because they believed that the structural disparity between the

developed and the developing countries had resulted in an unequal flow of information, which left the developing countries at a disadvantage (Ayish 2001; Thusso 2000, 2005).

The imbalance and the inequalities in the flow of information have been researched extensively and key concepts such as “dependency”, “media imperialism” and “centre and periphery” emerged. These concepts are all part of the structure and the processes involved in the international flow of information and have been grounded into theories of information flow (Bornman et al 2001:163).

2.4 THEORIES OF INFORMATION FLOW

The theories of information flow that have a bearing on this study include dependency theory, Galtung’s theory of structural imperialism and world system theory.

2.4.1 Dependency theory

Dependency theorists claim that historical colonialism and economic practices, such as the exploitation of developing countries, and Western domination of communication systems have left developing countries “underdeveloped”, a condition defined by Feraro (1996) as one where the resources of one country are used in a way that benefits another country. Secondly, the global system has developed into a “two-tier market”, with the advanced industrial Western countries at the centre and those states with a low per capita Gross National Product (GNP) at the periphery (Bornman et al 2001:163; Feraro 1996:2; Oliviera 1990:19).

The focus of dependency theory was initially on the unequal exchange between developed and developing countries from an economic perspective. However, the domination of communication systems by the developed countries has redirected the focus to the imbalance in the flow of information which has taken the form of a one-way North-South flow (see section 2.4.4.2) (Chang 1998:529; Thusso 2005:51).

This one-way flow of information has had several implications for developing countries. Developed countries were in the position to control the flow by deciding which events should be covered and the amount of coverage that the events should receive (Galtung 1971:89; Oliviera 1990:110). Developing countries were also dependent on the developed countries for the nature of the news coverage that they received (developing countries generally receive negative coverage) (Fourie 2001:417; Masmoudi 1979:180). (See section 2.5 for a more comprehensive discussion on the implications of the one-way flow of news for developing countries).

2.4.2 Galtung's structural theory of imperialism

The concept "dependence" also forms part of Galtung's structural theory of imperialism. Galtung (1971:91) expanded on dependency theory and offered an explanation for the existing inequalities between countries and collectivities¹. He supports the notion of "centre" countries and "peripheral" countries. Langholm (1971:274) points out that there are several definitions for the concepts "centre" and "periphery".

For Lane (1961:3) "centrality" means occupying an important position in society. Such a position generally guarantees exposure and access to important information. Milbrath (1965:74) associates "centrality" with being close to the centre of society where information is shared and disseminated and where decision-making takes place. Persons of a higher status are therefore closer to the centre and persons of lower status are usually located on the periphery. Galtung's (1971:83) definition for the concepts "centre" and "periphery" is more comprehensive than those of Lane and Milbrath. He divides society into a decision making nucleus (DN), surrounded by a centre or a core (C), which in turn is surrounded by the periphery (P). The centre constitutes the industrialised or developed nations and the periphery the developing nations. Galtung (1971:87) further claims that within each nation, a

¹ A collection of people, for example, a nation bounded by location, usually experiencing common influences (Bornman et al 2001:164).

centre and periphery can also be identified (Bornman et al 2001:164; Naustdalslid 1997:210).

Galtung (1971:83) views the centre-periphery relation in nations as a multidimensional structure of global imperialism, characterised by sophisticated dominance and power relations between nations or collectivities. Interaction between the centre and peripheral nations is vertical and is strengthened by a feudal type of interaction structure. Through their dependency, peripheral nations are attached to the centre and in this manner an interactive structure dominated by the centre is formed.

The main interaction in the feudal structure is between the centre and the periphery. The fact that there is little interaction between periphery nations, strengthens the position of dominance of the centre nations and prevents the periphery nations from joining forces. Multilateral interaction in this structure is missing as countries on the periphery do not write much about each other, especially not across the power blocks. They also read more about the centre of the power block that they belong to than about other centres (Galtung 1971: 92). This network is illustrated in figure 2. 1 as follows:

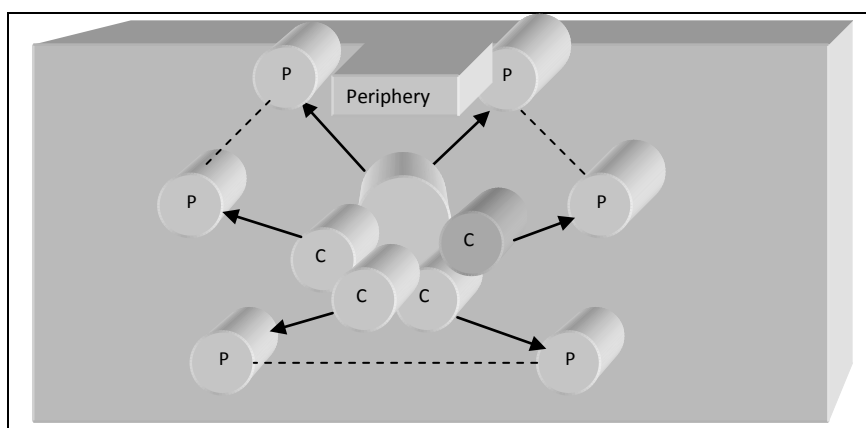


Figure 2.1. The centre-periphery relation in nations (Mowlana 1997:44)

Galtung (1971:103) proposes five forms of imperialism or dominance within the multidimensional structure of global imperialism, namely economic, political, cultural, military and communication imperialism. Bornman et al (2001:164) view media imperialism as a form of communication imperialism,

and claim that the latter reflects the unequal power relations in the worldwide flow of information.

2.4.2.1 Communication and media imperialism

The fact that developed countries have the industrial capacity to develop and manufacture the latest information, communication and transport technologies (ICTs) (Galtung 1971:92), has enabled them to dominate global communication systems. This domination is evident in the ownership of exchange agencies and long-distance telecommunication facilities and a concentration of wealth, technology and power, by a few highly developed Western nations (Jin 2002:3; McChesney 2001:1). This relationship of ownership and concentration has been termed “media imperialism” (Fourie 2001:416; McChesney 2001:99).

Boyd-Barrett (1977:11) views media imperialism as a process where one country exerts pressure on the ownership, structure, content and dissemination of the media of another country. The country under pressure generally does not have the resources to respond to the pressure. Characteristic of this type of media influence and domination is a one way vertical flow of news from the centre nations to the peripheral nations and a controlled flow of information from the periphery to the centre (centre nations control both content and the volume of coverage that peripheral nations receive globally) (Boyd-Barrett 1977:8).

2.4.3 World system theory

Wallerstein (1979:15) expanded on dependency theory and Galtung's theory of imperialism and proposed world system theory. Of key importance is the fact that the primary focus of world system theory is not on the relationships in the two-tier structure (centre and periphery) of the world, but rather on the fact that in the current world order a new global social system, or world system has emerged. Wallerstein (in Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993:853) defines the world system as a multicultural network for the exchange of “essential goods” such as food and raw materials necessary to fulfil material needs.

Multicultural networks connect people, groups and societies that differ culturally, speak different languages and have different normative institutions. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993:854) note that the definition for world system should include bigger cultural groups organised in nation states, smaller units such as cultural minorities, so-called “stateless groups” as well as organisations and individuals. They propose the term “composite units” rather than “societies or states”. These composite units interact globally for the purpose of exchanging essential goods. The worldwide proliferation of ICT, which has connected various smaller systems to form a global system, has facilitated interactions between composite units.

Where Wallerstein initially refers to essential goods purely in terms of food and raw materials necessary to fulfil material needs, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993:854) broaden this view by including all other forms of worldwide interaction that serve to uphold or change internal structures such as wars, diplomacy, intermarriage and the exchange of information. Thus economic, political, cultural and scientific forms of interaction all form part of the world system.

In a similar fashion to dependency theory and Galtung’s theory, world system theory also acknowledges inequity or hierarchy (centre-periphery) in the structure of interactions within the world system (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993:853; Shannon 1996:48). The principle of hierarchy implies that one composite unit is politically, economically or ideologically dominated by another. The dominance can take the form of inequalities in exchange and interaction relationships and the exploitation of resources.

Shannon (1996) adds a third level to the two-fold distinction between the centre and the periphery namely the semi-periphery. The semi-periphery is able to compete with the centre in certain aspects, but in other aspects resembles the periphery in that it is underdeveloped. Semi-peripheral nations mediate between the core and the periphery in the world system and include the economically and politically stronger states of Africa, Latin America and

Asia (Burns, Davis & Kick 1995:435; Chase-Dunn & Grimes 1995:387). Brazil and Argentina are mentioned as examples of states in the semi-periphery.

World system theorists however differ from dependency theorists and Galtung in that they do not assume that all relationships and forms of interactions between the centre and the periphery are necessarily unequal. In fact, they also make provision for equal relationships between various levels and claim that dominance can also exist between units on the same level. To account for inequality in a particular situation, it is therefore necessary to analyse the complexity of relationships and interactions that take place in the world system. The fact that world system theory acknowledges both equal and unequal relationships makes it a useful framework for empirical research into the flow of capital, international relationships, media content and information in the new global order (Chase-Dunn & Grimes 1995:391).

The results of early research on international telecommunication structure have supported the contentions of world system theory. Barnett, Jacobson, Choi and Sun-Miller (1996:20) used data from the 1980's through the 1990's on telecommunications traffic between nations and applied network analysis, to map and measure the structure properties of the global network. The international telephone network clearly indicated the economically developed countries at the centre and the less developed countries at the periphery. Networks at the core were found to be more dense, more centralised and more integrated. The results supported the basic premise of the world system theory; namely that a position in the world system affects a country's economic and social development.

2.4.3.1 World system theory and international communication

Chang (1998:532) views a country's location (core, semi-periphery or periphery) in the hierarchical global system as a determinant for its status in the international equation or world order. In the context of international communication, this implies that information flows from the core to the periphery, leaving the countries on the periphery at a disadvantage. The

majority of interaction and communication takes place between countries in the centre, for example, developed countries in Europe and the USA and between core nations and their former colonies on the periphery.

The semi-periphery serves as an intermediate zone between the core and the periphery with the result that there is more communication between the core and the semi-periphery than between the core and the periphery. It is thus clear that a country's position will determine the amount and the content of information received, which indicates a clear link between a country's position in the world structure and international communication (Chang 1998:532).

Recent studies have shown how different forms of international communication flows can be incorporated into the world system. Kim and Barnett (1996:323) conducted a network analysis, where they used nation-states as units of analysis. Their findings indicated an inequality of news between the core and the periphery. The Western industrialised countries are at the centre and as a result dominate international flow of news. The result is a dependency by the periphery on the core for information and news.

Chang, Lau and Xiaoming (2000:506) incorporated various theoretical approaches in international communication research into world system theory and tested this theoretically developed model on data collected from six countries. Their findings showed that nations in the core command the flow and coverage of news in international communication. Countries in the semi-periphery are seen more in interactive stories and peripheral nations tend to feature in negative news such as conflict or disaster (see sections 2.3 and 2.4.1). As far as interaction among the three zones of the world system is concerned, there exists a hierarchical status in the global structure that may function as a controlling mechanism in the flow of news and coverage at international level nations (see section 2.4.4).

Chang (1998:533) is of the opinion that studies conducted on international information flow clearly illustrate how a country's position in the world can be a determinant for its access to information and news and for its inclusion or

exclusion in foreign news. This point is further illustrated in a theoretical model that he developed, in which he explains the process and the outcome of foreign and international news coverage. Combining theoretical approaches in international communication research, he used world system theory as a point of departure and suggested four filters of news determinants in international communication.

The first filter is a country's location or position in the world system. If an event originates in the core, it is likely to flow to other countries, particularly to those on the semi-periphery and the periphery. The focus is therefore on countries at the core at the expense of countries on the periphery. The other three filters, beyond a country's location in the world system, also serve as determinants in international communication and include event versus context-related factors (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), internal attributes versus internal interaction and high versus low threshold of news values. The four pairs of filters were derived from previous research conducted on news determinants and include a variety of social, political, geographical and cultural factors at both national and international levels (Chang 1988:533).

World system theory and the other theories of information flow discussed in this section have pointed out that information flow is characterised by unequal relationships that have left the developing countries dependent on the developed countries for information. Other lines of inquiry into the flow of information include studies on the direction and patterns of information and news flow that have emerged in the global exchange of information.

2.4.4 Patterns of information flow

Mowlana (1997:44) maintains the existence of a centre-periphery, North-South and a triangular pattern of news flow. These patterns show a strong correlation with the theories of information flow discussed in section 2.4.

2.4.4.1 The centre-periphery flow

The centre-periphery pattern of news flow is exemplified in Galtung's theory of imperialism in figure 2.1 (see section 2.4.2) which depicts the unequal relationship that exists between the centre and the periphery. In the context of communication this implies that interaction between the centre and the periphery is vertical, it is dominated by countries in the centre, and centre countries reinforce their dominant positions, by what has become known as a feudal network of international communication (Galtung (1971:83). This type of communication network is summarised by Mowlana (1997:44) in the following four hypotheses:

- “Centre” news events dominate world press systems.
- The discrepancy in the news exchange ratios of “centre” and “periphery” nations is bigger than the exchange ratios of “centre” and “centre” nations.
- “Centre” news occupies a larger proportion of foreign news content in the media of “periphery” nations than the “periphery” news occupies in the “centre” nations.
- News flow among “periphery” nations is virtually non-existent.

Several studies have tested Galtung's hypothesis. Al-Menayes (1996:6) examined patterns of news flow in forty countries and found that, as a group, Western countries are featured the most in the world media. The United States was mentioned the most, followed by France and the United Kingdom. In his analysis of the news coverage of the global news agency Reuters, Chang (1998:528-588) established that countries on the periphery are generally excluded from the flow of news across national borders and that they are dependent on the centre to be included in news coverage and to receive information and news. This unequal flow of information supports the assumptions of dependency theory.

Wu (2000) researched the impact of systematic news determinants such as traits of nations, interaction and relatedness and logistics of news gathering

and distribution, on international news flow, between developed and developing countries. His results indicated that countries such as the USA with economic and political influence dominated the world's press. The USA captured an average of 16% of the available space for news in every nation. Western Europe was also covered reasonably well while little news originated from Latin America and Africa.

Ostgaardt (1965:40) claims that the Western media treat the cultures of the industrialised countries as superior and places them at the top of the hierarchy of nations in the world system, while the cultures of the developing countries are placed at the bottom. Semmel (1976:735) maintains that the imbalance of news flow is not limited to the relationship between developed and developing countries. His study indicated that the Scandinavian countries are also ignored in the American media.

2.4.4.2 The North-South pattern of flow

This type of flow is predominantly vertical and flows from developed countries (North), to developing countries (South), with supplementary horizontal flows within the North and the South. Within the North-South pattern, a "round flow" can be identified. In this type of flow, news is gathered in the South by Northern correspondents and transmitted to the North for processing before it is disseminated to the South (Mowlana 1997:45). The North-South pattern of news flow is illustrated in figure 2.2 below:

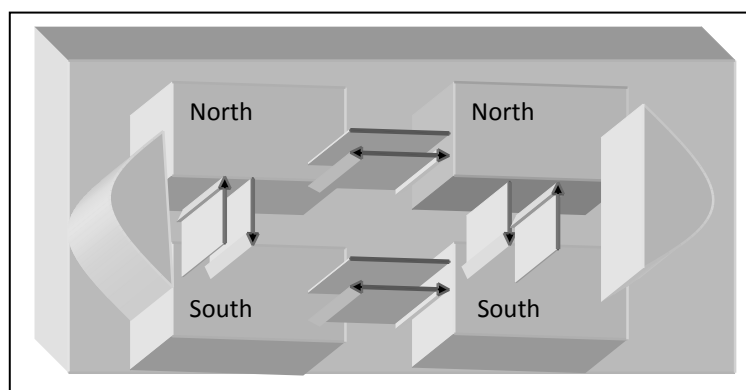


Figure 2.2 The North- South pattern of flow (Mowlana 1997:46).

Al-Menayes (1996:12) found that many patterns of news flow discovered in the seventies and the eighties, still existed in the nineties. Most news still originates in the North and flows to the South. Interestingly, a new development seems to be the reliance of national media outlets on their own correspondents for news stories. This pattern appears to be more prominent when the home country is involved in the news event and suggests that developing countries are not entirely dependent on Western news agencies for news.

The results of Ojo's (1996:3) research which involved an analysis of African-related stories that appeared in the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* between March and August of 2000, confirmed that the pattern of news flow is vertical rather than horizontal. The analysed reports in the two papers contained no regional, economic or political co-operation in Africa. Meyer (1989:244) supports the notion of a world system with neo-colonial and vertical information flows.

Nnaemeka and Richstad (1980:236) surveyed 19 newspapers of the Pacific Region and found that news originating from Oceania (Australia, New Zealand and the islands from the Pacific), received the primary emphasis in that region's media. About one third of foreign news came from North America and Western Europe. The hypothesis that nations that have a colonial tie will be given more news attention within the same colonial group was supported. Furthermore, the press in each of the three Pacific territories devoted far more space in their newspapers to their respective centres than did their immediate neighbours.

2.4.4.3 The triangular pattern of flow

According to Mowlana (1997:46), the triangular pattern divides the North into East and West, connecting each to the South. The triangular pattern of news flow is depicted in figure 2.3 below:

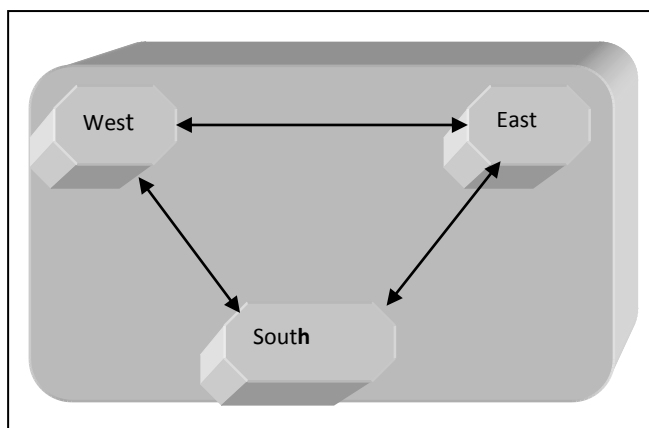


Figure 2.3 The triangular pattern of flow (Mowlana 1997:46)

Al-Menayes (1996:12) determined that although horizontal flows do exist within the developed and the developing countries, this type of flow represents only a small fraction of the overall flow. Wu (2000:125) also found that international news coverage is uneven, not only at the level of each individual country, but also at the level of the world as a whole. He supports the notion that many countries in Africa received no news coverage in world news at all.

Study findings of Chang et al (2000:506) indicate a weak South-South exchange of news flow. These findings support the notion of Galtung's (1971:83) feudal structure in section 2.4.2, namely that peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are inclined to ignore each other, including their own neighbours. Peripheral countries therefore also contribute towards the imbalance of flow that exists in the world system.

2.5 IMPLICATIONS OF THEORIES AND PATTERNS OF INFORMATION FLOW FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

There are various implications of the theories of information flow and the patterns of news flow, which impact on the global flow of information that need to be considered. The central position of centre countries in the world system has enabled them to benefit as newsmakers. These countries have easy access to audiences around the world and the fact that they are economically

advanced has empowered them to control the flow of information across national barriers (Chang et al 2000:506).

Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2000:94) claim that the flow of information is controlled by four major Western news agencies: Associated Press (United States), United Press (United States), Reuters (United Kingdom) and Agence France Presse (France) (see section 3.4.5.3). These agencies and networks allegedly monopolise the content and the volume of information and news, with the result that developing countries are dependent on these agencies for news about themselves and their neighbours (Hester 1971:42; Ojo 1996:2). Moisy (1996:4) claims that these four news agencies have been the main purveyors of foreign news to the world media since their creation in the mid-nineteenth century.

Galtung (1971:93) argues that not only news agencies monopolise the content and volume of news. Professional journalists and gatekeepers (see section 3.4.5) at the centre who construe news also focus mostly on news from the developed countries. News reports about events in developing countries are seldom positive as they focus mostly on disasters, crime and corruption and violence and in doing so create a negative perception of developing countries (Chang 1998:530; Fourie 2001:417; Galtung & Ruge 1965:68; Masmoudi 1979:180). Ojo (1996:17) adds that the coverage of news about developing countries is insufficient, superficial and reflects the points of view, the values and the interests of nations such as France, Britain, Japan and the United States.

Hester (1971:33) is of the opinion that the volume and direction of international news flow are dependent variables that are influenced by factors such as the power hierarchy of nations, dominance and weakness of nations and cultural and economic affinities between nations. More information will therefore flow from high-ranking nations in the hierarchy of national systems than from nations ranked lower in the hierarchy. The result according to Boyd-Barret (1977:12), is a lack of proportional flow-back (see section 2.4.2.1) from countries on the periphery. The centre controls the flow-back, by determining

the volume and the nature of the information. The result is that the centre has established a universal Western culture, termed by theorists as a cultural invasion (Bornman et al 2001:169; Boyd-Barret 1977:12). The inequalities in international information flow gave rise to an outcry from the developing world and resulted in the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).

2.6 THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER (NWICO)

In the 1970s, much of the third world mobilised through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), to address the cultural imperialism of the Western powers. The third world nations developed plans for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to address their concerns that Western domination over culture and journalism has made it virtually impossible for newly independent states to escape colonial status (McChesney 2001:103).

The historical development of the NWICO can be directly linked to the international development of the concept of “free flow of information” (see section 2.3). The United States initiated the idea of “absence of any impediment” which restricts the free flow of information. In 1946, the United States accepted freedom of information as a basic right. In 1948, the freedom to hold an opinion without interference and to gather, receive and communicate information through any medium, regardless of boundaries, was accepted as a basic right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. The result was that freedom of information became the formal policy of the international community (MacBride Report 1984:157-158).

The acceptance of a so-called free flow of information was beneficial to the United States as it facilitated access to world markets for its own news agencies, Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). The result was that the developed countries, including France, the United States, Britain and Japan, were able to control the content and the volume of news

flow. The developing countries were disadvantaged in the sense that they were the paying recipients and consumers of international news. What was termed a “free flow of information”, materialised as a “one-way flow”, instead of an exchange of information (Roach 1990:283).

The imbalance and the inequality in the international flow of news resulted in the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate, which proved to be the one of the biggest debates in the field of communication throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. At the Fourth Non-Aligned Summit held in Algiers in 1973, developing countries suggested actions to deal with the imbalance in information flow (MacBride Report 1984:157-158). The countries that supported the NWICO made the following proposals with respect to the flow of information:

- Refrain from portraying the developing countries in a negative light.
- Create a balance in the direction, the volume and the types of information exchanged between developed and developing countries.
- Ensure that news sent to the developed countries did not conflict with their national culture and moral values (Brown-Syed 1999:4; Roach 1990:283).

At the general conference in Nairobi in 1976, the establishment of the International Commission for the Study of Communication was established under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride of Ireland. It became known as the MacBride commission. The MacBride commission tabled their final report titled *Many Voices, One World* published in 1980 by UNESCO's International Commission for the study of Communication Problems (MacBride Report 1984:157-158). According to Ojo (1996:6), the report highlighted the South's position as follows:

Distortion of news occurs when inaccuracies or untruths replace authentic facts; or when a slanted interpretation is woven into the news report, through the use of pejorative adjectives and stereotypes. This occurs where events of no importance are given prominence and when

the superficial or the irrelevant are interwoven with facts of real significance (MacBride 1984:157-158).

The report emphasised the fact that news from the South was distorted, inaccurate, slanted and contained negative stereotypes. The report generated wide-ranging debates on traditional media flows, norms and ethics within the communication professions, the role of communication technologies and the social, cultural and democratic impact of the media and 82 recommendations were put forward. The most far-reaching recommendation involved the democratisation of communication. The commission acknowledged that factors such as excessive bureaucracy and lack of technology and illiteracy hindered the democratisation of communication and made the following recommendations in this regard:

- Freedom of access to news for foreign correspondents.
- Freedom of speech and of the press, the right to be informed and to receive and impart information.
- The abolition of censorship or arbitrary control of information (MacBride Report 1984:157-158).

Furthermore, to create a more balanced and equal international communication environment the commission proposed the following recommendations:

- The media and communication should be used for national development.
- More space in the media of developed nations should be allotted for events in the developing world.
- Provision should be made for more news in the media of developing countries about their neighbouring countries.
- Foreign journalists should be trained in the culture and values of the countries on which they report.

The development of national communication systems in the developing countries systems should be promoted (MacBride 1984:157-158).

The third world nations viewed the MacBride report as the first document to raise and address global communication problems. Western-based media however, criticised the report for its criticism of private media and communication ownership and the social problems that result from advertising. Western nations led by the USA viewed the report as an attempt to promote government controlled media at the expense of private media (MacBride 1984:157-158).

Thusso (2005:55) claims that the focus of Western countries on private media can be attributed to an ideological shift of these countries, from a public service orientated view of the media, to a privatised and deregulated media industry. He further claims that this shift was fuelled by the end of the Cold War when the bi-polar world (capitalism versus Marxism) was transformed to a uni-polar world (capitalism) headed by the United States. The Western nations further accused the NWICO of restricting media freedom and freedom of speech and the enforcement of authoritarian political censorship. Both the USA and Britain demonstrated their opposition to the report by revoking their membership of UNESCO, and left the NWICO debates (Ojo 1996:5).

Ayish (2001) claims that the free flow of information is still a controversial issue in international communication. Developments such as the worldwide proliferation of newly developing ICT and the democratisation of political systems in the aftermath of the demise of the Soviet Union (a traditional supporter of the NWICO) have brought about a “techno-democratic” revolution and have focused the attention on information as a central component of the world economy. Terms such as “infomatics” and “telematics”, emerged as an indication of the importance of information in the emerging global order. Madikiza and Bornman (2007) note that the shifting emphasis from the mass media to information, furthermore signifies the rising importance of economic aspects of communications at the expense of cultural and political aspects.

The proliferation of technologies has not gone unnoticed by third world nations. The effects that communication satellites, trans-border information flows and digitalised and interactive computer related communication could have for the national sovereignty and indigenous cultures of these nations has been raised at NWICO and other debates on international communication since the 1960s (Ayish 2001). Existing imbalances and the widening of gaps in the proliferation of new ICT between developing and Western developed countries could impede on economic development in third world countries. Governments of third world countries have called for policies to guard against the potential negative effects of international flow of information and against the adverse effects of imbalances in the spread of ICT infrastructure (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:25).

Ayish (2001) suggests another shift in the debates on the free flow of information. He claims that democratisation in the third world has resulted in a shift from authoritarianism and Marxism ideologies, to a perspective of social responsibility. In the context of information flow, this implies the employment of mass media for development purposes. Although Western notions of the free flow of information and a free press in particular, are still criticised to be over-liberal, self centred and anti-state, third world governments have indicated their willingness to tone down their opposition to the free flow principle in return for greater western appreciation for their employment of mass media for development purposes (Madikiza & Bornman 2007). Ayish (2001) concludes that the changing nature of discourses on the free flow of information reflects the changing nature of global politics and the global economy. It also illustrates the close relationship between international relations and global communication.

2.7 SUMMARY

Information is exchanged by countries in what is known as the international flow of information. The notion of free flow of information emerged during the Cold War as an East-West issue: Western capitalist countries argued for a free, unrestricted flow of information, while Eastern Socialist and Marxist

favoured a controlled flow. Factors such as the fall of communism and the entry of African and Asian countries to the arena of international communication changed the focus of the free flow of information to a North-South debate. Several theories of information flow that addressed the inequalities in international information and news flow exist.

Dependency theory laid the foundation for theories such as Galtung's theory of structural imperialism and world system theory. Although there are some differences between these theories, they all view the world as a hierarchical global system in which countries occupy different positions in three zones (the centre, the semi-periphery and the periphery). The position of a country in the world system is a key factor as far as the international flow of information is concerned. It determines the nature and the frequency of a country's interaction with other countries and it determines the amount of news coverage that a country receives and is exposed to. The North-South and the centre-periphery patterns of news flow, reinforce the view that the economic and political superpowers of the world control and dominate the flow of news in the world system.

The significance of world system theory is twofold. Firstly, it is dynamic by nature, in the sense that it can accommodate changes in the world system when countries move up or down in the system and countries can thus be viewed as independent variables. Secondly, the position of a country is an important determinant for the news coverage in a country. News processes and foreign news coverage can therefore be viewed and explained within a framework of a hierarchy of nations. The position of a country in the world system is one of a variety of determinants for news coverage that have been identified. In the next chapter, an overview of the development of news determinant research is provided.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEWS: A PROCESS OF SELECTION AND PROCESSING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter illustrated that although Western countries claim a free flow of information, inequalities in the flow exist. These inequalities have been grounded in theories of information flow such as world system theory. These theories posit that news flows from the centre to the semi-periphery and then to the periphery. Centre nations receive more coverage than periphery nations and the nature of the coverage tends to be positive in contrast to less and negative coverage that periphery nations generally receive (see sections 2.4.1 and 2.3). It was concluded that a country's position in the world system is a determinant for both the volume and the content of the news coverage that it receives.

The position of a country in the world system is not the only news determinant that has been identified. A variety of additional news determinants that distinguish newsworthy events from non-newsworthy events have been suggested by theorists. Once a newsworthy event has been selected, organisational processes are applied to construct the event into news which is then disseminated. The focus of this chapter is on "selection" and "processing" as the two key processes used by media workers to construct news.

3.2 CONSTRUCTING NEWS: A PROCESS OF SELECTION AND PROCESSING

Several views exist on how news is constructed. Siddiqui (2000:3) views it as a process in which raw material is filtered with the result that only selected information is included in the final news product. Choi (2001:1) compares the construction of news to a factory where the assembly line processes newsworthy events into news. Both McCombs (2004:70) and McQuail

(2000:287) argue that the construction of news involves two distinct processes namely selection, which comprises a sequence of gatekeeping decisions starting with the choice of raw material and secondly processing, where specific organisational processes are applied to process newsworthy events into news. The remainder of this chapter addresses the theory and research pertaining to the construction of news from the perspectives of McCombs (2004) and McQuail (2000). These perspectives have been incorporated into a theoretical model which comprises a selection and a processing line in Figure 3.1 as follows:

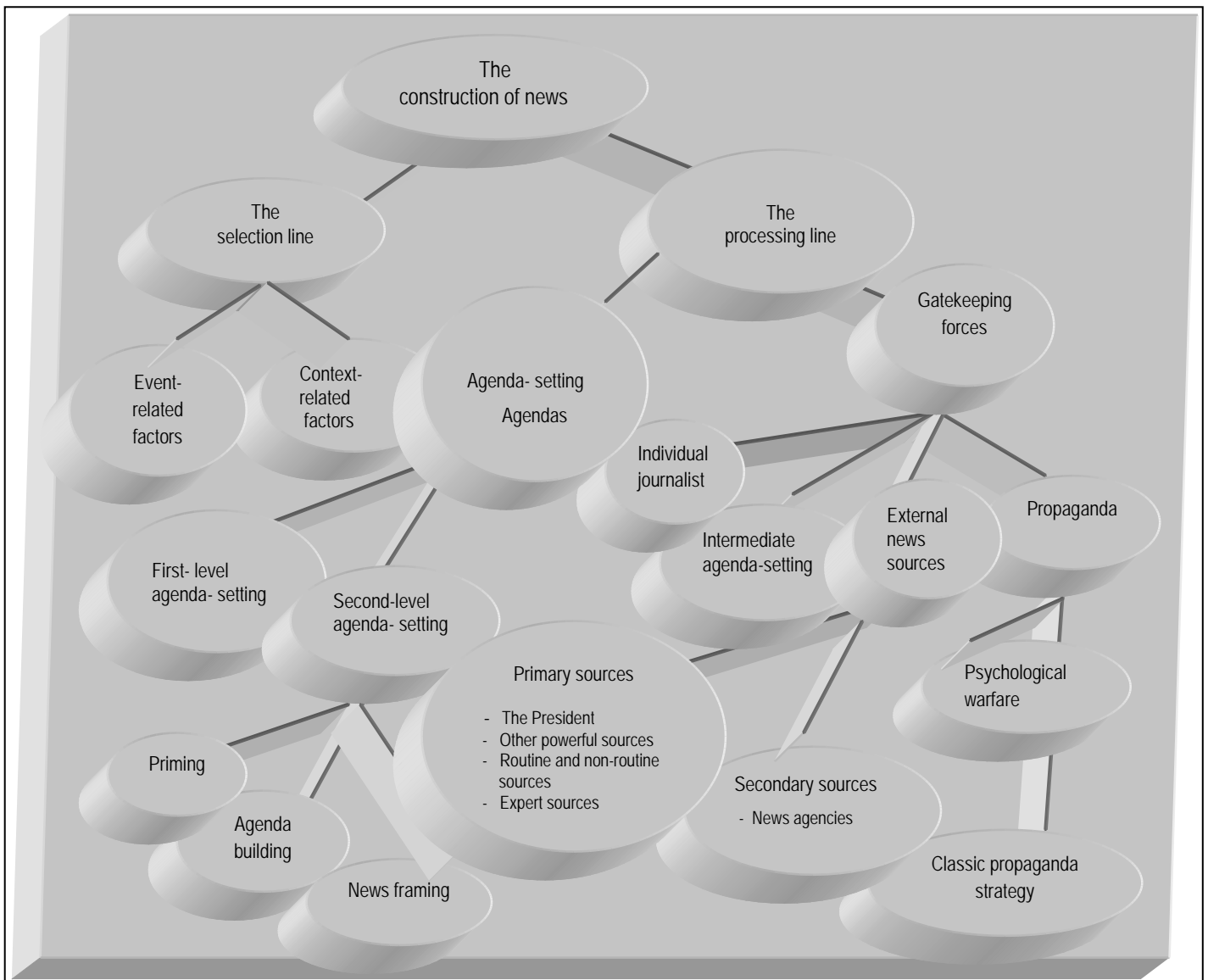


Figure 3.1. The construction of news. Adapted from McCombs (2004) and McQuail (2000).

The selection line in figure 1 is indicative of the event and context-related news determinants used by journalists to select newsworthy events (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). The processing line is more complex and illustrates the key organisational processes used by journalists to construct news. These processes have also been labelled content influences, (they influence the eventual content of a news item) and are grouped under agenda-setting and gatekeeping forces. Agenda-setting has been noted to have a first and second level. Closely related to second level agenda-setting are processes such as agenda-building, priming and framing. The gatekeeping forces in figure 3.1 include individual journalists, intermediate agenda-setting, external news sources and propaganda (see section 3.4.5).

3.3 THE SELECTION OF NEWSWORTHY EVENTS

Journalists and theorists have extensively debated the process of determining which events are newsworthy enough to be selected as news items. Graber (1984a:62) describes a newsworthy event as one that is more interesting than another and suggests variables such as “cruelty” and “irregularity” as examples of criteria that determine the newsworthiness of an event. Previous research indicates that media organisations tend to apply similar selection criteria termed “news values” when confronted by the same events under similar conditions (McQuail 2000:278; Shoemaker & Reese 1991:77).

Several descriptions and definitions exist for the concept “news value”. Fowler (1991:12) defines a news value as a “socially constructed category” that media workers rely on for their selection of newsworthy events. For McQuail (2000:278), a news value is a “quality” or an “attribute” that an event has that transforms the event into an interesting news story. Cowan and Hadden (2004:65) maintain that news values are determined by external circumstances surrounding the event, for example, time and space and that they, are therefore, extrinsic qualities.

Because news values are criteria used to identify newsworthy events, they are also regarded as news determinants (Galtung & Ruge 1965:72; McQuail

2000:278). Wu (2000:110) describes news determinants as “hidden structural underpinnings that help journalists to identify newsworthy events”. Theorists have offered a wide spectrum of news determinants in previous research. Galtung & Ruge (1965:75) for example, offer a substantial list including frequency, threshold, ambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, reference to elite nations and persons and personalisation. Ostgaardt (1965:41) classified news determinants as either external factors or factors inherent to a news event. Chang et al (1987:397) used a similar classification system to Ostgaardt (1965) to group or classify news determinants. They developed a theoretical model for newsworthiness and foreign news coverage and grouped news determinants into context-orientated (external factors) versus event-orientated (internal factors).

3.3.1 Context-related news determinants

The context-orientated perspective considers the origin of foreign news and its relationship with contextual or external factors (Chang et al 1987:402). Both Chang et al (1987:402) and Rosengren (1970; 1974) claim that context-related factors are more influential than event-related factors and should therefore be considered as the dominant paradigm. Hester (1971:32) also stressed the influence of context-related factors, which he calls macro-societal factors. He states that these factors constitute the international contextual setting within which most foreign events occur. Several context-related factors have been identified as follows:

3.3.1.1 The structural and hierarchical status of a country

The significance of a country’s hierarchical status in the world system (centre, semi-periphery or periphery) as a determinant for news coverage was discussed in section 2.4.3. It was concluded that the status of a country in the world system determines the amount and the nature of the news coverage that a country receives. It was further concluded that news flows from the centre to the semi-periphery and finally to the periphery (see section 2.4.3.1).

3.3.1.2 Political and ideological factors

Several political and ideological factors have been found to affect the content, the flow and the amount of news coverage that a country receives (Galtung & Ruge 1965:72). A key political factor is the amount of press freedom that exists in a country. Mowlana (1985:11) points out that factors such as the amount of press freedom, media ownership and the degree of government control of mass media are indicative of press freedom. Censorship imposed on the media, control over the import and marketing of news products and foreign correspondents operating in a country have been noted as examples of government control of mass media in a country. This has an effect on how a country is viewed by other countries (Chang et al 1987:403; Ostgaardt 1965:41; Robinson & Sparkes 1976:208).

Several ideological factors have also been noted as news determinants. Gans (1979a:40), for example, offers several ideological factors (factors pertaining to the beliefs and characteristics of a social group) inferred from news content and observations of journalists that affect events that become news. These factors, termed “enduring” values, are defined by Shoemaker and Reese (1991:17) as “preference statements” about nations and societies in news stories over a period of time and include aspects such as ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism and small town pastoralism.

Ethnocentrism is particularly relevant in time of war, where the actions and views of elite countries such as the United States for example, are perceived as just and moral and are portrayed in this manner by the media. Altruistic democracy refers to the honesty, efficiency and dedication of politicians and officials to act in public interest. In countries where press freedom is restricted due to government control this form of democracy can be jeopardised (Gans 1979a:40).

Responsible capitalism as a value implies that growth is good but a monopoly of the media, where only the views of the elite or the government in a given country are disseminated, is rejected. Small town pastoralism refers to

respect for tradition or social order in a country or society. Shoemaker and Reese (1991:17) view social order as a particularly important value. Reporting in a country often reflects the views of the powerful or the “knowns, while threats to this social order are seen as disruptions by the “unknowns” (the weaker factions) and are reported accordingly.

3.3.1.3 Economic factors

Several studies have revealed the significance of economic factors such as the national disparity of status between the countries in the centre and the periphery (see section 2.4) as news determinants. The disparity in information flow can be attributed to the fact that centre nations have the technological knowledge and the infrastructure for news gathering and dissemination. These nations also have the capacity to maintain news media that can compete with the rest of the world as far as quality, advertising, and remuneration of journalists is concerned. Developing countries are lacking in this regard (Mowlana 1985:11; Rosengren 1974:155).

Other economic factors that have been found to either impede or facilitate news flow between countries include international trade, business investment, and colonial ties between nations (Hester 1971:33; Skurnik 1981:121). Skurnik (1981:121) examined six African newspapers to identify determinants of foreign news coverage that the media in a given country gave preference to and found a country's trading partners and its colonial roots to be key factors. Golan and Wanta (2003:26) examined the factors that could predict the coverage of international elections in United States' newscasts and established that economic factors such as nuclear arms development, close relations with countries such as China, and countries engaged in trade with the United States, influenced news coverage.

3.3.1.4 Social and cultural factors

According to Mowlana (1997:33), differing social or cultural values such as religion, traditions or ethnic attitudes and factors such as prejudices and language barriers can hamper or facilitate the global flow of information.

Countries that share a common language for example, have been found to be more inclined to exchange news and news products than countries where different languages are spoken (Hester 1971:42; Rosengren 1970:103). Kariel and Rosenthal (1984:511) examined the impact of language on Canadian daily newspaper coverage. Their findings indicated that French and English language newspapers fall into distinctly separate groups. Each newspaper focused on its own cultural norms and social traditions. Wu (2000:110) investigated the influence of nine systematic news determinants, including language, on international news coverage of 38 countries. The only two countries for which language was a factor were Kuwait and Nigeria. Arabic language was the most decisive factor that determined the extent to which a country was covered in Kuwait media, whereas English predicted the number of news stories in Nigeria.

3.3.1.5 Geographic proximity

Geographic proximity is another factor that has been found to impact on the coverage of events (Hester 1971:42; Mowlana 1997:33; Ostgaardt 1965:41; Rosengren 1970:103). Rosengren (1970:103) distinguishes between “physical” and “functional” or “cultural” proximity. Physical proximity refers to the distance between the origin of the event and the location of publication. Functional or cultural proximity implies that a country's media will give preference to events that are culturally meaningful or events that have direct implications for the country.

Several studies pertaining to proximity as a news determinant established a correlation between physical distance and reader interest. Rosengren (1970:103) found that people on the North American continent prefer news about countries on their continent, and Eribo's (1999:162) results show that the largest percentage of international news in the Nigerian media came from other African countries. In similar fashion, Hester (1971:41) found that countries that share a common language and are physically proximate are more likely to exchange newspapers and periodicals.

The findings of Dupree (1971:231) on physical proximity indicated that volumes from and into the United States, determine the influence of geographic proximity on 11 variables: volume of international trade (import and export), Gross National Product (GNP), raw population figures, population density, distance from the United States, daily newspapers per 1000 population, literacy, official language, foreign stock, residing in the United States, and the continent influenced international communication flow.

Kim and Barnett (1996:330) however, found that geographical distance plays a lesser role in news flow within the current overall world system. Due to technological developments, distance is no longer a key factor for reporting on newsworthy events. Chang et al (1987:396) endorse this view; they maintain that events are not selected because of their physical distance, but according to a perception of the distance (functional distance), between the United States and the countries in which the event occurred.

3.3.1.6 Attributes of the population

It has been suggested that attributes of a country such as a large population and the level of literacy of its population act as news determinants. Countries with a larger population tend to communicate more with other nation states and they also tend to produce and disseminate more news (Mowlana 1997:33). In a study on global news flow, Kim and Barnett (1996:347) found that developed countries with large populations tend to occupy a key position in the international flow of news. They also found that the level of literacy of a country's population affected how they were perceived by the outside world and determined the volume of news that they produced and imported.

3.3.2 Event-related news determinants

Several determinants that are inherent to, or that relate directly to an event have been suggested in research that has been conducted. The following are some of the prominent event related news determinants.

3.3.2.1 Deviance as a news determinant

Deviance has been singled out as a key event-related news determinant by several theorists (Chang et al 1987:404; Galtung & Ruge 1965:71; Masmoudi 1979:177; Shoemaker & Cohen 2006:23; Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger 1991:785). Shoemaker and Cohen (2006:23) define deviance as “a characteristic (positive or negative) of people, ideas, or events that set them aside from others in their region”. Events that pose a threat or events that have the potential to create large-scale social change are classified as deviant events (Chang et al 1987:404; Cowan & Hadden 2004:69). Shoemaker and Cohen (2006:24) suggest three dimensions of deviance:

- The dimension of statistical deviance which refers to events that are unusual or novel in that they affect large numbers of people for example, natural disasters such as the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 and hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005.
- Social change deviance which comprises events that challenge the social status-quo of a social system, and that can result in significant societal changes. Examples of such events are the 2001 terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the Twin Towers and the subsequent USA invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).
- Normative deviance refers to events that break existing laws, norms or rules of a society, for example, a war in which atrocities are committed (see section 4.3.2.5.). Chang et al (1987:405) note the degree to which an event breaks the social norms of a society as a key factor for coverage in the international media.

Various studies have focused on deviance as a news determinant. Masmoudi (1979:178) found that United States media limit their coverage of international news to events that involve natural disasters and scandals. The result is that Americans are mainly exposed to the negative news of foreign countries. The

results of a study conducted by Shoemaker et al (1991:790) also showed deviance to be a major indicator of newsworthiness in international news coverage: the more deviant an event, the more likely that it is covered in the United States media.

Clyde and Buckalew (1969:350) conducted a survey of news editors and also found that conflict as a form of deviance was the number one predictor of news coverage. Traugott and Brader (2002) investigated the newsworthiness of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 on the United States. They concluded that the level of victimisation (2 974 people died in the attack and 24 are missing), the type of action (the level of the violence involved in the attacks was high), the identity of the perpetrators (the perpetrators were terrorists and enemies of the United States and the Western world) and an attributable responsibility (the terrorists took responsibility for the attacks), were the predictors of the high media coverage of the event.

3.3.2.2 Relevance to elite nations, countries and people

In sections 2.4.3.1 and 3.3.1.1 it was emphasised that the hierarchical status of a country is a key determinant for the news coverage that it receives. Economically developed countries, for example, receive more coverage than developing countries. Elite people of countries or nations are generally also news determinants (Chang et al 1987:405). The assassination of Benazir Bhutto (an elite person of Pakistan) on 27 November 2007 and the death of Princess Diana of Wales on 31 August 1997 are examples of elite persons who received extensive global coverage. It is however, not only individual elite persons who receive extensive global coverage. Elite groups such as Al-Qaeda have also been noted as news determinants.

3.3.2.3 Perceptions of journalists and editors

The perceptions of editors and journalists, especially foreign correspondents who cover events such as major conflicts, are considered significant (Shoemaker et al 1991:788). Wu (2000:113) claims that the availability of infrastructure and technology play a key role in the extent to which events are

covered. Foreign correspondents, for example, prefer not to report from areas where there is a lack of infrastructure which may hamper the dissemination of news. More recently, the safety of foreign correspondents has also become a key issue; especially in war zones (see sections 4.6.3 and 4.6.3.1). The number of journalists killed has risen by 244 percent over the past five years due in large part to the Iraq War. The total number of journalists killed in this war rose to 207 in 2007 (The Brussels Tribunal 2007)

Another factor to consider when events are covered is the number of foreign correspondents reporting in a particular area. Centre nations can afford to cover the news regions of the world, whereas peripheral countries are hampered by a lack of resources. The result is that there is an imbalance of foreign correspondents in some areas where key events occur (Mowlana 1997:58).

3.3.2.4 Timeliness

One of the requirements for international news coverage is that the event is timely, current or recent (Hall 1973:178). There is little likelihood that international media will cover an event, sometime after its occurrence. News from the periphery, where there is a lack of infrastructure or an absence of foreign correspondents, is slow in reaching the headquarters of global news agencies and therefore stands a fair chance of being ignored (Wu 2000:114). Another aspect related to timeliness is the issue of recurring events. Fourie (2001:115) claims that previous newsworthy events can recur to become newsworthy again.

3.3.2.5 Foreign correspondents and news agencies

According to Wu (2000:114), the number of foreign correspondents and news agencies operational in regions where an event occurs can affect the volume and the nature of the coverage (see section 4.6.3.1 for the role that embedded journalists who operated in the war zone in Iraq played in the dissemination of war news). News agencies are also perceived to play a significant role by supplying newspapers globally with their news. Giffard and

Rivenburgh (2000:9) claim that news agencies are biased towards the governments of the countries that they operate in. Nnamaeka and Richstad (1980:247) support this view. They maintain that the four major Western international news agencies (AP, UPI, AFP and Reuters) play a key role in covering the globe and generally provide a Western perspective of events (See sections 2.5 and 3.4.5.3 for a discussion on news agencies).

3.3.2.6 The human factor

Foreign correspondents' attention is often captured by human interest stories, particularly in situations of war. When Yugoslavia was in the throes of a war in 1992, the world was engrossed by efforts to rescue a young girl who was trapped in the war. This event became known as Operation IRMA (Redmond 1999:4). Another example is that of twelve-year-old Ali who lost both arms in an explosion in the 2003 Iraq War (Nakhoul 2003:3). The list of news determinants is extensive and the perspectives of theorists discussed in this section, have merely provided an overview of a portion of the research conducted in this field. In the next section the processing of newsworthy events into news is addressed.

3.4 THE PROCESSING OF NEWSWORTHY EVENTS INTO NEWS

Where section 3.3 focused on the factors in the selection line of figure 3.1 the remainder of this chapter addresses the theory and research pertaining to the processing line. One of the key processes illustrated in the construction line is the agenda-setting role of the media.

3.4.1 The Agenda-setting role of the media

Through their day-by-day selection of newsworthy events editors, journalists and news directors focus the attention of the public on specific issues and events (McCombs 2004:23). The power of the media to “structure issues” is known as the agenda-setting role of the media (Entman 1993:53; Kosicki 1993:101; McCombs 2004:36; Tankard 2001:28). Agenda-setting is not only restricted to the media, but also to individuals or groups known as “issue protagonists”. These persons or groups have their own agendas that they

pursue to gain the attention of the public, media professionals and policy elites regarding certain issues (Rogers & Dearing 1987:556).

Rogers and Dearing (1987:556) view agendas as “sub-arenas” in the agenda-setting role of the media, and explain that they are created intentionally. Agendas are ranked in a hierarchy of importance and they exist on all levels of government and society. Birkland (2004:182) claims that agendas change over time and quotes, as an example the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, perceived by many to have changed the geopolitics of the world. However, a year after the event the media coverage of the event had decreased significantly, and events perceived as more newsworthy were covered by the media.

As far as the typology of agendas is concerned, McCombs (2004:38) distinguishes between public, media and policy agendas. Both the public agenda and the policy agenda form an integral part of the discussion on agenda-setting in the case study presented in chapter 4 (see section 4.4). The focus of this study however is primarily on the media and the role of the media in the Iraq War.

3.4.1.1 The public agenda

The public agenda revolves around national, political or economic issues that the public give priority at a given time (Rogers & Dearing 1987:558). Erbing, Goldenberg and Miller (1980:28) claim that the public generally want to be informed about current events and issues, especially those that affect their lives or that can pose a threat to them. He explains this need for information as “the public’s need for orientation”. Factors such as the relevance and the uncertainty of an event or issue determine the level of orientation that the public requires. A topic with high relevance such as a national conflict generally requires a high level of orientation. If individuals have the relevant information about an issue, the degree of uncertainty tends to be low and therefore a low level of orientation is required.

McCombs (2004:38) claims that the public agenda is limited to approximately five to seven issues at a given time. He singles out factors such as the limited time that the public has to devote to current affairs and the limited attention span of the public as contributing factors towards the restricted public agenda. Brosius and Kepplinger (1992:897) add in this regard that American public opinion rarely remains focused on one domestic issue for long, even if it is a continuing problem of crucial importance. Their findings indicated that the public generally focus on only four or five issues at a given time. They concluded that if the public agenda contains only a few issues at a given time it must be a “zero sum game”. In other words public opinion is an ongoing process of competition among a relatively small number of major issue proponents, and if an issue is to climb the public agenda it must push other issues down the agenda until they disappear from the agenda.

3.4.1.2 The policy agenda

The policy agenda is concerned with the issue agendas of public officials, pressure groups, or prominent policy advocates who aspire to have their proposed policies adopted (McCombs 2004:15; Cobb, Elder and Ross 1976:137). Issues that are generally put forward for policy adoption include aspects relating to education, the economy and political conditions. Cob and Elder (1972:48) describe the process of policy adoption as a sequence of procedures that commences with the agenda-setting of a social problem or issue. The issue or problem is then transformed into a political issue and tabled as a proposal for governmental action. Downs (1972:34) describes policy adoption as an “issue cycle” model. In the cycle, an event occurs, media coverage of the event increases, public opinion supporting change grows, and the issue is placed on the agenda of public officials.

Wood and Peake (1998:174) distinguish between domestic policy adoption, which is a slow process and foreign policy adoption where “events burst onto the scene”, as a result of a dramatic occurrence. Foreign policy issues are generally considered the domain of the President of a country who uses the press to dictate on both domestic and foreign policy matters (Wood and

Peake 1998:173). Cohen (1995:91) adds in this regard that the manipulation of the press in the United States is critical to the White House operation. Brace and Hinckley (1991:998) found that Presidential trips, summits and public speeches are commonly used to attract media attention to promote the policy agenda of Presidents.

3.4.1.3 The media agenda

The media agenda consists of newsworthy events and issues that are selected and presented as media content (Rogers & Dearing 1987:560). Theorists such as McQuail (2000:455) and McCombs (2004:38) claim that the media agenda sets the public agenda. Issues that are emphasised and repeated in news reports are eventually perceived as important by the public, with the result that the agenda of the media then becomes the public agenda. Several studies support this notion. McCombs and Shaw (1972:186) found that voters' perceptions of the importance of an issue were determined by media's attention to the issues, rather than by the voter's selective attention. Ghanem (1997:430) who examined the salience² of crime also found a positive correlation between the media agenda and public agenda. Weaver, Graber, McCombs and Eyal (1981:46) conducted a panel study to analyse the media and the public agendas of attributes of presidential candidates in the USA. They found a strong correlation between the public and the media agenda.

Walters, Walters and Gray (1996:9) however, claim that it is equally plausible that the public agenda influences the media agenda. Christie (2006:521) supports this view and claims that public opinion influences both media and policy content. He offers the model of agenda-opinion congruence, which draws on the spiral of silence theory as an explanation. The spiral of silence theory posits that in a society, those who hold minority views and do not support public opinion refrain from expressing these views, for fear of isolation (Neumann 1974). In conditions such as war, where the media and the

² In the context of this study salience refers to the importance, prominence or obtrusiveness of an event or issue

government agendas are dependent on public support, both the media and the government may withhold their views. The media may do so for fear of being rejected at the newsstands, and the government may do so for fear of losing the votes of the public. In this instance the public agenda may influence the media agenda.

Eveland, McLeod and Signorelli (1995:94) applied the spiral of silence theory to attributes of the 1991 Gulf War, to determine public support for the war. Consistent with the spiral of silence theory, support for the war was not the strong consensus reported in the mainstream media. The attributes of the Gulf War that formed part of Eveland et al's (1995) study, are examples of the types of newsworthy events and their attributes that constitute the media agenda. The media agenda is viewed by some as a sub-arena of the agenda-setting role of the media and is discussed in the next section.

3.4.2 First and second-level agenda setting

McCombs (2004:45) distinguishes between a first and a second level of agenda-setting. These levels are illustrated in figure 3.2 as follows:

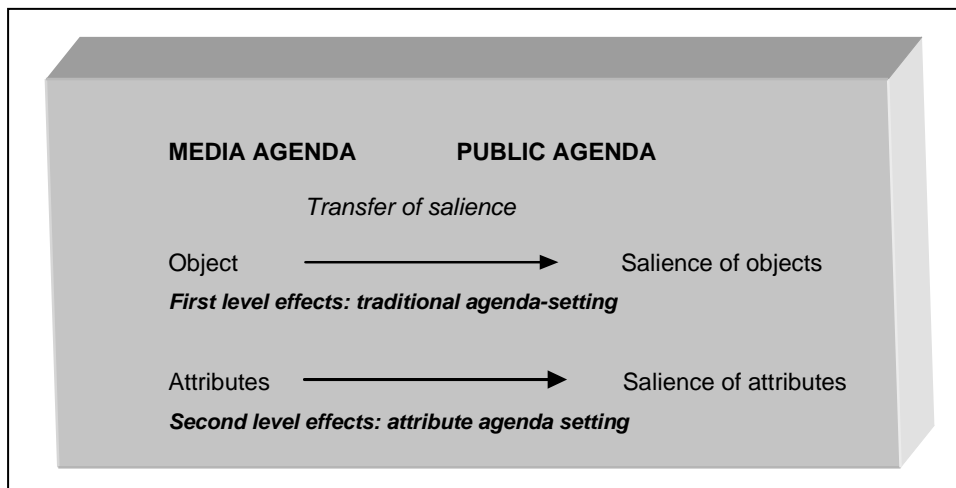


Figure 3.2. First and second-level agenda-setting. Adapted from McCombs (2004:71)

In the first or the traditional level of agenda-setting, the media introduces an object in the form of an issue or an event for example, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, to the public. Birkland (2004:180) labels these types of

events “triggering” or “focusing” events. The selected event or issue is given voluminous exposure by the media (McCombs 2004:45). Once the attention of the public is focused on the event or the issue, the media selects and emphasises certain attributes of the event or issue, to guide the public on how to view the issue. This process has become known as attribute or second level agenda-setting. The selected attributes of the event or issue provide the context within which the object is viewed (Birkland 2004:181; Entman 2006:122; Kosicki 1993:102).

Iyenger and Simon (1993:367) conducted a study on the second Gulf War. The respondents selected for the study all viewed the Gulf War as a key event. The Gulf War as a key focusing event constitutes the first level of agenda-setting. As part of the study, the respondents offered diplomatic or military solutions for the war. The solutions offered for the war can be regarded as the attributes of the event and constitute the second level of agenda setting.

Thus, in its agenda-setting role the media tells us how to view an issue, and this according to McCombs (2004:45), is where practices such as agenda-setting, agenda-building, priming and framing share common ground. In similar fashion to attribute agenda-setting, agenda-building, priming and framing select, emphasise and elaborate on the attributes of an event or issue.

3.4.3 Shaping political agendas through agenda-building and priming

Both Graber (1984b:265) and McCombs (2004:45) suggest a complex interaction between second-level agenda-setting and agenda-building. In a similar fashion to second level-agenda-setting, agenda-building involves selecting and emphasising certain attributes of an event or issue with the aim of guiding the public on how to view the issue or the event. Where second-level agenda-setting contextualises general newsworthy events or issues, agenda-building constructs meaning on a political level (Kosicki 1993:124).

Agenda-building is used to influence and build the political agendas of elites to gain political support (McCombs 2004:46; Rogers & Dearing 1987:580). Both the media and political leaders play a key role in building political agendas of elites. Walters et al (1996:11) note in this regard that in the 1992 press releases of George Bush and Bill Clinton (the two major electoral candidates) issue agendas were constructed for the candidates for the purpose of agenda-building. The Bush campaign followed an offensive strategy by airing Clinton's character flaws. The Clinton campaign focused more on domestic topics such as increasing employment, reform of health-care and improving the economy. Their "issues" agenda matched that of the public, with the result that Clinton gained a lead in the Presidential preference polls.

A process used when building an agenda, especially during elections is priming. Priming involves the expression of opinions by which governments, presidents, and candidates for office are judged. Research has indicated that the media play a central role in priming by presenting an issue to the public in a particular context. Because priming aims to change attitudes, which generally requires a cognitive process, it is a lengthy process (McCombs 2004:110). Smith (1987:382) claims that citizens are susceptible to political priming, and the period for changing the public's thinking is dependent on the obtrusiveness of the issue in question.

Two hypotheses, the obtrusive contingency and the cognitive priming hypothesis, apply when citizens are primed on issues. The former predicts that unlikely or remote issues receive more media exposure than familiar experiences (Smith 1987:391). The rationale for this hypothesis is simple: the less direct experience people have with an issue the more they rely on the news media for information on the issue, and the longer it will take to attain a change of attitude (Atwater, Salwen & Anderson 1985:294; Smith 1987:382).

The cognitive priming hypothesis posits that conditions in a person's environment prime the individual's attention, particularly as far as concrete issues are concerned (Ball-Rokeach 1985:484). Yagade and Dozier (1990:5)

found that the more concrete an issue, for example a national crisis, the bigger the likelihood that priming will affect the perceived salience of that issue. Wanta and Wu's (1992:250) study on international news confirmed these findings: United States involvement in major international conflict showed a stronger agenda-setting effect than abstract issues with a low conflict level. In summary, the cognitive priming hypothesis postulates that an obtrusive issue will require less cognitive work and priming, to change thinking or to shape attitudes.

In summary, agenda-building and priming are perceived to share common ground with second-level agenda-setting. Another media practice that is associated with second-level agenda-setting is framing.

3.4.4 The framing of newsworthy events and issues

It has been suggested that framing and second-level agenda-setting are integrated (Entman 1993:52; Ghanem 1997:433). Both practices are perceived to present a restricted number of thematically related attributes to create a coherent picture of an object or an event (Iyenger & Simon 1993:366; McCombs & Ghanem 2001:65; Sheufele 1999:105).

The field of framing has been researched extensively and several explanations and descriptions for the concepts "frame" and "framing". The concept "frame" was first used in the 1970s to describe how individuals include, exclude and organise experiences (Karlsberg 1997:23). Goffman (1974:21) defines a frame as "schemata of interpretation" and "basic cognitive orderings of the world". These definitions suggest that frames serve as an organised framework, within which the audience cognitively interprets events and issues presented in the media.

Tuchman (1978:48) views framing as a process in which slices of information are selected and framed to create a meaningful story, which is then relayed to the audience. The media, however do not necessarily frame events in the same manner. Events can be framed "episodically" or "thematically". Episodic

frames are event related frames that portray events as concrete issues. Visual images are used to enhance and emphasise the event (Iyenger & Simon 1993:369). It has been suggested that the television coverage of both the Vietnam War and the First Gulf War were heavily episodic. The Vietnam War was called the television war, as live images of the war were screened into the living rooms of television viewers (Kuo 2003).

Where episodic frames focus on the use of visuals to create a story, thematic news frames involve the use of sentences that form thematic clusters to create meaning (Entman 1993:53; Iyenger & Simon 1993:369). Examples of this type of framing include the political grievances of groups, changes in policy and environmental issues. The frames are less visual, but a more comprehensive context of the issue is provided (Iyenger & Simon 1993:369).

Events or issues can also be framed from within the legitimate controversy sphere, the sphere of consensus and the sphere of deviance. Each of the three spheres has its own distinct style of reporting. Characteristic of the sphere of legitimate controversy is a balanced and objective reporting style. Balanced in this instance refers to offering both the consensual and the opposing views that exist on an event or issue. Events such as presidential elections, where opposing views exist are often framed in this sphere (Iyenger 1991:140).

In the sphere of consensus the journalist generally relays the consensual values of the society within which the journalist is operating, with the result that objectivity and balance are not requirements for reporting in this sphere. Examples of events or issues framed in this sphere are national celebrations, a national crisis (war), or national mourning (Watkins 2001:87). The First Gulf War, for example, could be framed from within the sphere of consensus from the point of view that the sovereignty of a member of the United Nations, namely Kuwait, was protected from an invasion by Iraq (Christie 2006:523). The sphere of deviance is used to report on individuals or events that have violated the existing norms or values of society significantly. (See section 3.3.2.1) When reporting in this sphere, the emphasis is on exposing,

condemning or excluding from the public agenda those who violate or threaten the political consensus (Iyenger 1991:140).

Another factor pertaining to framing is the number of frames used to frame an event or issue. Events or issues can be framed in a single frame, or in multiple frames (Entman 1993:53; Watkins 2001:83). In the early years of the Vietnam War, a single frame, the “Cold War Frame” dominated media discourse. Only when the viability of the war was questioned did alternative frames emerge (Hallin 1986:69). De Vreese and Semetko (2001:115) conducted a study on the television coverage of the economic and political news of four Western European nations and found conflict to be the dominant frame. A number of studies found the dominant frame in the coverage of the 1991 Gulf War to be self-glorification (Kelman 1995:119).

Esser and D’Angelo (2006:623) propose the “media self-referential frame” or “meta coverage frame” as a frame that emerged in the coverage of political affairs. In this type of frame the media inserts itself in a story, not as a reporter, but as a player who experiences the actual unfolding of an event. Examples of this type of frame emerged in the reporting of embedded journalists in the 2003 Iraq War. These journalists were found to incorporate their own personal experiences in their war frames (see section 4.6.3.1) (Gillian 2003:5). Lichter, Noyes and Kaid (1999:7) named this type of framing where the focus is on the reporter and not on the events “media narcissism”.

McCombs (1992:815) claims that framing can become complex when several attributes of an event or issue are framed in multiple frames. In a study on the framing of the Arab-Israeli conflict for example, Gamson (1989:159) identified four frames: strategic interests, feuding neighbours, Arab intransigence and Israeli expansion. Kamhawi (2002:9) studied the same armed struggle and found conflict, followed by laying blame and responsibility, to be the dominant frames. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000:98) conducted a content analysis on the framing of European politics in both print and television news. Their results indicated that the responsibility frame dominated the coverage, followed by conflict and human interest.

Galtung (2002:8) claims that in war events have been found to be framed as “peace or war journalism”. Characteristic of peace journalism is the use of non-emotive language, non-partisanship and a multi-party orientation. The emphasis is not on military action and casualties, but rather on frames that relate facts in a non-partial manner. War journalism, in contrast, incorporates an elite orientation and a focus on the present and on conflict and violence. Richards (2001:130) who studied conflict resolution found that many Western journalists use war journalism in their reporting and that they apply a “fighting frame” in their framing of events. Asian newspapers were found to frame their stories as peace journalism.

Gamson (1989:160) maintains that the framing of events or issues with a diversity of viewpoints where oppositional frames emerge can become complex. An election where a number of candidates each disseminate their own agendas in the media is a prime example of such as event. Karlsberg (1997:23) is of the opinion that current world events are presented as “formulaic news frames”, which implies that events are framed from only one perspective, namely a Western one. He attributes these formulaic frames to a universal Western culture, where four Western news agencies dominate the volume and the content of the international flow of news. (See section 3.4.5.3 for a discussion on news agencies and their role in the dissemination of news).

Haller and Ralph (2001:407) contend that the influence of framing on the construction of meaning in media content cannot be disputed. Shen (2004:404), however, is of the opinion that the impact of framing, especially politically framed events, is less powerful than originally anticipated: citizens are not passive recipients of news; they draw on individual sources as well as media messages and often hold differing views and values, with the result that public opinion on issues remains fluid. McCombs (2004:99), like Haller and Ralph (2001:407) acknowledges the influence of framing on media content, but claims that framing and agenda building are not the only processes that

shape media content. He contends that there are several gatekeeping forces that play a prominent role in the selection and processing of events into news.

3.4.5 Gatekeeping forces

Shoemaker (1991:38) describes “media gatekeeping” as a process which involves the selection and presentation of news items in the media. Lewin (1947:146) posits that there are several “forces” which may either constrain or facilitate the passage of news items through the gatekeeping process. White (1950:386) was the first to specifically apply gatekeeping theory in a journalism context by studying the decisions made by a wire editor in selecting which stories should be published. He concluded that overall, the editor’s decisions were highly subjective and based on the gatekeeper’s own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations as to what constitutes news. In another study by Bleske (1991:89) in which the subject was a woman service editor, similar results were found.

A later experimental study conducted by Gieber (1956:430) determined that the number of news stories sent by wire services in various categories acts as a gatekeeping force, by suggesting to newspapers what the proper mix of news should be. Wire journalists were found to be passive in their role as gatekeepers, due to the bureaucratic structure of news organisations. Shoemaker (1991:47) claims that these studies demonstrate that gatekeeping is a process based on forces operating on more than just an individual level of analysis. Both McCombs (2004:99) and Shoemaker and Reese (1991:142) developed a model to explain the role of gatekeeping forces in the construction of news. The model of McCombs (2004:99) includes news norms, the interaction between different media and news sources. Figure 3.3 illustrates these forces as follows:

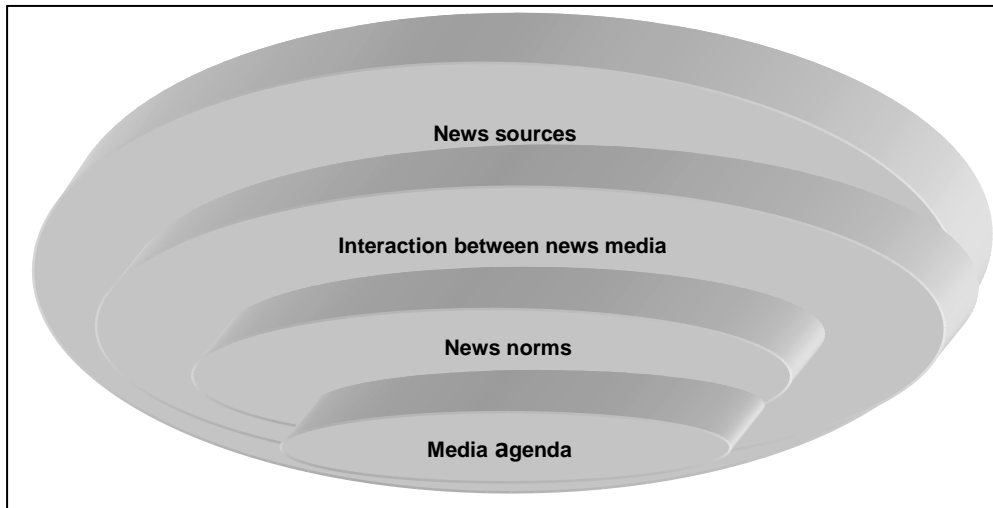


Figure 3.3. Gatekeeping forces. Adapted from McCombs (2004:99).

McCombs (2004:99) uses the metaphor of “peeling an onion”, to illustrate the gatekeeping forces (see figure 3.3). He offers three concentric layers of an onion to illustrate the forces. The core of the model comprises the media agenda which constitutes the newsworthy events or issues at a given time. The layer surrounding the core signifies news norms and signifies individual journalists, the next layer the interaction between media known as intermediate agenda-setting and the outer layer represents news sources such as the president of a country and routine and non-routine sources. Shoemaker and Reese’s (1991:142) model is similar to that of McCombs (2004:94) and is illustrated in figure 3.4 as follows:

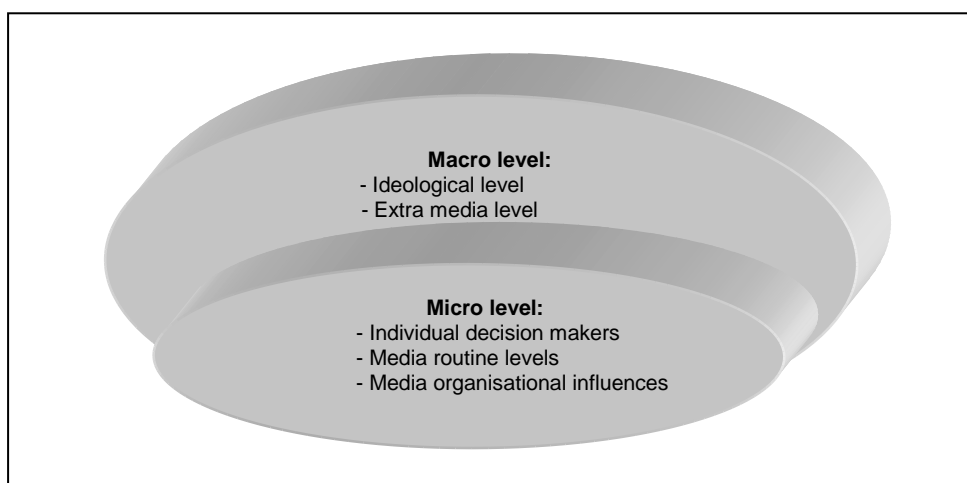


Figure 3.4 Model of media influences. Adapted from Shoemaker and Reese (1991:142)

Shoemaker and Reese's (1991:49) model comprises a micro-level (inner ring) and a macro-level (outer ring). The core of the model is the micro-level and signifies the individual journalist's background. Working outward in concentric rings the journalist is surrounded by media routines that involve news gathering and relaying, and media organisational influences such as economic constraints and the news organisation's policy. The macro level consists of an extra-media level which includes factors such as advertisers, personal relationships with public relations practitioners, technology, and an ideological level which is indicative of ideological influences such as propaganda. By drawing on the models of Shoemaker and Reese (1991:94) and McCombs (2004:94), the gatekeeping forces that have a bearing on this study are discussed as follows:

3.4.5.1 Individual and routine levels of journalists

Two aspects of the role of individual journalists as a gatekeeping force have been singled out by several theorists, namely individual and routine levels (Gans 1979a:41; Shoemaker & Reese 1991:142).

Individual journalists

The role of individual journalists in the construction of news has been debated extensively. It has been suggested that journalists are a prominent gatekeeping force, as they are involved in both the selection and the processing of news (Berkowitz 1990:58). Shoemaker and Reese (1991:87) claim that characteristics and attributes of individual journalists, such as personal and professional background, attitudes, values and beliefs and demographic background, influence media content. Peiser (2000:244) labelled these journalistic attributes the "personal agendas of journalists", and adds that these agendas may well impact on the media agenda.

Weaver (2005:18) concluded from a collection of findings of studies conducted by journalists in twenty-one countries that journalists' backgrounds and ideas do influence which events and issues are reported and how they are reported in media globally. Shoemaker and Reese (1991:124) also claim

that there is evidence that personal characteristics such as backgrounds and opinions influence the news judgements of journalists. Berkowitz's (1990:65) findings however indicated that individual journalists are influenced largely by gatekeeping forces such as the news organisation itself, the sources that are used by the journalist, and the professional routines of journalists and that decision-making in a newsroom is generally a group process, not an individual one.

The research conducted on individual journalists has largely been on journalists' ideological positions and their cohort membership (the professional age group or generation that a journalist belongs to) (Peiser 2000:246). Henningham (1998:93) claims that the ideological values and the political leaning of journalists often differ from the general population. Journalists tend to be more liberal and more likely to support leftist views than the views of conservative parties (Ruth, Chaffee & Chaffee 1971:646).

Cross-sectional studies have further indicated that there is a tendency for journalists to belong to younger cohorts than their readership. The result may be that the world views of the journalist and his/her readership differs and that they judge events and issues differently (Kojima 1986:83). Closely related to age is gender. Peiser (2000:242) claims that although the proportion of women in journalism has increased, there is still an under-representation. Weaver (2005:4) contends that changes in the gender composition of newsrooms result in changes in media content: female journalists may present the agenda for a female audience in contrast to male journalists who may focus on other issues. Research conducted in this area is however limited and the results have proved to be inconclusive.

Professional routines

Gans (1979a:43) defines professional routines as "patterned, repeated practices and norms" used by media workers to construct news and claims that they generally include a pre-established and generalised set of gatekeeping practices for judging newsworthiness and for constructing news.

Brantz, Baade and McCorkle (1980:46) compare news routines to the production line of a factory. The assembly line turns out newscasts and, like a factory, the production of newscasts involves well defined task structures, role specialisation and commonly held perceptions of the format of the end product. Parker (2005:3) maintains that routines are crucial as they establish a framework and boundaries for journalists, and they determine how news workers construe and present the world as they are exposed to it.

3.4.5.2 Intermediate agenda-setting

It is noted in section 3.4.5.3 that the President of a given country is a key external source and that the President in conjunction with the elite media in a country secures public support. It is claimed that elite media in a country influence the content of less influential media in that country, a role known as “intermediate agenda-setting” and in doing so the national agenda is shaped (McCombs 2004:113). In the United States the role of intermediate agenda-setting is often played by elite media such as the *New York Times*. It is alleged that Associated Press, for example, alerts its members (other media) on a daily basis of the agenda of stories scheduled for the front page of the *New York Times*. The appearance on the front page of the *New York Times* frequently legitimises a topic as newsworthy, and journalists tend to copy their peers’ news coverage to validate their own judgements about newsworthy events (McCombs 2004:113).

The notion of intermediate agenda-setting is suggested to have implications for news. Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978:59) claim that the media are no longer the “primary definers” of issues and events; they merely reproduce the definitions of the elite. McCombs (2004:114) quotes as an example, the news coverage of global warming between 1985 and 1992, which was initiated by debates on changing global weather patterns. The newsworthiness of global warming increased and peaked in elite newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal*, and initiated widespread coverage of this topic.

The role of intermediate agenda-setting can also extend to media such as local news agencies that construct their daily news from the information supplied by news wires. Gold and Simmons (1965:425) state that an analysis conducted on 24 Iowa daily newspapers indicated that Associated Press influenced the daily agenda of these newspapers significantly. Each newspaper used a percentage of the stories supplied by Associated Press (Associated Press is one of four global news agencies that act as a source of news) (Mowlana 1997:47). The role of these news agencies and other primary and secondary news sources is discussed in the next section.

3.4.5.3 Primary and secondary news sources

It has been suggested that news sources have a significant input into the content of news with the result that they are perceived as a powerful gatekeeping force (Lacy & Coulson 2000:14). Walters et al (1996:11) maintain that sources support different philosophies, they raise different issues and they promote different perceptions with the result that news content tends to be diverse. Durham and Kellner (2001:287), however, claim that journalists rely on a common and narrow network of news sources, which has resulted in what they call a “bureaucratically constructed universe” (only the views of those in power are disseminated). Lacey and Coulson (2000:20) note in this regard that journalists routinely consult multiple independent sources to detect errors and deception in media content. They quote the *New York Times* as an example of a medium that verifies its news content by at least two independent sources.

McQuail (2000:289) distinguishes between primary and secondary sources. He maintains that primary sources, for example, the government or the president of a country and sources such as public relations officers have an input into the content of news and consequently influence the final news product. Secondary sources such as news agencies supply news that has been gathered and constructed, to newspapers and other media for dissemination. The viewpoint of the agency is often portrayed in the news

which is supplied to media, with the result that these sources also influence the content of news.

Research on the use of primary sources by journalists has revealed that government sources are cited the most. In a 1993 survey of journalistic sources, Lacey and Coulson (2000:13:20) found that 51% of journalists listed government officials and press releases and reports as their prime source of information. Durham & Kellner (2001:287) support this finding and list the President, public information and public relations officers, powerful sources and news agencies or wire services as the most prominent news sources of amongst others newspapers.

The President as a primary source

McCombs (2004:100) views the President of any country as a top newsmaker. He maintains that one of the roles of the President is to shape supportive public opinion for both domestic and foreign approved policies (see section 3.4.1). By influencing the news coverage of the elite press of a country, for example, *the New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in the United States public support for policies can be shaped. The President of a country such as the United States also makes use of public relations and information officers who provide information in the form of press releases about the functioning of bureaucracies such as the White House. These information officers keep the public informed and has been labelled the “principle of bureaucratic affinity”, which implies that only other bureaucracies, for example the White House, can satisfy the input needs of a news bureaucracy (Durham & Kellner, 2001:292).

Van Slyke Turk (1986:102) examined *the New York Times* and *The Washington Post* across a twenty-year period and found that nearly 50% of their news stories were based on press releases and other direct information received from official sources. Approximately 18 % of the news stories were based on press releases and press conferences, and background briefings accounted for another 32%.

Other powerful sources

In addition to information officers, journalists also use other powerful sources such as prominent government officials, to gather news in what is described by Durham and Kellner (2001:292) as a “symbiotic” relationship between the source and the journalist: the relationship is maintained for economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. In the United States, the White House, the Pentagon, and the State department in Washington DC, are central nodes of such news activity. Lacy and Coulson (2000:16) state that the status and prestige attributed to government and official sources have rendered them credible sources, with the result that journalists rely heavily on these sources for their news stories.

Routine and non-routine sources

Bureaucracies such as governments often subsidise the mass media and offer special access to the news gates by contributing towards reducing the media’s cost to produce news. These subsidised sources are known as “routine” news sources, and are in contrast to “non routine” sources that receive no subsidies, are often ignored and struggle for access to news as they do not have access to the news gates (Durham & Kellner 2001:287; Lacy & Coulson 2000:16). The use of routine sources was prevalent in the 2003 Iraq War, where embedded journalists were granted access to information through the military unit that they were travelling with, in contrast to independent journalists who were hampered in this regard (Bucy 2003:8; Lehrer 2003a). (See section 4.6.3.1)

Expert sources

Another category of powerful sources that is suggested to advocate the view of the powers-that-be is that of expert sources (Durham & Kellner 2001:287). On the day of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, news networks supplied an array of national security state experts who explained the events to the public in a variety of media such as newspapers and television (Kellner 2003:4). Lacy and Coulson (2000:16) note that the power of expert sources can be weakened by

respectable alternative sources. Al Jazeera that reported on the 2003 Iraq War from an Iraqi perspective is an example of such a source. In addition to the primary sources discussed in this section, McQuail (2000:219) claims the significance of news agencies as secondary external information suppliers.

News Agencies as a secondary external source

To ensure that a daily menu of news is available for its audience, media outlets sometimes “order news” in advance from secondary sources such as news agencies (McQuail 2000:219). News agencies are considered as secondary sources in the sense that they gather and supply news to newspapers and other media on a daily base. The rise of news agencies was enabled by the development of technology and was stimulated by war, trade, imperialism and industrial expansion (McQuail 2000:219; Mowlana 1997:49). Mowlana (1997:47) singles out three “main actors” in the field of news agencies, namely global agencies, national agencies and regional agencies.

Global Western news agencies

The four major global news agencies (Associated Press, United Press, Reuters and Agence France Presse supply the majority of the news in the Western world. Associated Press is a United States based non-profit cooperative, has approximately 3 700 employees and is spread across 242 bureaus worldwide. The agency serves 121 countries, 1 700 newspapers in the United States, has 8 500 international subscribers, and is a major source of international news for most daily American newspapers (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen 2000:92). Agence France Presse claims in the region of 2 000 employees, which includes journalists in 165 countries, and the agency is said to be continuing to expand its operations worldwide, reaching subscribers via radio, television, newspapers and companies from its headquarters in Paris and regional centers in Washington, Hong Kong, Nicosia, and Montevideo (Agence France Presse 2005).

The British agency, Reuters calls itself the worlds’ largest international multimedia news agency, with approximately 2 300 editorial staff members

working in 196 bureaus worldwide (Bartram 2003:391), but Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen (2000:92) maintain that Reuters faces continual financial pressures as a publicly listed stock. As far as United Press International (UPI) is concerned, McQuail (2000:219) claims that there has been a virtual demise of the agency, which has lessened United States dominance. Boyd-Barrett (2000:11) points out that this decline will not give Associated Press the competitive edge to comprehensively cover international news. Europe has now become the largest producer and consumer of foreign news with growing agencies such as the German (Deutsche Presse Agentur) and the Japanese Kyodo (Tunstill 1992:86).

Several studies on the role of news agencies have been conducted. As early as the 1960s, an analysis of coverage in four Norwegian newspapers showed that 87% of the analysed news reports came from the big four agencies (Galtung & Ruge 1965:88). In 1978, a study of reciprocal coverage of the United States and Canada showed that world agencies accounted for over 70% of United States news in Canadian newspapers (Sparkes 1978:262).

Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2000:93) claim that editors view the text, photo's and film footage provided by news agencies as fair and objective. The result is that a large percentage of newspapers obtain their news from news agencies with the result that millions of people receive events that have been framed similarly. The influence of news agencies in setting the media agenda is thus clear (Gross 2004:33).

Global non-Western news agencies

In the non-western world, Russia and China have their own news agencies which are viewed as the dominant non-Western news agencies (Mowlana 1997:50). The Russian news agency ITAR-TASS was once among the top five world news agencies, but since the demise of the Soviet Union the agency has ceased to compete with the top Western agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen 2000:98). The Chinese News agency, Xinhua, initially established as an official

spokesperson for its country's Communist party has since entered the free market economy, and its reporting is perceived by many as more credible (Chu 1999:45).

Horvit (2006:443) analysed the news coverage of six news agencies (Associated Press, Agence France Presse, Reuters, Xinhua, ITAR-TASS and Inter Press Service) on the pre-Iraq War debate between 29 January and 18 February 2003. The results indicated that the United States officials were cited most frequently by the Western news agencies, whereas Xinhua and ITAR-TASS showed a nationalistic bias in its sourcing, by disseminating non-Western viewpoints in their coverage of the debate.

An alternative news agency to the powerful Western news agencies is the Inter Press Service (IPS), which was initiated in 1964 as a co-operative of Latin American journalists, and which has since extended its influence to Africa and Asia in co-operation with 30 national news agencies in the developing world. It is now the largest international agency specialising in third world news. Despite facing financial constraints, IPS has survived because it offers a news agenda distinctly different from the international Western-based news agencies (Hamelink 1983:75).

National news agencies

National news agencies supplement the big four news agencies in the control and distribution of news (Mowlana 1997:50). Research conducted on national news agencies has indicated three basic trends: they are dependent on global news agencies for foreign news; they play a prominent role in the dissemination of local news within a country and they have become participants in the output of "third world news" as supplied by the world agencies (McQuail 2000:290; Mowlana 1997:50).

Research has been conducted on the role of news national news agencies. Schramm and Attwood (1981:65) analysed the news content of 19 Asian newspapers in eight different languages, four international news agencies and

Xinhua News Agency which services Asian clients. They concluded that both the quality and the quantity of news in the third world are related to each country's own national news agencies. A study of the Canadian national agency (Canadian Press) conducted by Robinson (1981:208) indicated that the agency itself, not the global agencies, set the news agenda for its audience. It was concluded that national agencies use their own selection practices for domestic news, with the result that global agencies have no direct control over the gatekeeping practices employed by the national agencies (Mowlana 1997:50).

Regional news agencies

Regional news agencies supply news to a specific region. The Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) and Eurolang are examples of two Non-Western regional news agencies. IRNA supplies news stories from the Islamic World as well as the third world and Central Asian countries (Irna 2008). Eurolang is a European regional news agency that provides, on a daily basis, relevant and current news about Europe's regional, stateless and minority language communities, numbering some 46 million speakers (Eurolang 2008).

Limited research has been conducted on regional news agencies. Results have indicated that news agencies in Africa are aspiring towards increasing the role of developing countries in the international flow of news (Mowlana 1997:50). In the Middle East for example regional news agencies worked towards fostering improved co-operation between Arab and Asian television news services, and in Asia projects by regional agencies include the inauguration of the Asian-Pacific (OANA) for the distribution of news from Tokyo, Manilla, Jakarta, New Delhi and Moscow (Hamelink 1983:74).

A critical evaluation of news agencies

News agencies have elicited their fair amount of criticism. McQuail (2000:290), for example, argues that these secondary news carriers are contributing towards an inconsistency in the notion of the media as "neutral

carriers of mirrors of news". Rauch (2003:88) supports this view with his statement that "Western news agencies are rooted in the perspectives, assumptions and interests of their individual journalists, management and home nations in the developed North".

News agencies have, however, also received positive criticism. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2000:94) for example, claim that news agencies in general boast a non-government character with traditions of rigorous and comprehensive editing, and a relatively high standard of delivery and reliability. They add that agencies have a stated goal of objectivity which is generally honoured. Irrespective of the criticism voiced, it can be concluded that news agencies are an influential gatekeeping force and that they contribute significantly towards the content of news.

3.4.5.4 Ideology and Propaganda

The final section in this chapter addresses ideological influences, which forms part of the outer ring of Shoemaker and Reese's (1991:142) model (see figure 3.4). A key ideological influence which has been extensively researched and which forms an integral part of media coverage in elections and in war is propaganda (Lippmann 1922:23; Mc Quail 2000:425).

Herman (2000:102) is of the opinion that propaganda and ideology are interrelated and claims that the word "ideology" was first used to refer to people's values described as "unconscious habits of mind". Casselini (1960:68) defines ideology more comprehensively as "a set of beliefs", more specifically political beliefs, on which people, parties or countries base their actions. He adds that every society has a dominant ideology that shapes the public opinion in that society. The dominant ideology is perceived as neutral and all the ideologies that differ from this ideology are seen as radical. Organisations that strive for power in a society aspire to influence the ideology in a society. There is one system of beliefs which has a broad nature, boasts a sense of mystique and power and exploits all the rest, namely propaganda.

Propaganda is used particularly in time of war, or during an election to probe the existing ideology of a society to achieve the aims of the propagandist.

The word propaganda is derived from the Latin word "*propagare*", which implies "to peg down", "to transplant", "or that which ought to be spread" (Abbound 2003:2). Propaganda is associated with the efforts of secular organisations and nations to influence the cognitions of the masses, and to direct their behaviour towards the desired response of the propagandist (McQuail 2000:425; Schulze-Wechsungen 1934:330). Several negative perceptions about propaganda as an ideology exist.

Hoffer (1942:3) claims that propaganda is "veiled" in terms of its origin or sources, the methods employed to attain the objectives of the propagandist and the content that is spread. He states that these attributes of propaganda generally have a negative effect on human society. Parry-Giles (1996:147) supports and describes propaganda as "camouflaged". He quotes, as an example the Truman and the Eisenhower administrations that manipulated the content of news in ways that were undetectable to audiences and journalists. Ellul (1973:61) draws a distinction between modern and traditional propaganda.

Modern and traditional propaganda

Traditional propaganda is associated with certain broad themes and simplified descriptions such as "conscious conspiracy to manipulate public opinion", or "a combination of information manipulation", "myth creation", or "lies" (Bytwerk 1988; Ellul 1973:61; Shephard 2003:2; Vandenberg 2004:2). Modern propaganda has abandoned some of these overt traditional techniques which seek to modify opinions and ideas, the aim of modern propaganda is to generate action (Warren & Guscott 2000:3). An example of such a process perspective is found in contemporary terrorism where the focus has shifted from ideological terrorism to fundamentalist terrorism. This is more process orientated, and has resulted in an increased likelihood of fatalities (measured as whether a death occurs) (Thayer 2002:3). The process perspective

followed in modern propaganda is facilitated by mass communication devices which form part of the technological society.

A technological society is characterised by a division of labour, expertise, and industrialisation (Ellul 1973:XVI; Syque 2002:2). Characteristic of this type of society is an “omnipresent” and “totalitarian” influx of information. It is omnipresent in that messages appear constantly from all directions, and its totalitarian dimension can be attributed to that fact that all of the technical means at its disposal, namely the press, radio, television, films, posters, and door to door canvassing, is utilised (Ellul 1973:9). Thayer (2002:4) maintains that the public demands to be informed and wants to evaluate current political, economic, and social issues, and the fact that the mass media are able to fulfil this function has made it possible to use propaganda techniques on a societal scale, especially during elections and in time of war (Ellul 1973:11; Warren & Guscott 2000:2).

Forms of propaganda

Theorists claim the existence of several forms and types of propaganda. Parry-Giles (1996:147) contends that propaganda is agitative, when its purpose is to arouse the audience to take a form of action, which has the possibility to create societal changes. Propaganda has also been described as white, grey or black. White propaganda originates from a source which is identifiable and the message appears to be accurate. The message appears to be true and the sender seems credible and appears to have a sound political ideology. National celebrations with their overt nationalism are classified as white propaganda (Thayer 2002:3).

Characteristic of black propaganda is the fact that the source is concealed or credited to a false authority and spreads lies, fabrications and deceptions. This form of propaganda is known as “the big lie” and includes all forms of creative deceit. Bogart (1995:xii) claims that Goebbels (Hitler’s propaganda minister) contended that outrageous charges are more credible than statements that merely twist the truth. Grey propaganda is situated

somewhere between black and white propaganda. The source may not be correctly identified, and the accuracy of the information is doubtful (Thayer 2002:5).

Doob and Robinson (1948:90) suggest another form of propaganda which they entitle facilitative propaganda. This form of propaganda is deployed to spread an unfamiliar doctrine. Stimuli such as radio, newscasts, press releases, books, pamphlets, periodicals, exhibits, seminars and personal social contacts are used to arouse the audience. Facilitative propaganda is therefore not propaganda in itself, but rather communication designed to develop a positive attitude towards a potential propagandist (Bogart 1995:5).

Ellul (1973:xxv-xxvi) distinguishes between sociological, rational and political propaganda. Sociological propaganda is used to integrate and unify individuals by penetrating the sociological context (values and beliefs embedded in the culture of a society) of an existing ideology, and replacing the ideology with that of the propagandist. The outcome of sociological propaganda is "identification" which manifests when individuals turn to shared beliefs, values, attitudes or desires. This form of identification has the effect that individuals function as "a cell organised in a social unit" (Hoffer 1942:445). Bernays (2006:3) argues that complete identification is not possible as humans will always be separated.

Rational propaganda implies the use of applies logic or reason as a medium for persuasion. The propagandist presents a clear and logical argument, to manipulate the perceptions of an audience, and to generate collective action (Ellul 1973:xxv-xxvi). O'Shaughnessy (2004:8) claims that emotional appeals are more successful than rational appeals for generating collective action. He states that propagandists are known to exploit emotions such as fear and anger, and abstain from models of man as a rational decision-maker as these are viewed as less effective. Hoffman (2006:222) also notes the superiority of emotional appeals as opposed to rational appeals with his quote "when the heart resists the mind will not accept".

Patrick and Thrall (2004:3) view political propaganda as the most significant form of propaganda and claim that this form of propaganda has become the most modern of weapons. Governments in particular use political propaganda to construe a contrived world view which is designed to shape public opinion and attitudes and generate a response over a period of time (Ellul 1973:72; Shephard (2003:1). Patrick and Thrall (2004:2) describe political propaganda, which seeks a long-term response as “conditioning propaganda” and claim that Roebbels called it “basic propaganda”. Recently the terms “consciousness raising” and “awareness building” have also been suggested in this regard (Patrick & Thrall 2004:4).

Kellner (2003:5) notes that one of the primary features of political propaganda is that it is situational. It involves a specific set of circumstances and it is driven by current events, news media, mass public opinion, and other political forces. In the context of war, the “situational factors” generally involve the enemy, the ally and the neutral camp, with leaders on both sides, and the support of certain policies and institutions. Bytwerk (1998:38) claims that political propaganda requires thorough preparation as few people are able to bring both “heart and mind” into full agreement (Bytwerk 1998:38). It has been suggested that political propaganda forms an integral part of war journalism.

Propaganda and war

According to Patrick and Thrall (2004:4), war journalism is not only constructed on the battleground, but also on the “fields” of propaganda. Beside the “real war” which involves the military troops, there is also the “media or propaganda war”, where the military operations are reported on by news sources, public relations officers, and politicians from their perspectives. Wartime propaganda is designed to boost the morale of one’s own military forces and the civilian population, to break the spirit of the adversary, and to influence the behaviour of the neutral faction (Rothenberg 2002:18). The types of propaganda and the propaganda strategies applied in times of war depend on the goals of the political leadership and their understanding of psychology, public relations and public diplomacy (Steiner 1993:291). Two

common strategies generally used in time of war include psychological warfare and a classical propaganda strategy.

Psychological warfare

Schleifer (2005:17) describes psychological warfare as a series of messages and actions aimed at persuading an audience to adopt a particular policy. The purpose of psychological warfare is to destroy the morale of a foreign adversary through psychological means, to such an extent that the adversary doubts the validity of his/her own beliefs and actions (Ellul 1973:x). Wilson (2000:3) views psychological warfare as a new domain that has become known as “strategic communications”, “influence operations” and “information operations”. He adds that this type of warfare includes a field as diverse as information theory, propaganda, conditioning, epistemology, statistical theory, semiotics, and general semantics. Schleifer (2005:18) notes that in a situation of war, both the allies and the other factions (labeled the insurgents or terrorists) generally incorporate a psychological component which can be violent, non-violent or a combination of both.

Non-violent strategies generally involve the use of communication tools such as television, leaflets, newspapers, magazines, posters, and music (Wilson 2000:4). Warren and Guscott (2000:12) describe non violent means as “force multipliers” and quote as examples the use of the radio and leaflets that were dropped in World War II. They add that both the Germans and the Soviets used leaflets containing sexual propaganda, but that the use of these was banned by the United States. The USA dropped leaflets with messages ranging from “surrender or die”, to “safe passage tickets for deserters”, and information leaflets on Afghanistan, Kosovo, Granada, Somalia, the First and the 2003 Iraq War (Collins 2000:8). A powerful non-violent means of psychological warfare is taking control of the communication systems of the invaded country. The propagandist can then disseminate propagandist messages to the invaded country’s population in order to win their support for the war (Collins 2000:8; Wilson 2000:4).

The non-violent strategies of the insurgents generally involve the use of low technology messaging strategies such as poetry, songwriting, flyers and leaflets and in some instances their own newspapers and magazines. A proficiency in high technology messaging such as text messaging (SMS) and the production of CD's and DVD's which are distributed within the communities that the factions seek to influence also exists. Media outlets such as the Internet are also used to disseminate messages. The Internet in particular reaches mass audiences globally and enables a quick response to arguments (Collins 2000:8; Warren and Guscott (2000:12). Collins (2000:12) claims that the Internet has helped to decrease the likelihood of indiscriminate force and action that countries take against their adversaries. There is the likelihood that atrocities are exposed and disseminated on the Internet for all to view (Thompson 2003:8). (See section 4.3.2.5 for a discussion on some of the atrocities committed during the Iraq War by the United States forces).

Wilson (2000:12) claims that in modern wars, such as the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, violent psychological warfare has emerged as the most effective propaganda tool of the insurgents or terrorists. Unable to defeat their foes in open battle, smaller, weaker entities often resort to violence in the form of guerrilla actions to weaken enemy morale. By selecting their targets to maximize psychological impact, terrorists and insurgents are able to magnify their actions. Modern terrorist violence has taken the form of suicide bombs, ambushes and roadside bombs, which have resulted in a high civilian casualty rate (Garfield 2007:30). This type of psychological warfare has succeeded in sapping the confidence and the morale of the public. In addition to psychological warfare, propagandists are also known to incorporate a classical propaganda strategy in time of war (Jowett & O' Donnell 2005:47).

Classic Propaganda Strategy

Lippmann (1960) and Lasswell (1951) initially developed classic propaganda strategy in the beginning of the twentieth century. This type of strategy relies on symbols, arguments and rhetoric and is largely situational in that it applies to a specific situation such as an election or a war. It has also become known

as “presidential propaganda” (it is initiated and planned by the “elite” in a country) (Patrick & Thrall 2004:5). The tactics and the sophistication of a classic propaganda strategy depend on the situation of the conflict, (the parties involved, and the nature of the conflict) (Bytwerk 1998:12). Previous research has identified several common approaches and themes that have emerged as part of a classic propaganda strategy in times of war:

Bytwerk (1998:13) contends that casualties sustained in wars such as the prolonged Vietnam War have resulted in a psychological resistance to war. The result is that a war should appear to be a “war of defence” against a clearly defined aggressor. He offers three lines of reasoning for identifying an aggressor: the aggressor first commits acts of war; it incriminates itself by attempting to force “our government” into a position of the aggressor during the final negotiations preceding the war; and the aggressor has a record of lawlessness and violence, which proves that there exists a deliberate attempt to destroy “us”. Once guilt has been established, the proof of the guilt is disseminated in a variety of media as widely as possible. Sproule (1989:64) adds that contemporary political rhetoric has created “designer enemies” such as Osama Bin Laden or Saddam Hussein, who are portrayed as an element bent on destroying the progressive Western way of life.

Another classic propaganda tactic is to present a conflict in a radically polarised way which allows for only two positions, “for or against”. Attempts or claims to take a distanced, neutral or critical stance are suppressed (Bytwerk 1998:18). Rennie (2004:11) claims that this pattern was evident in the Kosovo conflict (1999-2000), where both sides attempted to secure public opinion and support for the war. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and its member states claimed to represent the “world community” and its focus on peace and humanitarian values. Those who questioned this stance were accused of condoning violent warfare.

The most powerful propaganda tactic according to Shephard (2003:3), is the control of information. Withholding information so that the public cannot make informed decisions on issues or events is one example of information control.

Rennie (2004:5) quotes as an example the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (1980s to the present). It is alleged that in this conflict the United States supplied arms and subsidised one side, whilst the media created the perception that the United States was promoting a peace process between the factions involved in the war. By portraying the United States as a mere observer and mediator in the war the role of the USA was veiled and relevant information was withheld successfully.

Equally effective as omitting information, is the tactic of presenting selected slices of information to the audience (Bytwerk 1998:20). Parry-Giles (1996:148) suggests another strategy which he describes as the “excluded middle”. In this strategy people are furnished with incomplete, suggestive information, with the result that false assumptions are made and false conclusions are drawn. Another technique suggested by Bytwerk (1998:40) is the structuring of information in a clear and simple manner to ensure that the message is understood by all. Sproule (1989:66) adds that drama is often incorporated into stories to explain events and to maintain the attention of the masses. The public also favour conspiracy theories as they are easier to understand, emotionally satisfying, have an aura of mystery and they enable public relations specialists to add their “spin of the day”³ to the news story (Steiner 1993).

The use of military experts who explain military strategies and tactics was a prominent strategy in the First Gulf War. In the Second Gulf War this phenomenon was equally prominent and globally audiences were inundated with appearances of military experts, descriptions and illustrations of soldiers, war discourse that dominated talk shows, network news and discussion programmes, and twenty four hour Cable News Network (CNN) war coverage to explain the events of the war. The result according to Kellner (2003:23), is a militarization of consciousness, and an environment dominated by military discourse and images.

³ Spin in this instance refers to the intended meaning incorporated into the message relayed to the public.

Ellul (1973:15) claims that the propagandist uses the mass individual's need for orientation (see section 3.4.1.1) and with the help of the mass media orientates the individual, by explaining events and contextualising them according to their own views. He adds that the orientation role of the official propagandist has become more complex in the "competing marketplace of propagandas" where individuals are exposed to the propagandas of various interest groups and a number of competing elites.

3.5 CONCLUSION

News is constructed by selecting a newsworthy event and processing the event into news. Journalists generally use event or context related criteria to select newsworthy events. Factors such as the position of a country in the world system, the deviance of an event and political factors are examples of key news determinants that determine whether an event is placed on the media agenda of journalists. Events on the media agenda are emphasised by the media and in time they are perceived as important by the public, with the result that the media agenda becomes the public agenda.

Once an event has been selected it is processed into a news product and presented to the public. One of the key factors in the processing of news is the agenda-setting role of the media, where the public is guided on how to view an event. This is achieved by framing an event in a particular fashion and through the selective use of news sources and propaganda. Media workers generally frame events consistent with the culture and the political environment in a respective country, with the result that the same key event may be framed differently by journalists in different countries.

In the next chapter, a case study on the Iraq War is presented within the parameters of the conceptual framework discussed in this chapter. Theoretical concepts and constructs from this chapter are applied, discussed and analysed in the context of the 2003 Iraq War.

CHAPTER 4

THE 2003 IRAQ WAR: A CASE STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapters two and three a conceptual framework for the construction of news was presented. Chapter two addressed the theories of information flow in which the inequality between developed and developing (centre and peripheral) countries was highlighted. The importance of the position of a country in the world system as far as the international flow of information is concerned was also discussed. In chapter three, selection and processing were singled out as the two main processes used to construct news. The selection of newsworthy events and the processing of newsworthy events into news was discussed comprehensively. The discussion pointed out that journalists construct news within their own cultural and political framework, with the result that a single event may be interpreted and reported differently by journalists in different countries.

This chapter offers an analysis of the ongoing 2003 Iraq War in the form of a case study. The fact that the war was a newsworthy event, because a number of elite Western nations on the one hand and a peripheral non-Western country on the other hand were directly involved in the war, added to the suitability of the event for a case study on information flow in a modern era. The conceptual framework presented in chapters two and three was used to present an in-depth analysis of the flow of information and the construction of news during and in the aftermath of the war by a diversity of media. Relevant research studies conducted on various aspects of the war were integrated into the case study and added depth to the study.

In the case study the background and the key events of the war are outlined, followed by a discussion on how the Bush administration set the agenda for the war and how the war was framed by the media globally. The final sections of the chapter focus on the role of gatekeeping forces and propaganda in the construction of the events of the war.

4.2 THE 2003 IRAQ WAR: 2003 TO THE PRESENT

Capitalism as a global expanding system is characterised by a division of labour, ruled over by competing nation-states. Cutting across the capitalism system is a structure of inequality, labelled centre-periphery, or developed versus under-developed, which highlights the existing gap between states at the centre and the periphery of the system (see section 2.4.1) (Chase-Dunn 1995; Galtung & Ruge 1965; Hester 1971). Characteristic of nations in the centre is an outward, imperialistic economic movement, which since the late 1970s has included engagement in imperialist wars.

The United States for one, exercised military imperialism in Lebanon, Grenada and Panama, and with the demise of the Soviet Union, the United States filled the vacuum of world power. Military interventions were carried out by the United States in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and the former Yugoslavia (Mallaby 2003:2). Most recent wars in which the United States was and still is involved include the United States invasion and occupation of Afghanistan (October 7, 2001 to the present) and the invasion of Iraq (March 19, 2003 to the present) (Mallaby 2003:2). Thompson (2003:3) views the 2003 Iraq War as the most consequential international political event of the post-Cold War period. He adds that this war has changed and is continuing to change the political and psychological landscape of the Middle East.

The origins of the 2003 Iraq War can be traced back to the first Gulf War (1990 – 1991) when a United States coalition confronted Iraq over its invasion of Kuwait. The United Nations Security Council demanded a withdrawal of Iraqi troops from January 15, 1991 and when Iraq did not comply; the Persian Gulf War ensued, led by the United States. The Gulf War lasted six weeks and a cease-fire was announced by the United States on 28th February 1991. The fact that Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, had not been removed from power was seen by some as a fundamental error as it left a regime in power which could potentially threaten the whole region (McAllister 2006:262).

The alleged threat that Iraq was hiding weapons of mass destruction, developing long-range missiles and harbouring terrorists and as a result could be considered a threat to international peace, resulted in a mandate in which Iraq was instructed to prove that the country's arsenal of weapons of mass destruction had been destroyed. Iraq's refusal set the stage for the war and the United States started a military build up in Kuwait which shares borders with Iraq. On 17 March 2003, Saddam Hussein was issued with an ultimatum by George Bush, namely to give up power and leave Iraq, or the country would be invaded. Hussein had 48 hours to comply and on March 19 2003, Iraq was invaded by the United States and Britain. The stated legal justification for the war included:

- Alleged Iraqi production and the threat of weapons of mass destruction.
- Alleged Iraqi links with terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda.
- Alleged human rights violations in Iraq under the Saddam Hussein government (Coole 2005:467; Hampton 2005:622; McAllister 2006:264).

The stated goals of the invasion, according to the then United States Secretary of Defence Ronald Rumsfeld, were to:

- Enforce a regime change and facilitate the transition of Iraq to democratic self-rule.
- Find and eliminate weapons of mass destruction and terrorists.
- Collect intelligence on networks of weapons of mass destruction and terrorists.
- End sanctions, deliver humanitarian support, and secure Iraq's oil fields and resources (Coole 2005:468; McAllister 2006:264).

The 2003 Iraq War, unlike the first Gulf War, started without United Nations support (considered a prerequisite for military action of one nation against another). Britain and Australia offered military support for the war and Europe was divided on the issue (Coole 2005:468). On March 20, 2003 "Operation

Iraqi Freedom” was launched and three weeks after the invasion on April 9 2003, Baghdad was formally secured by the United States forces. On 1 May 2003 the war was officially declared over (McAllister 2006:264). This official declaration ended the first phase of the war.

In the aftermath, or phase two of the war (the latter part of 2003 until the present) chaos and violence erupted in Iraq. The Iraqis almost immediately initiated protests against the delay in self-rule and the absence of a timetable to end the United States occupation. In July 2003, the United States Administrator for Iraq, Paul Bremer, appointed an Iraqi Governing Council. Months of searching for Iraqis’ weapons of mass destruction had yielded no results and allegations that the existence of these weapons was fabricated and exaggerated emerged (Dimitrova & Stromback 2005:401; McAllister 2006:265).

Towards the end of 2003, President Bush recast the rationale for the war, no longer citing weapons of mass destruction but instead describing Iraq as “the central front” in the war against terrorism. A free and democratic Iraq, he contended, would serve as a model for the Middle East (Al-Araby & Croft 2003:3; Bender 2003:1). (See section 4.4 for a comprehensive discussion on President Bush’s democratic ideal for Iraq). Continued instability in Iraq kept 140 000 American troops at a cost of 4 billion dollars a month, as well as 11 000 British and 10 000 coalition troops in Iraq. On 13 December 2003 Saddam Hussein was captured and in January 2004 the Central Intelligence Agency’s (CIA) Charles Duelfer confirmed that there was no evidence of an Iraqi weapons production programme (Bender 2003:1).

The violence and instability continued throughout 2004. Civilians, Iraqi security forces, foreign workers and coalition soldiers were subjected to suicide bombings, kidnappings and beheadings (Eggen & Wilson 2005:1; Hashim 2003:11) (see section 4.7.1). By April 2004, a number of separate uprisings had spread through the Sunni triangle and in the Shi’ite-dominated South. In October 2004, United States officials estimated that there were between 8 000 and 12 000 hardcore insurgents and more than 20 000 “active

sympathisers” in Iraq (Hashim 2003:13). On 28 June 2004 sovereignty was officially returned to Iraq when an interim government was appointed. Former exile and Iraqi Government Council member, Iyad Allawi was appointed as Prime Minister and Ghazi al-Yawar, a Sunni Muslim, as president. Reconstruction efforts were hampered by bureaucracy and security concerns, and by September 2004 just 6% of the reconstruction money approved by the United States Congress in 2003 had been used. Electricity and water supply was below pre-war levels and half of Iraq’s employable population was still unemployed (MacGinty 2003:604).

On 30 January 2005, approximately 8,5 million people voted to elect a new government. In April of the same year Jalal Talabani (a Kurd) was appointed President and Ibrahim al-Jaafari (a religious Shi’ite) Prime Minister. The election did not stem the insurgency which grew increasingly sectarian during 2005 and predominantly involved Sunni insurgents targeting Shi’ite and Kurdish civilians in suicide bombings. By December 2005, more than 2 100 United States soldiers had died in Iraq and more than 15 000 were wounded (Jabar 2005:2). The absence of a clear strategy for winning the war beyond “staying the course” caused American’s support for Bush’s handling of the war to plummet. Parliamentary elections took place in December to select the first full-term four-year parliament since Saddam Hussein was overthrown (Campagna 2008:3).

In January 2006 the election results were announced. The ruling Shi’ite bloc dominated by Islamic parties with close ties to Iran won 130 seats. The Kurdish Alliance tallied 53 seats, while Sunni-led parties won 55 seats. The Shi’ite and Kurdish lists fell three seats short of the two-thirds majority required to control parliament and select a presidential council. As a result, a United Iraqi Alliance (a coalition government) with al-Jafaari as the head of state was announced (Jabar 2005:2). Nakash (2006:1) claims that the USA took it for granted that Iraq’s Shi’ite majority should lead the reform process. However, although Shi’ite and Sunnis both observe the same fundamental tenets of Islam, they have different approaches to religious law and practices

and different notions of religious hierarchy and this caused problems for the new government.

Mounting violence and the subsequent Shi'ite reprisals against Sunni mosques and the killings of Sunni Arabs since the outbreak of the Iraq War underscore their differences and the struggle between the Muslim factions in Iraq. Sunni, Arab, Kurdish and secular officials considered al-Jafaari incapable of forming a government of national unity and rejected his nomination. The deadlock was broken in April 2005 when Nuri al-Maliki, who like Jafaari belonged to the Shi'ite Dawa Party, was approved as Prime Minister (Hashim 2003:13). In February 2006 a United States Senate report on the progress of reconstruction in Iraq indicated that despite the United States spending 16 billion dollars on Iraq's infrastructure, the infrastructure was still below pre-war levels. Incompetence and fraud characterised numerous projects, and by April 2006, 72 investigations into corruption by firms involved in reconstruction were underway (Campagna 2008:5).

In May 2006, a news story broke about a not-yet-released official military report that United States Marines had killed 24 innocent Iraqi civilians in the city of Haditha the previous November 19 2005. The civilians were perceived to have been killed to revenge the death of a USA marine killed in an ambush (see section 4.3.2.5) (Buncombe 2006:3). At the end of July 2006, the United States announced that it would move United States troops into Baghdad in an attempt to stabilise the country's capital which had increasingly been subject to lawlessness, violence and sectarian strife. By September 2006, the sectarian violence was classified as so extreme that it far surpassed most civil wars since 1945. The increasingly unpopular war and President Bush's strategy of "staying the course" were believed to be responsible for the Republican loss of both Houses of Congress in the November mid-term elections and for the resignation of Defence Secretary of State, Donald Rumsfeld, immediately thereafter. On 31 December 2006, the United States military personnel death toll had reached 3 000 and at least 50 000 Iraqi civilians had died in the conflict (Campagna 2008:2; Roberts 2008:1).

In January 2007, President George Bush announced that 20 000 additional troops would be deployed in Baghdad to stem the sectarian fighting. He also claimed that Iraq had committed to a number of benchmarks such as increasing troop presence in Baghdad, oil-revenue sharing and job creation plans. Although 2007 culminated as the deadliest year in Iraq for United States forces, the United States military reported in November of that year that for several consecutive weeks the number of car bombs, roadside bombs, mines, rocket attacks and other forms of violence had fallen to its lowest level in nearly two years (Campagna 2008:2).

The Iraqi Red Crescent reported that approximately 25 000 refugees (out of about 1.5 million) who had fled to Syria had returned to Iraq between September and the beginning of December. Many of these refugees, however, found their homes occupied by squatters. In addition, previously diverse neighbourhoods had become segregated as a result of sectarian violence (Campagna 2008:3; Roberts 2008:1). From the manner in which the events of the 2003 Iraq War unravelled it is clear that there are several factors that contributed towards the newsworthiness of the war (Roberts 2008:1).

4.3 THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

The fact that the 2003 Iraq War received extensive global media coverage and that it is still covered by the media is an indication of the newsworthiness of the war. Several factors, but most especially, the direct involvement of the USA and the UK as elite Western countries (see sections 3.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.1) contributed towards the newsworthiness of the war. Although the war is still covered today, it is for different reasons than when the war started in 2003. At the onset of the war, Western newspapers focused on the coalition victories (see section 4.5). In the aftermath of the war the newspapers focused on the fact that the war was prolonged and the high cost of the war financially and in terms of loss of life. (See sections 4.3.1.3 and 4.5). The newsworthiness of the 2003 Iraq War is discussed in terms of the context and event related news determinants in chapter 3 (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2).

4.3.1 Context-related news determinants of the 2003 Iraq War

The context-related news determinants that contributed towards the newsworthiness of the 2003 Iraq War are discussed in this section.

4.3.1.1 Structural and hierarchical status of a country

In the discussion of world system theory in chapter 2, it was mentioned that the world is arranged in three hierarchical spheres and that centre nations dominate news flow and coverage (Chang 1998:542; Wu 2000:110) (see section 2.4.3 and 2.4.3.1). The assumptions of world system theory applied to the Iraq War. The fact that Iraq was involved in war was not in itself newsworthy, but the fact that two centre nations namely the USA and the UK were involved in the war did indeed ensure that the war received a high level of global coverage.

The USA and the UK were further able to control the volume and the content on the war to a certain extent through Western news agencies that disseminated pro-war coverage (see section 4.6.1.3). Horvit (2006:427) investigated the coverage of the 2003 Iraq War by seven news agencies. She found that Western news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press disseminated a pro-war coverage of events. Alternative non-Western media such as Al Jazeera and the Internet appeared to lessen the power of the powerful pro-war agencies by presenting the war from the perspective of Iraq. Irrespective of the nature of the coverage (pro-war or anti-war) the war received a high coverage to what may usually have been a localised war with a low volume of coverage.

4.3.1.2 Political and ideological determinants

As stated in chapter 3, factors such as media ownership are indicators of press freedom and influence the content and the volume of news coverage that a country receives. Reporters Without Borders (2008:2) released a global index of 139 countries in which they indicated the level of press freedom in these countries. The index was drawn up by posing 50 questions to journalists and journalists about press freedom violations such as murders or arrests of

journalists, censorship, pressure, state monopolies in various fields, punishment of press law offences and regulation of the media. The countries with the highest level of press freedom are ranked as follows: Finland (1), Iceland (2), Norway (3), the Netherlands (4), Canada (5) and Ireland (6). The positions of countries strongly associated with the Iraq war was as follows: Australia (12), The United States (17) and the United Kingdom (22). Countries such as Colombia (114), Bangladesh (118), Syria (126) and Iraq (130) were at the bottom of the list.

It is alleged that in the countries at the bottom of the list armed rebel movements, militias or political parties endanger the lives of journalists, and the state uses every means to control the media and stifle dissenting voices. Kirkpatrick (2003:2) claims that freedom of speech, information and freedom of the press were notoriously absent in Iraq under the reign of Saddam Hussein. Uday Hussein, Saddam's eldest son controlled numerous newspapers in the country as well as Iraq's most influential television and radio stations. Furthermore, the Iraqi Ministry of Information appointed all the country's journalists who had to belong to the ruling Ba'ath Party and the Journalists' Union which was chaired by Uday Hussein (Reporters Without Borders 2008:3).

Reporters Without Borders (2008:2) claim that Iraq has a history of hostility towards journalists and independent media. Foreign journalists who covered Iraq were faced with obstacles such as government censorship and limits on visa stays. Visas were considered the Ministry of Information's most salient tool for controlling the movements of foreign journalists in Iraq. Another tool was the ministry's provision of "minders," state-sanctioned individuals who shadowed a visiting journalist's every move and arranged interviews on the journalist's behalf. The Ministry of Information also maintained a handpicked list of Iraqis who were fluent in foreign languages and who gave granted private interviews. These individuals allegedly served as mouthpieces for state propaganda.

Aspects such as hostility towards journalists and government control of media are all indicators of an authoritarian regime. President George Bush's outlined ideal of a democracy for Iraq included aspects such as freedom of speech and freedom to vote. Allen (2006:2) claims that the number of media outlets in Iraq has indeed grown since the regime of Saddam Hussein was ended. There are currently three types of media outlets in Iraq: a few that are protected by the state, a significant number that are privately owned and financed by ethnic, sectarian or partisan groups and others that are truly independent. The number of television stations now operating in Iraq has been cited as approximately 25, and there are in excess of 100 newspapers published both in Baghdad and in localities throughout the country (about 17 of which are dailies) (Allen 2006:2). Under Saddam Hussein's rule it was illegal to own a satellite dish, but currently there are more satellite dishes in Iraq than any other Arab country.

In 2005 press freedom in Iraq suffered serious blows. The legal framework for guaranteeing press freedom and regulating the media was vague and legal analysts claimed that archaic laws such as restrictive insult, anti-defamation and state secret laws from Saddam Hussein's regime were still being practiced. A prime example is that of Kamal Karim (an Iraqi born Kurd with Austrian nationality) who published articles on an independent Kurdish website critical of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its leader Massoud Barzani. He was subsequently sentenced to 30 years in prison in December 2006 by a Kurdish court. The question whether this conviction was a remnant of Saddam Hussein's laws, or the Kurds own laws because of their hate for each other remains (Allen 2006:2; Hama-Saeed 2007:3).

Hama-Saeed (2007:3) claims that the biggest threat to press freedom in Iraq is the ongoing instability and violence. Iraq remains one of the most dangerous countries for journalists to work in. Between 2003 and 2005, more journalists had been killed in Iraq than in 20 years of the Vietnam War. The result of the violence and intimidation that journalists face from militias throughout the country has increased self-censorship. Warraq (2008:1) maintains that Western characteristics such as rationalism, the rule of law and

equality under the law, freedom of thought and expression, freedom for woman and racial and other minority groups are in stark contrast to autocratic Muslim characteristics such as illiteracy and lack of freedom of speech that prevail in Middle East countries such as Iraq.

The dangers associated with reporting the events of the war, the lack of infrastructure and the strict policies that foreign journalists have to adhere to in Iraq have resulted in countries withdrawing their journalists from the war zone. This has had an impact on the newsworthiness of the war, as fewer countries and journalists covered the events of the war (Hama-Saeed 2007:4).

4.3.1.3 Economic determinants

The allegation that America's fight against terrorism is a modern diplomatic strategy over the prize of the Middle East oil and the strategic geographic position of Iraq (Chomsky 2003; Morgan & Ottaway 2002:2; Palast 2005:2) has heightened the newsworthiness of the war. Palast (2005:2) claims that the only interest of the USA and the UK in the Middle East since World War I has been economical. He alleges that the United States has continuously supported any type of government (dictatorship, sheikdom, monarchy, theocracy or democracy) as long as they cooperated economically with United States corporations. In the Middle East, economic interest implies oil production. George Bush, Dick Cheney and Condoleezza Rice are all former oil company executives from Harken Energy, Halliburton and Chevron.

Morgan and Ottaway (2002:2) contend that the United States' ousting of Saddam Hussein could provide a pathway for American oil companies to negotiate deals between Iraq, France and other countries. They claim that American and foreign oil companies began manoeuvring for a stake in the country's reserves of 122 billion barrels of crude oil before the start of the war.

In the aftermath of the war, economic factors such as the cost of the war for the American taxpayer and the cost of rebuilding Iraq dominated news coverage (Abbound 2003:3; McAllister 2006:260).

4.3.1.4 Social and cultural determinants

News events are constructed and reported within the context of a country's cultural framework (see section 3.2) (Entman 2006:121). Generally countries with a similar culture report on events and issues that concern themselves. Centre nations therefore tend to award coverage to events that occur in other centre nations (see section 2.4.3.1). Exceptions are events such as the 2003 Iraq War that occur in a peripheral nation and involve, or concern centre nations, in this instance the UK and the USA. Significant cultural and social differences exist between the culture of Western nations such as the USA and the UK and non-Western nations such as Iraq.

One of the key differences between Western and non-Western nations is religion. Christianity and Islam have been in contact for more than fourteen centuries (Kramer 1993:3). Esposito and Piscatori (1991:430) maintain that despite the perceptions about Muslims and Christians, they share the same principles of love of one God and love of neighbour. The history of Christian-Muslim encounter is highly complex. Christians have viewed Islam in a variety of ways. The attitudes of Christians living in Europe and North America, who until recently have lived at a distance from Muslims, have differed from the views of Christians who have lived within the Muslim community. There are examples of harmonious fruitful exchange as well as conflict. Fruitful exchanges include situations where Christians and Muslims have collaborated in struggling towards shared political goals, for example, in the Indonesian independence movement and in the cause of early Arab nationalism.

In many instances however, political economic and theological factors have combined to polarise Muslims and Christians into mutually antagonistic communities. False images of the other, have resulted in fear and misunderstanding. Consequently, both Christians and Muslims have inherited images and stereotypes, mostly negative which marked their mutual perceptions (Nakash & Myers 2006:3). Kuruvila (2006:4) adds that the Western mass media continue with few exceptions to disseminate negative perceptions and stereotypes of Muslims. He quotes as an example, the

controversy of the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad published in a Danish newspaper which resulted in anti-Western riots from London to Islamabad. The cartoons were followed by seemingly damaging statements from the Pope about Islam and violence not long afterwards. The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq initiated by the USA have also not abated the tension.

Muslim-Christian tensions allegedly peaked with the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, in which close to 3 000 people were killed. These terrorist attacks by extremist Muslims were followed by a series of similar attacks on Western targets such as London, Madrid and other cities. Since the terrorist attacks, Muslim's have been stereotyped as "fundamentalists" who embrace "a culture of death" through their practice of suicide bombings (Kuruwila 2006:4). Nakash and Myers (2006:3) claim that the Arab media may have contributed significantly towards the fundamentalist culture by giving media exposure to events that involve terrorism and suicide bombings.

Abu-Fadil (2005:4), however, claims that suicide bombing is merely a tactic used by those who lack other means of delivering explosives. She draws a parallel between coalition forces who strap themselves into a warplane and drop bombs on a village with full awareness that these bombs will kill civilians. Because the Western way of killing is "dressed up in a presentable uniform" it is placed on a different moral plane to that of the suicide bomber.

Akel (2008:1) maintains that Hollywood has helped to establish Muslim stereotypes long before the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Television programmes and films featuring "belly dancers", "greedy oil billionaires and bombers", "Ali Booboo the desert rat", "rag heads" and "camel jockeys" have all fomented this culture. An example of this can be seen in the opening lyrics of the Walt Disney film "Aladdin":

I come from a land, from a faraway place, where the caravan camels roam. Where they cut off your ear if they don't like your face. It's barbaric, but hey, it's home.

It appears that stereotyping is not the only cultural hindrance that Muslims are experiencing. Abu-Fadil (2005:4) is of the opinion that there exists a lack of religious and cultural knowledge of Muslim tradition by the Western world and claims that this has been a key problem in the war. She notes the attacks on civilians wearing veils or turbans and the destruction of religious symbols such as Mosques, as examples in this regard.

Mosques and shrines are regarded as holy and the destruction of these religious tokens is perceived as almost criminal. Western culture also does not appear to comprehend the significance of a turban or a veil. The Islamic veil is both a religious statement and a way of life. The turban or the "Dastar", as the Sikh turban is known, is an article of faith, worn by practicing Sikhs to signify their love and obedience towards the wishes of the founders of their faith. Muslim media such as Al Jazeera have condemned and reported extensively on the destruction of religious symbols, which has fostered hostility towards the West and the United States in particular (Abu-Fadil 2005:4).

4.3.1.5 Geographic proximity

Previous studies (see section 3.3.1.5) have found that physical proximity is no longer a hindrance for disseminating news from country to country globally. Kim and Barnett (1996:330) support this view; they claim that physical proximity played a lesser role in the volume of coverage that the war received by the media globally. Although the war was waged in a peripheral country the event received voluminous global coverage in media such as the radio, television, newspapers and the Internet.

Thompson (2003:3) highlights the contribution of the Internet in the coverage of the events of the war. A diversity of war stories were disseminated in a diversity of online newspapers and news websites. These online news stories have enabled researchers to conduct several studies on the flow of news during the war (see Arsenault & Castells 2006; Christie 2006; Dimitrova et al

2005; Dimitra & Stromback 2005; Freid 2005; Lee & Maslog 2005; Maslog et al 2006; Ravi 2005; Snow & Taylor 2006).

The Internet is viewed by Thompson (2003:3) as “an effective new media force” that played a vital counter-propaganda role in the 2003 Iraq War which ought to have been played by the mainstream media. Independent writers presented global opinions, academic critique, and large-scale democratic debate, on the Internet.

4.3.1.6 Attributes of the population

It was stated in section 3.3.1.6 that attributes of a country such as a large population and the level of literacy of its population act as news determinants. During his reign Saddam Hussein allegedly played a key role in both developing and breaking down key attributes of the population of Iraq, such as the standard of their lifestyle and the level of literacy of the population in Iraq. At the onset of his rule, Saddam Hussein modernised the Iraqi economy and provided social services unprecedented among Middle Eastern countries. The government also supported families of soldiers, granted free hospitalisation to all of its citizens and gave subsidies to farmers. Saddam Hussein is said to have created one of the most modernised public-health systems in the Middle East (Moore 2003:3).

As far as the level of literacy in Iraq is concerned, Saddam established and controlled the "National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy" and the campaign for "Compulsory Free Education in Iraq" (Moore 2003:3). Esposito and Mogahed (2008:2) claim that Iraq, upon independence in 1933, was a linguistically pluralistic state whose inhabitants spoke Iraqi Arabic (in several local dialects), Armenian, Assyrian, Judeo-Arabic, Kurdish, and Turkmen. Over the remaining century, and particularly under Baathist rule (1968 to 2003), Iraq became an increasingly Arab state, in which Arabic enjoyed a privileged and dominant status. Under Saddam Hussein, ethno-linguistic minority groups such as the Kurds, Assyrians and Turkmen experienced

extreme persecution and were severely restricted in their ability to speak and educate their children in their own language.

Moore (2003:2) maintains that in the aftermath of the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein in 1991, the United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq and Iraqi oil exports were blocked. He further alleges that the sanctions virtually destroyed the Iraqi economy and the state infrastructure. Like several other Middle East countries, Iraq under the rule of Saddam Hussein appeared to face a poor economy, a high illiteracy level, and an absence of freedom of thought and expression, human rights and liberal democracy.

In the aftermath of the invasion of Iraq by the USA, steps were taken to restore linguistic pluralism. Article 9 of the transitional Iraqi constitution, promulgated in March 2004, defines both Arabic and Kurdish as the two official languages of Iraq and also guarantees the right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions (Lewis 2005:2).

Esposito and Mogahed (2008:3) conducted research over a period of six years and conducted 50 000 interviews with 1.3 billion Muslims who reside in more than 35 nations. The study revealed that Muslims, like Americans, generally reject attacks on civilians. Those who choose violence and extremism are driven by extremist politics. Of the respondents 7% believed that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks were justified, but none hated Western freedom, in fact they wanted the freedom. They did however believe that America and the West in general, operate with double standards and are hindering the Muslims in determining their own future.

It is suggested that some media have the tendency to present Western audiences with images of angry Muslim teenagers partaking in violent demonstrations or being trained in Al-Qaeda camps. The findings of Esposito and Mogahed (2008:6) however revealed that the vast majority of young teenagers want better jobs, and security not conflict or violence. Their findings

also revealed that Muslims (both men and woman) across the world do not want secularism; they want freedom, rights and democratisation. Society should be built on religious Islamic values and that the *Sharia* (Islamic law) should be the source of law. Nine out of ten Muslims are moderate. Unfortunately, according to Esposito and Mogahed (2008:9), the 7% of Muslims who choose violence and terrorism as a way of life amount to 91 million individuals.

4.3.2 Event-related news determinants in the 2003 Iraq War

Several event related news determinants (factors that relate directly towards an event and in particular deviance), acted as filters for the events of the war as they unfolded.

4.3.2.1 Deviance as a determinant

Deviant events, or phrased differently, events that are considered unusual by the normal standards of a society are generally newsworthy. Three dimensions of deviance, namely social change deviance, statistical deviance and normative deviance (see section 3.3.2.1), were news determinants in the war coverage of the newspapers.

- **Social change deviance**

Social change deviant events are events that have the potential to create large scale societal changes. Several newsworthy social and political changes that can be attributed to the war occurred in Iraq. Politically, Iraq could emerge as the first Middle-East country to embrace democracy. It has been suggested however, that if and when democracy is finally established in Iraq, the cost will have been high. Extreme violence, bombing and the destruction of the infrastructure has been the consequence of the coalition's invasion. In addition, countless civilians lost their lives and others were displaced.

It was anticipated that the post-war reconstruction of Iraq, described by MacGinty (2003:604) as the "range of physical, economic, social and

psychological activities, aimed at catalysing and sustaining long-term human development in Iraq” would bring about some positive social changes such as restoring the infrastructure. This however, has not been the case. The post-war insurgency (see sections 4.1 and 4.7.1.2) has thus far hindered Iraq from becoming self sufficient. Violent strategies such as suicide bombings, roadside bombs and sniper attacks, deployed by the insurgents, on coalition forces have hampered reconstruction efforts.

A newsworthy aspect of the reconstruction of Iraq is the fact that the United States which played a key role in the contingency planning for a post Saddam Iraq, admitted to beginning detailed post-war reconstruction planning in September 2002, seven months before hostilities began (Hashim 2003:13).

- **Statistical deviance**

Statistical deviance, which refers to unusual events that affect large numbers of people, was a strong indicator of newsworthiness in the war. At the onset of the war (up to and including the victory speech of George Bush in April 2003), military and strategic victories of the coalition forces allegedly resulted in high Iraqi casualties (both soldiers and civilians), referred to as “precise bombing” (Hashim 2003:14).

Military commanders have indicated that between 2 000 and 3 000 Iraqi’s were killed in the initial foray into Iraq. Included in these numbers were two dozen Iraqi civilians who were killed in Haditha by the American military (see section 4.5) (Buncombe 2006:3), and 62 Iraqi’s killed at a Baghdad market by an American missile. This type of killing has been termed collateral damage and is described by Milmo (2003:1) as the death of non-combatant civilians and the destruction of houses, schools and hospitals hit in error by coalition forces in military operations.

In the aftermath of the war, the nature of statistical deviance changed from precision bombing to focus on the increasing number of casualties of both coalition forces and Iraqi civilians. Civilian casualties totalled between 70 604 and 77 121, between 2003 and inclusive of 2007. The casualties included civilian deaths as a result of coalition and insurgent military action, sectarian violence and increased criminal violence. In 2007 the total number of British forces killed in Iraq since 2003 totalled 168, and the USA forces 3335. However, the hundreds of journalists and round the clock reporting with military experts made it impossible to provide accurate accounts of Iraqi casualties in the mainstream media (Hellinger 2003:20).

Another factor to consider in the aftermath of the war is the post-war insurgency (also known as non-conventional warfare) that emerged in May 2003 after the initial victory (Hashim 2003:18). In the insurgency, statistical deviance manifested itself in violent forms such as roadside and suicide bombs (see section 4.7.1). Eggen and Wilson (2005:3) note that approximately four hundred suicide bombings shook Iraq between 2003 and 2007, and that suicide now plays a role in two out of every three insurgent bombings.

- **Normative deviance.**

Normative deviance was a major indicator of newsworthiness in Iraq even before the onset of the war. The reign of Saddam Hussein, for example, was perceived to be normatively deviant for several reasons. He was viewed as “a dictator whose regime brutalised the Iraqi people” (Kellner 2003:2). Saddam Hussein was also portrayed as a security threat to both the West and the Middle East, because he appeared to be manufacturing weapons of mass destruction and harbouring terrorists (see section 4.4). A regime change was therefore regarded necessary to secure world peace by removing Saddam from power. He was tried for genocide in the killing of Kurds during the 1988 Anfal campaign against Kurdish rebels and was found guilty of killings 148

people in Dujail. On 30 December 2006 Saddam Hussein was executed and was hanged for crimes during his regime (Hashim 2003:18).

In the aftermath of the war, when weapons of mass destruction had not been found the focus changed from Saddam Hussein to President George Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair. The two leaders were accused of lying. In addition, journalists of elite newspapers such as the *New York Times* were also implicated in the lies of the Bush bureaucracy (see section 4.6.2) (Bennett 2005:4; Entman 2006:121).

4.3.2.2 Relevance of elite people and nations

The fact that Iraq (a peripheral country) is involved in the war is not in itself newsworthy, but the fact that the USA and the UK were directly involved in the war, and that an elite country such as France opposed the war, contributed to the newsworthiness of the event (see section 3.3.1.1). The involvement of the USA and the UK in the war however, elicited negative publicity for both countries. The Blair government, for example, was accused of being the “poodle” of the United States when it joined this “neo-colonial unjust war” (Hampton 2005:9). Additional negative publicity emerged in several protest marches. On 16 February 2003 people from 60 countries protested against military action in Iraq in the “Million March Against Iraq War”, in 2004 more protesters gathered in Washington for the one-year anniversary of the Iraq War and in 2007 protestors staged a protest march during September and October 2007 in Washington and Los Angeles to call for an end to the Iraq “invasion” (Lambert 2007:6).

4.3.2.3 Perceptions of journalists and editors

Aspects of the 2003 Iraq War such as the missing weapons of mass destruction and the fact that the United States as an elite country was invading Iraq contributed towards media organisations accommodating journalists in the war region, to offer their interpretations of the events as they unfolded. The proliferation of highly sophisticated media technology and the

programme of embedded journalists facilitated the transmission of live pro-war reports from the Iraq War in elite Western newspapers such as *The Washington Post* (attached to the USA) and the *Daily Mirror* (attached to the UK) to the rest of the world (Christie 2006:520; Hampton 2005:623; Kuo 2003:3; Lehrer 2003a:2). Non-Western newspapers reported the events of the war from a non-Western anti-war perspective.

Where embedded journalists were offered protection by the units they were embedded with, the safety of independent journalists was in jeopardy (see section 4.6.3). After the initial victory speech when formal military operations and the embedded programme were discontinued, the safety of all journalists became a concern for media institutions. Hampton (2005:624) notes that 102 journalists, 39 media support workers and 88 aid workers were killed up to and including 2007.

4.3.2.4 The timeliness of the war

It has been suggested that it is important to disseminate news while it is still “hot” or immediate, as the public generally want to be informed about a newsworthy event during or shortly after its occurrence. Technological developments such as the satellite have been found to facilitate the timely delivery of information globally. This was found to be the case in the Iraq War where several factors facilitated the timeliness of the war. News agencies wired news stories on the war to a diversity of newspapers globally. In addition, war correspondents and embedded journalists relayed information on the events of the war as they unfolded, directly to audiences globally (Kellner 2003:4; Kuo 2003:3). Fuchs (2003:6) describes the Iraq War as a postmodern media event that was experienced live by the whole global village.

4.3.2.5 Human factor stories pertaining to the war

In prolonged wars such as the 2003 Iraq War, a myriad of newsworthy human factor stories generally emerge in the war coverage of the media. These stories encompass a variety of themes such as sacrifice, war atrocities, pain

and suffering, intimidation and oppression, and social displacement (see section 3.3.2.6). The Iraq War was no different and several themes emerged in the coverage of media globally. The following discussion is centred on some of the themes that emerged from the human factor stories in the 2003 Iraq War.

In a similar fashion to other major wars the theme of pain and suffering was prevalent, and a prime example is the story of twelve-year-old Ali-Ismael Abbas who was asleep when a missile destroyed his home in 2003, blew off both his arms, and killed his family. Ali has since been taken to Britain where he has been fitted with artificial limbs (Nakhoul 2003:6). Related to the theme of pain and suffering is the theme of war casualties. Murphy (2005:420) notes the story of the celebration of the martyrdom of Shi'ite Imam Mussa Khadim in 2005, which ended with approximately eight hundred deaths, most from a stampede sparked by rumours of a suicide bomber.

Another story that captured the imagination of the world was that of Saving Private Ryan, a story of an American family whose son (Jason 33) returned home from Iraq in September 2007 after his two brothers were killed in action in Iraq in 2003 and 2004 respectively. This was a case similar to *Saving Private Ryan* (a World War II epic directed by Steven Spielberg). Jason, 33, returned to California under military regulations designed to spare parents from losing all their children in action (Saving Private Ryan 2007:3).

Atrocities committed by parties or factions involved in the war was another newsworthy theme. The atrocities committed by soldiers of the Military Police and members of the American intelligence community in the Abu Ghraib prison between October and December of 2003, sparked international outrage (Hersh 2004:3). Buncombe (2006:3) describes the story of the "Haditha Killings" or "slayings", in which four Marines killed 25 Iraqi civilians after a member of their military unit was ambushed on 19 November 2005. It was suggested that this event, which originally was not reported to the superiors of the marines, could become the highest-profile atrocity prosecution to arise from the Iraq War.

In contrast to the theme of atrocities, is the theme of sacrifice, which manifested itself in the story of 500 human shield volunteers who arrived in Iraq at the onset of the war, with the primary goal of placing themselves at strategic sites, to minimise the bombing and the consequent loss of life (Cawthorne 2003:2). Closely associated to the theme of sacrifice is the theme of patriotism. The story of the rescue of Jessica Lynch is viewed by some as one of the greatest patriotic moments of the war, and will go down as “one of the most stunning pieces of news management yet constructed” (Knox 2003:3). Lynch was a member of the United States Army 507th Ordnance Maintenance Company that was ambushed near Nassiriyah. She was taken to hospital and was rescued by Army Rangers and Navy Seals, who stormed the hospital after midnight (Lehrer 2003a:3; Lynch expected to fly home today 2003:11).

Abdela (2005) places the focus on the theme of intimidation and oppression by noting that professionally employed and well-educated women in Iraq are intimidated, abducted, raped and at times murdered. The story of Raghaven (2007:5) highlights the theme of social displacement, a common theme in modern wars such as Rwanda, Darfur and also Iraq. The 2003 Iraq War has resulted in one of the Middle East's largest refugee crises since the Palestinian exodus from Israel in 1948. Nearly 2 million Iraqis, approximately eight percent of the pre-war population have migrated to Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The refugees include amongst others doctors, academics and other professionals vital for Iraq's recovery.

The theme of human failure in war conditions surfaced in two stories. The first story notes that 5 500 service men have deserted the USA Army and the Marines since the start of the 2003 Iraq War. Some of the deserters explained that “conscience”, not “cowardice”, made them American deserters (Wong, Kolditz, Millen & Potter 2003:5). The second story deals with Sergeant Julio Cesar Pacheco who was awarded a Purple Heart in the Iraq War and who has since been in Laredo in jail on charges of conspiring to smuggle

undocumented immigrants across the border (Campo-Flores & Campbell 2007:2).

The themes that were identified and discussed in this section of the case study provide a mere indication of the type of human factor stories that were newsworthy in the 2003 Iraq War. Another aspect pertaining to the war that proved to be newsworthy was the manner in which the agenda for the war was set by the Bush administration in conjunction with the media.

4.4 THE AGENDA-SETTING ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE WAR

Arsenault and Castells (2006:287) claim that the 2003 Iraq War was intentional and pre-planned, and that the Bush administration set the agenda for the war well in advance in three distinct phases:

1. Initiating and implementing foreign policy change to justify the war.
2. Increasing the salience of war, by placing it on the media agenda.
3. Priming the public to generate public support and consensus for the war (Arsenault & Castells 2006:287; Chomsky 2003:2; Hardaway 2004:107).

Hardaway (2004:104) claims that in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in 2001 an “everything has changed” rhetoric emerged which opened the window for policy changes. While the events of September 11, 2001 provided the incentive for change, the “terrorism agenda” already existed. Three terrorist incidents occurred between 1990 and 2001, the first bombing of the World Trade Center; the 1995 Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing; and the unresolved Olympic Park bombing in Atlanta during the 1996 Olympics. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 emphasised the issue of terrorism as a domestic rather than an international problem and opened the window for policy change in the USA (Jervis 2003:83).

Foreign policy change was introduced in the form of the “Bush Doctrine”, which comprised several main strands: to eradicate terrorism globally; to wage pre-emptive war, to prevent future terrorist strikes, and to prevent terrorists from using weapons of mass destruction, and to promote democracy (Heisbourg 2003:80). The Bush Doctrine was tabled and passed as resolution 1441 on September 14, 2001 as follows:

the President is authorised to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations and organisations or persons he determines planned, authorises, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harboured such organisations or persons in order to prevent future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organisations or persons (Heisbourg 2003: 80).

Representative Barbara Lee was the only member of the United States Congress to vote against the resolution (the vote was 98 votes for and 0 against in the Senate, and 420 votes for and 1 against in the House of Representatives) (Snow & Taylor 2006:401).

With the foreign policy tabled and accepted in the form of Resolution 1441, the next phase involved placing the event on the media agenda as a “focusing event” that would generate public interest. The relationship of interdependence that exists between the media and the political elite in a country (news outlets need politicians to deliver newsworthy or sensational stories that attract audiences, and politicians need media organisations to disseminate their messages) facilitated this process (Kellner 2003:48).

The Bush administration presented their justification for the war (see section 4.4) and by associating Iraq with terrorism (a newsworthy act of deviance) and by initiating the programme of embedded journalists (see section 4.6.3.1) who would supply news stories to the public, the media became a compliant ally of the Bush administration (Kellner 2004:46; Kuo 2003:3; Lehrer 2003a:6). It was against this backdrop that the war issue moved onto the media agenda. The

final phase of the agenda-setting process involved generating public support for the war by priming the public on the war issue.

Coole (2005:465) claims that the American public suffered from heightened levels of anxiety and fear in the aftermath of the 2001 terrorist attacks which made them susceptible to cognitive priming on the war issue (see section 4.5). An obtrusive issue such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction requires less cognitive effort and priming to shape the attitude of the public (see section 3.4.3). Bennett (2004:304) maintains that American citizens were primed mostly through television. The fact that 83% of Americans cited television as their main source of information for the Iraq War, and that 72% of those who access political news rely on news organisations such as CNN and Fox news for their information, made this medium a feasible method for disseminating the views of the Bush administration (Arsenault & Castells 2006:289; Bennett 2004:304; McAllister 2006:262).

The Bush administration primed the public by associating Iraq with the threat of terrorism on various occasions. The House Committee on Government Reform (2004:2) issued a report referred to as the “Waxman Report” which contains 327 statements released by President George Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, then Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of State Colin Powell, and former National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, about Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. According to this report, these officials made 11 statements that claimed that Iraq posed an urgent threat, 81 statements that exaggerated Iraq’s nuclear activities, 84 statements that overstated Iraq’s chemical and biological weapons capabilities, and 61 statements that misrepresented Iraq’s ties to Al-Qaeda. Foyle (2004:301) asserts that the public were primed “by fixing the intelligence and the facts around the policy”.

Lynn (2004:3) investigated the rationales for the war on Iraq between September 2001 and October 2002 using statements taken from the Bush administration’s war rationales. The twenty-seven rationales for the war included statements such as “war on terror”; “prevention of the proliferation of

weapons of mass destruction”; “removal of Saddam Hussein’s regime”; “the claim that Saddam Hussein is evil”; “Saddam Hussein hates Americans”; “...because it is a violation of the international law”; “...because Iraq can be made an example”; and “to gain favour in the Middle East”.

According to Hanley (2003:2), Colin Powell made the most explicit description of the threat that Saddam Hussein posed in his speech before the United Nations Security Council on 5 February 2003. In a presentation with satellite photos, Powell argued that Iraq posed a threat and that Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb. He adds that on 20 February 2003 Colin Powell informed an audience of high school students that "Iraq does not intend to use them (nuclear weapons) for peaceful purposes, but to be aggressive against other nations" (Powell 2003:1). Prados (2003:29) alleges that National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice used the image of a “mushroom cloud, if Iraq's nuclear weapons were not confiscated” to show what the implications could be if Saddam Hussein was give the opportunity to use the weapons of mass destruction.

Several studies indicated that the American public was well primed on the war. A *Time/CNN* poll conducted on September 13, 2001 found that 78% of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein was involved in the September 11 attacks (Shephard 2003:3). In the lead-up to the war, President Bush linked Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda so successfully that polls conducted by the *New York Times*, Columbia Broadcasting Station (CBS News), and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC news) indicated that between 42% and 55% of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein was directly responsible for the attacks (Arsenalt & Castells 2006:304; Poe 2003:3; Shephard 2003:3). Following the start of hostilities on 20 March 2003 the public swung behind the administration with 76% approving of Bush’s handling of the situation.

Arsenalt and Castells (2006:305) claim that as late as August 2004, 35% of Americans still believed that the United States had located weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and an additional 19% believed that Iraq possessed a

programme for creating these weapons. Moreover, 50% believed that Iraq gave substantial support to Al-Qaeda but was not involved in the September 11 attacks. Dmitrova and Stromback (2005:401), however, argue that in contrast to the 1991 Gulf War, world opinion on the war was heavily divided. Even though the United States managed to create a “Coalition of the Willing” (48 countries that pledged their support for the war) at the start of the war, the United Nations was divided on the issue and it was only Britain, Italy and Spain from the European Union that joined the coalition. France, Germany, Italy and Spain opposed the war.

In addition to priming the public on the threat of the regime of Saddam Hussein, the public was also primed by the Bush administration on the ideal of establishing a democracy in Iraq. It is alleged that The Bush administration pre-empted that the democratisation of Iraq could serve as a model for the entire Middle East (Bender 2003:2; Williams 2008:3). President George Bush expressed this ideal as follows:

The nation of Iraq – with its proud heritage, abundant resources and skilled educated people – is fully capable of moving towards democracy and living in freedom ... Success could also begin a new stage for the Middle East (Bush 2003:1).

Schwalbe (2005:1) explains that the democracy model of President Bush is based on the non-negotiable demands for human dignity; the rule of law, limits on the absolute powers of the state, free speech, freedom of worship, equal justice, respect for woman, and religious and ethnic tolerance all of which are democratic values encapsulated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the USA. Williams (2008:3) adds that Iraq, because of its wealth as far as oils is concerned and its educated population (compared to some of the other countries in the Middle East), is viewed by some as holding more democratic potential than many of the other Middle East countries.

Fattah (2002:3) however, found that Muslim societies do not view Western democracy as the ideal ideology. Instead they foster hostility towards the West, particularly the USA and its policies. She found in a survey that hostility towards the United States among Moroccans has risen from 61% in 2002 to 81% in 2004 and among Egyptians from 76% to 98% in 2004. Arab hostility can apparently be traced back to United States activity and policies in the First Gulf War and the perceived United States championing of the Israeli cause against the Palestinians⁴.

Myerson (2006:3) claims that the United States failed to establish a democracy in Iraq. Williams (2008:3) supports this view and attributes the failure of the United States to the fact that the Western concept of democracy differs from the Middle Eastern Islamic concept. He claims that as far as Iraq is concerned, history has repeated itself. One of the fundamental flaws in the United States strategy in the Vietnam War (1959-1975), was the "domino theory" (developed by President Eisenhower). This theory posited that if Vietnam developed a Communistic government, one by one all of the other Asian nations would fall to Communism (like falling dominoes). This simplistic theory turned out to be false as the real world is more complex.

The United States developed the same type of "domino theory" labelled the "democracy theory" in the Middle East. It was pre-empted that a democracy in Iraq would hopefully (like dominoes) spread to other Middle East nations. This "democracy theory" failed because the Western and Islamic concept of democracy differs. Where America has one concept of democracy grounded in a secular United States Constitution and a Bill of Rights, in which government and religion are separated, Islamic nations do not separate government and religion. The Shi'ites, the Sunnis and the northern Kurds are all political-religious parties and the Koran is considered as the law of the land

⁴ The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an ongoing dispute between the State of Israel and Arab Palestinians. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is part of the wider Arab-Israeli conflict. The conflict can be traced to the late 19th century, when Zionist Jews expressed their desire to create a modern state in the ancient land of the Israelites, which they considered to be their rightful homeland. (Bregman 2002: 89).

(Williams 2008:3). The result was that the secular constitution of the United States was not accepted by the Iraqis.

When it became clear that establishing a democracy in Iraq was going to be problematic, that the weapons of mass destruction had still not been found, that the cost of the war (money and loss of life) was rising and that the war might continue for some time, the Bush administration changed their initial agenda (the threat of weapons of mass destruction) to an agenda set on “winning the peace”. By stressing the importance of peace in Iraq, the focus of the world was shifted from the weapons of mass destruction which had not yet been found to the agenda of peace (Bennett 2005:4).

This discussion illustrates how the Bush administration in alliance with the media increased the “salience” of the war issue (first level agenda-setting, see section 3.4.2). The media directed the public on how to view the events of the war (second level agenda-setting, see section 3.4.2) by framing the events for relay to the intended audience (Gitlin 1980:252; Tankard et al 1991:8).

4.5 THE FRAMING OF THE WAR BY THE MEDIA GLOBALLY

The Iraq War was framed in three distinct time-periods: the run up to the war, the actual war itself, and the aftermath of the war. A variety of media such as traditional and online newspapers, television, websites and news agencies framed the events of the war as they unfolded and several studies have been conducted on the framing of the events by the media globally.

Bennett (2005:3) claims that in the run up to the war, “fear” was the dominant frame in Western pro-war newspapers such as the *New York Times*. A study by Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press (2003:4) illustrated the levels of fear in the aftermath of the 2001 terrorist attacks. The percentage of respondents who viewed the world as more dangerous after the attacks on 11 September 2001 increased from 53% immediately before the attacks, to 75% in August 2003, while 64% considered terrorist attacks more prominent than 10 years previously. By linking Saddam Hussein to the terrorist involved in the

attacks (see section 4.4) Saddam Hussein was considered a threat by the West (McQuail 2006:360).

It is alleged that by framing proposed American actions in Iraq as a pre-emptive measure (these actions were necessary to protect the West from the threat that Iraq posed, namely weapons of mass destruction and its links with terrorist organisations) America and the rest of the “Coalition of the Willing” operated within the sphere of legitimacy (see section 3.4.4) (Ayeni 2004; Bennett 2005:8; Coole 2005:484; Lakoff 2005:4). As the perceived level of the threat to the United States and other Western countries rose, the political elites (Bush and Blair) united, and a “patriotic frame” that accentuated the justice of the “countries’ cause” and the “enemy’s evil” emerged.

Freid (2005:130) conducted a study over a three month period in *Time Magazine and News Week* between January and March 2003. In the January issues the pre-war threat of terrorism was dominant and *Time Magazine* framed President George Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney as “the partnership of the year” for their recognition of the threat of terrorism and their decision to go to war. In the February issues the war frames consisted of an acceleration of the case for war; the necessity for the war was emphasised and it was claimed that war was unavoidable. The March 2003 frames consisted of the preparations for the oncoming war in terms of troops and possible strategies to be deployed.

Several studies have been conducted on the framing of the actual war (the period from 20 March until 9 April when Baghdad was formally secured by the coalition forces) in a variety of media. Aday, Livingstone and Herbert (2005:18), claim that in this period the Western media framed the events of the war from within the sphere of consensus. Alternative viewpoints on the war were ignored and there was a rallying behind President Bush and Prime Minister Blair (see section 3.4.2.1). Events were framed in an “episodic manner”, particularly on television and also in newspapers (see section 3.4.4). News frames were “upbeat”; they focused on “military action” and a “victory frame” emerged as the dominant frame (Ayeni 2004:16; Lakoff 2005:4). Ravi

(2005:52) found a distinctive “pro-administration” frame in pro-war newspapers such as the *New York Times*.

Derian (2003:40) claims that a culture termed “infotainment” manifested itself in the frames of the Western media, more specifically USA media. Frames containing clichés such as “shock and awe”, “smart bombs”, “operation Iraqi freedom,” “decapitation” of enemy leadership, “dismantling of terror networks”, (often a euphemism for crushing anyone who disagrees with the speaker) were prominent in Western coverage. In contrast, non-Western reporting focused on the reality of the war situation and discussions and debates were favoured. The motto of Al Jazeera, for example, was “opinion and counter-opinion” (Fuchs 2003:3).

Dimitrova and Stromback (2005:411) found differences in the framing of the 2003 Iraq War in *Dagens Nyheter* (Denmark) and the *New York Times*. In the *New York Times*, “human interest frames” comprised American participation in the war and victories, whereas in the Danish newspaper the focus was on aspects such as the suffering of Iraqi civilians for example, lack of basic facilities and physical security. The Danish newspaper published negative frames such as anti-war protests and responsibility issues. Only a fraction of the coverage in the *New York Times* addressed the issue of responsibility (Maslog et al 2006:38).

In similar fashion to the *New York Times*, the *Times of London* (UK) framed its support for the war from the onset. The paper also embraced the victory frame, particularly after the fall of Baghdad and the fall of Tikrit (the hometown of Saddam Hussein). Even when British casualties increased, the paper maintained its support for the war by presenting frames such as condemnation of the brutal regime of Saddam. In contrast to the *Times*, the *Guardian* (UK) framed its anti-war stance in frames that challenged American statements and actions in critical frames such as American troops being “undertrained” and “trigger happy” (Maslog et al 2006:36).

The Dawn (Pakistan) also framed the war negatively from the onset, and as the war was prolonged the level of negativity increased. The newspaper focused on civilian deaths and awarded more credibility to Iraqi accounts of the war than the accounts of American and British newspapers. Representing a moderate Islamic point of view, *The Dawn* voiced its support for the Iraqi people and after the fall of Baghdad, the paper condemned the regime of Saddam Hussein in strong frames. The *Times of India* framed the war as a distant neutral observer. The paper opposed the war and was critical of Saddam Hussein, but showed no special concern for any religion, group or countries and analysed the situation from the point of an anti-war liberal (Maslog et al 2006:32).

Galtung (2002:8) claims the existence of “peace” framing, versus “war” framing. Peace framing involves the use of non-emotive language, non-partisanship and a multi-party orientation in contrast to war frames, where an elite orientation, a focus on the present, and conflict and violence is prevalent (see section 3.4.4). Richards (2001:124), who studied conflict resolution, found that Western journalists rely on war journalism to report news and tend to apply a “fighting frame” in their framing of war events.

Ting, Maslog and Kim (2006:511) analysed 442 stories from nine Asian newspapers (the *Times* and the *Hindustan Times* (India), the *Pakistan News* (Pakistan), the *Philippine Enquirer* and the *Philippine Star* (Philippines), the *Daily News*, the *Sunday Observer*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Jakarta Post* (Sri-Lanka). Interestingly, the findings of their study indicated that the newspapers generally framed local conflicts as war journalism, but that they framed the Iraq war as peace journalism. Reasons cited for this neutral disposition were lack of direct involvement of the Asian countries in the Iraq War, which allowed the papers to adopt a more detached position and to focus on finding a peaceful resolution to the situation in Iraq.

Theorists such as Ghanem (2006:12) found distinct differences in the framing of the war by Western newspapers and Arab newspapers in terms of the “who”, “what” and “why”. To Western media, the war was “Gulf War II”,

“Operation Iraqi Freedom”, “the War in Iraq”, the “Anglo American Iraq War” or simply “the Iraq War”. By choosing what to call the war, a slightly neutral or even positive frame was created. To Arab media the war was “Gulf War III” (the 1991 Gulf War was Gulf War II and the eight-year Iraq-Iran War of the 1980’s was Gulf War I), or “War on Iraq”, “United States aggression on Iraq”, “the United States attack on Iraq”, the “United States invasion of Iraq” or even “United States terrorism on Iraq”. The differences lend credibility to the idea that frames are ideologically based and that the war was viewed differently in different parts of the world (Berenger 2004:182).

Both the Western and the non-Western media personalised the war. While the Western media constantly referred specifically to Saddam’s behaviour, by using terms such as “demon” (Garvin 2003:3; Milbank & Deane 2003:4), “tyrant” (MacArthur 2003:64) and “dictator” (Altheide 2005:650; Garvin 2003:3), the non-Western media personalised the conflict as Bush and Blair’s war (Lakoff 2005:6).

Trivundza (2004:83) analysed the visual war frames in the Slovene newspaper *Delo* between February 21 and June 1 2003 (the run up to the actual war and the aftermath of the war). He notes the dominance of an “Orientalistic” frame (a type of frame that contains imagery and symbolism) in the war coverage of the newspaper. He claims that the overall Orientalisation of Iraq was established in the 1991 Gulf War where Orientalist metaphors conceptualised Iraq as the enemy. Examples of this type of frame include the image of Saddam Hussein as “the incarnation of evil”, “the new Hitler” and as “a dangerous madman” (Kellner 2003:3). In the run up to the war, *Delo* portrayed the Western side of the conflict by presenting frames of military preparation for the attack. These types of frames depicted the West as powerful, as modern key figures of diplomacy, as rational and as unthreatening.

Photographs of the actual war in *Delo* were devoid of the graphic tale of combat. Saddam Hussein was also not depicted in photographs but rather in visuals on murals and statues. These visuals depicted the symbolism of the

actual crumbling of Saddam's regime and his power. In the aftermath of the war photographs were also of an orientalist nature but the focus was now on the Iraqi's looting and destroying their own infrastructure. The symbolism was clear: compared to the refined West, nations such as Iraq are barbaric and violent in spirit (Trivundza 2004:91).

As far as the framing of the war on websites is concerned, Dimitrova et al (2005:11) found significant differences in the frames of United States and international news websites. Where foreign sites included the "responsibility frame", American sites focused on "military frames". Hallin (1994:21) offers as explanation the political and media system in the United States where criticism of the President who is the number one newsmaker is perceived as unpatriotic, especially when there is rallying behind the President in the war (see section 3.4.4.2).

In the aftermath of the war, the Bush administration allegedly used the mainstream media to change its dominant frame of "threat" to one of "democratisation". The latter frame suggested that a change of regime would reduce the threat of terrorist attacks. This frame could easily survive the fact that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction or that it was a safe haven for terrorists (Bennett 2005:11; Lakoff 2005:4). Dimitrova and Ahern (2007:160) found that common frames in media in the aftermath of the war included reconstruction, with frames of rebuilding, peace and socio-economic development, for example, the restoration of basic services, providing relief to displaced persons, establishing law and order and establishing a long-term system of public administration.

Lynch (2003b:3) maintains that the framing of the war has implications for the international flow of information that need to be considered. She claims that the different frames that emerged in the war reporting can influence the course of events in the world system. How the war is framed in Asian newspapers, for example, may have an effect on the stability of the Middle East region. Dimitrova and Stromback (2005:407) support this view and note that differing frames may reinforce, or even increase divisions in world opinion

about the war and the parties involved in the war. It can therefore be concluded that the manner in which the events of the war were framed by the media globally influenced the global public's perception of the war. Additional factors that influenced the perceptions of the events of the war were gatekeeping forces such as the selective use of news sources, intermediate agenda-setting and propaganda.

4.6 GATEKEEPING FORCES AND THE WAR

In this section, the role that some of the gatekeepers (see section 3.4.5) played in the construction of the events of the 2003 Iraq War is discussed.

4.6.1 Primary and secondary news sources

Several studies on the influence of primary sources (see section 3.4.5.3) on the war coverage of the media have been conducted.

4.6.1.1 The President as a primary news source

It was stated in section 3.4.5.3 that the President of a given country is the number one newsmaker in a country. President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair became newsmakers when it emerged that the invasion of Iraq was a reality. As a result of their prominence in the media, the decisions that the Bush administration made and the actions that were taken with regards to the War were carefully monitored by both the public and the media. It was, therefore, in the interest of the Bush administration to generate and sustain public and media support for the war by:

- Securing allies in elite media such as the *New York Times* (see section 4.4).
- Providing an array of military experts and powerful sources that would supply the media with a steady supply of war stories (Ayeni 2004:10; Entman 2004:48).

Several other Presidents and leaders of countries became newsmakers in the war. In the run up to the Iraq War, Saddam Hussein received media coverage when he refused to comply with the ultimatum of the United States (see section 4.2). After the fall of Baghdad, he also received voluminous coverage, as the world was speculating where he went into hiding, or by whom he was hidden and on 30 December 2006 his execution, which was also seen as the official end of his regime the media globally reported on the event. Several presidents from Europe also became newsmakers as a result of their anti-war stance on the war (see section 4.2).

4.6.1.2 Other powerful sources

Ayeni (2004:13) conducted a study on the most prominent primary news sources used in the 2003 Iraq War and found that in addition to President Bush, there was also a reliance on powerful sources such as official and expert sources for information on the events of the war. Other studies have supported these findings. Dimitrova and Stromback (2005:414) found that the *New York Times* relied 44% on military sources and 23% on official government sources for information whereas the reliance of the Danish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* on military and government sources was 28% and 12% respectively. Ayeni's (2004:18-19) results were similar: CNN relied 27% on military personnel and 21 % on official government sources. Fox news also relied heavily on official government sources namely 58%, and as a result has been accused of being overtly biased. Overall, of the 600 sources categorised, official government sources accounted for 33%, while military sources accounted for 26% of the news stories, thus weighting more towards official accounts (59%).

4.6.1.3 News agencies as a secondary news source

Prominent Western news agencies such as Associated Press and Reuters were conveyors of news for various newspapers and news networks in the run up to the war, during the war and in the aftermath of the war (Ayeni 2004:11). Horvit (2006:443) found that Western news agencies showed a reliance on military officials for information on the war in contrast to non-

Western agencies that used non-military sources. The reliance on the military and the pro-war disposition of Western News Agencies was reflected in the slant of news coverage of news networks and newspapers. Rendall and Broughel (2003:2) who conducted a study on the news coverage in the three weeks leading up to the war found that 81% of Fox news sources were pro-war.

Ayeni (2004:12) documented similar trends when he found that between October 2002 and March 2004, 58% of Fox news's sources were employed by the Pentagon, the White House or the State Department. Other networks showed a more balanced array of military sources (CBS 30%, CNN 21% and NBC 22%). Aday et al (2005:18) also found that Fox news' coverage was the most supportive of the Iraq War between March 20 and April 20 2003. Examining the same period, Kull, Clay, Stefan, Evan and Phillip (2003:4) measured the number of pro-war opinions expressed in each major news networks' evening broadcast, and found that both CBS and Fox news presented pro-war opinions and information while ABC offered a more balanced perspective. reiterated these findings. They found that compared to other networks, Fox news viewers disseminated the highest rate of pro-war coverage.

4.6.2 Intermediate agenda-setting in the war

Boyd-Barrett (2004:440) claims that the pro-war attitude of elite Western media such as the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* influenced the content of other media, in that these media followed the lead stories of the elite media. Kurtz (2003:3) asserts that Judith Miller (a journalist employed by the *New York Times*) played a key role in the dissemination of pro-war stories. She allegedly acted as a conduit for stories originating in the United States military and intelligence agencies, and that she is connected to right wing and pro-Zionist think-tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Hudson Institute and the Middle East Forum.

Vann (2003:3) claims that Judith Miller cultivated a relationship with Ahmed Chalabi, a convicted embezzler and Head of the Iraqi National Congress

(INC), a United States financed exile group with close ties to the Pentagon's civilian leadership. Chalabi allegedly furnished her with misleading information that formed the basis of several front page *New York Times* stories pertaining to weapons of mass destruction. The misleading stories included:

- Iraq's co-operation with Al-Qaeda.
- United States discovery of two mobile bio-warfare laboratories.
- An attempt by Iraq to purchase aluminium pipes to assist its nuclear weapons program.
- The discovery of radioactive materials and a chemical complex by the United States (Vann 2003:3).

These reports, based on anonymous sources and hearsay, supposedly played a direct role in the promotion of the 2003 Iraq War (Boyd-Barrett 2004:438; Vann 2003:3). Boyd-Barrett (2004:438) claims that many journalists not only Judith Miller were involved in the weapons of mass destruction stories that were used by Administration officials to justify their intent to go to war.

4.6.3 Individual and routine levels of journalists

The role of individual journalists in the 2003 Iraq War has been debated extensively. It has been suggested by some that journalists relied too heavily on official and military sources and that journalists abandoned objectivity to become the mouthpiece of the United States (Kuo 2003:3; Lehrer 2003a:4; Schleifer 2005:18). Boyd-Barrett (2004:441) claims that there have been many deviations from normal news routines by journalists in the war coverage of the media; for example, stories that were not properly verified. He attributes this deviation to five factors in particular:

- **The hunger for scoops**

Okrent (2004:4) claims that even in quiet times (when there are no major events to cover) newspaper people want to be the first to capture an event, to boost the circulation figures of the newspaper that they are attached to. When a momentous story such as the 2003 Iraq War

comes into view, caution and doubt are set aside and the story is pursued. The motto "Don't get it first, get it right" as been replaced by "Get it first and then get it right" (see section 4.6.3.1 on embedded journalism).

- **Front page syndrome or exaggerated assertiveness**

Characteristic of this type of reporting is the use of assertions such as “on the one hand, on the other hand”. By offering different possible angles to a story and by exaggerating certain angles, the information borders on what has become known as tactical misinformation. (See section 4.6.2 which explains how Judith Miller exaggerated the existence of weapons of mass destruction (Boyd-Barrett 2004:440).

- **Hit and run or failure to follow up on claims made**

There are instances when journalists publish information obtained from a source that has not been verified for accuracy. Adnan Ihsan Saeed al-Haideri (an Iraqi engineer), for example, was hailed by intelligence officials for providing "some of the most valuable information" on chemical and biological laboratories in Iraq (Chatterjee 2004:4). Judith Miller, a reporter for the *New York Times*, also claimed to have a reliable source (Ahmad Chalabi) who claimed to have information on weapons of mass destruction. The information of both Adnan Ihsan Saeed al-Haideri and Judith Miller proved to be inaccurate. In May 2004, the *New York Times* ran an editorial to apologise for five stories written between 2001 and 2003 that had accounts of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons in Iraq that were published on the front page of the paper (Boyd-Barrett 2004:440; Chatterjee 2004:5).

- **Coddling sources**

Okrent (2004:3) claims that journalists argue that the importance of protecting a source's anonymity sometimes outweighs the public's right to evaluate the credibility of the source. He considers anonymous

sources as both “toxic” and necessary to responsible journalism. On the one hand, a newspaper has an obligation to convince readers why it believes the sources are truthful, and on the other hand, crucial stories may never see print if a name has to be attached to the story.

The contract between a reporter and an unnamed source, which involves the offer of information in return for anonymity, is viewed in journalistic circles as a binding one. There is, however, a belief that a source that turns out to have lied has breached that contract and should, therefore, be exposed (Okrent 2004:3).

- **End-run editing of news stories**

In the reporting of events, circumstances arise where journalists work outside the lines of customary bureau management; for example, a situation of war. Such situations may create a dysfunctional media environment. Journalists who raise substantive questions about certain stories may, for example, not be heeded, or journalists with substantial knowledge of the subject at hand may not be given the chance to express their reservations (Okrent 2004:6). In wars such as Afghanistan the danger that journalists were exposed to and the number of journalists killed is a good example of a dysfunctional media environment.

The rising number of journalists killed in conflicts in recent years (eight journalists were killed in Afghanistan, including Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl who was kidnapped and beheaded in Pakistan illustrated the need for protection in war zones (The South African National Editor's Forum 2003:2). As a solution, the Pentagon proposed the programme of embedded journalist for the war coverage of the Iraq War.

4.6.3.1 Embedded journalism and the 2003 Iraq War

The programme of embedded journalists involved allocating journalists to travel with coalition forces to cover the events of the war. The programme appeared to be a feasible solution for war journalists: firstly, they would be able to access newsworthy stories first-hand from the battlefield and disseminate these stories into the living rooms of their respective audiences and secondly, journalists would receive the necessary protection in the war zone. Before journalists could become embedded with a military unit they had to become accredited, which involved signing specific reporting guidelines stipulated by the Pentagon. In the guidelines a “media embed” is defined as “a media representative remaining with a military unit for an extended period of time” (Bucy 2003:6; Lehrer 2003a:4). In summary the rules comprised the following:

- All journalists who wanted to become embedded had to undergo military training. In the run-up to the war, 238 journalists were trained in four separate week-long boot camps on military bases.
- The Pentagon only permitted journalists attached to legitimate news organisations.
- If an embedded journalist wished to leave the unit he or she was allocated to, he or she was escorted by unit commanders from the conflict zone to a safe zone.
- Embedded journalists who left the unit they were allocated to were not permitted to be embedded with a military unit again.
- The Pentagon included a “hold harmless” agreement which allowed the Pentagon to withdraw an embedded journalist at any time, if the need arose.
- If the news coverage of an embedded journalist was not in accordance with the requirements of the USA or the military commanders the embedded programme could be terminated at any time.
- Reporting on information about coalition troop movements and locations and details of future military operations was not permitted.

The use of a private satellite or cell phone was also not permitted (Bucy 2003:5; Kuo 2003:6; Lehrer 2003a:5).

According to Bucy (2003:5) the Pentagon allowed journalists to report on:

- General strength and casualty figures.
- Confirmed figures of enemy soldiers captured.
- Broad information about previous combat actions.
- The identities of wounded or deceased Americans after a 72 hour embargo or until the next of kin had been advised.

News sources such as CNN and Fox news co-operated with the United States Government to have their journalists accredited and to pair them with coalition military units (Goldie 2003:4). The programme of embedded journalism, however, elicited extensive criticism from both journalists and media institutions globally. Lehrer (2003a:6) claims that the ground rules and restrictions imposed on the embedded journalists by the Pentagon severely restricted the principle of freedom of reporting. Journalists who did not adhere to the rules were either expelled from the programme or fired. Peter Arnett was fired by NBC for mentioning on Iraqi television that the allied war effort had failed “because of Iraqi resistance” and for presenting his opinion as fact. It was claimed that Arnett aided the enemy by making it appear as if the Iraqi troops were in control of the war (Lehrer 2003a:6). In another incident, Fox reporter Geraldo Rivera was expelled from Iraq after making a rough sketch of a map that showed where American troops were relocating (Kuo 2003:7).

Unrestricted right to publish news on the war without prior permission did not exist. All reports were scrutinised by the authorities and where deemed necessary, the reports were sanitised before they were disseminated (Kuo 2003:7). The content of the news was, therefore, not believed to be original and reliable. Zwirko (2003:3) maintains that there were two wars: the war that he saw and covered and the clean sanitised war that Americans were shown on television. He views the fact that access of the embedded journalists was

restricted to the events of the unit that they travelled with as a negative factor. The restricted access resulted in “narrow slices” of the war from the perspective of the coalition forces.

Kuo (2003:6) claims that embedded journalists were forced to exercise strict self-censorship to ensure that they were all allowed to remain in the war zone. He claims that self-censorship to this extent resulted in a skewed portrayal of the events that were covered. Bucy (2003:4) claims that living with troops for weeks on end jeopardised the objectivity of the war-reporting. He questions how a reporter can be objective when his/her safety depends on the military unit that he/she is assigned to.

Independent journalists (journalists who were not embedded) were allegedly also not free to report freely on the events of the war. Several incidents were reported in which it was claimed that independent journalists were targeted. Luis Castro and Victor Silva, two journalists working for Radio Television Portugal (RTP) claimed that they were detained and their equipment and vehicles confiscated despite possessing the proper Unilateral Journalist accreditation issued by the Coalition Forces Central Command. After four days the journalists were transported to Camp Udairi, by the American military, to await helicopter transfer out of Iraq (Bucy 2003:7).

It is claimed that on 8 April 2003 United States military forces launched what appeared to be deliberate attacks on independent journalists who were staying in a hotel in Baghdad. Two independent journalists, Taras Protsyuk of the British news agency Reuters and Jose Couso of the Spanish network Telecinco were killed in the attack and three other journalists were injured (Kuo 2003:7; Lehrer 2003a:8). On April 10 2003, Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) responded to these killings, by issuing an advisory press release headed: “Is killing part of the Pentagon Press Policy?” (Lehrer 2003a:3).

The fact that independent journalists were targeted and that embedded journalists had to adhere to specified restrictions in their war coverage is perceived by some as clear indications that the flow of information in the war

was manipulated and controlled by the Pentagon (Bucy 2003:8; Kuo 2003:8). Bytwerk (1998:3) maintains that the control of information in a situation of war is a common tactic that has been used by propagandists in most wars. The next section addresses the use of propaganda in the Iraq War.

4.7 PROPAGANDA AND THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

It was noted in section 3.4.5.4 that in most wars, a war that involves troops and the weaponry and a media war are distinguishable. Characteristic of the media war is the use of propaganda to advocate the views of the “elite” (see section 3.4.4.4) (Ayeni 2004:3; MacArthur 2003:62; Ravi 2005:45). It has been claimed that the 2003 Iraq War was a “top down”, “well-orchestrated propaganda drive” implemented by the Bush administration (Chossudovsky 2003:4; MacArthur 2003:62; Patrick & Thrall 2004:3). MacArthur (2003:62) called this propaganda drive “Bush’s Public Relations War” and claims that this political propaganda war started at Camp David when George Bush and Tony Blair appeared before television cameras to present their justification for the 2003 Iraq War.

MacArthur (2003:62) alleges that like most political leaders, President George Bush and his administration relied on political and rational propaganda, to present and sustain the perceived threat that the regime of Iraq posed to the West. Distinct situational elements of the propaganda deployed by the Bush administration were: the enemy (both Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda), the allies (amongst others Britain and Australia), and the neutral countries (various), with leaders on both sides, and the support of policies (see section 3.4.5.4) and institutions such as the Pentagon (Altheide & Grimes 2005:4; Chossudovsky 2003:2; Garvin 2003:4; Milbank & Deane 2003:4).

Several studies have focused on the types of propaganda and the propaganda techniques deployed by the Bush administration in the war (see Arsenault & Castells 2006; Ayeni 2004; Christie 2006; Dimitrova et al 2005; Hampton 2005; Hellinger 2003; Horvit 2003; Horvit 2006; Lakoff 2005; Lee and Maslog 2005; Lynn 2004; Marshall 2003; Maslog et al 2006; Prados

2003; Ravi 2005). For the purpose of this discussion, the propaganda techniques and strategies that were applied in the war have been grouped under psychological warfare and a classic propaganda strategy (see 3.4.5.4 for a formal discussion on these techniques).

4.7.1 Psychological Warfare

Generally in a situation of war, psychological warfare is deployed to “destroy, defeat and neuter the will of an adversary, and to convince the adversary to accept certain terms and conditions” (Altheide & Grimes 2005:6). Shleifer (2005:10) argues that the Iraq War was no exception to other wars; it was as much a psychological as a military war, and both the “coalition forces” and the “terrorists”, or termed differently, “insurgents”, used psychological tactics to achieve their aims. He claims that the psychological warfare of the coalition started before the onset of the war, whereas the insurgents deployed their psychological warfare after coalition forces “swept” through Baghdad.

4.7.1.1 The psychological war of the coalition forces

The coalition forces deployed both contemporary tactics such as construing a virtuous war, and traditional tactics such as dropping leaflets and taking control of the communication centers of the enemy.

- **The 2003 Iraq War: A Virtuous War**

Derian (2003:38) claims that after the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks, the United States chose coercion over diplomacy in its foreign policy, and a “virtuous war, designed by the Pentagon and dress-rehearsed in Afghanistan”, became the means for the United States to re-secure its borders. Several descriptions of virtuous war exist including “postmodern war”, “cyberwar”, “networked warfare,” “information warfare”, “high-tech” warfare, and “hyperreality” (Derian 2003:40; Fuchs 2003:4). A virtuous war has characteristics such as technological superiority, computer simulated images and high production values.

Fuchs (2003:5) claims that virtuous wars such as the First Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War exhibited a “hyperreal well-orchestrated spectacle of visual images”. This form of warfare was prominent in transnational television broadcasts of networks such as CNN, BBC, Fox news and Al Jazeera that had the technical, financial and organisational means to broadcast live from the battlefield throughout the war (Fuchs 2003:4; Lundsten & Stocchetti 2004:10).

These networks presented computer-generated representations of high-tech warfare to their audience with graphic explanations of the events of the war as they unfolded. Fox news, for example, referred to its own “war room” where “action footage” or “techno-warfare”, (comparable to the aesthetics of the contemporary mainstream Hollywood film industry) was constructed (Fuchs 2003:4; Lundsten & Stocchetti 2004:5).

According to Thussu (2003:125), the live coverage of the war spilled over into the international news domain, as part of the psychological warfare campaign of the United States. He illustrates this point by citing an Iraqi deserter who spoke of the chaos within their ranks and the overwhelming coalition force that they faced in the war (Thussu 2003:125). Technology it therefore seemed to become the conceptual domain where the military and transnational broadcasting joined forces (Derian 2003:4; Fuchs 2003:3).

- **Dropping leaflets: Weapons of mass persuasion**

Labelled by some as “bombing the enemy with ideas”, or “rapid dominance”, the dropping of leaflets is a psychological campaign that dates back to World War I (Gabrys 2004:2). This strategy has been used in most wars including the Cold War and has several advantages: leaflets have the ability to activate doubt through their materiality (they are light and easily distributed) (Shinozuka 2003:4), they are easily reproduced and quickly replaced. The forceful, direct, and descending

delivery of leaflets appears to give a “convincing” and “mystical” dimension to the medium and its content (Gabrys 2004:3; Shinozuka 2003:4). Leaflets further enable the acquisition, transmission and control of information, over an ever-expanding geographic space (Gabrys 2004:3; Meireles 2003:8).

Battachaya (2003:5) claims that the Bush administration aimed at exceeding the successful campaign of dropping leaflets in the 1991 Gulf War, when 69 000 Iraqi soldiers surrendered. The campaign for dropping leaflets in the 2003 Iraq War was considered to be stronger than the one in 1991 in two ways: firstly the messages were directly from the very top (President George Bush and Donald Rumsfeld) and secondly, Iraqis were told that they would be free citizens in the new Iraq.

From October 2002 until the onset of the war, more than 33 million leaflets labelled “weapons of mass persuasion” were dropped in Iraq by the United States military. In similar fashion to leaflets used in Afghanistan and Vietnam, some of the leaflets were in the form of bank notes, designed to attract the soldiers’ attention (Battachaya 2003:5). Gabrys (2004:4) claims that many of the leaflets dropped in Iraq induced fear of the sheer firepower of the coalition forces, and others carried threats of war criminal prosecutions for those conducting chemical weapon attacks and reassurances that the regime of Saddam Hussein was the target, not civilians or regular soldiers.

- **The friendly approach of the coalition forces**

Schleifer (2005:18) maintains that during the first phase of the war, coalition forces used what has become known as the “friendly approach”. This approach involved maintaining an affable attitude towards the Iraqis to win their confidence and trust; for example engaging in soccer games with neighbourhood children. Many coalition units, however, engaged in civil affairs functions without adequate

language ability or competent translators, with the result that language became a barrier. Problems such as these should have been pre-empted by the United States Defence Department and soldiers should have been issued with English-Arabic conversation manuals, and ground forces should have been taught about Iraqi and Islamic culture before the onset of the war.

- **The control of communication centres in the 2003 Iraq War**

Taking control of communication centres in an occupied country is not a new tactic. It dates back to World War II, when the United States created a new international radio service on 24 February 1942 called the “Voice of America”. This radio station exploited the public’s desire for information in time of war and offered information aligned with the policies of the United States (Abbound 2003:8; Karim 2001:121). A similar strategy to the “Voice of America” was “Commando Solo”, a modified Hercules aircraft (part of a unit of seven) designed to conduct psychological operations and civil affairs broadcast in standard military communications bands (Wall 1999:3).

In April 2003, Commando Solo was used to rebroadcast US nightly newscasts to illustrate the nature of free media to the newly liberated Iraqi people (Abbound 2003:3; Schleifer 2005:15). In addition to Commando Solo, a US funded broadcast service (Radio Sawa), and a television network (Al Hurrah) were introduced after the fall of Baghdad in response to the anti-coalition propaganda disseminated from Iraqi networks such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya (Altheide & Grimes 2005:12).

- **The co-option tactic**

Schleifer (2005:12) maintains that the coalition forces used a tactic called the “co-option” tactic in the aftermath of the war. In this tactic both allies and adversaries are incorporated into the invaded country's administrative system. According to Hafez (2004:5), Jordan's King

Hussein co-opted West Bank clergies by paying their salaries for more than two decades after Jordan lost day-to-day control over the territory. Only in 1988 did the Palestine Liberation Organisation take over the local religious establishment by appointing its own people. Schleifer (2005:12) contends that although the United States authorities sought to include Iraqis politically after the liberation, there was resistance to a prominent Iraqi role in the new administrative system of Iraq. The State Department resisted early efforts to train an Iraqi security force and Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Paul Bremer, allegedly flaunted his veto power over Iraqi figures.

4.7.1.2 The psychological war of the insurgents

After the fall of Baghdad, a number of Saddam Hussein loyalists, Al-Qaeda enthusiasts, pro-Iranian Shi'ites, and a collection of tribal and local gang leaders launched a violent guerrilla war against both the United States military and their Iraqi partners in a bid to rid Iraq of the United States presence. The Iraqi insurgents, like many guerrilla groups, apparently looked for inspiration to the Vietnam War where the Vietcong showed the world how small, committed groups can overcome and defeat a superpower (Schleifer 2005:15). The insurgents resorted to a number of tactics such as:

- **The wall of iron strategy**

This strategy illustrates that it can prove to be difficult to invade and repress a nation. Some factions in the invaded nation may retaliate to show their objection to the invasion. The tactics that suppressed nations engage in differ from nation to nation and the nature of the invasion. Furnish (2005:587) claims that in the 1970s and the 1980s airliners were hijacked to win the headlines; in the 1980s and 1990s the car bomb increased in popularity and in the 21st century beheading seems to have become the trend (Furnish 2005:587).

In the Iraq War, as in much of the Muslim world, retaliation to the United States invasion was in the form of violent means such as sniper

attacks, roadside bombs, suicide bombings and the beheading of hostages. Sniper attacks were executed by former members of the Iraqi Special Forces as well as outsiders. The psychological threat of unseen death was found to cause strain among individual coalition soldiers. Roadside bombs and ambushes detonated by remote control were used increasingly from July 2003 onwards. This tactic may have been adopted from Hezbollah who used it successfully in Lebanon against Israeli occupation forces (Furnish 2005:587; Schleifer 2003:5).

In the aftermath of the Iraq War, the insurgents resorted to the beheading of Western hostages. Furnish (2005:589) states that images of “masked terrorists” standing behind Western hostages in Iraq and Saudi Arabia have become common on Arabic satellite stations such as Al Jazeera and Al-Manor. The beheading of reporter Daniel Pearl (a *Wall Street* journalist) in 2002, and the Americans Nicholas Berg, Jack Hensley and Eugene Armstrong in the aftermath of the Iraq War seemingly horrified the Western world (Furnish 2005:589). The wide broadcast of these events on the Internet heightened the psychological impact of hostage decapitation. Other victims included Turks, an Egyptian, a Korean, a British business man and a Nepalese.

Ritual beheading is not new in Islamic history. There is speculation that Islamic decapitation is intended as psychological warfare and is devoid of any true Islamic content. Islamic groups such as Abu Mus’ab al-Zarqawi’s Al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad (Unity and Jihad) and Abu’ Abu Allah al-Hasan bin Mahmud’s Ansar al-Sunna (Defenders of Prophetic Tradition) however, justify the decapitation of prisoners with Qur’anic scripture. Sura (chapter 47) contains the ayah verse:

When you encounter the unbelievers on the battlefield, strike off their heads until you have crushed them completely; then bind the prisoners tightly (Furnish 2005:589).

- **The spiral of welfare tactic**

Schleifer (2005:8) claims the existence of the “spiral of welfare” tactic in a situation of war. This tactic involves allocating resources such as food and other necessities to peaceful areas. He adds that this theory was disproved in the Iraq War where the empowerment of Fallujah insurgents to maintain peace in that city only exacerbated violence and resulted in a 600 percent increase in car bombs.

- **The weak versus strong tactic**

In the “weak versus strong” tactic which is a reverse of the strong versus weak tactic the occupying power is portrayed as a formidable force locked in uneven battle against a small band of insurgents and a vulnerable population (Schleifer 2005:18). The rationale is that the battle is uneven and therefore unjust. This strategy was used effectively by Iranian Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq during his struggle with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the British Government (Ashrawi 2001). In the Iraq War, the display of graphic details of civilian casualties and atrocities such as the Haditha killings (see section 4.5), Arab media such as Al Jazeera and the Internet focused the attention of the world on the uneven battle. As the war was prolonged the United States turned into the antagonist and the Iraqi’s into the victims (Schleifer 2005:6).

The discussion in this section illustrates that psychological warfare was deployed by both the coalition forces and the insurgents in the Iraq War. Furnish (2005:8) is of the opinion that irrespective of the fact that the coalition forces achieved their goal of ending the regime of Saddam Hussein, the United States failed in its mission in Iraq in several ways:

- Weapons of mass destruction were never found (see section 4.2).
- A democracy was not established in Iraq (see section 4.4)
- The United States as an icon of democracy and an elite nation lost global credibility as a result of their programme of embedded

journalism and the atrocious acts that were committed at amongst others Abu Ghraib and Haditha (see sections 1.7, 4.2 and 4.3.2.5).

- The hostility that the Muslim world fostered towards the West and the USA in particular, has increased after the invasion of Iraq (see section 4.3.1.4).

Snow and Taylor (2006:403) emphasise the role of the Internet in the failure of the USA in Iraq. They argue that the photographs of the humiliated and tortured Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison emerged on a variety of websites, and the fact that the Internet cannot be controlled, caused the Bush administration to lose control over these images and in doing so set the stage for the beheading of Nicholas Berg. Berg was an American businessman seeking telecommunications work in Iraq in the aftermath of the war. What should have been an international outcry against Iraqi perpetrators was muted by the Abu Ghraib atrocities (Beeman 2004:3).

Entman (2004:76) cites the Western lack of knowledge of Middle East culture, the power of visual media imagery and an underestimation of the tenacity of smaller resisting factions in Iraq as factors that contributed towards the failure of the USA in Iraq. He adds that the insurgents played a significant psychological role in the aftermath of the war: they prevented the ideal of establishing a democracy in Iraq and they succeeded in eroding US staying power in Iraq. It is suggested that in addition to the psychological tactics used by the coalition forces and the insurgents a sophisticated classical propaganda strategy was deployed by the USA (Abbound 2003:4; Altheide & Grimes 2005:6).

4.7.2 The classical propaganda strategy of the coalition forces

According to Patrick and Thrall (2004:10), the classical propaganda strategy of the United States labelled “Presidential propaganda”, was “top down”, (initiated and planned by the elite, in this instance the Bush administration). Several approaches to this strategy that have been identified by theorists apply to the 2003 Iraq War (see section 3.4.5.4).

- **A war of defence against a clearly defined aggressor.**

Like many major wars, the 2003 Iraq War presented a designer enemy in the form of Saddam Hussein who was portrayed as “evil” (Altheide & Grimes 2005:4), “was involved in the September 11, 2001 attacks” (Chossudovsky 2003:3), “supported terrorism” (Garvin 2003:6) and “planned to either use weapons of mass destruction, or give them to terrorists to use” (MacArthur 2003:26; Milbank & Deane 2003). The mainstream media offered no strong disclaimers to these assumptions. According to Milbank and Deane (2003:4), the portrayal of Saddam Hussein as the evil party was so effective that a deep and sustained distrust of Saddam Hussein developed that made him a likely suspect in any situation relating to the Middle East. Having a designer enemy, who is portrayed as evil, enables the propagandist to portray war in a polarised manner, another propaganda tactic used in the Iraq War.

- **Presenting the 2003 Iraq War in a radically polarised manner**

Lakoff (2005:5) claims that the Bush administration used the “nation as a person” metaphor to present the circumstances of the Iraq War in a polarised manner. In the war the United States is both the “hero and the victim”: America must discipline the Iraqi “villains” to prevent them from using weapons of mass destruction and in the process rescue the Iraqi people to protect the world. Simultaneously, the United States is portrayed as the victim, acting in self-defence rather than for imperial motives (Bennett 2005:2). Kahn (2003:4) views the Iraq War as America’s new war of moral rhetoric: although the war is claimed to be a war of “good versus evil” and a fight for the freedom of Iraqi freedom, the reality is that it involves a wealth of competition of global interests, namely that of oil (see section 4.3.1.3).

- **The manipulation of Information in the 2003 Iraq War**

The manipulation of information by the Bush administration in the Iraq War was a key strategy deployed in the war. The following are some examples of techniques that were used.

Feeding misinformation and suggestive information to the public

Chossudovsky (2003:4) maintains that the Bush administration developed a war agenda in which misinformation in the form of fabricated realities was fed into the news chain on a regular base. In the prelude to the war, two sets of prominent statements emanated from a variety of sources (official, national, and the media) which set the stage for fabricating information:

- I. Osama Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda is behind most news stories regarding the "war on terrorism" including "alleged", "future", "presumed" and "actual" terrorist attacks, and Saddam Hussein has links with Al-Qaeda (Ayeni 2004:16; Chomsky 2003:4; Hardaway 2004:104).
- II. The weapons of mass destruction statement is used to justify a pre-emptive war against countries such as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea that are "state sponsors of terror", in that they allegedly possess weapons of mass destruction (Hardaway 2004:104).

These two statements formed the foundation for the misinformation that was fed to the public by the media (see section 4.6.2 for the role of Judith Miller and government officials and section 4.4 for statements made by government officials such as Colin Powell). In addition to this misinformation, a number of suggestive statements were made by the media and government officials, both in the run up to and in the course of the war, which prevented the public from making informed decisions on the events of the war. Chossudovsky (2003:10) quotes the following examples:

- I. A report carried by Associated Press, Cable News Network and the *New York Times*, that Iraq was seeking uniforms worn by the United States and British troops, so that atrocities committed by Iraqis could be blamed on the coalition forces (Chossudovsky 2003:10).
- II. A broadcast that was intercepted by the US that some American prisoners of war may have been executed by their Iraqi captors (Schemo 2003:6).
- III. A report alleging the surrender of the entire Fifty First Division of Iraq, on March 21 2003. It claimed that: "hordes of underfed and overwhelmed Iraqi soldiers surrendered in an allied assault". Associated Press reported later that coalition forces were still clashing with this division (Altheide & Grimes 2005:6; Chossudovsky 2003:10).
- IV. A news report by *The Washington Post* in which it was claimed that Jessica Lynch was ambushed by Iraqi forces in the course of action. The report further alleged that she sustained several bullet and stab wounds while she "fiercely" fought and killed several of the enemy (see section 4.3.2.5). An Iraqi doctor established that her injuries (a broken arm, broken thigh, and a dislocated ankle) were inflicted by the ambush not through human interaction (Knox 2003:2).

Reports such as these appear to have contributed towards a misconception of events. It is alleged that these reports were not the only manner in which information was controlled. Several studies indicate that the media sanitised information before disseminating it (Aday et al 2005:18; Thompson 2003:6; Chossudovsky 2003:10).

- **The sanitation of information**

Aday et al 2005:18) maintain that since the Vietnam War, Presidents have been concerned that visual evidence of casualties would affect their level of public support. As a solution the Bush administration allegedly resorted to three main strategies to minimise the pressure created by American casualties. Firstly, access to American casualties was restricted by barring journalists from witnessing the unloading of caskets from aeroplanes at Dover Air Force Base. Secondly, by not attending military funerals, the Administration distanced the President personally from the issue of casualties, and thirdly, when casualties increased the Administration stepped up its propaganda efforts to reframe the war (see section 4.5).

Patrick and Thrall (2004:8) support the notion that there was strict control of wartime information during the Iraq War. They illustrated this assumption in a study in which they investigated the coverage of the war in several newspapers. In their findings they noted a difference in the nature of the coverage of events once access controls were relaxed. While the war was underway in March 2003, the proportion of articles dealing with war cost was less than one third, whereas in May 2003 alone, 178 articles appeared with nearly 68% concerning war costs in the form of blood, suffering, money, or civic-political disruption. Wartime control of information was thus effective.

- **Themes and symbolism in the war**

Characteristic of a classic propaganda strategy is the use of aspects such as conspiracy theories and symbolism, which enhance the newsworthiness of an event by giving it a “mystic quality” (Thompson 2003:3). Patrick and Thrall (2004:8) maintain that conspiracy theories and symbolism were used to prime USA citizens on the necessity for the Iraq War. By developing the theory that Iraq was conspiring against the West by developing weapons of mass destruction to destroy the West and by linking Iraq to terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda,

the American public was convinced that Saddam Hussein was indeed a threat that had to be removed (see section 4.4).

Thompson (2003:4) offers an interesting conspiracy theory which comprises a sheriff (George Bush), who issues an ultimatum to the villain (Saddam Hussein), and in doing so sets the tone for the war. He compares the war to a Hollywood film. It was well stage-managed and the scriptwriters (the President, the Pentagon and Government officials) approved every shot. In his conspiracy theory which takes the form of a self-defence war story, Lakoff (2003) identifies a hero, a crime, a victim, and a villain. The villain (Saddam Hussein) is inherently evil and irrational, and the hero (the Bush administration) cannot reason with the villain, with the result that the villain needs to be defeated in battle.

In addition to these conspiracy theories, several examples of symbolism exist in the construction of the events in the run-up to and during the war itself. In the run-up to the war, George Bush and Tony Blair appeared on television together in a union that symbolises the plight of the democratic West to rescue the world from terrorism (Abbound 2003:5). The war itself produced ample evidence of symbolism. Lehrer (2003a:5), for example, contends that former prisoner of war, Jessica Lynch, whose capture and rescue turned her into a United States icon, has been used as an “upbeat” symbol in the conflict. The rescue mission became a symbol of patriotism and United States strength. Knox (2003:2) however maintains that Lynch is a symbol of a fictitious war: just as she cannot remember what happened to her when she was ambushed, the future of Iraq is also becoming more uncertain.

Abbound (2003:6) views the aircraft carrier, the Abraham Lincoln, and the military phrase “Mission Accomplished” as symbolic of USA victory over terrorism. George Bush phrased it: “In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed”, and “Our mission

continues as we have seen the turning of the tide” (CBS NEWS 2003). Thompson (2003:4) offers the example of the symbolic statue-toppling of Saddam Hussein, which Donald Rumsfeld compared to the fall of the Berlin wall and which received two hours coverage by television networks as a prime example of symbolism.

Gurevitch (2004:73) views the first foreign trip of President Bush after the fall of Baghdad to the Auschwitz Concentration Camp as a symbolic event. The President drew compared the images of the Nazi gas chambers to the killing fields of Saddam Hussein, to explain his war on terror. In doing so, President Bush appeared to remind the world of the power and the evil of despots such as Hitler and Saddam Hussein and the importance of resisting and stopping these despots.

Beeman (2004:3) claims that the widely disseminated images of the beheading of Nicholas Berg demonstrate the degree to which the current conflict in Iraq has become a war of media-driven symbolism and images, one that the United States is starting to lose (see section 4.7.1.2). The actions in the war symbolise the struggle between good and evil. The hanging of Saddam Hussein could therefore be viewed as symbolic of ending the evil, oppression and autocracy of the reign of Saddam Hussein.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The case study on the Iraq War was presented in the context of the conceptual framework constructed in chapters 2 and 3. Several patterns concerning the newsworthiness of the war and the reporting of the events of the war in a variety of media emerged. News determinants such as deviance, political and economic factors and the hierarchical status of countries such as the United States in the world system, heightened the newsworthiness of the war.

It was seen that the United States in conjunction with elite media such as the *New York Times* played a key role in setting the agenda for the war. The war was framed in three distinct phases namely the run-up to, the actual war and the aftermath of the war. In the run-up to and the actual war, the frames of Western countries were generally pro-war and self-glorification, and victory frames dominated the coverage in these newspapers. In the aftermath of the war, the frames of the Western newspapers were negative and critical frames in which the Bush administration was blamed for the chaos that erupted in Iraq emerged. The Non-Western newspapers generally framed the three phases of the war from a negative perspective, except those newspapers that used peace frames and framed the war from a neutral perspective.

A variety of sources such as President Bush, news agencies, embedded and independent journalists were used to construct the events of the war. The programme of embedded journalism and the sanitation of news by the Bush administration and the Pentagon elicited widespread criticism. Independent journalists played an important role by presenting their alternative views on the war in media such as Al Jazeera. The Internet emerged as a powerful counterforce to traditional mainstream media by offering a variety of perspectives of the events of the war in online newspapers and various websites.

Propaganda was rife in the 2003 Iraq War and manifested itself in tactics such as psychological warfare and propaganda campaigns. The use of strategies such as dropping leaflets, presenting the war as a virtuous one and taking control of communication centres in Iraq were key psychological strategies deployed by the Bush administration. The insurgents also used a number of psychological strategies. A powerful strategy used by the insurgents was the beheading of hostages and then disseminating the images visually on the Internet. The Bush administration deployed a classic propaganda campaign in which strategies such as identifying a clearly defined aggressor, presenting the war in a polarised manner and manipulating information were used. The next chapter describes the research methodology of the study, detailing the selection of data and the procedure that followed in the study.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapters 2 and 3, the international flow of information and the construction of news were discussed. In chapter 2 the flow of information was viewed from within the context of the world system and what emerged was that the position of a country is a key determinant in the volume and the nature of the global coverage that it receives. Chapter 3 addressed the construction of news which involves selecting newsworthy events and processing these events into news. Chapters 2 and 3 served as a conceptual framework for a case study on the 2003 Iraq War which was presented in Chapter 4.

In this chapter the research design and methodology used in collecting and analysing data to offer information about the reporting of five daily online newspapers on the events of the 2003 Iraq War is discussed. The purpose of the study and the research problem and sub-problems are firstly formulated. The research design and approach are then outlined, followed by a discussion on the procedure for the content analysis in accordance with the steps listed in section 5.4. In the final part of the chapter, the strengths and the weaknesses of the study are discussed.

5.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research study was threefold:

- To determine the newsworthiness of the 2003 Iraq War between 2003 and 2006.
- To explore and describe how newspapers attached to countries at different levels of the world system covered the events of the war.
- To establish the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the USA and the change in tone, if any, between 2003 and 2006.

5.3 THE FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem was formulated as follows:

How did newspapers attached to countries situated at different levels of the world system cover the Iraq war between 2003 and 2006?

5.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This study makes use of a quantitative and qualitative content analysis; a systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information; in this instance 289 newspaper articles (Krippendorff 2004:11). The following steps were applied to the study:

1. The research question was formulated.
2. The population was defined.
3. An appropriate sample from the population was selected.
4. Categories for the purpose of analysing the data were constructed.
5. The content was coded according to established definitions.
6. The collected data was analysed.
7. Conclusions were drawn, patterns and trends determined and recommendations for further research were made (Krippendorff 2004:89; Wimmer & Dominick 1997:116).

5.5 THE RESEARCH APPROACH

To achieve the objectives of the study which were outlined in section 5.4 a quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used as follows:

In the study quantitative content analysis served the following purposes:

- The accurate representation of a body of text messages. Quantification fulfilled this objective and aided the researcher in the quest for precision.
- A methodically controlled procedure comprising a sequence of steps that were used to conduct the study. The systematic procedure of

content analyses enabled the researcher to manage the volume of the data (289 newspaper articles).

- Objectivity could be maintained. Constructing the categories and coding the data according to the categories restricted personal idiosyncrasies and biases.
- Statistical techniques such as frequency tables, cross tabulations, analyses of variance and post hoc-tests facilitated the process of identifying patterns in the content and contributed towards empirically reliable and valid data.

Mayring (2000:8) argues that a quantitative interpretation of texts is superficial as only the manifest content is considered; the latent content is ignored. Krippendorf (2004:5) adds that although numerical data allows for inferences to be made and for the identification of patterns in texts, the interpretation of multiple connotations such as underlying meaning or themes, are neglected.

In view of the fact that news is a culturally and socially constructed form of reality (see section 5.3), with the result that differing interpretations of a single event can emerge, the question whether numerical data offers sufficient insight into the underlying meaning of the texts surfaced. As a result of these limitations it was decided to incorporate a qualitative element into the study. The qualitative element served the purposes of describing, interpreting and evaluating the content in the following manner:

- Description - “to reveal the nature of certain settings or processes” (Leedy & Omrod 2005:134). This study aspired to explore and describe the themes, the news determinants and the propaganda strategies that emerged in the coverage of the selected newspapers.
- Interpretation – “to gain insights into a phenomenon” (Krippendorf 2004:15). News determinants, themes and propaganda strategies were identified in the war coverage of the newspapers and were interpreted in order to gain insight into the manner in which the events

of the war were constructed. The insights obtained can add to, or build on the current body of knowledge in this field of research.

- Evaluation – “to evaluate and compare particular policies, procedures or practices” (Leedy & Omrod 2005:135). In this study the propaganda strategies, the news determinants and the themes that emerged in the war coverage of the newspapers were evaluated and compared.

In summary, through quantification, patterns and trends in the content were identified and by adding a qualitative element to the study a holistic view of the newspaper texts could be obtained.

5.6 THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this section, the research methodology and procedure for the content analysis are discussed in accordance with the steps listed in section 5.4.

5.6.1 Defining the population

The initial target population for this study comprised all the newspaper articles published on the 2003 Iraq War within the parameters of the study, namely 2003 to 2006. This population of newspapers is extensive and to access hard copies of global newspapers proved to be difficult, time consuming and costly. It was therefore decided to use a computer-assisted study and to use online newspapers. These could be accessed and downloaded in one location and within a specific time frame. However the fact that the majority of online newspapers charge for articles that are downloaded made this route too costly. As a solution, the researcher requested access to the Australian e-library where approximately three hundred online newspapers were accessible free of charge. From this accessible population, a sample of five newspapers was selected.

5.6.2 The sampling procedure

The sampling procedure comprised two stages. The first stage involved selecting a sample of newspapers from the accessible population of online

newspapers (see section 5.6.2.1). The second stage involved the selection of specific time frames within which the newspaper articles could be analysed. Specific time frames were selected because it was impossible to analyse all the newspaper articles pertaining to the war over a four-year period) (see section 5.6.2.2).

5.6.2.1 Sampling stage 1: The selection of a sample of newspapers

Krippendorff (2004:119) contends that the main criterion for a sample size in content analysis is that it should enable the researcher to answer the research questions of the study. A sample size of five online newspapers from countries situated at different levels of the world system was perceived to be sufficient to achieve the objectives of this study. The researcher first examined the available online newspapers superficially. It became evident that several of the newspapers were weekly publications, others were daily newspapers, and a few monthly publications existed. In addition, the circulation numbers of the different newspapers varied significantly. Several newspapers did not meet the requirement for the selected time period. A prime example was the *Moscow Times* which ceased its publication as an online newspaper in 2002. The researcher then decided to implement exclusion criteria from which a purposeful sample could be drawn.

- Only English medium newspapers were used. The rationale was that newspapers in languages other than English were difficult, costly and time consuming to translate and analyse.
- Only daily newspapers with a circulation number of 400 000 or more were included in the population. It was speculated that the coverage in newspapers with small circulation figures would be more regional.
- Only online newspapers were considered, enabling the downloading of the newspaper articles.
- Only newspapers published between 2003 and 2006 were included in the population.

The five newspapers selected in accordance with the exclusion criteria are noted in table 5.1:

Table 5.1 Sample of online newspapers selected for the content analysis.

Name of newspaper	Country	Circulation figures
<i>The Washington Post</i>	The USA	665 383 (Editor & Publisher 2009)
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	The UK	1 346 131 (Ponsford 2009)
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Australia	857 861 (MacGregor 2009)
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	Malaysia	200 000 (The <i>New Straits Times</i> Press 2009)
<i>The Star</i>	South Africa	200 000 (Press Reference 2009)

The rationale behind the selection of these newspapers was that *The Washington Post*, as an elite American newspaper, would report the war from the perspective of the United States. It was expected that the Daily Mirror would support British involvement as a formal ally of the United States. The reporting of the Australian newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, could prove to be interesting as it was uncertain if the newspaper was actually supportive of the war. The *New Straits Times* is representative of Asia and it was anticipated that its reporting could be from an anti-war perspective. *The Star* from South Africa is representative of a peripheral country and it was uncertain whether its disposition to the war varied between neutral and negative. These newspapers are discussed in more detail as follows:

- ***The Washington Post (USA)***

The *Washington Post* is an influential daily newspaper published to serve Washington D.C. and the adjacent suburban area. It acquired domestic and international prestige through its coverage of the Watergate scandal and its reporting on the proceedings of the White House, Congress, and other activities of the United States Government. The newspaper is known for its independent editorial stance and is generally regarded among the leading daily American newspapers, along with the *New York Times*. In October 2006, its

circulation of 665 383 (see table 5.1), made it the sixth largest newspaper in the country (*The Washington Post* 2008:1).

- **The *Daily Mirror* (UK)**

The *Daily Mirror's* circulation is approximately 1 346 131 (see table 5.1). It is a British newspaper founded in 1903 and it is the only British national paper to have consistently supported the Labour Party since 1945. *The Mirror's* mass working-class readership turned it into the United Kingdom's best-selling daily tabloid newspaper (Brookes 1999:250). In May 2004, the *Daily Mirror* published what it claimed were photos of British soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison. The decision to publish the photos, which proved to be hoaxes, led to the dismissal of the editor on 14 May 2004 (Taylor 2005:42).

- **The *Daily Telegraph* (Australia)**

The *Daily Telegraph* is a tabloid daily newspaper published in Sydney, New South Wales by Nationwide News and was founded in 1879. The *Telegraph's* high-profile columnists such as Piers Ackerman are politically conservative. The circulation of the newspaper in the first half of 2009 was around 857 861 (see table 5.1) per day making it the largest Sydney newspaper. The paper is part of News Corporation, owned by Rupert Murdoch. News Corporation went from primarily an Australian and English newspaper to an influential force in American media (Ingles 2008:250).

- **The *New Straits Times* (Malaysia)**

The *New Straits Times*, Malaysia's most widely read English language daily, was founded in 1945 and is published in four editions. It has a daily circulation of 200 000 (see table 5.1) with the head office in Kuala Lumpur. The paper served as Malaysia's only broadsheet format English language newspaper and is printed by the New Straits Times Press (Bakri 2006:2).

The *New Straits Times* has been accused of serving as a propaganda tool for the government and its proxy owner, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO). One critic claimed that the newspaper "is now nothing more than a UMNO Newsletter." The newspaper has also been criticised for following a tradition of appointing editors sympathetic to the government of the day (Bakri 2006:2).

- ***The Star (South Africa)***

It is alleged that for over forty years, the apartheid state controlled the newspapers of South Africa through measures such as legislation. In 1994, South African newspapers were freed from all restrictions and with the introduction of the Internet, web-based newspapers also published online publications in South Africa (Wenzel 2007:50). A prominent daily newspaper in South Africa with an online publication is *The Star*. *The Star* is published in Johannesburg, distributed in Gauteng and has a daily circulation figure of approximately 200 000 (see table 5.1). Launched in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape in 1887, as *The Eastern Star*, the paper moved to Johannesburg and changed its name to *The Star* in 1889. Once aimed exclusively at the white market, today over 50% of the Star's readers are black. It is owned by Independent Newspapers Media (INM), a media organisation based in Dublin, Ireland with interests in 22 countries (The press in South Africa 2008).

5.6.2.2 Sampling Stage 2: The selection of the time frames

Once the newspapers were selected, the time frame for the study was determined. To analyse all the newspaper articles published on the Iraq War between 2003 and 2006 in the selected newspapers was problematic. It was, therefore, decided to purposefully select one event for each year from 2003 to 2006 for analysis. The coverage of the respective newspapers on the selected events could be analysed and compared and would assist the researcher in answering the research problems as stated in section 1.4.2

With the help of the Internet, four events, one for each year from 2003 to 2006 were selected for analysis. It was decided to analyse a time frame of five days coverage for each of the events, the day the event occurred and four subsequent days to allow for coverage by the newspapers. The time intervals of approximately one-year enabled the researcher to investigate and determine changes over time in the war coverage of the five newspapers. The selected time periods for each year were as follows:

- 9–13 April 2003 (The fall of Baghdad).
- 20–24 March 2004 (The one-year anniversary of the war).
- 19–23 November 2005 (The Haditha killings).
- 27–31 October 2006 (October was the month in which the most United States soldiers lost their lives from the onset of the war until 2006).

The rationale behind the selection of these dates is as follows: The first sample includes the time period during which Iraq was formally secured by the United States. This was an important event as it was perceived as the end of the war and would therefore be well covered globally. The second sample (2004) represents the one-year anniversary of the war, which commenced on 20 March 2003. This sample could give an indication of the newsworthiness of the war globally after one year.

The third sample (2005) involved an event which has become known as the Haditha killings in which 17 civilians were killed by United States forces and which is viewed by some as a war atrocity (see section 4.3). The final sample (2006) was selected because the month of October proved to be one of the deadliest months for United States forces in Iraq, with 73 USA troops killed. It was pre-empted that this high casualty rate could affect the nature of the coverage and reveal the dispositions of the different newspapers on the event. Once the newspapers, the events and the dates for analysis were selected, the unit of analysis was defined.

5.6.3 The unit of analysis

The unit of analysis for this study included all the individual newspaper articles published in the selected online newspapers on the war within the specified periods as stated in section 5.6.2.1. To make the study more manageable, the researcher decided to include newspaper articles only. Editorials, letters to the editor and cartoons were therefore excluded from the analysis. The number of newspaper articles for analysis totalled 289. The next step involved developing the categories, which enabled the researcher to code the content for analysis.

5.6.4 The coding scheme

The coding scheme involved constructing categories for the purpose of coding the content for analysis. In view of the fact that this analysis is predominantly quantitative, the categories were developed priori (before the study) in conjunction with the purpose of the study as stated in sections 5.2 (see section 5.6.4.1). The main requirement for the categories was that they should answer all the research questions. A qualitative coding scheme was also developed to analyse the data further qualitatively (see section 5.6.4.2).

5.6.4.1 The quantitative coding scheme

The theoretical framework established in chapters 2 and 3 were used as guidelines to develop categories for this study. The researcher aimed to develop categories that were:

- Specific, clearly formulated and well adapted to both the problem and the content of the study.
- Exhaustive and mutually exclusive (each unit of analysis should fit into a category and should be placed in one category only) (Berelson 1952:147; Wimmer & Dominick 1997:121).

Twelve categories (some with sub-categories) were developed in conjunction with the research questions and are illustrated in table 5.2:

Table 5.2 Categories and sub-categories developed for coding the content

Number of category	Categories	Sub-categories
1	Unique number of the article.	
2	Name of the newspaper.	
3	Publication date of the article.	
4	Organisational sources used in the construction of news	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International news Agencies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reuters - AP - Agence France Presse - UPI • Local news Agencies • In-house Journalists • Journalists in the war zone • Embedded journalists • Independent Newspapers • Journalists in foreign countries • Foreign Post Service • Other
5	News sources quoted in the article.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elite nations • Elite persons • Elite groups • Journalists and correspondents • White House officials • Military spokespersons • Army officers • Academics or scholars • Clerics and religious leaders • Anti-war protestors and activists • Iraqi civilians • Other
6	Attitude towards the United States.	Positive Neutral Negative
7	Attitude towards the war.	Positive Neutral Negative
8	Themes covered in the article.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion • Peace talks • Environmental • Violence

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanitarian • Freedom and victory • Wealth and opulence • Military Manoeuvres • Conspiracy • Financial • Anti-war protests • Electioneering • Press freedom • Atrocities committed • Post war reconstruction
9	Manifestation of propaganda in the article.	Yes No
10	Direction of the news flow.	Centre-periphery pattern North-South pattern Triangular pattern
11	News determinants of the article.	<p>Context related factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchical status of country • Political and ideological factors • Economic factors • Social and cultural factors • Geographic proximity • Attributes of population <p>Event related factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social and normative deviance • Elite nations, countries and people • Perceptions of journalists and editors • Timelines • Foreign correspondents and agencies • The human factor
12	Other factors	Weather Education.

These categories are described in more detail as follows:

1. Number of the article

Each newspaper article that was analysed was assigned a unique number to distinguish it from the other articles.

2. The name of the newspaper

Included in this category is the name of the newspaper. Like the previous category, it distinguishes the newspaper articles from each other.

3. The date of the newspaper

The date of each newspaper article refers to the date on which an article was published. An accurate account of the number of articles published by each newspaper for each year could be obtained.

4. Organisational sources of the article

The organisational sources included sources such as international news agencies, local news agencies, in-house journalists, journalists in the war zone, embedded journalists, independent newspapers, journalists in foreign countries, foreign post service, and a category labelled “other” for any sources not listed in this sub-category.

5. The news sources quoted in the article

This category included the news sources quoted in the articles and comprised the following sub-categories: elite nations, elite persons, elite groups, journalists and correspondents, White House officials, military spokespersons, army officers, academics or scholars, clerics and religious leaders, anti war protestors and activists and an additional category labelled other for any additional sources not listed in this sub-category.

6. Attitude towards the United States

A paragraph in an article was coded as positive toward the United States if it supported or echoed the dominant administration policy at the time. Paragraphs describing the negative impacts of the war were coded as negative. A neutral or mixed tone category was also included to capture coverage that was neither positive nor negative.

7. Attitude towards the war

Attitude was defined as positive if the coverage included positive references towards the war. Anti-war references indicated negative coverage. A neutral or mixed tone category was also included to capture coverage that was neither positive nor negative.

8. Themes covered in the article

This category included the most prominent themes that emerged in the news coverage of the events as listed. Themes that emerged in human factor stories in chapter 4 (see section 4.3.2.5) guided the researcher in constructing the subcategories of themes which included: religion; peace talks; environmental; violence; humanitarian; ideology; freedom and victory; wealth and opulence; military manoeuvres; conspiracy; financial; anti-war protests; electioneering; press freedom; atrocities and culture and post-war construction.

9. Propaganda

This category depicted the presence of propaganda in the news coverage. Two subcategories were developed in this regard namely “yes”, which indicated the presence of propaganda and “no”, which was indicative of the absence of propaganda. Propaganda was measured by searching the content of the articles for key words or phrases relating to the propaganda strategies and techniques listed in the section on psychological propaganda and a classical propaganda strategy in section 3.4.5.4.

10. Direction of news flow

The direction of the flow of news was depicted in this category. Three sub-categories were developed for this category:

- Centre-periphery flow: News flows vertically from the centre to the periphery, and centre countries reinforce their dominant positions, by what has become known as a feudal network of international communication (see section 2.4.4.1) (Galtung (1971:83).
- North-South flow: News flows from developed countries in the North to developing countries in the South. Within the North-South pattern, a direction termed “round flow” can be identified. In this type of flow,

news is gathered in the South by Northern correspondents (see section 2.4.2.2).

- A triangular flow: The triangular pattern divides the North into East and West, connecting each to the South. In this pattern of flow a weak horizontal South-South flow has been identified (see section 2.4.4.3) (Chang et al 1987:530; Mowlana 1997:46).

11. The news determinants of the article

In this category the newsworthiness of each newspaper article was determined by two sub-categories: context and event related factors (see section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). The following were grouped under each sub-category.

11.1 Context-related sub-categories

The following context-related sub-categories were developed for the study (see section 3.3.1):

- **Hierarchical status of country**
Included were references to the structural or hierarchical status of a country in the world system.
- **Political and ideological factors**
Political factors such as government control of mass media and media ownership, censorship imposed on the media, control over the import and marketing of news products and control over foreign correspondents entering and leaving the country were included in this sub-category.
- **Economic factors**
Included here were aspects such as agreement of trade, international relations, economic performance, transport, the issue of the control of oil reserves in the Middle East and the reconstruction of Iraq. The national disparity of status between the countries in the centre and on

the periphery, international trade, business investment, and colonial ties between nations were also included.

- **Social and cultural factors**

The list offered by Gans (1979) was used and included factors relating to ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, social order, national leadership, language and differing cultural values.

- **Geographic proximity**

Included were factors relating to “physical” and “functional” or “cultural” proximity. Physical distance is indicative of the actual distance between the origin of the event and the location of publication. Functional proximity implies that a country's media will give preference to events that are culturally meaningful to that country.

- **Attributes of population**

Factors such as population and the level of literacy were considered.

11.2 Event-related sub-categories

The following event-related sub-categories were developed for the study (see section 3.3.2):

- **Deviance**

Events that posed a threat or events that could have the potential to create large-scale social change, conflict, death, destruction and earthquakes were included. Three dimensions of deviance were distinguished:

- The dimension of statistical deviance which refers to events that is unusual or novel; for example, natural disasters such as the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 and hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005.

- Social change deviance which comprises events that challenge the social status quo of a social system, and can cause societal changes; for example, a new government or an election.
 - Normative deviance, which refers to events in which existing laws, norms or rules of a society are broken; for example, a situation of war.
- **Elite nations, countries and people**
Inclusive in this sub-category was a reference to an elite nation or person/people that make an event newsworthy.
 - **Perceptions of journalists and editors**
Included were perceptions of editors and journalists, especially foreign correspondents, on events.
 - **Timeliness**
Recent events or recurring newsworthy events were included.
 - **Foreign correspondents and agencies**
Included were embedded journalists, foreign correspondents and news agencies (AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters).
 - **The human factor**
Human-interest stories pertaining to the war formed this category.

12. Other

In this category, additional variables such as references to weather and education were categorised. In addition, items referring to scientific issues such as pollution, energy, ecology and items that could not be accommodated in the categories stated above were included. Also included were activities of entertainment and events relating to culture and the arts. Once the categories for the quantitative content analysis were constructed the qualitative coding scheme was developed.

5.6.4.2 The qualitative coding scheme

Three of the twelve categories (categories 8, 9 and 11) of the quantitative coding scheme were included in the qualitative scheme. These categories were further analysed qualitatively to gain insight into their underlying meanings. The aim of the qualitative coding sheet was thus to expand on the quantitative data that emerged in the analysis and to present descriptive information on the following categories:

Category 8: The themes of the war that emerged in the quantitative analysis of the data were further analysed and explored. If, for example pain and suffering emerged as a theme, the qualitative data explored the nature of the pain or suffering for example, loss of loved ones or civilian casualties.

Category 9: The manifestation of propaganda in each article was explored to identify propaganda strategies and techniques used by the newspapers in their war reporting.

Category 11: The qualitative data offered additional information on the news determinants that emerged in the quantitative data. If for example, deviance was identified as a news determinant, the dimension of the deviance (normative, statistical or social change deviance) was explored and elaborated on to provide a more complex picture of the reporting. In this manner, the research answers could be answered more comprehensively rephrase. (See addendum 4 for the qualitative coding scheme).

5.6.5 The coding procedure

The news stories for *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *New Straits Times* were accessed from the Australian e-Library database. In the case of *The Star* of South Africa, stories were obtained from the paper's online archive. The search for news stories was initiated by the keywords "2003 Iraq War". The 289 relevant articles were accessed, downloaded, printed, and filed in chronological order for coding.

The researcher coded the content single-handedly with the use of the quantitative and the qualitative coding sheet. The numerical coding was done first. The unique number assigned to each article was entered on the coding sheet, followed by the name of the newspaper in which the article was published and the date on which the newspaper was published. Each newspaper article was then coded for the remainder of the categories (4-13) and the coding sheets were filed numerically for analysis.

The next step was to code the newspaper articles qualitatively. Each newspaper article was analysed for phrases or key words that would describe categories 8, 9 and 11 as follows:

Category 8: Themes applied in the article

The sub-categories of themes included: religion, peace talks, environmental issues, violence, humanitarian issues, freedom and victory, wealth and opulence, military manoeuvres, conspiracy, financial indicators, anti-war protests, electioneering, press freedom, atrocities committed, culture and post war reconstruction.

Themes that were coded on the quantitative coding sheet were explored qualitatively by identifying key words or phrases that described or elaborated on the theme. If for example, the theme of violence was identified, key words or phrases that were indicative of statistical, normative or social change deviance were identified and noted. Another example would be the numbers of people killed in events of the war which qualifies as statistical deviance. If a financial theme was identified key words or phrases that gave an insight into the nature of the financial issues or problems, for example, costs of reconstruction or economic repercussions of the war for the United States' were noted.

Category 9: The manifestation of propaganda

All the articles were analysed to identify the presence of propaganda. In the qualitative analysis of the articles key words and phrases pertaining to

propaganda strategies were noted. The use of words such as “onslaught on Iraq” or “imperial power” (see section 6.3.6) were taken as indicators of psychological warfare as part of a tactic labelled “the weak versus strong tactic”. Phrases such as “thousands killed” and “heritage destroyed” were taken as indicators of a propaganda strategy in which the war was presented in a polarised way (see section 4.7.2).

Category 11: Context and event related news determinants

The context and event-related news determinants used to quantitatively code the content were listed in section 5.6.4.1. The coded variables, for example deviance, political factors or social and cultural factors were then explored qualitatively to obtain descriptive information on the variable. In the case of an economic variable, for example, key words or phrases that offered more information on the variable were identified and noted. The cost of the war, the restoration of oil in Iraq and the influence of the war on the tourist industry in the Middle East are examples of words that offered more information for an economic variable that was analysed further. By analysing all the news determinants that were quantitatively coded further in this fashion a comprehensive picture of the news determinants emerged. Once all the articles were coded both quantitatively and qualitatively, the data was analysed in-depth to draw comparisons and to describe the trends that emerged.

5.6.6 Data analysis

The data was analysed quantitatively and qualitatively in order to answer the research questions.

5.6.6.1 Quantitative data analysis

SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used for the statistical analysis of the data. The fact that this programme allows for a wide range of statistical operations made this a suitable choice. The analysis of the data involved three basic steps:

- **Data entry**

The data was entered by naming and configuring the variables and then entering the data. A data file for the data was created first by naming the variables (the categories). The variables were then configured by stipulating the type (numeric), creating labels for the variables whose meanings were not clear, assigning values to the variables and selecting the scales that allowed for the mathematical manipulation. With each variable named and formatted, the data was entered.

- **Analysis**

Once the data was entered it was ready to be explored, summarised and described with the use of statistics. Several statistical techniques were used to answer the research questions stated in section 5.4. These techniques are discussed as follows:

- **Cross tabulation**

Cross tabulation analysis, also known as contingency table analysis, was used to analyse the categorical (nominal measurement scale) data that was captured. The cross-tabulation (a two, or more dimensional table) recorded the number (frequency) of variables that have the specific characteristics described in the cells of the table (Kirkpatrick & Feeney 2003:20). Cross-tabulation offered a wealth of information about the relationship between the variables. The following cross tabulations were conducted with the newspapers as the independent variables:

- The volume of newspaper articles published between 2003 and 2006 (see section 6.2).
- The direction of the flow of information in the war (see section 6.3).
- The event related news-determinants in the war coverage of the newspapers (see section 6.4.1).

- The context-related news-determinants in the war coverage of the newspapers (see section 6.4.2).
- The use of organisational sources in the construction of the events of the war (see section 6.5).
- The distribution of sources quoted by the various newspapers (see section 6.6).
- The thematic framing of the events of the war (see section 6.7).
- The use of propaganda in the war reporting of the respective newspapers (see section 6.8).

- **Analysis of variance**

Analyses of variance were conducted with two Likert scales, namely, the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the attitude of the newspapers towards the USA as the dependent variables and the various newspapers as the independent variables. After the analyses of the variance were conducted two post-hoc tests, namely a Scheffe test and a Bonferroni test, were conducted to analyse the data further.

- **Scheffe post-hoc tests**

A Scheffe post-hoc test which allows the comparison of variables or groups and which would identify the differing variables (newspapers) was selected. The Scheffe post-hoc test was applied to identify the differences in tone of the newspapers towards the war and towards the USA between 2003 and 2006.

- **Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons tests**

Once the newspapers that differed were identified, it was decided to analyse the data further by making use of a Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test. This test conducts a complete set of comparisons and was therefore able to give a detailed account of how the respective newspapers differed from each other as far as their tone towards the war and towards the USA is concerned.

- **A cross-tabulation and a Pearson correlation coefficient**

Once the differences in tone of the newspapers towards the war and towards the USA were identified, it could be established whether a newspaper's tone towards the war was significantly affected by the newspaper's tone towards the USA or visa versa. To establish this objective, two procedures were selected:

- A cross-tabulation of the attitudes of the newspapers towards the war and towards the USA.
- A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to establish empirically whether a significant dependency existed between the attitudes of the newspapers towards the war and towards the USA.

- **Line graphs**

It was decided to make use of line graphs to determine how the collective tone of the newspapers towards the war and the USA changed between 2003 and 2006.

5.6.6.2 Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data was processed and analysed by hand. The coded sheets for each newspaper were categorised for each category for each newspaper separately. For sub-category 8, the themes that emerged in the coverage of each newspaper were correlated to develop a comprehensive picture of the prominent themes in each newspaper over the four- year period.

As far as category 9 was concerned, the same procedure was followed as with category 8. The phrases and words captured on the coding sheets that related to propaganda were grouped together for each newspaper to identify the propaganda strategies used by each newspaper in conjunction with the propaganda strategies outlined in the theoretical discussion in chapter 3. In

this manner, a comprehensive view of the use of propaganda by each of the newspapers was obtained.

The coded sheets for category 11 were firstly categorised as either context or event-related news determinants for each newspaper. The sheets were then further classified by grouping the event-related and the context-related factors for each newspaper together. In doing so the context-related factors, for example, political, economic or social factors, were integrated for each newspaper separately. The same was done with the event-related factors. In this manner it was not only established which factors were newsworthy for each newspaper, but also why they were newsworthy. The integrated information captured on the qualitative coding sheets for each newspaper could then be reported in the findings.

5.6.7 Reliability and Validity

According to Krippendorff (2004:211), every form of measurement should possess the qualities of reliability and validity.

5.6.7.1 Reliability

Content analysts need to be confident that their data has been generated with all conceivable precautions in place against known pollutants, distortions and biases, intentional and accidental and that the data means the same thing for everyone who uses it. Reliability grounds this confidence empirically. A research procedure is considered reliable when it responds to the same phenomena in a similar fashion, regardless of the circumstances of its implementation (Krippendorff 2004:211). Several steps were taken to enhance the reliability of this study:

- **The population and units of analysis were identified clearly and unambiguously**

The identification of the population and the units of analysis were given considerable attention. The initial target population was defined in

section 5.2. From this population, an accessible population of approximately 500 online newspapers (see section 5.2) was identified. A sample of five newspapers was then selected from the accessible population.

The unit of analysis was also clearly identified as all the newspaper articles published on the Iraq War in the five selected newspaper between 2003 and 2006 within the selected time-periods. It was further stipulated that only newspaper articles were considered and that letters, editorials and cartoons or other visuals were excluded from the analysis. These clearly defined boundaries for the study aided the reliability of the study.

- **The coding lists were exhaustive**

One of the key criteria for a reliable study is that the coding lists should be exhaustive. Content analysis implies that the coding list should be comprehensive enough to ensure that there is an existing slot in which every unit of analysis can be placed (Wimmer & Dominick 1997:110). To adhere to this criterion the categories were firstly developed in conjunction with similar research studies conducted. This assisted the researcher in developing a list of categories that was exhaustive. Several articles were then coded to ensure that the coding lists were indeed comprehensive.

- **The categories were mutually exclusive**

A study where the categories are vague and not clearly defined can become problematic particularly when it emerges that a unit of analysis can be placed in more than one category. The study is then not reliable as the empirical results can become skewed (Wimmer & Dominick 1997:110). To avoid this problem the researcher defined and described each category thoroughly.

Category 8, for example, boasted 16 sub-categories to accommodate a wide scope of themes in the content. For category 11, all the variables of the context and event-related factors as categorised by Chang (1998:563) (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2) were included in the coding sheet. The categories were also defined in conjunction with previous research conducted in this field. Once the categories were developed, the researcher coded several newspaper articles to ensure that the category system accounted for every unit of analysis.

- **Sampling procedures**

In view of the fact that the results of a content analysis are not necessarily generalised and that the nature of the target and the accessible population did not allow for a probability sample, a non-probability sample was selected. However, the multi-sampling procedure that was followed to select a purposive sample was both systematic and structured and could therefore be considered as reliable. All the articles for each of the selected newspapers were analysed for the specific time frames that were selected.

- **Procedures for resolving coding problems were established and applied consistently**

To avoid coding problems, the researcher coded the data herself. The researcher is familiar with the operational definitions and the category schemes with the result that the coding could be applied consistently.

- **Standardised coding sheets were used**

To facilitate the procedure of coding, standardised coding sheets were used. These sheets allowed the researcher to classify the quantitative data by using numerals in the pre-determined spaces (see Addendum 2). A standardised coding sheet was also developed to classify the qualitative data in allocated spaces under the relevant category (see Addendum 3).

- **A pilot study was conducted to ensure that the categories were exhaustive**

Sub-samples of the selected articles (four newspaper articles from each selected newspaper) were selected and coded by the researcher to identify categories that were poorly defined. It became evident that the sub-categories for category 9 (themes that emerged in the articles) was originally not exhaustive. More themes emerged in the analysis than were allowed for on the coding sheet. The list of sub-categories was then redeveloped.

- **Intra-coder reliability was determined**

Once the pilot study was completed, the selected articles were coded by the researcher herself, to ensure the detection of subtle message elements and consistency in the coding of the content. This is justifiable in terms of Wimmer and Dominick's (1997) description for determining intra-coder reliability. To assess intra-coder reliability the researcher coded a set of data twice at different times. For the second coding session, a sub-sample of 20% was drawn, by taking every fifth article and coding it again. The correlation between the two coding sessions for the sub-sample of 58 items is illustrated in table 5.3.

Table 5.3 The correlations between the two coding sessions

	Sample 1 2003	Sample 2 2004	Sample 3 2005	Sample 4 2006	Total	Percentage
Correlation	40,0	3,5	2,5	2	48,0	82,76
No Correlation	7,0	1,5	1,5	0	10,0	17,24
Total Sub-Sample	47,0	5,0	4,0	2,0	58,0	100,00

In the case of a split item, where a part of the item shows a correlation, it was scored as 0,5. Intra-coder reliability was calculated using Holsti's (1969) formula for determining nominal data in terms of percentage as follows:

$$\frac{2M}{N1+ N2} = \frac{2 (48)}{58 + 58} = 0.82$$

M is the number of coding decisions on which the coders agree.

N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and the second coding sessions respectively.

Wimmer and Dominick (1997:145) consider 0.90 as a minimum reliability coefficient but they stipulate that this is generally applicable when the coding of the content is a mechanical or clerical task. In an instance such as this, where a certain degree of interpretation is involved, reliability estimates are typically lower.

5.6.7.2 Validity

For a study to be valid, it should be truthful and the measuring instrument of the study should adequately measure what it is supposed to measure. In this study, the techniques of face-validity and expert-validity were adhered to.

- **Face validity**

Face validity assumes that a measuring instrument measures what it is supposed to measure, provided that the categories are rigidly designed and the procedures of the analysis have been adequately conducted (Wimmer & Dominick 1997:131).

The categories in this study were designed in conjunction with previous research conducted in this field and with the theoretical framework of information flow, the construction of news, and the case study that was presented in Chapter 4. In addition, care was taken to ensure that the

categories were mutually exclusive and exhaustive (see section 5.6.4.1).

As far as the procedures for the analysis are concerned, the proposed steps of Wimmer and Dominick (1997:110-131) for content analysis, namely, defining the population, selecting a sample of newspapers, time-periods for analysis, designing the categories and coding and analysing the content, were followed in a systematic and controlled manner (see section 5.4).

- **Expert validity**

In this study the advice of an expert, the study leader, was obtained when the theoretical framework and the categories were constructed. The expertise of the study leader in the field of international communication was called on to design and execute the study systematically and rigidly.

5.7 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

This study boasts certain strengths and weaknesses that are outlined as follows:

5.7.1 Limitations to this study

The limitations of this study are presented as follows:

- **Representativeness in terms of language**

A possible limitation to the study was the unavailability of an Iraqi newspaper. Even if such a newspaper had been available there was no interpreter available to translate newspaper articles into English. An Iraqi newspaper would have given an alternate perspective from the viewpoint of the “invaded country” and its position in terms of the war. It was felt that the best solution to this limitation was to include a newspaper with a Muslim orientation in the sample to gain an insight into the Muslim viewpoint as far as the war is concerned.

- **The use of online-newspapers**

The use of a purposeful sampling procedure could be seen as a limitation as each member of the target population did not have an equal chance of being selected for the sample.

- **The focus on certain time periods of the war**

It was difficult to analyse all the events of the war. The result was that the study could only focus on certain time frames of the war which could be viewed as a limitation. If different events or time frame had been selected for analysis a different interpretation of the war may have emerged.

- **A limited qualitative analysis of the selected categories**

The fact that only three of the categories were analysed qualitatively could be viewed as a limitation of the study. The qualitative analysis of categories 9, 10 and 11 offered a rich comprehensive insight into the latent content of the newspaper articles, whereas the remainder of the categories were analysed quantitatively and only inferences were made.

5.7.2 Strengths of the study

The study also boasted certain strengths which should be briefly discussed.

- **Newspapers attached to different countries in the world system were selected**

The newspapers that were selected for this study were selected from newspapers attached to different countries in the world system. This was done purposefully to ensure that the three strata of the world system (centre, semi-periphery and the periphery) were represented by at least one newspaper. This selection aimed at obtaining a variety of

opinions on the events of the war and allowing for a more balanced viewpoint.

- **Content Analysis can claim reliability and validity**

Content analysis as a research method can claim reliability and validity. The discussion in sections 5.6.7.1 and 5.6.7.2 centred on the reliability and validity of this study support this assumption.

5.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the purpose of the study was described and the research problem was formulated. The research design and the methodology administered in the study were also described. The final part of the chapter presented a critical overview of the study in which the strengths and the weaknesses of the study were outlined was also given.

The next chapter describes the findings of the processed data in conjunction with the research questions as stated in section 5.3. The findings will be used to answer the research questions comprehensively, by drawing on the processed data and the literature review in chapters 2 and 3, and the case study presented in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 6

THE RESULTS FOR THE STUDY CONDUCTED ON THE FLOW OF INFORMATION DURING THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter outlined the research design and methodology for the analysis of the flow of news during the 2003 Iraq War in five selected online newspapers. Quantitative and qualitative content analysis was selected for the analysis of the 289 newspaper articles published on the war by the five newspapers.

Four events were selected for analysis, at a one yearly interval between 2003 and 2006. The selected event for 2003 was the fall of Baghdad (9–13 April 2003), for 2004 the one-year anniversary of the war (20–24 March) was selected, the Haditha killings (19–23 November) was selected for 2005 and for 2006 the last week of October was selected, as this was the month in which the most U S soldiers had lost their lives since the onset of the war until this date (27–31 October).

By selecting specific events for analysis, the newsworthiness of the events of the war and the war coverage of the five newspapers over the four-year period could be analysed and compared. The fact that events were selected over a four-year period made it possible to determine how the tone of the newspapers changed over the four-year period. The results for the statistical analysis are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

6.2. THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

The volume of newspaper articles published by each of the newspapers offers an indication of how newsworthy the war and the selected events of the war were for each of the respective newspapers. The results for the volume of newspapers articles published by the respective newspapers from 2003 to 2006 are displayed in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: The volume of newspaper articles published between 2003 and 2006

Newspaper	Sample 1 2003		Sample 2 2004		Sample 3 2005		Sample 4 2006		Total number of articles published between 2003 and 2006	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	76	32%	0	0%	6	22%	4	40%	86	29.8%
<i>The Washington Post</i>	100	42%	11	73%	18	67%	4	42%	133	46.0%
<i>The Star</i>	12	5%	3	20%	2	7%	2	20%	19	6.6%
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	17	7%	1	7%	1	4%	0	0%	19	6.6%
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	3	14%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	32	11.0%
Totals	237	100%	15	100%	27	100%	10	100%	289	100%

The row totals in table 6.1 reflect the number of newspaper articles published by each newspaper, for each year, from 2003 to 2006 in numbers and in percentages. In the column totals the collective number of newspaper articles published for the five newspapers is presented, for each year in numbers and in percentages. The row percentages revealed significant differences in the volume of articles published by the respective newspapers within the selected time frames.

The Washington Post and the *Daily Mirror* accounted for 75,8% of the total volume of articles published. *The Washington Post* alone published 133 articles which accounted for 35% of the total number of articles and the *Daily Mirror* 86 or 29,8%. It is anticipated that the high coverage of *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* can be attributed to the direct involvement of the USA and the UK (the countries that they are attached to) in the war. The volume of articles published by the *Daily Telegraph* (attached to Australia) was considerably lower. Of the total number of 289 articles, the paper published 32 or 11,1% articles. The lower volume of articles published by the *Daily Telegraph* could be an indication that although Australia was involved in the war, its involvement was not as direct as that of the USA and the UK. *The Star* and the *New Straits Times* both published 19 articles each, which accounted for 6.6% of the total percentage. The low level of coverage by

these newspapers could be the result of factors such as South Africa and Malaysia's position at the periphery of the world system, a preference for local news, an absence of correspondents in the war zone, or timeliness (events not perceived as being recent).

The column percentages indicate that 237 of the 289 articles were published in the period of the fall of Baghdad (9–13 April 2003), making this the most newsworthy period. From the volume of articles published by *The Washington Post* (100 articles, or 42 % of the total percentage of articles) and the *Daily Mirror* (76 or 32%), it can be deduced that this period was perceived as a milestone, in that the regime of Saddam Hussein was declared to have ended and the Iraqis were liberated. Only 15 articles or 5,1% of the total number of newspaper articles pertaining to the Iraq War were published in 2004. *The Washington Post* was the only newspaper that referred to the anniversary of the war, in an article published on March 20, 2004, in which President Bush marked the anniversary of the US-led invasion of Iraq (Milbank 2004:5).

In 2005, 27 articles, or 9,3% of the total percentage of articles was published, which is an indication that the newsworthiness of the war had increased in this period. Factors such as increased coalition casualties and the war which was prolonged may have contributed towards the newsworthiness of the war. The selected event for 2005 (the Haditha killings) received no coverage, probably because it was only in 2006 that this event was discovered to have occurred. The statistics for 2006 reveal this period as the least newsworthy, with only 10 articles which accounted for 3,4% of the total percentage of articles published. The high casualty rate among the American forces in October 2006 did not dominate news coverage to the extent anticipated, only *The Washington Post* referred to this incident. The other newspapers accorded the war very little coverage during this time, which could be an indication that other stories were considered more newsworthy. It can therefore be concluded that the newsworthiness of the war showed a dramatic decrease after the fall of Baghdad in 2003.

6.3 THE DIRECTION OF THE FLOW OF INFORMATION

The results for the prevalent patterns of news flow (centre-periphery flow, North-South flow and triangular pattern of flow) (see section 2.4.4 for a discussion on these patterns) are displayed in table 6.2 as follows:

Table 6.2: The direction of the flow of news from 2003 to 2006.

Newspaper	Direction of news flow				Row Totals	
	North-South flow		Triangular pattern of flow			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86	31.5%	0	0%	86	29,7%
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	32	11.7%	0	0%	32	11,0%
<i>The Washington Post</i>	133	48.7%	0	0%	133	46,3%
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	19	7.0%	0	0%	19	6,5%
<i>The Star</i>	3	1.1%	16	100%	19	6,5%
Total	273	100%	16	100%	289	100%

The row totals and percentages indicate the direction of the flow of news for each newspaper and the column percentages the flow of information for the newspapers collectively within the selected time frames. The results indicate that *The Washington Post* contributed 29.7% (133 articles) towards the total flow of information, the *Daily Mirror* 29,7% (86 articles), the *Daily Telegraph* 11,7% (32 articles) and *The Star* and the *New Straits Times* both 6,5% (19 articles each).

The results further indicate that a North-South pattern, where news flowed vertically from developed countries in the North to countries in the South was prevalent. Of the 289 articles published, 273 (94%) were found to be indicative of a North-South flow and 16 (6%) articles reflected a triangular pattern of flow. *The Washington Post* contributed 48% (133 articles) towards the North-South pattern, the *Daily Mirror* 31,5% (86 articles) the *Daily Telegraph* 11,7% (32 articles), the *New Straits Times* 7% (19 articles) and *The Star* 1,1% (3 articles). Within the North-South flow a round flow was identified – war news was gathered in the South (Iraq) by correspondents and

embedded journalists of the UK, the USA and Australia who were stationed in and around the war zone. The war news was then transmitted from the war zone to countries in the North where the news was processed and then disseminated to other countries, including countries in the South. The *New Straits Times* constructed and disseminated its war news in Malaysia.

The Star accounted solely for the triangular pattern of news flow of 6% (16 articles). It was found that the majority of the war news in the analysed articles of the paper was gathered and processed by journalists in South Africa, from where it was disseminated to countries elsewhere. Interesting, a number of the war articles related to conditions in Africa, for example, an article written by Du Preez (2003:7) in which he draws a comparison between the totalitarian leaders of Iraq and Zimbabwe. Another example is that of Mogapi (2003:4), the director of the South African Institute of Traumatic Stress, claimed in an article that the extensive Iraqi War coverage was causing many South-African ex-combatants to relive their painful experiences. The limited 1.1% (3 articles) North-South pattern of flow of *The Star* can be attributed to news reports accessed from Western news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press. These articles were generally pro-war and contained accounts of the victory of the coalition forces, the jubilation of the Iraqi's at the fall of Baghdad, the end of Saddam's regime and the subsequent looting in Iraq.

In conclusion, the overall findings for the patterns of news flow during the war support the findings of previous research on international information flow namely that a North-South flow where news flows from developed countries to developing countries is dominant (see section 2.4.3.1). In the next section the results for the event and context related news determinants of the war are discussed.

6.4 EVENT AND CONTEXT RELATED NEWS DETERMINANTS

This section addresses the results for the event and context-related news determinants that emerged in the war coverage of the newspapers between 2003 and 2006.

6.4.1 Event-related news determinants

The results for the event-related news determinants are displayed in table 6.3.

Table 6. 3. The event-related news determinants of the war

		Newspaper					Total	
		<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>The Washington Post</i>	<i>The New Straits Times</i>	<i>The Star</i>		
Event related factors	Newsworthiness: Deviance	N	42	20	63	7	9	141
		%	49.0%	63.0%	47%	37%	47%	48.8%
	Elite nations, countries and people	N	17	7	45	7	5	81
		%	20.0%	22.0%	34%	37%	26%	28.0%
	Perceptions of journalists and editors	N	5	3	6	4	2	20
		%	6%	9%	5%	21%	11%	6.9%
	Timeliness	N	2	1	3	0	1	7
	%	2%	3%	2%	.0%	5%	2.4%	
Foreign correspondents and agencies	N	1	0	0	0	0	1	
	%	1%	0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	
The human factor	N	19	1	16	1	2	39	
	%	22.0%	3%	12%	5%	11%	13.5%	
Number of articles		86	32	133	19	19	289	
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%	

Row percentages reflect the distribution of a specific event-related variable for each newspaper and column percentages reflect the distribution of the six event-related variables for each newspaper. The summative row percentages for the event-related determinants were as follows: social and normative deviance 141 (48,8%) articles, elite nations, countries and people 81 (28,0%) articles, the human factor 39 (13,5%) articles, perceptions of correspondents 20 (6,9%) articles, timeliness 7 (2,4%) articles and foreign correspondents and agencies 1 (0,3%) article.

The individual trend for each newspaper concurred with the collective trend in that deviance and elite nations were the two most prominent variables and

timeliness and perceptions of foreign news correspondents the two least prominent variables. Further qualitative analysis however, revealed significant differences and similarities as far as the distribution of the event-related variables for each newspaper are concerned. The similarities and differences are discussed for each news determinant as follows:

6.4.1.1 Deviance

In international wars, social deviant events (events that challenge the current status quo, see section 3.3.2.1) are common (Chang et al 1987:402; Cowan & Hadden 2004:69). The 2003 Iraq War was no exception: a new regime in Iraq changed and continues to change the geopolitics of the Middle East. There were both differences and similarities in the coverage of the societal changes that occurred in Iraq during and in the aftermath of the war.

During the war *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Mirror* relayed positive societal changes such as the end of Saddam Hussein's regime (Aizenman 2003:2; Branigan 2003:3; Wallace 2003a:3), the prospect of a democracy in Iraq (Chirac in first move 2003:11; Leaders Ulster talks: Bush to IRA to seize peace 2003:12), Iraqi jubilation (Shepherd & Scharnberg 2003:3; Wallace 2003b:3) and testimonies of Iraqis tortured under Saddam Hussein's rule (Dunn 2003:3; Shepard & Scharnberg 2003:5). In contrast to these newspapers *The Star* and the *New Straits Times* reported on deviant events in which norms and rules were violated in Iraq, for example, the killing of innocent civilians (Akmar 2003:3; Chin 2003:2 Du Preez 2003:7; Wan 2003:5) and the collateral damage caused by the bombing of hospitals, houses, schools and museums (Ahmad 2003:5; Akmar 2003:3; Du Preez 2003:7).

In the aftermath of the war (after the fall of Baghdad), the newspapers generally all focused on the negative societal changes in Iraq in reports such as increased coalition and Iraqi casualties (Broder 2004:2, Du Preez 2003:7; Home are the fallen 2003:2; Home 2003:3) post-war disorder in the form of looting and plundering (Akmar 2003:3; Irresponsible on Iraq 2005:12; Wilson

2003b:4), anti-war protests (Branigan 2003:3; Howard up close and personal 2003:4), and anger in the Arab world at the American occupation of Iraq (Ahmad 2003:5; Akmar 2003:3). The death of three independent journalists in a Baghdad hotel following the explosion of a coalition missile, and the actions of six American soldiers criminally charged for the abuse of 20 Iraqis at the Abu Ghraib prison West of Baghdad drew severe criticism from both the Western and the non-Western newspapers (Routledge 2003:4; Shahid 2003:2; Wilson 2003b:4).

6.4.1.2 Elite nations, countries and people

The fact that Iraq (a peripheral country) was involved in the war is not necessarily newsworthy, but the fact that elite countries such as the USA and UK were directly involved, and the lesser involvement of Australia, made the war a newsworthy one (see section 3.3.1.1). As the war was prolonged other elite nations were also included in the reporting of the newspapers. *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*, for example, reported that the reconstruction of Iraq should be a combined effort of the elite Western superpowers such as Russia, Germany and France (De Young 2003:8; Graham 2003:5; Leaders Ulster talks 2003:12). The attempt of the USA to include other elite Western countries could be interpreted as an effort to re-unite Western countries in the world system divided as a result of the war. Syria was mentioned because of its alleged protection of Saddam Hussein and some of his loyalists. The USA insinuated that Syria was becoming a threat to Western democracy (Gulf War 2: America warning for Syria 2003:5; Pincus 2003:6).

A number of elite persons were also mentioned as a result of their roles in the events of the war. George Bush and Tony Blair were labelled “liars” (Ahmad 2003:5; Bush, Blair aggressive liars 2003:6; Routledge 2003:4), and their names were also connected to their post-war policy and peace talks (De Young 2003:8; John 2003:7; Routledge 2003:4). The *Daily Mirror* reported that Tony Blair had shamed Britain because of its involvement in the war (Routledge 2003:4). Saddam Hussein was mentioned in all the newspapers

and the Western newspapers in particular appeared to focus on the atrocities committed in his regime and speculated where he was hiding (Day Saddam joined history's list of fallen despots 2003:6; English 2003:3; Wallace 2003b:6).

In their coverage *The Star* and the *New Straits Times* focused on their own local elites. The commander of the British forces in the Gulf, who accused the media of turning its coverage of the war into infotainment, was the only foreign elite person associated with the war cited by the *New Straits Times* (Akmar 2003:3)

6.4.1.3 Perceptions of journalists and editors

The findings of this study support the findings of the research presented in the case study in section 4.3.2.3, namely that a diversity of perceptions on the events of the war were presented by journalists and editors globally, in a variety of media including television, newspapers and the Internet. The findings also supported previous findings that Western newspapers covered the events from a positive perspective and non-Western newspapers from an anti-war perspective.

The perceptions of elite Western countries such as the USA and the UK were disseminated by journalists that were stationed in the war-zone, journalists that were assigned to military coalition units as embedded journalists and journalists that operated from within neighbouring countries of Iraq. These journalists all covered the events of the war as they unfolded and offered their interpretations of the events. In the initial phase of the war the perceptions of the *Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* were pro-war and comprised coalition victories and the joy of the Iraqi's with the fall of Baghdad (see section 7.11). The fall of Baghdad in particular, received voluminous coverage from these newspapers (see the political factors in section 6.4.2.1).

Embedded journalists such as Gillian (2003:5) offered their perceptions on the war, which she describes as a “glance at the war”. The perceptions of these journalists generally comprised descriptive encounters of military operations and coalition victories in the initial phase of the war. The programme for embedded journalists was severely criticised for its alleged breach of objectivity globally (see section 4.6.3.1). After the fall of Baghdad when formal military operations by the coalition forces ceased the programme of embedded journalism was discontinued and the volume of war coverage appeared to decrease, as the danger of reporting from within Iraq increased (see section 4.6.2). In the aftermath of the war the perceptions of Western journalists also became more critical particularly towards the USA and the UK, as a result of their involvement in the war, which had resulted in chaos, loss of life and a high financial liability especially for the American taxpayers (see section 6.4.2.5).

Journalists from non-Western countries attached to newspapers such as the *New Straits Times* disseminated their anti-war perceptions of the war in alternative media such as Al Jazeera and the Internet. Sophisticated media technology facilitated the transmission of perceptions on the war on the Internet. The perceptions presented on the Internet were generally more critical as they were not necessarily representative of the Bush administration.

4.6.1.4 Timeliness

Up to and including the fall of Baghdad, the 2003 Iraq War was a current event for all the newspapers. Events in this time period were unexpected, exciting and new, and audiences across the world were furnished with detailed accounts of the victories and military manoeuvres of the coalition forces in a diversity of media. Newspapers such *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* used journalists and foreign correspondents to cover the events of the war from within the war zone. The embedded journalists who travelled with the coalition forces and reported directly from the war zone added to the timeliness of the events.

In the aftermath of the war, coverage of events decreased dramatically and only isolated incidents such as the increasing chaos and lawlessness (Ahmad 2003:5; Akmar 2003:3; Du Preez 2003:7); suicide attacks (Cho 2003:5; Henry 2006:9); the coalition casualties (The death toll of US forces 2004:9); the peace talks engaged in by Tony Blair and George Bush (De Young 2003:8; John 2003:7; US asks allies to assist in rebuilding 2003:6); the killing of three journalists in a hotel in Baghdad (Antonowitz 2003:5; Chin 2003:2; Journo's killed in defence 2003:14); and the anti-war protests (McCartney 2003:11; Sommerlad 2003:7) were covered.

6.4.1.5 Foreign correspondents and agencies

Foreign correspondents played a key role in the reporting of the events of the war. They were “on the spot” to capture the events of the war as they occurred. Embedded journalists and journalists attached to newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* presented the views of the “powers to be” (the Bush administration and Prime Minister Blair) and independent journalists offered their alternative views on the events.

Independent journalists presented both the victories of the coalition forces and events that were perceived as deviant, for example, the bombing of the marketplace in Baghdad, the journalists that were killed in a hotel in Baghdad, the atrocities that occurred in Abu Ghraib and the Haditha killings, which took place in November 2005 and were only reported on in 2006 (see sections 1.7, 4.2 and 4.3.2.5. These atrocities may not have been uncovered, if there were no foreign journalists operating in the war zone that could disseminate these stories globally.

News agencies also played a role in the flow of information during the war. These organisations gathered and supplied news to newspapers and other media from their perspective, which was found to be pro-Western (see section 6.5). *The Star* from South Africa, for example, obtained several news reports on the war from Reuters and these reports were found to focus on amongst others the victories of the coalition forces and the newly found freedom of the

Iraqi's (see section 6.5). The *Daily Telegraph Post* was the only newspaper that obtained a news report on the war from Associated Press.

6.4.1.6 Human factor stories

The newspapers all selected and covered human factor stories consistent with their culture. The result was that different stories emerged in the coverage of the newspapers, in particular the Western and the non-Western newspapers. The *Washington Post* selected and published personalised human-interest stories such as “worried mothers of soldiers” (Hill 2003:11; Home 2003:2); “Jessica Lynch who was dramatically rescued after being ambushed in Iraq” (Lynch expected to fly home today 2003:11); “families who recalled their torture in Saddam’s regime” (Aizenman 2003:9; Cazzulini 2003:5); and “Muslim immigrants in the United States who victimised” (Carlson 2003:9; St. George 2003:6).

The *Daily Mirror* also focused on personalised human-interest stories, for example child victim Ali, who lost his limbs in a missile attack (Daily Mirror Ali appeal: How you can help 2003:12; Parry 2003:6); Briton Margaret Hitchcock, who recalled her torture under Saddam Hussein’s regime (Dunn 2003:3); two British police officers who celebrated their wedding in the Iraqi desert (Ludvigson 2003:8); and the accounts of one of the first women to be posted to the Iraq warfront (Home 2003:2).

The *New Straits Times* constructed stories of suffering and pain, for example, “the effects of three thousand bombs in 48 hours” (Ahmad 2003:5), and “the psychological effect of the war on the nation as a whole” (Naggapan 2003:7). *The Star* featured one localised story on the effects of the war images in Iraq on South African ex-combatants suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (Realities of the past return to haunt veterans 2003:5) and the *Daily Telegraph* published a speech by John Howard on the departure of Australian sailors for the war (Howard up close and personal 2003:4).

6.4.2 Context-related news determinants

Table 6.4 displays the results for the context-related factors as they emerged in the coverage of the five newspapers from 2003 to 2006.

Table 6.4 Context-related news determinants

			Newspaper					Total
			<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>The Washington Post</i>	<i>The New Straits Times</i>	<i>The Star</i>	
Hierarchical status of country	N		13	7	12	7	2	41
	%	15%	22%	9%	36%	11%	14.2%	
Political and ideological factors	N		48	18	85	8	11	170
	%	56%	56%	64%	42%	58%	58.8%	
Economic factors	N		10	1	20	3	4	38
	%	12%	3%	15%	17%	21%	13.1%	
Social and cultural factors	N		15	6	15	1	2	39
	%	17%	19%	11%	5%	11%	13.5%	
Geographic proximity	N		0	0	1	0	0	1
	%	.0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	.3%	
Total	N		86	32	133	19	19	289
	%		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%

The row percentages in table 6.4 reflect the distribution of a particular context-related variable for each newspaper from 2003 to 2006 and the column percentages the distribution of the four context-related variables for each newspaper. The row percentages indicate that the most significant collective context-related news determinant was political and ideological factors (170 [58.8%] articles), followed by the hierarchical status of a country in the world system (41 [14.2%] articles), social and cultural factors (39 [13.5%] articles), economic factors (38 [13.1%] articles) and geographic proximity (1 [0.3%] article). The findings for each newspaper individually concurred with the overall trend. The results of the qualitative analysis are discussed in the following section.

6.4.2.1 Political and ideological factors

Both the USA and the UK are generally perceived as symbols of democracy in the world system, while Iraq is viewed as an undemocratic country, and Saddam Hussein as a “dictator”, “tyrant” and “despot” (Cazzulini 2003:5; Day

Saddam joined history's list of fallen despots 2003:6; Wan 2003:5). One of the key ideals of the Bush administration was to establish a democracy in Iraq (Mowlam 2003:11; Wilson 2003b:4). A key political event in this regard that influenced the media agenda worldwide was the fall of Baghdad and the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein. *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror* described the event in detail, from the moment that the rope was attached to the statue until it was pulled down by the Iraqi's with the help of the coalition forces (Aizenman 2003:2; Cazzulini 2003:5; Du Preez 2003:7; Wallace 2003a:3).

After the initial victory, several newspapers criticised the government's involvement in the war. The *Daily Mirror*, for example, reported that it was shamed by the war "now that American and British supremacy over ramshackle Iraq has been confirmed" (Routledge 2003:4). Saddam Hussein had been dethroned, but no weapons of mass destruction had been found, peace had not been secured, and thousands of Iraqis had lost their lives (Routledge 2003:4). *The Washington Post* noted that Bush was debating the next step after the war, but was struggling to find solutions (De Young 2003:8).

The Star labelled Bush and Blair "aggressive liars" (Du Preez 2003:7), and the *New Straits Times* was critical of some Western newspapers for the manner in which the casualties of the war had been reported: the deaths of coalition soldiers were reported as personal tragedies, whereas Iraqi casualties were portrayed as no more than collateral damage (Akmar 2003:3).

6.4.2.2 Structural and hierarchical status in the world system

The direct involvement of the USA (an elite country in the world system) in the Iraq War ensured that all the newspapers covered the events of the war. The Western countries involved in the war (the USA, UK and Australia) were initially portrayed in a positive light by their respective newspapers in that military victories by the coalition forces were highlighted, and Saddam Hussein was demonised (see section 6.2.2). However, as the war was

prolonged coverage of the Western countries became negative and critical. The war coverage of the newspapers from the peripheral and semi-peripheral countries (*The Star* and the *New Straits Times*) was negative from the onset of the war. Thus, the fact that the USA and the UK are centre nations did not guarantee positive coverage by their own and other newspapers (see section 2.4.3.1). It is also clear that media attached to non-Western countries are not afraid to criticise Western countries in issues such as war.

6.4.2.3 Social and cultural factors

The war reporting of the newspapers reflected the social and cultural norms and values of their respective societies. The result was that distinct differences emerged in the coverage of Western and non-Western newspapers. The elitist positions of the USA and the UK in the world system was reflected in the coverage of the Western newspapers. American and coalition soldiers, for example, were portrayed as “superior” and “courageous” (Branigan 2003:3; Graham 2003:5) and Iraqi soldiers as inferior “humiliated Iraqi army” (Ahmad 2003:5; Akmar 2003:3; Finer 2003:7). American culture was further depicted as one in which democracy prevails (Aizenman 2003:2; Branigan 2003:3; English 2003:3; Graham 2003:5; Wilson 2003a:9).

Where *The Washington Post* presented the USA as a “liberator”, the *New Straits Times* viewed this superpower as “imperialist” and expressed fears of being “colonised” (Ahmad 2003:5; Akmar 2003:3). The three Western newspapers further portrayed Western countries as peacemakers “Bush and Blair in talks to secure peace talks in Belfast” and “winning the peace in Iraq” (Chirac in first move 2003:11; Mowlam 2003:11), whereas Arab countries were depicted as “aggressors”, “fundamentalists” and “suicide bombers” (Akmar 2003:3; Wilson 2003b:9). Western culture was depicted as embracing “the middle-class citizen”, whereas peripheral countries such as Iraq were depicted as countries of stark contrast in terms of lifestyle “the extravagance of Saddam’s palaces in contrast to the slums” (English 2003:3; Hoagland 2003:9; Hill 2003:11).

6.4.2.4 Economic factors

All the newspapers reported on economic factors pertaining to the war that affected their respective countries. *The Washington Post* mentioned the cost of the war for the USA (Wartime spending measure stalls on unrelated issues 2003:10) and the restoration and control of Iraq's oil output (Blustein 2003:5; Bredemeier & Behr 2003:9). The *New Straits Times* focused on the cost of the war for the Iraqis in terms of loss of life and livelihood (Chin 2003:2) and the fact that the war in Iraq and the threat of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) would reduce revenue collection and affect the tourist industry in Malaysia (Vong 2003:5). The *Daily Telegraph* speculated on the effect of the death of Saddam Hussein on global markets (Wilson 2003a:9).

The *Daily Mirror* focused on the cost of the war for the British taxpayer and the success of Al Jazeera as the only independent television station operating in the Middle East, with a global audience rivalling that of the BBC (Al Jazeera's inside story 2003:14). *The Star* mentioned Dirk du Toit (Deputy Minister of Agriculture), who warned that the war in Iraq could further delay trade negotiations under the auspices of the World Trade Organisation and President Mbeki, who was to meet the leaders of the elite countries at the G8 summit (Loxton 2003:8).

6.4.2.5 Geographic Proximity

The physical proximity of the war in Iraq (a peripheral country with a limited infrastructure) did not hamper the flow of information. News stories from the war were constructed and disseminated from the war zone by journalists, news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press, and journalists stationed in foreign countries. Numerous online newspapers reported on the events of the war. The initial phase of the war was found to have a high level of functional proximity, in that the events during this phase received substantial newspaper coverage) by the newspapers (see section 6.2 for the volume of newspaper articles disseminated during this period).

6.5. THE USE OF SOURCES BY THE NEWSPAPERS

The newspapers all used of a diversity of sources to construct their war coverage of the events of the war. Table 6.5 displays the results for the sources that were used in the war coverage of the newspapers.

Table 6.5. The sources used by the newspapers

		Newspaper					Total
		The Daily Mirror	The Daily Telegraph	The Washington Post	The New Straits Times	The Star	
Reuters	N	6	1	1	0	4	12
	%	7%	3%	0.5%	0%	21%	4.2%
Associated Press	N	0	1	0	0	0	1
	%	0%	3%	.0%	0%	0%	.3%
Local news agencies	N	1	0	0	0	0	1
	%	1%	.0%	.0%	0%	0%	.3%
In-house journalists	N	70	30	110	19	10	239
	%	82%	94%	83%	100%	53%	82.7%
Journalists in war zone	N	2	0	1	0	0	3
	%	2%	0%	0.5%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Journalists in foreign countries	N	7	0	6	0	0	13
	%	8%	.0%	5%	.0%	.0%	4.5%
Foreign Post Service	N	0	0	15	0	0	15
	%	.0%	.0%	11%	.0%	.0%	5.2%
Other	N	0	0	0	0	5	5
	%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	26%	1.7%
Total		86	32	133	19	19	289
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The row percentages in table 6.5 reflect the distribution of a particular source for each newspaper from 2003 to 2006 and the column percentages the distribution of all the sources for each newspaper. The results show that the most prominent news source was in-house journalists (239 [82,7%] articles) followed by Foreign Post Service (this service provides *The Washington Post* with a percentage of its foreign news), (15 [5,2%] articles), journalists in foreign countries (journalists operating in for example neighbouring countries to Iraq) (13 [4,5%] articles), Reuters (12 [4,2%] articles), the other sub-category (5 [1,7%] articles), Associated Press (1 [0,3%] articles), journalists in the war zone (3 [0,7%] articles) and, local news agencies (1 [0,8%] articles).

The results show a strong reliance on in-house journalists (the *New Straits Times* 100%), the *Daily Telegraph* 94%, *The Washington Post* 84%, the *Daily Mirror* 82%, *The Star* 53%) as a source by the newspapers. A significant

consequence of this reliance was diverse news content, as news was constructed in accordance with the cultural values of the journalists' respective countries. Where *The Washington Post* used military personnel, reports from the Pentagon, interviews with war victims, and reports from journalists and Whitehouse spokespersons, the *New Straits Times* covered the destroyed heritage of Iraq, the role of the United Nations in post-war Iraq and a date for the United States to leave Iraq. The *Daily Telegraph* focused on marines leaving for war, the opulence of Saddam's palace and the fall of Baghdad, and *The Daily Mirror* included stories that involved British victories and casualties, and the post-war reconstruction in Iraq.

Newspapers such as *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* stationed journalists in foreign cities and countries such as Qatar, Amman and New Delhi from where they reported on the war. *The Washington Post* used its Foreign Service and journalists who reported live from the battlefield in areas such as Hilla, Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul. The fact that a large number of correspondents operated "on the spot" signifies the importance of the event. *The Washington Post* also constructed several news reports from the Marine Combat Headquarters in Iraq. In similar fashion the *Daily Telegraph* accommodated journalists in Baghdad, the Basra Dock and the Iraq/Turkey border.

Several of the newspapers used news agencies to for news stories on the war. The *Daily Mirror*, the *Star*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* published news reports supplied by Reuters. The *Daily Telegraph* was the only newspaper to use a news report from Associated Press. The fact that four of the newspapers used news agencies as a source indicates that news agencies still have role to play in the global flow of information, however when the percentage of use namely (7.2%) is considered, it can be deduced that the role of international News Agencies as an organisational source in the Iraq War was limited.

6.6 THE SOURCES QUOTED BY THE NEWSPAPERS

A diversity of sources was quoted by the newspapers in their reporting of the events of the war. Table 6.6 displays the distribution of the sources quoted by the newspapers.

Table 6.6 The quoting of sources by the newspapers

News sources quoted in the article * Newspaper Cross tabulation

		Newspaper					Total
		<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>The Washington Post</i>	<i>The New Straits Times</i>	<i>The Star</i>	
Elite nations	N	4	2	7	0	0	13
	%	1.4%	.7%	2.4%	.0%	.0%	4.5%
Elite persons	N	21	10	23	5	8	67
	%	7.3%	3.5%	8.0%	1.7%	2.8%	23.2%
Elite groups	N	1	3	10	4	3	21
	%	.3%	1.0%	3.5%	1.4%	1.0%	7.3%
Journalists and correspondents	N	9	1	3	4	1	18
	%	3.1%	.3%	1.0%	1.4%	.3%	6.2%
White house officials	N	0	0	8	1	0	9
	%	.0%	.0%	2.8%	.3%	.0%	3.1%
Military spokespersons	N	15	7	22	3	2	49
	%	5.2%	2.4%	7.6%	1.0%	.7%	17.0%
Army officials	N	9	3	17	0	3	32
	%	3.1%	1.0%	5.9%	.0%	1.0%	11.1%
Academics and scholars	N	0	0	6	0	1	7
	%	.0%	.0%	2.1%	.0%	.3%	2.4%
Clerics and religious leaders	N	2	0	3	0	0	5
	%	.7%	.0%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	1.7%
Anti war activists	N	1	0	4	0	0	5
	%	.3%	.0%	1.4%	.0%	.0%	1.7%
Iraqi civilians	N	13	5	15	1	1	35
	%	4.5%	1.7%	5.2%	.3%	.3%	12.1%
Coalition casualties	N	3	0	4	1	0	8
	%	1.0%	.0%	1.4%	.3%	.0%	2.8%
Politicians	N	0	0	8	0	0	8
	%	.0%	.0%	2.8%	.0%	.0%	2.8%
Other	N	8	1	3	0	0	12
	%	2.8%	.3%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	4.2%
Total	N	86	32	133	19	19	289
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The body of the table reflects the frequency and the cross tabulation of the sources quoted in the war coverage of the newspapers. Row percentages reflected the distribution of a particular source for each newspaper from 2003 to 2006, and column percentages reflected the total distribution of the categories of sources for each newspaper.

The most quoted sources were found to be elite persons (67 [23,2%] articles), followed by military spokespersons (49 [17%] articles), Iraqi civilians (35

[12,1%] articles), army officials (32 [11,1%] articles), elite groups (21 [7,3%] articles), journalists and correspondents (18 [6,2%] articles) and elite nations (13 [4,5%] articles). Other sources that were quoted included the other category (12 [4,2%] articles), White House officials (9 [3,1%] articles), politicians (8 [2,8%] articles), academics and scholars (7 [2,4%] articles), anti-war activists (5 [1,7%] articles) and clerics and religious leaders (5 [1,7%] articles). Although the pattern for the individual newspapers concurs with the collective pattern for the first seven most quoted sources, distinct differences were found in the coverage of the respective newspapers.

As far as elite persons and nations are concerned, all the newspapers except the *New Straits Times* (this paper quoted its own elite persons), generally quoted elite countries such as France, Germany, Russia, Britain and the United States and in doing so added a strong political connotation to the content. Heads of state such as President George Bush, Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Putin were also quoted by the majority of the newspapers. The quoting of sources such as heads of states reiterates the findings of McCombs (2004:33) that the president of an elite nation is a powerful source and a top newsmaker.

Military spokespersons were quoted extensively by the two newspapers attached to countries directly in the war namely *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*. Spokespersons such as air force lieutenants, major generals, military analysts, retired army officials and United States military officials in Qatar are examples of some of the sources quoted in this sub-category. These findings support Ravi's (2005) findings namely that elite newspapers use official and expert sources in their reporting of events, to offer a military perspective of the war. The *New Straits Times* and *The Star* did not rely on military sources for information regarding the war. This non-reliance could be attributed to the fact that they were not involved in the war.

Interestingly, the newspapers attached to the countries involved in the war quoted an array of comments of Iraqi civilians. The quotes were found to be pro-American and consisted of expressions of jubilation at the liberation of

Iraq, for example, “they (the Iraqi’s) can now come from behind the curtain of tyranny” (Shepherd & Scharnberg 2003:5), Bagh-Glad (Wallace 2003a:3) and “Iraqi’s now free to disagree” (Shahid 2003:2). The Iraqi’s quoted by the *New Straits Times* relayed their shock at the devastation and the civilian casualties, for example, “look what they have done to our country” (Akmar 2003:3), “how many more Iraqis’ must die? (Naggapan 2003:7) and “I know that they (the coalition forces) have destroyed the water supplies” (Ahmad 2003:5).

In similar fashion to the subcategory military spokespersons, army officials such as the Special Republic Guard, the 1st marine division, members of the marine units and elements of the army’s 3rd infantry division were quoted by the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post*, to relate their accounts of the events of the war. The *New Straits Times* and *The Star* refrained from quoting this sub-category.

As far as the quoting of elite groups is concerned, the *New Straits Times*, quoted mostly local groups, whereas the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mirror*, *The Washington Post* and the *Star* quoted a diversity of both local and international groups such as the United Nations (UN), the Pentagon, the Bush administration, the Red Cross, The European Union (EU), The World Trade Organisation, Garner’s Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), Al-Qaeda and the United Nations Security Council and the European Union (EU).

Journalists and correspondents were also quoted by newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*, *The Washington Post* and the *New Straits Times* to comment on the events of the war. The bombing of a hotel in Baghdad where several independent journalists were stationed to report on the events of the war, and where two journalists were killed elicited a strong response from several journalists. Journalists quoted in the *New Straits Times* expressed their anti-war sentiments, for example, “Iraqi’s priceless heritage destroyed” (Naggapan 2003:4) and “when the invaders leave the country” (Akmar 2003:3).

The Washington Post quoted a number of White House officials who elaborated on the events of the war, and also a number of politicians. Initially the politicians who were quoted were pro-war, for example, “leader talks Bush can provide” (Mowlam 2003:11) and “Howard tells Bush he will help in the changeover” (Loeb 2003:5). However, as the war was prolonged and an election loomed in 2004, the quotes seemed to become more negative, for example, “tragedy in Iraq will be Bush’s legacy” (Henry 2006:9), “Iraq and the L word” (Cohen 2003:3) and “Bush tries to tone down high pitched debates on Iraq” (Baker & Brown 2005:5), as the present USA government was criticised for its involvement in the war.

A number of additional sources to the sources discussed in this section were quoted by some of the newspapers. Academics and scholars, for example, were quoted by *The Washington Post* to offer analyses of the events of the war, and to make predictions pertaining to the possible outcome of the war. Interestingly, anti-war protestors who expressed their anti-war sentiments as far as the war is concerned were also quoted in this newspaper.

Coalition casualties were quoted by *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*. This may be attributed to the direct involvement of these two countries in the war. As the coalition casualties increased particularly in 2004 and 2005 the quoting of USA and UK casualties increased. The quotes reflected the pain and the suffering of the relatives of the soldiers who lost their lives in the war for example “A war’s legacy of pain” (Broder 2004:2) and “the rising death toll of USA forces” (Eggen 2003:7).

6.7 THE THEMATIC FRAMING OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR

The thematic framing of events and issues was discussed in section 3.4.4, and research conducted on the framing of the 2003 Iraq War was outlined in the case study in chapter 4 (see section 4.5). The themes that emerged in the findings of this study concurred with the themes in chapter 4 and are displayed in table 6.7 as follows.

Table 6.7. The thematic framing of the events of the war

			Newspaper					Total
			<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>The Washington Post</i>	<i>The New Straits Times</i>	<i>The Star</i>	
Themes applied in the war	Religion	N	2	0	3	0	3	8
		%	0.2%	0%	2%	0%	16%	2.8%
	Peace Talks	N	3	3	6	0	0	12
		%	0.3%	9%	4%	0%	0%	4.2%
	Environmental	N	0	1	0	0	1	2
		%	0%	3%	0%	0%	5%	0.7%
	Violence	N	29	7	27	8	10	81
		%	34%	21%	20%	42%	53%	28.0%
	Humanitarian	N	22	3	15	3	2	45
		%	26%	9%	11%	16%	11%	15.6%
	Freedom and Victory	N	10	2	17	1	1	31
		%	11%	6%	13%	5%	5%	10.7%
	Wealth and Opulence	N	1	6	1	0	0	8
		%	1%	18%	0.7%	0%	0%	2.8%
	Military Manoeuvres	N	7	6	13	0	0	26
		%	8%	18%	9%	0%	0%	9.0%
	Conspiracy	N	2	1	8	0	0	11
		%	2%	3%	6%	0%	0%	3.8%
Financial	N	8	1	15	3	2	29	
	%	9%	3%	11%	15%	11%	10.0%	
Anti War Protests	N	1	2	4	0	0	7	
	%	1%	6%	3%	0%	0%	2.4%	
Electioneering	N	1	0	9	0	0	10	
	%	1%	0%	7%	0%	0%	3.5%	
Press Freedom	N	0	0	0	2	0	2	
	%	0%	0%	0%	.10%	0%	.07%	
Atrocities Committed	N	0	0	2	0	0	2	
	%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0.7%	
Reconstruction	N	0	0	13	2	0	15	
	%	0%	0%	10%	10%	0%	5.2%	
			86	32	133	19	19	289
			100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%

Row percentages reflect the distribution of a particular theme for each newspaper and column percentages reflect the distribution of the fifteen themes for each newspaper. The most prominent themes emerged as violence (81 [(28,0%) articles), followed by a humanitarian theme (45 [15,6%] articles), the theme of freedom and victory (31 [10,7%] articles), a financial theme (29 [10,0%] articles), military manoeuvres (26 [9,0%] articles) and the theme of reconstruction (15 [5,2%] articles) and peace talks (12 [4,2%] articles). Less prominent themes included a conspiracy theme (11 [3,8%] articles), an electioneering theme (10 [3,5%] articles), a theme of wealth and opulence (8 [2,8%] articles), anti-war protests as a theme (7 [2,4%] articles), the theme of press freedom (2 [0,7%] articles), an environmental theme (2 [0,7%] articles) and the theme of atrocities committed (2 [0,7%] articles).

The framing of the events by the individual newspapers showed significant differences, particularly in the context of the world system. The newspapers attached to non-Western countries (the *New Straits Times* and *The Star*) highlighted the violence in stories such as the bombing of Baghdad and other cities, the chaos and looting after the fall of Baghdad, the killing of journalists in Baghdad and increasing civilian and coalition casualties. The newspapers attached to Western countries (the *Daily Mirror*; the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*) initially focused on the military victories and only after *The* fall of Baghdad, when the violence increased substantially, did the focus shift to the theme of violence. The theme of violence is addressed as social and normative violence in section 6.4.1.1.

Another dominant theme was the humanitarian theme. This theme like the previous one was applied differently by the newspapers attached to different countries in the world system. The non-Western newspapers viewed and portrayed the war as a controversial and unjust war (see section 4.5) and they justified their stance by focusing on humanitarian stories that reflected the civilian casualties, for example, bomb victim Ali (see section 4.5) and the chaos and deteriorating conditions after the fall of Baghdad. The Western newspapers, in contrast, used the humanitarian theme to justify the war, by focusing on stories such as testimonies of citizens tortured in Saddam's regime and the rescue of Jessica Lynch (see section 4.5). This theme was addressed in the discussion of the news determinant the human factor, in section 6.4.1.3.

The theme of victory and freedom was prominent in the 2003 sample of the Western newspapers until the fall of Baghdad and involved stories of freedom and liberation, democracy and the new Iraq and the fall off the totalitarian regime of Saddam. In the aftermath of the war, when chaos and lawlessness increased, the victory theme was replaced by a theme of laying blame and responsibility and the findings show that all the newspapers condemned the war. The theme of victory is incorporated in the discussion of the news determinant political factors in section 6.4.2.1.

The financial theme was more prevalent in the newspapers of the Western countries directly involved in the war (*The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*) and increased in prominence over the four-year period. Initially stories such as the restoration of the Iraq's oil fields and the cost of maintaining a war, for example, the cost of a B-1 bomber were covered. However, as the war was prolonged stories such as the effect of the war on the American tax payer's pocket emerged in the coverage of the newspapers. The financial theme is addressed in the context related news determinants as economic factors in section 6.4.2.4.

Descriptive military operations also emerged as a prominent theme in 2003 in Western newspapers such as *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*. *The Washington Post* incorporated this theme effectively by making use of a readily available array of military sources (see section 6.5) that described and reported on military operations such as the bombing of Baghdad, securing the airport and raids on possible hideouts of Saddam. The *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror* also utilised military sources (see section), to report on aspects such as the progress made in the war, for example the Basra palace that fell to the British, the fall of Baghdad and strategic bombings that were successful.

Although both the *New Straits Times* and *The Washington Post* incorporated the theme of reconstruction into their war coverage, the content differed. The *New Straits Times* focused on the aftermath of the war and the fact that the new Government of Iraq should reflect the will of its own people, not that of the United States. *The Washington Post* reported on the procedures for issuing contracts to reconstruct Iraq, the involvement of Western elite countries in the reconstruction and the fact that there should be diverse governance in post-war Iraq.

The newspapers attached to Western countries involved in the war (the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*) incorporated the theme of peace talks in their coverage after the fall of Baghdad. The three newspapers all covered the peace talks between George Bush and Tony

Blair, the importance of the involvement of the United Nations in the peace process and the role of other elite nations such as Germany, Russia and France in securing the peace in Iraq. These articles illustrate the hierarchical status of countries such as the UK, the USA, Germany and Russia in the world system (see section 3.3.1.1).

In addition to the prominent themes that emerged in the war coverage, several less pertinent themes emerged in the results in table 6.6. Newspapers such as *The Star* and the *Daily Telegraph*, for example, were concerned about the impact of the war on the environment and the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* applied the theme of wealth and opulence in their narrative descriptions of the palaces of Saddam Hussein. These descriptive reports effectively contrasted the wealth and opulence of Saddam's lifestyle to the poverty of his people. *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* were the only newspapers to incorporate a conspiracy theme. *The Washington Post* reported that weapons of mass destruction did exist and would be found, that Syria was involved in hiding Saddam Hussein from the West and the *Daily Mirror* reported that suicide bombers were dispatched in Iraq for suicide missions against Western invaders.

The Washington Post also incorporated an electioneering theme as an election was nearing in the USA. The *New Straits Times* was the only newspaper that applied the theme of press freedom, by questioning the objectivity of the war and the accuracy of the information disseminated by newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*. The theme of atrocities featured in the reporting of *The Washington Post* and the *New Straits Times*. Interestingly, *The Washington Post* highlighted the atrocities committed by the United States soldiers who were charged with the abuse of Iraqi's at the Abu Graib jail in Baghdad. The *New Straits Times* viewed the number of innocent Iraqi's killed in the war as an atrocity.

6.8 THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN THE WAR REPORTING

Research conducted on the 2003 Iraq war revealed that propaganda was an integral part of the war reporting by the media globally (see section 4.7). The results of this study which are illustrated in table 6.8 show a similar pattern.

Table 6.8. The frequency of propaganda in the war coverage

Newspapers	Propaganda			
	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86	100%	0	0%
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	32	100%	0	0%
<i>The Washington Post</i>	132	99%	1	1%
<i>The New Strait Times</i>	16	84%	3	16%
<i>The Star</i>	17	89%	2	11%
Total	283	98%	6	2%

Table 6.8 illustrates that all the articles published by the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* contained propaganda. *The Washington Post* applied propaganda in 99% of their articles, *The Star* in 89% and the *New Straits Times* in 84%. These findings support the findings of previous research namely that propaganda is extensively used in conflicts (see section 3.4.5.4). The propaganda strategies applied by the newspapers in their war coverage is discussed in conjunction with chapters three and four in the context of psychological warfare and a classical propaganda strategy.

6.8.1 Psychological warfare

The results of this study revealed several psychological warfare tactics that were used by the five newspapers to achieve this purpose.

6.8.1.1. The weak versus strong tactic

A prominent psychological propaganda tactic used in the Iraq War was the “weak versus strong tactic”. Newspapers such as the *New Straits Times* that were attached to non-Western countries portrayed the United States (the

occupying power) as being engaged in an unequal battle with the invaded population (Iraq) (see section 3.4.5.4, Schleifer 2005:9). Phrases such as “the United States military that arrived with their tanks and their bombs and destroyed everything in their path”, “the onslaught on Iraq” (Ahmad 2003:5) “the bombs of the Americans that rained down mercilessly killing thousands of Iraqi’s” and “an imperial power occupying Iraq” are prime examples of this tactic (Naggapan 2003:7).

6.8.1.2 The strong versus weak tactic

The strong versus weak tactic emerged as a reversal of the previous one. Western nations such as the USA and the UK reported used the media to signify their superiority over the weaker Iraq in the war. *The Daily Mirror*, for example, highlighted the strength of the coalition forces (the occupying power) by stating that Iraqi’s who continue to fight for Saddam face being blasted by “the mother of all bombs” (Roberts 2003:12), and *The Washington Post* reported the fact that Iraq’s United Nations Ambassador finally admitted defeat and was seeking asylum (Lynch 2003a:9).

6.8.1.3 Presenting selective information to the audience

The tactic of presenting selective information to influence audiences globally (Schleifer 2005:18) was used by all the newspapers in their war coverage. The *New Straits Times*, which is attached to a non-western country used this tactic to present negative information about the war and the Western countries (USA and the UK) by disseminating comments such as “the invaders (the United States) should pack up and go home” (Ahmad 2003:5), “only the deaths of the American and British troops are mourned”, and “Iraqi casualties are projected as collateral damage” (Akmar 2003:3).

Newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post* attached to Western countries appeared to select information that justified the war and that would convince their respective audiences of the necessity of the war. *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, published the opulence of Saddam’s palace, which contrasted his lifestyle to

that of his people (English 2003:3), and negative information about Saddam, for example, that he ruled Iraq with an iron fist (Clifton 2003:9). In addition, “slices of information” labelled “infotainment” (Derian 2003:40) about military manoeuvres were included with phrases such as “rush to leave”, “trappings of home”, “in the ruins”, “imposing column of tanks”, “children playing in front of British tanks”, “the liberation of Baghdad” and “taskforce Tarawa sweeping the countryside for enemies” (Shepherd & Scharnberg 2003:5).

The *Daily Mirror* singled out its own casualties and hero’s for example, “the fallen were sons, fathers, brothers, all of them heroes” (Kerr & Lakeman 2003:12); “family weeps at return of Jessica Lynch” (Davidson 2003:12); “British troops are fighting and policing as they foil a robbery” (Edwards 2003:10). Victorious stories such as “the fall off Baghdad”, tearing down the statue”, “the genie is out of the bottle” (Antonowitz 2003:5), and “the end of Saddam’s regime” were also part of selected news reports. After the fall of Baghdad, the selected stories appeared to become more critical, for example, “increasing coalition casualties” (Shahid 2003:2) and “the declining popularity of Bush” (Ricks 2005:5).

The Washington Post disseminated selective information such as military victories “the end of Saddam’s regime”, “Iraqi’s now free to disagree” (Shahid 2003:2), “Army seizes final Government strongholds” (Branigin 2003:3), “Cheney praises Iraq invasion” (Allen 2003:4), “Hussein’s final mistake” (Hoagland 2003:9). Other selected information included issues such as “Syria warned not to meddle in Iraq” (Pincus 2003:11) and Ahmed Chalabi (labelled a puppet for the Bush administration), who is portrayed as “an honourable academic and citizen and family man” (Hoagland 2003:9).

6.8.1.4 The control of communication mediums in the 2003 Iraq War

The control of radio and television networks and broadcasts to capture the “hearts and minds” of the public (Bytwerk 1998) (see section 3.4.5.4) seemed to reach new levels of sophistication in the Iraq War. The *New Straits Times*, for example, claimed that the Qatar based Al Jazeera station in Iraq was

bombed by the coalition forces, with the result that only the coalition “spin” on the war was presented to the public (Kaur 2003:4). The Bush administration also took control of the Iraqi state television and allegedly used this medium to emphasise the benefits of a free Iraq to the Iraqi people after the fall of Baghdad (Hardy 2003:6). It is further claimed that testimonies of Iraqi citizens such as Katrin Michael, who recalled her story of torture by Saddam were also broadcast by this medium (Carlson 2003:4). In March 2003, the New York Stock Exchange banned Al Jazeera station from its trading floor, due to its suggested links with Al-Qaeda (Ahmad 2003:5).

6.8.2 Classic propaganda strategy

The findings for this study indicate that a classic political propaganda strategy which included several tactics was deployed by the Bush administration and the Pentagon. These tactics are discussed as follows:

6.8.2.1 Presenting the war as a war of defence

It has been suggested that the Bush administration attempted to overcome the resistance towards the Iraq War (see sections 4.2 and 4.4) by presenting the war as a “war of defence” against a clearly defined aggressor (Saddam Hussein). Saddam Hussein emerged as a “designer enemy” in the coverage of some of the newspapers. The *Daily Telegraph*, for example, used phrases such as “tyrant”, (Coorey 2003:7), “dictator”, “Saddam’s torturing of inmates with beatings, mutilations, electric shocks and chemical baths” (Kurna 2003:10), “Hunt for the tyrant”, “Iraqi people are finally speaking up against a brutal regime”, “How the people of Iraq lost a despot” (Cazzulini 2003:5) and “Saddam’s evil regime” (End in sight for Saddam’s evil regime 2003:11).

The *Daily Mirror* referred to Saddam and his regime as “tyrant’s evil grip is over”, “tortured by Saddam’s regime” (Dunn 2003:3), “Saddam hides like a rat in a sewer” (Hitchens 2003:6), “the tyrant disappears as regime crumbles” (Wallace 2003b:3) “Saddam the ace of spades in a deck of cards” (Roberts 2003:3) and “dictator” (Gulf War 2: Saddam Hussein, dictator 1937-200?:2003:11). In its coverage *The Washington Post* included phrases such

as “celebrate end of bloody regime” (Pierre 2003:12), “Hussein’s final mistake” (Hoagland 2003:9), “Saddam’s unfathomable opulence” (Chandrasekaran 2003:9) and “brutal dictator” (Pierre 2003:12) and *The Star’s* termed the regime of Saddam as a bloody one (Du Preez 2003:7).

6.8.2.2 Presenting the war in a polarised manner

The findings indicated that the war was portrayed in a polarised manner namely “for or against” the war (Bytwerk 1998). Newspapers attached to non-Western countries such as the *New Straits Times* displayed an “against” the war position with statements such as “merciless killings” (Naggappan 2003:5), “thousands killed” (Ahmad 2003:5) and “children facing trauma” (Naggappan 2003:5). The positive stance of the *Daily Telegraph* was reflected in statements such as “Fight for Freedom” (Borgu 2003:2), “fall of the Baghdad palaces” (Shephard & Scharnberg 2003:3) and “Blair and Bush talk peace” (Wilson 2003a:5).

The stance of the Western newspapers appeared to change over the four-year period. In its coverage *The Daily Mirror*, for example, was initially for the war: “Shi’ites chant freedom”, “thank you Bush” (Arnett 2003:12) “Jaques Chirac welcomed the fall of Iraq”, (Wallace 2003a:3). However after the initial victory a more critical tone of reporting emerged with statements such as “troops cannot control the peace” (English 2003:3) “bomb blasts homes instead of Saddam’s bunker” (Arnett 2003:12) and “Syria and Egypt demand the end to the occupation of Iraq (Ellis 2003:7).

In a similar fashion to *The Daily Mirror*, *The Washington Post* was also initially pro-war, with reporting such as “Saddam’s opulent lifestyle and the poverty of the Iraqi masses” (Branigin 2003:3), “Iraqi’s rejoice as regime falls” (Aizenman 2003:2), “Cheney praises the invasion” (Allen 2003:4), “care packages for the troops” and “other Middle East countries must embrace democracy like Iraq” (Wax 2003:2).

The positive stance of *The Washington Post* changed to a negative one in the aftermath of the war with reports such as “worldwide protests against the invasion” (McCartney 2003:11), “Bush and Blair are aggressive liars”, “death toll rises to 574”, “Bush attacked Iraq despite lack of credible evidence” (Eggen 2004:7), “United States soldiers accused of abuse” (Chan 2004:7) and “the tragedy of Iraq will be George Bushes’s legacy” (Henry 2006:9). The anti-war stance of *The Star* was evident from comments such as “Bush is making the violence worse” (Can’t stop violence Bush is making it worse 2004:12).

6.8.2.3 The control of information in the War

A powerful propaganda tactic in the 2003 Iraq War was the control of information by the elite Western countries involved in the war. The *New Straits Times* claimed that United States military and Washington controlled the press through the Pentagon, the programme of embedded journalists (see section 4.6.3.1 for a discussion on this programme), and by the seating arrangements and priorities accorded to journalists at the Central Command Press Conferences (Ahmad 2003:5). The *New Straits Times* also reported that leaders of non-aligned countries slammed Western news agencies for their unbalanced and fabricated reports (Naggapan 2003:7).

Interestingly the *Daily Telegraph* criticised Australia (the country that it is attached to) when it reported that John Howard’s (Australian prime minister) call on the Australian media to tone down their coverage of protestors was a blatant attempt to influence the media’s coverage of the war. *The Star* called Blair and Bush hypocrites and aggressive liars and claimed that their lying was of a monumental nature (Bush, Blair aggressive liars 2003:6).

6.8.2.4 The use of drama and conspiracy theories in the war

A number of the newspapers incorporated drama and conspiracy theories in their war coverage (see section 3.4.5.4). The *Daily Telegraph* reported the story of “the likely discovery of mustard gas” (Coorey 2003:5). The *Daily Mirror* related conspiracy stories such as the continued search for weapons of mass destruction (Wallace 2003b:6), the fact that Syria was harbouring

Saddam supporters, and Iraqi fanatics who were using steroids to make them “suicidally” brave (Hughes 2003:4). The paper further related the personal experiences of an embedded journalist in narrative form: “travel in convoy”, “surrounded by artillery”, “and life in the desert (Gillian 2003:5).

The Washington Post captured the drama of the fall of Baghdad with phrases such as “Army seizes final strongholds” (Branigin 2003:3), “residents welcome United States troops” (Atkinson 2003:8), and “let’s get the job done (Graham 2003:5). As far as conspiracy theories are concerned, the newspaper reported that the Secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) considered the possibility that Saddam may have been protected by Syria (Priest 2003:2).

Where the previous sections discussed the results for the newsworthiness of the war, and the construction of the events of the war, this section addresses the results for the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the United States, and the change of tone over the four-year period.

6.9 THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS THE WAR AND THE USA

It was explained in section 5.6.6.1 that one-way analyses of variance were conducted with the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the attitude of the newspapers towards the USA, as the dependent variables and the various newspapers as the independent variables. The purpose of the analyses was to determine if the newspapers differed in their tones or attitudes towards the war and towards the USA. The results of the analyses of variance are discussed in this section.

6.9.1 The tone of the newspapers towards the war

A three point Likert type scale (an attitude measuring instrument) was used to measure the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the United States. The tones of the newspaper articles were captured as: 1= negative, 2= neutral and 3=positive. The results for the analysis of the tone of the five newspapers

towards the war are displayed in table 6.9 (the descriptive table) and figure 6.1 as follows:

Table 6.9. Descriptive statistics for the tone of the newspapers towards the war

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86	1.9186	.72299	.07796	1.7636	2.0736	1.00
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	32	2.2500	.71842	.12700	1.9910	2.5090	1.00
<i>The Washington Post</i>	133	2.0451	.72681	.06302	1.9204	2.1698	1.00
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	19	1.3158	.47757	.10956	1.0856	1.5460	1.00
<i>The Star</i>	19	1.6842	.58239	.13361	1.4035	1.9649	1.00
Total	289	1.9585	.73006	.04294	1.8740	2.0430	1.00

Mean of Recoded values of attitudes towards the war

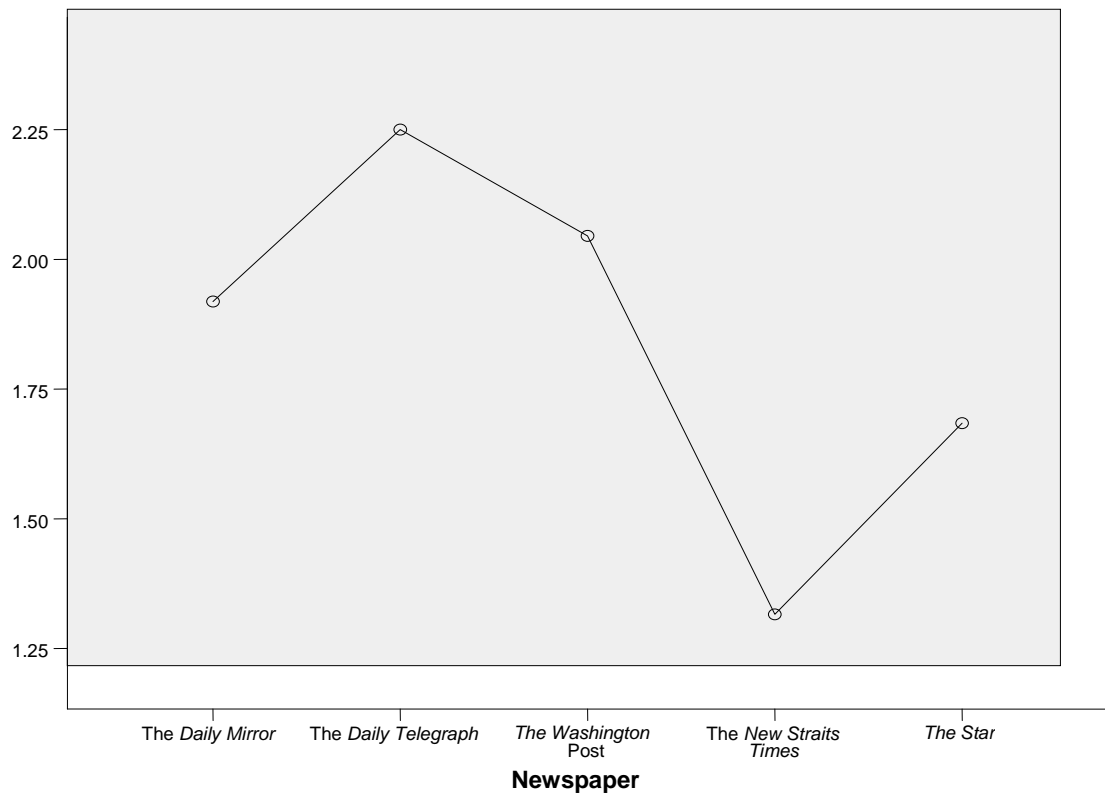


Figure 6.1 The distribution of the means of the tone of the newspapers towards the war.

The results for figure 6.1 and table 6.9 show similar results namely that although the mean scores of all the newspapers differ significantly, the scores of the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* were significantly higher than that of *The Star* and the mean score of the *New Straits Times* was significantly lower than the scores of the other papers.

These results indicate that the differences in the mean values of the newspapers are so significant that similarly strong findings would be unlikely to recur by chance. The results of the one-way analyses of variance thus indicate that significant differences existed between the newspapers with regard to their tone towards the war. $F(4,284)=6,642$; $p<0,001$, $ES=0,086$). The effect size indicates that the model explains 8.6% of the variance in tone towards the war.

Post-hoc Scheffe and Bonferroni tests were conducted to determine how the respective newspapers differed in their tone towards the war. The Scheffe post-hoc test (see section 5.6.6.1) allowed for comparisons to be made between groups and was used to determine the difference in tone of the newspapers to the war. Table 6.10 reflects the results for the Scheffe post-hoc test.

Table 6.10 Results for the post-hoc Scheffe tests.

Newspaper		N	Subset for alpha = .05		
			1-negative	2-Neutral	3=Positive
Scheffe(a,b)	<i>The New Straits Times</i>	19	1.3158a		
	<i>The Star</i>	19	1.6842a	1.6842 a	
	<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86		1.9186a b	1.9186 b c
	<i>The Washington Post</i>	133		2.0451 b	2.0451 b c
	The Daily Telegraph	32		2.2188 a	2.2500 c
	Sig.		.356	.378	.469

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 32.121.

b The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 6.10 displays the number of articles published by each newspaper and the distribution of the tone of the newspapers (negative, neutral and positive). Although the group sizes were unequal (19, 19, 86, 133 and 32, which could affect the validity of the test) statistical significant differences in the tone of the newspapers were identified and meaningful deductions could be made.

The *New Straits Times* differed significantly from the other newspapers in that its tone towards the war was negative. The *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post* displayed a positive and neutral tone towards the war and differed from the *Daily Telegraph* that displayed only a positive tone and *The Star* which displayed a neutral and negative tone.

Although differences in the tone of the newspapers towards the war were identified, it was decided to use a Bonferroni post-hoc test to analyse the data further, to obtain a more comprehensive analysis of the differences that emerged in the Scheffe test (see section 5.6.6.1). The results for the Bonferroni post-hoc test are displayed in table 6.11 as follows:

Contingency table 6.11. Results for the Bonferroni post-hoc test

(I) Newspaper	(J) Newspaper	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
The Daily Mirror	The <i>Daily Telegraph</i>	-.33140	.14558	.272	-.7828	.1200
	The <i>Washington Post</i>	-.12651	.09728	.792	-.4281	.1751
	The <i>New Straits Times</i>	.60282 *	.17822	.024	.0502	1.1554
	The <i>Star</i>	.23439	.17822	.785	-.3182	.7870
The <i>Daily Telegraph</i>	The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	.33140	.14558	.272	-.1200	.7828
	The <i>Washington Post</i>	.20489	.13843	.701	-.2243	.6341
	The <i>New Straits Times</i>	.93421 *	.20362	.000	.3029	1.5655
	The <i>Star</i>	.56579	.20362	.105	-.0655	1.1971
The <i>Washington Post</i>	The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	.12651	.09728	.792	-.1751	.4281
	The <i>Daily Telegraph</i>	-.20489	.13843	.701	-.6341	.2243
	The <i>New Straits Times</i>	.72932 *	.17242	.002	.1947	1.2639
	The <i>Star</i>	.36090	.17242	.359	-.1737	.8955
The <i>New Straits Times</i>	The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	-.60282 *	.17822	.024	-1.1554	-.0502
	The <i>Daily Telegraph</i>	-.93421 *	.20362	.000	-1.5655	-.3029
	The <i>Washington Post</i>	-.72932 *	.17242	.002	-1.2639	-.1947
	The <i>Star</i>	-.36842	.22810	.626	-1.0757	.3388
The <i>Star</i>	The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	-.23439	.17822	.785	-.7870	.3182
	The <i>Daily Telegraph</i>	-.56579	.20362	.105	-1.1971	.0655
	The <i>Washington Post</i>	-.36090	.17242	.359	-.8955	.1737
	The <i>New Straits Times</i>	.36842	.22810	.626	-.3388	1.0757

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

In the Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test each newspaper was compared to the other four newspapers, to determine where the differences between the newspapers with regards to their respective tone towards the war lay. For each of the newspapers the mean difference, the standard error and the significance was indicated for each comparison between the newspapers.

The findings for the Bonferroni post-hoc test indicated significant differences between the *Daily Mirror* and the *New Straits Times* ($p= 0.024 < 0.05$), the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New Straits Times* ($p= 0.000 < 0.05$) and between *The Washington Post* and the *New Straits Times* ($p=0.002 < 0.005$). The key difference between the *New Straits Times* and the three newspapers listed above was its negative tone compared to the positive tone of the other newspapers.

No significant differences were found between the *New Straits Times* and *The Star*, and no significant differences were found between the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post*. The *New Straits Times* was the only newspaper that was significantly different from the other newspapers ($p < 0,05$). The *Star* did not differ significantly from any of the other newspapers.

6.9.2 The attitude of the newspapers towards the United States

To determine the attitude of the newspapers towards the United States the same procedure as in section 6.9.1 was followed namely analyses of variance, a Scheffe test and a Bonferroni Post Hoc Multiple Comparisons test. A three point Likert type scale (an attitude measuring instrument) was used to measure the tone of the newspapers towards the United States. The results for the analysis of the attitude of the five newspapers towards the US are displayed in table 6.12 (the descriptive table) and figure 6.2 as follows:

Table 6.12 Descriptive statistics for the attitude of the newspapers towards the United States.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		M	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86	2.0814	0,58	.57834	.06236	1.9574	2.2054	2,08
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	32	2.2188	0,49	.49084	.08677	2.0418	2.3957	2,22
<i>The Washington Post</i>	133	2.2030	0,65	.64853	.05624	2.0918	2.3142	2,20
<i>The New Strait Times</i>	19	1.5789	0,51	.50726	.11637	1.3345	1.8234	1,58
<i>The Star</i>	19	1.7895	0,54	.53530	.12281	1.5315	2.0475	1,79
Total	289	2.1003	0,02	.61827	.03637	2.0288	2.1719	2,10

Mean of Recoded attitudes towards the US

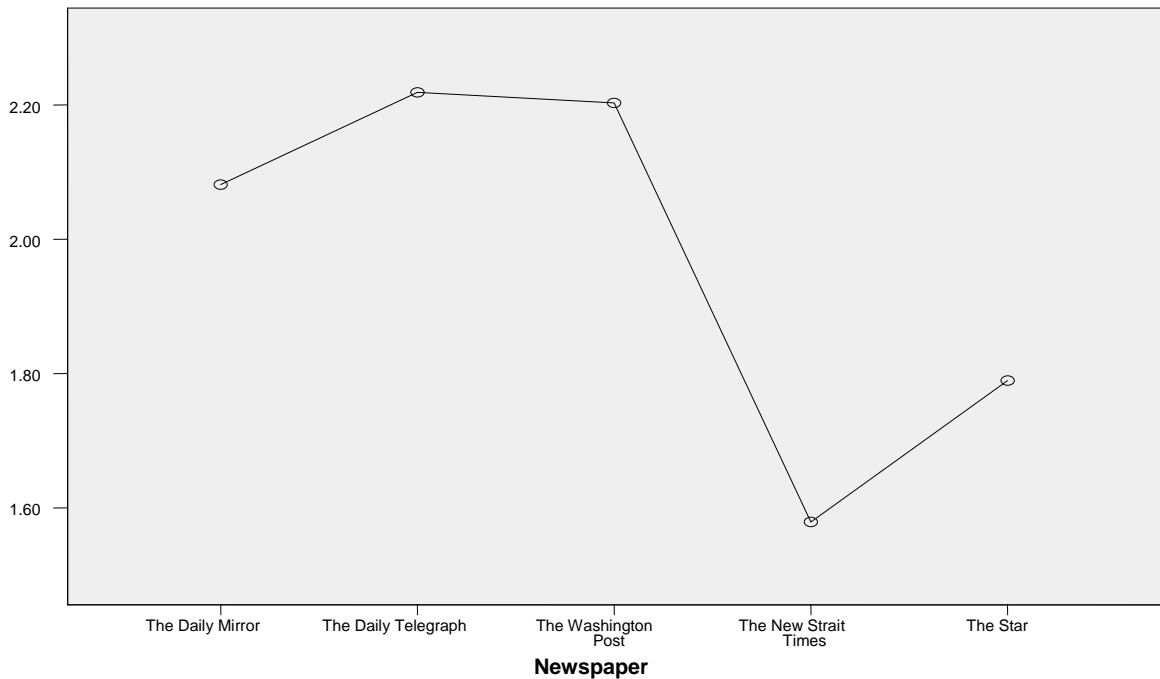


Figure 6.2 Mean of recoded attitudes towards the USA

The results for figure 6.2 (the tone of the newspapers towards the USA) concur with the results for figure 6.1. The mean scores of the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* were the highest, the mean score of *The Star* was slightly lower and the mean score of the *New Straits Times*

differed significantly from the other four papers in that it was significantly lower.

The results for table 6.12 support the findings of figure 6.2 namely that the mean scores of all the papers differ significantly, but that the mean score of the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror* were noticeably higher than that of *The Star* and that the mean score of the *New Straits Times* was significantly lower than that of the other four papers.

The results of the one-way analysis of variance indicate that statistically significant differences existed between the newspapers with regard to their attitudes towards the USA $F(4,284)=6.231$; $p<001$, $ES=0,081$. The effect size indicates that this model explains 8,1% of the variance in attitudes towards the USA. The data was further analysed by conducting a post-hoc Scheffe and a post-hoc Bonferroni test, to determine how the respective newspapers differed in their tone towards the USA. Table 6.13 displays the results for the Scheffe test.

Table 6.13. Results for the post-hoc Scheffe test

	Newspaper	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
			1-negative	2-Neutral
Scheffe(a,b)	<i>The New Strait Times</i>	19	1.5789 a	
	<i>The Star</i>	19	1.7895 a	1.7895 a,b
	<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	86		2.0814 b
	<i>The Washington Post</i>	133		2.2030 b
	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	32		2.2188 a
	Sig.			.736

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 32.121.

b The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Although the group sizes were unequal, and could affect the validity of the Scheffe test, meaningful deductions could be made. The attitude of the New

Straits Times was significantly more negative towards the USA than the Daily Mirror, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Telegraph*. No significant differences between the *New Straits Times* and *The Star*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post*.

To gain a more comprehensive insight onto the differences towards the USA a Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test was conducted. Table 6.14 displays the results as follows:

Contingency table 6.14. The Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Recoded attitudes towards the US
Scheffe

(I) Newspaper	(J) Newspaper	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
The Daily Mirror	The Daily Telegraph	-.13735	.12361	.872	-.5206	.2459
	The Washington Post	-.12161	.08260	.705	-.3777	.1345
	The New Strait Times	.50245*	.15133	.028	.0332	.9717
	The Star	.29192	.15133	.447	-.1773	.7611
The Daily Telegraph	The Daily Mirror	.13735	.12361	.872	-.2459	.5206
	The Washington Post	.01574	.11754	1.000	-.3487	.3802
	The New Strait Times	.63980*	.17289	.009	.1037	1.1759
	The Star	.42928	.17289	.190	-.1068	.9654
The Washington Post	The Daily Mirror	.12161	.08260	.705	-.1345	.3777
	The Daily Telegraph	-.01574	.11754	1.000	-.3802	.3487
	The New Strait Times	.62406*	.14641	.001	.1701	1.0780
	The Star	.41353	.14641	.095	-.0404	.8675
The New Strait Times	The Daily Mirror	-.50245*	.15133	.028	-.9717	-.0332
	The Daily Telegraph	-.63980*	.17289	.009	-1.1759	-.1037
	The Washington Post	-.62406*	.14641	.001	-1.0780	-.1701
	The Star	-.21053	.19368	.881	-.8111	.3900
The Star	The Daily Mirror	-.29192	.15133	.447	-.7611	.1773
	The Daily Telegraph	-.42928	.17289	.190	-.9654	.1068
	The Washington Post	-.41353	.14641	.095	-.8675	.0404
	The New Strait Times	.21053	.19368	.881	-.3900	.8111

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The Bonferroni post-hoc test indicated significant differences between the *Daily Mirror* and the *New Straits Times* ($p < 0,05$), between the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New Straits Times* ($p < 0,01$) and between *The Washington Post* and the *New Straits Times* ($p < 0,01$).

The key difference between the *New Straits Times* and the other three newspapers (the *Daily Telegraph*; *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*) was the negative tone of the *New Straits Times* compared to the disposition of the other three newspapers which was more positive. The *Star* did not differ from any of the other newspapers. No significant differences were found in the tone of the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post* towards the United States. The *New Straits Times* was the only newspaper that differed significantly from the other newspapers.

6.9.3 The association between the newspaper's attitude towards the 2003 Iraq War and the USA

A cross-tabulation and the Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to determine if indeed a relationship existed between the attitudes of the newspapers towards the USA reflected in the articles that were analysed.

Table 6.15. Cross tabulation: Attitude towards the 2003 Iraq War versus attitude towards the USA

			Attitude towards the war			Total
			Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive
Attitude towards the United States	Positive	N	58	11	2	71
		%	20.1%	3.8%	.7%	24.6%
	Negative	N	1	7	34	42
		%	.3%	2.4%	11.8%	14.5%
	Neutral	N	12	117	47	176
		%	4.2%	40.5%	16.3%	60.9%
Total	N	71	135	83	83	
	%	24.6%	46.7%	28.7%	28.7%	

The row percentages in table 6.15 indicate the attitude reflected in the newspaper articles towards the war and the column percentages the attitude towards the USA. The results for table 6.16 indicate that of the total of 289 articles published 71 (24,6%) articles boasted a positive tone towards the war, 135 (46.7%) articles a neutral tone and 83 (28,7%) a negative tone. As far as the attitude towards the USA is concerned the tone of 71(24,6%) articles was positive, 176 (60,9%) articles were neutral in tone and 42 (14,5%) articles

were negative. The results further indicated that of the total number of articles published 58 (21,1%) boasted a positive attitude towards the war and the USA, 135 (46,7%) were neutral towards both the war and the USA and 34 (11.8%) articles were both negative towards the war and towards the USA.

It can therefore be deduced that the negative attitudes towards the war tend to coincide with negative attitudes towards the United States, and the same applies to positive and neutral attitudes. The Pearson correlation coefficient confirm that a significant relationship existed between the attitudes of the newspapers towards the war and the USA ($r=0.690$, $n=289$, $p<0,001$). The positive correlation coefficient indicates that a positive attitude towards the USA was associated with a positive tone towards the war and vice versa.

6.9.4 The change in tone towards the war and the USA from 2003-2006

In the final section of this chapter, the tone of the newspapers towards the war was analysed to determine if and how the tone changed from 2003 to 2006.

6.9.4.1 The change in tone towards the war

A graph was used to determine the change in the tone of the newspapers towards the war from 2003-2006. The results are displayed in figure 6.3

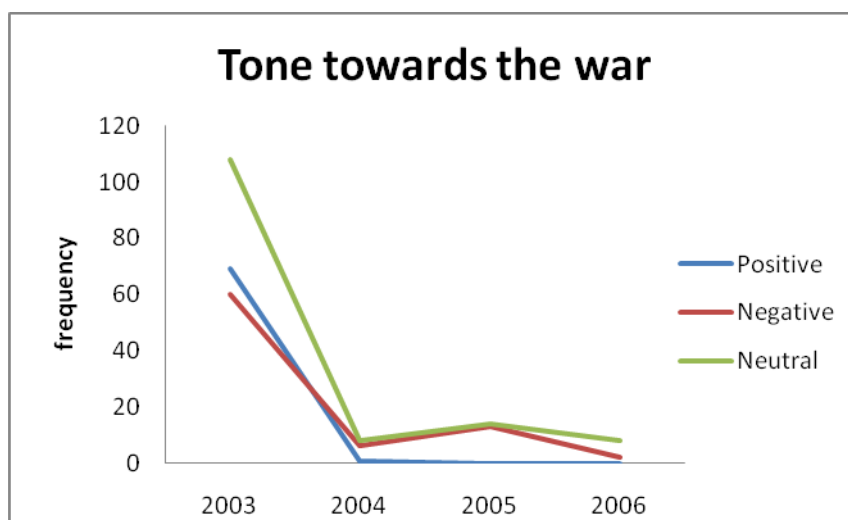


Figure 6.3. The collective tone of the newspapers towards the war

Figure 6.3 indicates that the dominant collective tone of the newspapers towards the war was neutral. With regard to positive and negative attitudes the following can be deduced:

- In 2003 the tone of the newspapers towards the war was more positive than negative.
- In 2004 the dominant positive tone was replaced by a dominant negative tone.
- The pattern for 2005 was the same as in 2004; the dominant tone of the newspapers towards the war was negative.
- In 2006 the tone of the newspapers was negative, there was no positive tone.

It can therefore be concluded that the positive tone of the newspapers towards the war in 2003 was replaced by a dominant negative tone between 2004 and 2006.

6.9.4.2 Change in attitude towards the United States

Figure 6.4 displays the collective attitude of the newspapers towards the United States between 2003 and 2006.

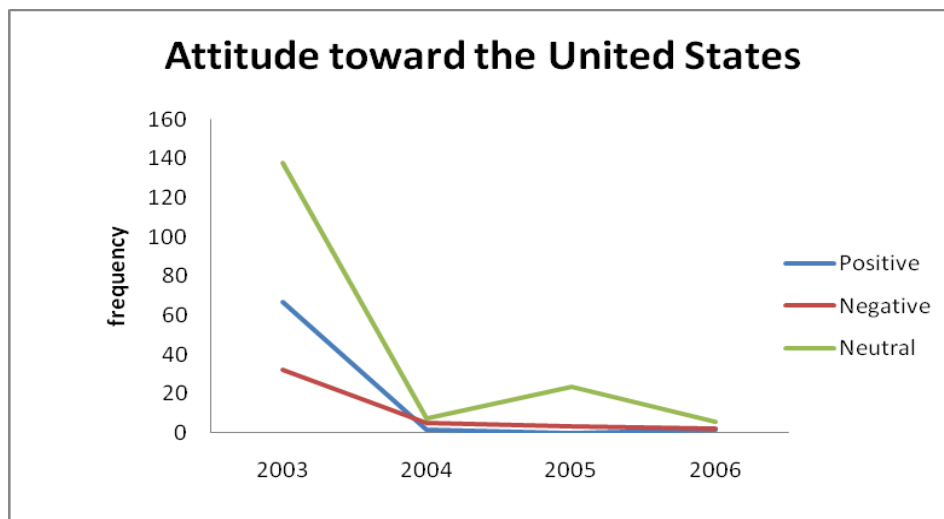


Figure 6.4. The collective attitude of the newspapers towards the United States

The line graph revealed that the tone of the newspapers towards the United States between 2003 and 2006 was predominantly neutral. With regard to the positive and negative attitudes the following can be deduced:

- The attitude of the newspapers towards the United States in 2003 was more positive than negative.
- From 2004 to 2006 a negative attitude was dominant.
- In 2006 the tone was only negative, a positive attitude was absent.

The findings in figures 6.1 and 6.2 supported the findings of the cross tabulation and the Pearson correlation coefficient namely that a correlation exists between the collective tones of the newspapers towards the war and towards the United States.

6.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the results of the study were discussed. In the first part the findings for the newsworthiness of the war were disclosed. The second part addressed the findings for the manner in which the five newspapers covered the selected events of the war and the third section considered the tone of the newspapers towards the war and the United States and the change of tone over the four year period.

The next chapter concludes the study. The implications of the trends and the patterns that emerged in the findings of the war coverage of the five newspapers in terms of the newsworthiness of the war, the patterns of news flow, the coverage of the events by the newspapers and the tone of the newspaper towards the war and towards the USA are critically discussed in this chapter. Suggestions for further research are made.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the data analysis was presented and the research findings were discussed. In this concluding chapter, a general overview of the study is presented and the research problem and the sub-problems formulated in sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 are answered. Recommendations for further study in the field of international communication are made. The study concludes with the final statements.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

It became evident from the literature study that information is increasingly exchanged in various forms by countries in what has become known as the international flow of information across boundaries (Mowlana 1997:25; Bornman et al 2001:76) (see section 2.2). The notion of free flow of information emerged during the Cold War as an East-West issue. Since then the focus of the free flow of information has changed to a North-South debate (Ayish 2001; Thusso 2000, 2005) (see section 2.3). Several theories pertaining to the international flow of information have been formulated.

Dependency theory laid the foundation for Galtung's theory of structural imperialism and world system theory (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993; Galtung 1971:83; Shannon 1996) (see sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). World system theorists view the world as a global hierarchical system in which countries occupy different positions namely the centre, the semi-periphery and the periphery (Shannon 1996; Wallerstein 1979:15). In the context of information flow the position of a country has been found to be a determinant for the amount and the nature of the international coverage that it receives (Chang 1988:532). Previous studies have indicated that news flows from the centre to the periphery (centre-periphery pattern of news flow) and that countries in the centre tend to award more coverage to other countries in the centre. When peripheral countries are covered, the coverage tends to be negative (Fourie

2001:417; Masmoudi 1979:180) (see section 2.4.3.1). The significance of world system theory lies in the fact that it is dynamic: countries can change positions in the world system (Chang 1988:532). A peripheral country can, for example, move to a semi-peripheral position when it becomes economically stronger, or a centre nation can move to occupy a semi-peripheral position in the world system when it regresses economically.

It has been suggested that the newsworthiness of the 2003 Iraq War can in part be attributed to the direct involvement of elite countries such as the UK and the USA (see section 3.3.1.1). The war therefore presented a unique opportunity to analyse the international flow of information during the war in the world system, as both centre nations and a peripheral nation were involved in the war. It was decided to conduct a comparative analysis of the coverage of the war by several newspapers attached to countries at different levels of the world system. Newspapers from countries in the centre (the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post*, the semi-periphery (the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New Straits Times*), and the periphery (*The Star*), were selected for the analysis. Two of the selected newspapers (the *Daily Mirror* and *The Washington Post*) represented centre nations that were directly involved in the war (see section 5.6.2.1).

To undertake this study the author formulated set out the aims for the study (see section 1.3) and formulated the research problem in accordance with the aims (see section 1.4). An attempt was made to analyse the flow and the consequences of the flow in the context of the world system (see section 2.4.3.1). The study was pursued with the use of online publications of newspapers accessed from an Australian e-site (e-library browse publications), to which the writer was granted access. Previous studies guided the writer in aspects of the design and methodology of the study, for example, the construction of the categories (see section 4.5 and 4.6).

This study aimed to answer the main research problem which asked how five newspapers attached to countries situated at different levels of the world system reported on selected events of the 2003 Iraq War. The research

problem is answered through the sub-problems, which are addressed in three main sections namely, the newsworthiness of the war; the war coverage of the newspapers and the tone and attitude of the newspapers towards the war and the USA. In the following sections the most significant trends and patterns that emerged in the findings are discussed in conjunction with the research problems.

7.3 THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF THE WAR

Overall, the findings confirmed the main premises of world system theory (Chang 1998; Chase-Dunn & Hall, 1993; Shannon 1996). It is hardly surprising that the Iraq War received a high volume of news coverage and was consequently the most newsworthy item in the newspapers from the two countries directly involved in the war, namely the *Daily Mirror* (UK) and *The Washington Post* (USA). The extensive coverage that the war received in these newspapers could furthermore be explained by the fact that both the USA and UK are situated at the centre of the world system, and that centre countries usually give preference to news related to centre countries (see section 2.4.3.1).

However, whereas world system theory – as well as the theories on media imperialism and dependency theory – commonly hold that news flows predominantly from the centre to the semi-periphery and the periphery (centre-periphery pattern of news flow) (Chang 1988; Mowlana 1997), the findings of the current study also indicate that centre countries receive relatively less coverage in newspapers of peripheral countries (Mowlana 1997:46) (see section 2.4.4). Even in the case of the Iraq War, probably one of the most newsworthy events of the 21st century, since the attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001, relatively little attention was given to the event and its aftermath in newspapers from peripheral countries (*The Star* and the *New Straits Times*).

One may therefore infer not only that newspapers at the centre pay little attention to events at the periphery, but also that the opposite is true.

Newspapers from countries at the periphery afford significantly less coverage to events occurring in countries at the centre, even those commonly regarded as highly newsworthy, due to their potentially far-reaching implications for the world system as a whole. The findings consequently indicate the existence of a considerable gap between the centre and the periphery that is bridged neither by counter flow from the periphery to the centre, nor by vertical flows of news from the centre to the periphery.

The fact that the Australian newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, afforded the Iraq War relatively more coverage than newspapers from peripheral countries can be explained primarily by the fact that the Australian government openly declared its support for the war, as a result of which Australia was regarded as an ally of the USA and the UK. Australia, furthermore, can be regarded as a country at the semi-periphery. World system theory holds that countries at the semi-periphery usually have more contact and interaction with countries at the centre than peripheral countries (Chang 1998; Shannon 1996) (see section 2.5). The higher levels of interaction between Australia and centre countries – and in particular the close ties between Australia and the UK due to their colonial history – are consequently reflected in the relatively higher newsworthiness of the Iraq War in the Australian newspaper.

However, the position of a country in the world system indicates that news coverage of any event– even one such as the Iraq War and its aftermath, with potentially far-reaching implications for social, political and economic stability in the world system declines over time (see section 3.4.1.1). It would appear that in the world of infotainment, no single event can hold the world’s interest for very long – not even one with potential manifold and wide-ranging implications for the world system as a whole.

7.4 THE NEWS DETERMINANTS OF THE WAR

The findings furthermore indicate the importance of both event-related factors and context-related factors as filters in the selection of items for news coverage of the Iraq War (Chang 1998) (see section 6.4). It was consequently

not only the dramatic events involving widespread social and political disruption that captured the interest of journalists and editors. In particular, the overarching ideological, political and economic contexts in which the events unfolded – as well as the worldwide potential political and economic implications – played an important role in news coverage. However, distinct differences could be discerned between the newspapers from the centre and semi-peripheral countries, on the one hand, and from the peripheral countries on the other, with regard to the nature of events and issues covered.

Social and normative deviance was the most important event-related factor to influence coverage of the war (see section 6.4.1.1). However, whereas the American, British and Australian newspapers tended to focus on events associated with American victory, the newspapers from the peripheral countries focused more on the social and political disruption caused by the war. The newspapers from the peripheral countries also tended to be more critical of the war and the role of the USA, and tended to focus more on the disruption and damage caused by USA military involvement in Iraq.

Similar differences could also be detected in the nature of the human interest stories that were covered. Whereas *The Washington Post*, *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* focused more on the heroism of the American and other allied soldiers, *The Star* and the *New Straits Times* gave more attention to the suffering of Iraqis and the negative and disruptive effects of the war on people's personal lives. It is furthermore important to note that the *New Straits Times*, in particular, gave preference to the utterances and actions of local leadership rather than to the role of the political and military leadership of the centre.

Political and economic factors were the main context-related factors determining news coverage of the Iraq War in the case of all the newspapers. However, again a distinct difference is discernable between the issues raised by the newspapers from the centre and peripheral countries, on the one hand, and the newspapers from the peripheral countries on the other. Whereas the newspapers from the centre and semi-peripheral countries, portrayed the role

of the USA in a positive light, the involvement of the USA in Iraq was depicted negatively – even as a disaster – in the newspapers from the peripheral countries. Also, whereas the newspapers from the centre and semi-peripheral countries, focused on the financial implications of the war for the USA, the newspapers from the peripheral countries focused on the costs in terms of loss of life and livelihood as well as the potential negative implications for developing countries (see section 6.4.2).

Of importance in this study is the fact that physical proximity was not an inhibiting factor in the reporting of the key events of the war as they unfolded. Although embedded journalists had immediate access to the events of the war and in the case of television as a medium, the events were disseminated visually as they occurred; the situation with newspapers was different. Newspapers globally could cover the war by obtaining news from a variety of news agencies, however the major news agencies are Western and their news is reflective of a universal western culture.

The Internet played an important role in the war coverage, by offering a diversity of viewpoints and information on the events of the war to audiences globally. A rich diversity of online newspapers was available to audiences interested in opinions that were not representative of the mainstream pro-war media such as the *New York Times*. The *New Straits Times* from Malaysia is an example of a newspaper that presented an alternative view of the war. In addition, the Internet offered discussion forums, analyses of the events of the war and web blogs where opinions on the war were exchanged (see section 6.4.2).

In summary, this study clearly illustrates the importance of event and context factors as news filters in the Iraq War. The findings of this study therefore do not support the assumption of Rosengren (1977) and Ostgaardt (1965) who claim that external or context related factors are more influential as news filters.

7.5 THE DIRECTION AND PATTERNS OF FLOW

The findings for the study indicate that the dominant flow of news within the selected time frames was a North-South flow (news flowed vertically from countries in the North to the countries in the South). Within the North-South flow a distinct round flow was identified - countries in the North had the resources to accommodate correspondents and embedded journalists in the war zone, who gathered news in the South (Iraq), and then transmitted the news to countries in the North, where the news was processed to be disseminated to countries in the North and the South (see section 2.4.4.3). It has been suggested that the result of this round flow of news was one way in which the content of the war news was controlled by the North. The content was allegedly further controlled by Western news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press that filtered newsworthy events and disseminated the news stories from a Western perspective to the media globally.

Countries in the South were thus left dependent on the countries in the North for the content of their war news. A weak South-South flow where countries in the South gathered and disseminated war news to other countries in the South was identified in the results of the study. The fact that the war in Iraq as a peripheral country was not ignored by countries in the South; the war was in fact well covered by *The Star* may be attributed to the fact that the war was a major conflict in which elite Western nations were directly involved.

7.6 THE WAR-AGENDA OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

There is little doubt that the manner in which the Bush administration set the agenda for the Iraq War in conjunction with elite media such as the *New York Times* will go down in history as a spectacular public relations effort (see section 4.4). The Bush administration pursued its agenda that Saddam Hussein was manufacturing weapons of mass destruction, harbouring terrorists and committing human atrocities in Iraq and the media disseminated this agenda to audiences globally (Heisbourg 2003: 80; Lynn 2004:3; The House Committee on Government Reform 2004:2). In doing so, the perceived threat that Saddam's regime posed to the Western world became embedded

in the minds of the American public in particular. The removal of Saddam from power would therefore it seems not only rid the world of the threat that he posed, but the Iraqi's would also be liberated and Iraq could become a model for democracy for the entire Middle-East (Bender 2003:2; Williams 2008:3).

It was suggested in chapter 4 that Judith Miller (a reporter for the *New York Times*) contributed significantly towards placing the war issue on the media agenda, by publishing information on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, which she obtained from a source later found to be unreliable (Kurtz 2003:3; Vann 2003) (see section 4.7.2). Although the war issue became a global focusing event, sceptics challenged the perceived threat that Saddam posed to the West and claimed that the real agenda was economic gain for the USA. It has been suggested that the key motive of the Bush administration was to secure a stronghold in the Middle-East and a share in the oil production of the Middle East (Chomsky 2003; Morgan & Ottaway 2002:2; Palast 2005:2) (see section 4.3.1.3). However, irrespective of the true agenda, the war issue moved onto the media agenda and by priming the public on the threat that Saddam posed, the war issue moved onto the public agenda.

The American public was primed by the media on the possibility of war with Iraq for an estimated period of approximately two years (Arsenault & Castells 2006:287; Chomsky 2003:2) (see section 3.4.3). It is speculated that this extended period of time is hardly surprising, as the Vietnam War which was a long and drawn out event with a high American casualty rate and severe economic repercussions for the USA economically is still fresh in the minds of the American public. If the cognitive priming hypothesis, which posits that it takes time for the public to change its perceptions about significant issues such as war is considered Coole (2005:465) (see section 3.4.3), it seems feasible that the two year period was necessary to prime the public sufficiently on the necessity to forcibly remove Saddam Hussein from power. Although the American public and elite American media such as the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* rallied behind President Bush in the run-up to the war the United Nations the Arabs and Muslims were all opposed to the war and Europe was divided on the war issue (see sections 6.4.2 and 6.7).

The case study in chapter 4 pointed out that the prolonged Iraq War and the mounting global criticism from both the media and the public required the USA to redirect its war agenda several times (Bennett 2005:4; Entman 2006:121) (see section 4.4) from weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, to an agenda of democratisation and finally to winning peace in Iraq. The process of winning peace is still ongoing and several factors, amongst others, the insurgency, have hindered the process thus far.

7.7 THE FRAMING OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR

It can be speculated that the fact that the Bush administration set the agenda for the war in conjunction with the media, and the fact that the war agenda was redirected several times over the four-year period influenced the manner in which the respective newspapers framed the run up to the war, the war itself and the aftermath of the war (see section 6.7). The frames at the onset of the war were found to be complex in that pro-war frames (Western countries), anti-war frames (non-Western countries) and neutral frames (Western and non-Western countries) emerged in the war coverage of the newspapers.

The frames of the Western newspapers (the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*) were initially pro-war and formulaic in that these newspapers were compliant allies of the countries that they are attached to. There was a distinct rallying behind the leaders of the USA (President Bush) and the UK (Tony Blair) and typical victory frames and frames of self glorification emerged in the coverage of the events. In contrast, the frames of the non-Western newspapers (*The Star* and the *New Straits Times*) reflected their anti-war stance in frames that questioned the legality and the necessity of the war (see section 6.7).

The findings indicate that as the war was prolonged especially during the latter part of 2003 and between 2004 and 2006, the frames of both the Western and non-Western newspapers became more uniform or formulaic – the frames were more critical of the war and of President Bush, and as public

opinion on the war grew in negativity, the frames of all the newspapers followed suit. Where the Western newspapers initially framed the war from within the sphere of consensus, the non-Western newspapers namely the *New Straits Times* and *The Star* to a certain extent, framed the events from within the sphere of deviance. In the aftermath of the war, both Western and non-Western newspapers framed the war from within the sphere of deviance (Iyenger 1993:140) (see section 3.4.4). The frames of self glorification and victory were replaced by critical frames of laying blame and responsibility (see section 3.4.4). Interestingly, the change in the frames of the newspapers over the four-year period concurs with research discussed in the case study in chapter 4. The frames of the *Dawn* from Pakistan (Maslog et al 2006:32) for example, concurred with the frames of the *New Straits Times*; both newspapers framed the war from a negative perspective.

The frames of *The Star* appeared to be different from the other newspapers (see section 4.5). Apart from the articles obtained from news agencies, which offered information on the newsworthy events about the war, such as the fall of Baghdad and the jubilation of the Iraqi's, or the fact that President Bush and Prime Minister Blair were labelled liars, the articles of *The Star* were contextualised for African audiences. In one article, for example, a comparison was drawn between Iraq and Zimbabwe; both countries have totalitarian leaders and the question of what would happen to these countries after their leaders had been removed was asked. Interestingly both countries have not yet found a solution to their problematic political situations.

7.8 THE SOURCES USED BY THE RESPECTIVE NEWSPAPERS

Several interesting conclusions can be drawn from the types of sources and the manner in which the sources were used in the war coverage of the respective newspapers. The findings indicate that primary sources such as in-house journalists, journalists stationed in foreign countries and secondary sources such as news agencies were used in the war reporting of the newspapers (see section 6.5). There was a tendency for these sources to

focus on different issues and aspects of the war, with the result that the news content was found to be diverse.

Non-Western newspapers such as the *New Straits Times* used predominantly primary sources in their war coverage, which resulted in a localised content - the events of the war were constructed from within the cultural framework of the journalist and the society that he or she represented.

One of the primary sources used by Western countries that elicited severe criticism in the media world was embedded journalists. The fact that these sources had immediate access to news stories, in contrast to independent journalists who struggled for access, was viewed by many as an unsound practice (Bucy 2003:6; Lehrer 2003a:4). The findings showed that embedded journalists such as Gillian (2003) who travelled with troops and who shared her personal experiences in news reports added an element of drama in the form of victory and self glorification to the accounts of the war. After the programme of embedded journalism was discontinued, the self glorification frames were noticeably absent in the war reporting of the Western newspapers (see section 4.6.3.1).

The role of secondary sources such as news agencies was considerably smaller than anticipated. Although news agencies supplied news to Western and non-Western newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*, *The Star*, *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Telegraph*, it was not to the extent that was anticipated and did not concur with the findings of research studies discussed in chapter 4, namely that news agencies played a key role in supplying newspapers with news from the war. The findings of this study did however support the findings of previous research, namely that news agencies were not neutral carriers of news (McQuail 2000:219). The news obtained from news agencies that was disseminated in newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*, the *Washington Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* was found to be distinctly pro-war and pro-American.

7.9 THE SOURCES QUOTED IN THE WAR COVERAGE

The newspapers each quoted an array of sources in their war reporting for different reasons (see section 6.6). Elite countries and leaders of countries were quoted by all the newspapers, but for different reasons. In the non-Western newspapers President Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair were criticised for their respective roles in the war, but in Western newspapers they were hailed as liberators in the initial phase of the war.

Interestingly, the rationale behind the quoting of leaders of states changed as the war progressed. At the onset of the war, leaders of countries such as France and Russia were quoted by both Western and non-Western newspapers, to illustrate that Europe was divided on the war issue and to emphasise the fact that the invasion of Iraq by President Bush had caused a division among Western centre nations. In the aftermath of the war, these leaders were quoted as part of the reconstruction plan proposed for Iraq. In doing so, it was implied that the rift between the Western nations had been repaired and that the Western nations were all united in their approach towards the future of Iraq. This has unfortunately not materialised, the Bush administration was left almost singlehandedly to carry the burden of the war and its problems single-handedly.

In a similar fashion to the first Gulf War, Western newspapers, in particular *The Washington Post* and the *Daily Mirror*, quoted a multitude of expert sources such as military spokespersons and army officials who offered elaborate detailed military explanations of the successes of the coalition forces, especially in the period leading up to the fall of Baghdad, in a practice that has become known as “infotainment” (Derian 2003:2) (see section 4.5). In contrast, the non-Western newspapers attributed no coverage to military victories; instead their coverage was focused on evidence of destruction and chaos caused by the coalition’s invasion.

The Washington Post also quoted a number of information or communication officers who offered information on selected events of the war. Information on

atrocities committed by coalition forces, such as the Haditha killings (Buncombe 2006:3), which were uncovered only a year after they occurred was not volunteered. One may therefore infer that concurrent with previous research, these information officers acted in the interest of the Pentagon and served the Bush bureaucracy.

The newspapers all quoted Iraqi citizens in their coverage of the events, but again this was for different reasons. Where the Western newspapers quoted the elation, jubilation and joy with which the Iraqi's embraced their newfound freedom, the non-Western newspapers quoted the anger, the resentment and the desperation of the Iraqi's who had lost their homes or their loved ones in the war.

It appears that only *The Washington Post* quoted academics and scholars who presented their analyses and interpretations of the events of the war. This was only the case in the aftermath of the war, when there was a lot of speculation on how to solve the problems that emanated from the war. At the onset of the war, when it was still anticipated that the war would be over soon, military sources of the USA and the UK dominated the coverage in Western newspapers.

7.10 THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN THE WAR COVERAGE

In a similar fashion to previous wars such as the Vietnam War and the first Gulf War, the Iraq War comprised a war which the soldiers fought and a media war (Patrick & Thrall 2004:4), where a multitude of media from a wide spectrum of countries, both Western and non-Western reported on the events of the war as they unfolded (see section 4.7). The findings of this study indicate that the media war was highly political in that it was driven by political forces such as the Bush administration. It was mentioned in section 4.4 that the Bush administration in conjunction with elite media such as *The Washington Post* set the agenda for the war and primed audiences globally on the necessity of forcibly removing Saddam Hussein from power, to protect the West from the threat that he posed.

The findings indicated that the Bush administration and other Western countries involved in the war deployed both psychological warfare and a classical propaganda strategy in conjunction with elite media such as *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph*.

The Western newspapers incorporated psychological tactics such as portraying the USA as a superior military superpower, by focusing on the coalition victories and the quick advances of the forces towards Baghdad (see section 6.8.1). The newspapers also allegedly intimidated the Iraqi forces with explicit statements, for example, that soldiers of Saddam Hussein who continued fighting would be subjected to severe firepower of the coalition forces (see section 6.8.1). Another tactic was to present selective information to audiences, for example, the wealth of Saddam Hussein compared to the poverty of his people, the liberation of Iraq and the fall of Baghdad and the likelihood of a democracy in Iraq (see section 6.8.1). A key strategy of the Bush administration involved taking control of certain communication mediums in the form of radio and television in Iraq, and to use these mediums to advocate the attributes of Western democracy, for example, freedom of speech to the Iraqi's (see section 6.8.1).

In addition to the strategies mentioned above, Western newspapers all demonised Saddam, to illustrate how evil he was and what a dictator and tyrant he was (see section 6.8.2). The war was therefore depicted as a war of defence against the evil of Saddam and the threat that he posed, and the newspapers pointed out that there was only one stance to take in this war and that stance was a pro-war one (see section 6.8.2). Another traditional propaganda tactic involved the use of stories containing conspiracy and drama. Interesting conspiracy stories such as Iraqi soldiers who were taking steroids to become suicidally loyal to Saddam emerged and dramatic encounters of the events of the war, such as the fall of Baghdad were presented with visuals to audiences globally.

The non-Western newspapers with an anti-war stance, for example, the *New Straits Times* and *The Star* to a certain extent, also used several tactics to present their perceptions of the Iraq War to their respective audiences. The *New Straits Times*, for example, emphasised the fact that the battle in Iraq was unequal, that Iraq was invaded by the USA and the UK, that thousands of innocent civilians were killed in the process and that the heritage of Iraq was being destroyed by the invaders (see section 6.8.2). In similar fashion to the Western newspapers the *New Straits Times* presented selective information to its audiences, such as the fact that the Americans are not wanted in Iraq and that the deaths of Iraqi's are viewed by Americans as collateral damage (see section 6.8.2). The newspaper also presented the war in a polarised manner, which in this instance was a distinct anti-war stance. This stance was reflected in articles that highlighted the Iraqi casualties, the chaos and the destruction that resulted from the invasion of Iraq by the coalition forces. From the tactics used by both the Western and the non-Western newspapers it can be deduced that the propaganda used in this war by the factions involved in the war was no different from previous wars and that many of the traditional strategies still prevail in modern wars (see section 3.4.5.4).

7.11 THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS TOWARDS THE WAR AND THE USA

The findings of this study indicated that the tone of the newspapers towards the war and their attitude towards the USA differed for some of the newspapers. The tone of the Western newspapers was initially positive, however, in the aftermath of the war the positive tone was replaced by a negative one. The findings showed that the economic and the human cost of the war contributed significantly to the overall negative tone that emerged in the aftermath, towards the war and eventually towards the USA. Countries such as Australia withdrew their troops, leaving the deteriorating situation in Iraq for the UK and the USA to solve. This added to the unpopularity of President Bush, as he could not withdraw the troops until the situation in Iraq was considered stable. Tony Blair also suffered criticism for his leading Britain into the Iraq War and as a result retired early from Parliament. In 2006 the Bush administration anticipated that the execution of Saddam Hussein would

be viewed by the world as an act of liberation in which the Iraqi's were finally free from an oppressive regime. By then, however, the situation in Iraq had deteriorated to such an extent that the regime of Saddam Hussein was preferred by some to the chaos of the aftermath. His execution did little to compensate for the human and economic cost of the war.

Not surprisingly the hostility of the non-Western countries towards the USA was initially negative and remained negative throughout the war and in the aftermath of the war (see section 6.9). It has been suggested in section 4.3.1.4 that the negative tone of the non-Western countries existed before the war and that the tone can be attributed to factors such as stereotyping of Muslims. Muslims seem to feel that since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 they are often referred to as "fundamentalists". It is, however, a small percentage of Muslims who are fundamentalists in their outlook on life (Esposito & Mogahed 2008; Nakash & Myers 2006) (see section 4.3.1.6).

It has further been suggested that Muslim countries do not desire the type of democracy that the Bush administration had outlined for them. This was clear from the coalition government that was proposed and rejected after the 2005 elections in Iraq. This does not imply that the Muslim countries reject a democracy in their countries; however, the democracy that they want is developed around their faith (Esposito & Mogahed 2008). It has been suggested that Western countries have thus far failed to understand the Muslim political structure in which religion and politics are intertwined and not two separate entities (see section 4.4) (Williams 2008:3).

The fact that Muslim shrines and mosques were destroyed in the war and that Iraqi casualties included scores of innocent citizens seem to have done little to decrease the hostility. The domino theory where Iraq would emerge as the first country to embrace Western democracy and other Middle East countries would follow like falling dominoes therefore failed in Iraq and in the Middle East (see section 4.4). Non-Western Newspapers such as the *New Straits Times* that emphasized the chaos and destruction caused by the bombing of

the coalition forces did not help the democracy ideal that the Bush administration had for Iraq – in fact it appeared to increase the hostility.

The findings indicated an association between the tone of the newspapers towards the war and their attitudes towards the USA. Newspapers with an anti-war stance towards the war generally also demonstrated a negative attitude towards the USA and vice versa – newspapers with a positive tone towards the war displayed a positive attitude towards the USA. However as the positive tone of the newspapers changed to a negative one in the aftermath of the war, their attitude towards the USA followed suit and also became negative. A possible explanation for this change in tone could be found in the spiral of silence theory (Neuman 1974) which posits that those in a society that hold minority views are afraid of voicing these views (see section 3.4.3). *The Washington Post*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph* may therefore have been afraid to voice their continued support for the war when the Western public was beginning to assume an anti-war stance for fear of losing readership. In this instance the public agenda influenced the media agenda.

7.12 GUIDELINES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several guidelines for further study exist and are outlined as follows:

- **World system theory as a theoretical framework for international information flow**

It was stated in section 2.4.3.1 that world system theory can be used as a theoretical framework to analyse the international flow of information. In this study world system theory was used to determine how countries at different levels of the world system contributed towards the flow of information in the Iraq War. Aspects such as the domination and control of information by elite centre nations such as the USA and the UK, the content of the information that was exchanged in the war between countries and the tone of the respective

countries towards the war and towards the USA were analysed and compared over a four year period of time.

Several recommendations for further studies based on world system theory as a framework for the analysis of the international flow of information can be made.

Previous assumptions relating to the world system and the flow of information, for example that the centre nations report negatively on peripheral countries can be tested and can be either supported or rejected. The fact that countries on the periphery are starting to award their own and immediate neighbouring countries more coverage (*The Star* focused on Zimbabwe and the previous war in Angola) is considered a significant aspect in this study and supports the findings of previous studies namely that a weak South-South flow is emerging. The findings of this study also supported previous findings namely that elite centre nations such as the USA receive voluminous coverage and that these elite countries have the means to control the flow of international news, which in this study was accomplished with news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press and embedded journalists.

Research can also be conducted on the role of secondary sources such as news agencies in the reporting of events, for example, the 2010 Soccer World Cup which is to take place in South Africa. Other interesting areas of research can include the speculation that some countries may have changed their positions in the world system, for example semi-peripheral countries that may have changed to peripheral countries due to war or other influencing factors.

- **The position of a country in the world system as a determinant for news coverage**

Previous studies conducted on world system by theorists such as Chang (1988:533) determined that the position of a country in the world system is a key factor for the volume and the nature of the coverage that a country receives globally (see section 2.4.3.1). In this study it was found that the USA, the UK and other centre nations such as France did indeed receive a high volume of coverage by global newspapers especially during the first phase of the war. The only reason that Iraq was covered extensively was because of its direct involvement in the war. It is doubtful that the country would have received the same volume of coverage if it had engaged in war with another peripheral country.

What is of significance in this study is the fact that the nature of the coverage that the USA as a centre nation received was not necessarily of a positive nature. Although it was expected that the coverage of Iraq as a peripheral country would be negative, it was not anticipated that the coverage that the USA received from its own newspapers such as the *Washington Post* and from newspapers of other centre nations would be negative, which was the case in the aftermath of the war. Thus whereas Chang (1988:533) claims that the coverage of centre nations by other centre nations is generally positive, the findings for this study illustrate that centre nations do not always afford each other positive coverage.

Further research in this area of international communication could therefore include research on how the USA was perceived before the election and after the election in November 2008. Research could also be conducted to determine if the perception of South Africa as a peripheral country is likely to change after the election of a black American president who is partly from African descent.

- **Patterns of news flow in the international flow of information**

Mowlana (1997:44) identified the North-South flow, the centre-periphery flow, and the triangular pattern of news flow as the dominant patterns in international information flow. In sum, these patterns indicate that the centre-periphery flow is dominant in that countries in the centre control the volume and the content of international information flow (see section 2.4.4.1). Suggestions for further studies in this particular area could include studies which are focused on examining the current patterns of information flow to determine if any changes can be identified. In this particular study for example, it was established that newspapers attached to countries in the South, in this instance *The Star* from South Africa, were less dependent on countries in the North for information on the events of the war. It would be interesting to know if this is a general pattern, or whether this situation was only applicable to the war situation and also if this pattern applies to other countries in the South. More research could also be conducted on the relative coverage of important events in the media of the centre via those in the periphery.

- **Intermediate agenda-setting**

It is not clear how much research, or the nature of the research that has been conducted on intermediate agenda-setting. In this particular study for example, it would have been interesting to have determined how the less influential newspapers in the USA perceived the Iraq War and if their stories and the tone of their reporting correlated with that of elite newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. In other words, how influential are the elite media in a given country in setting the media agenda in that country.

- **The role of the internet in the flow of information**

It has been mentioned that as far as the events of the Iraq War are concerned the Internet emerged as an important alternative voice to

the powerful voices of elite media such as the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The fact that the images of the atrocities committed by American military at Abu Ghraib (see section 4.3.2.5) which shocked the world were leaked onto and distributed on the Internet is just one example of the power of the Internet. More studies can be conducted to compare the coverage of the Internet with other media with regards to specific issues or events.

- **Framing Research**

The manner in which issues and events are framed by the media has been investigated by several researchers. This study supports the findings of several previous studies: namely, that typical war frames comprise frames of victory, self glorification, human nature frames and responsibility and laying-blame. The findings further indicate that frames are reflective of the cultural and social environment of the journalist who is framing the event. The Iraq War was framed in a positive manner by newspapers that supported the bureaucracy within which they operate and visa versa. The personal involvement of a country in a war also influences the types of frames that emerge in the war coverage.

Further research in the field of framing can include studies on framing practices such as “peace versus war framing” (see section 4.5). Interesting research can be conducted on current conflicts in the Congo, Darfur and the Middle-East. Another type of frame that could be explored further in newspapers is the “Orientalistic” frame (a type of frame that contains imagery and symbolism). (See section 4.5). Studies such as the one conducted by Trivundza (2004) have contributed towards research in this field (see section 4.5).

7.13 CONCLUSIVE STATEMENTS

This study explored news coverage in a cross-cultural context. Newspapers from countries directly involved in the Iraq War, a newspaper with an anti-war stance and a newspaper from a peripheral country contributed towards this cross-cultural context. In contrast to most studies conducted on the Iraq War, this study considers the first phase, which proved to be the most newsworthy and the aftermath of the war. The result was that interesting trends were revealed in the findings that emerged.

In conclusion, the study demonstrated the relevance of world system theory for studying and understanding international news flow in the world of today (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1993; Chang 1998; Shannon 1996). The position of a country in the world system influences not only the amount of coverage – that is the newsworthiness – of events such as the Iraq War but also determines the nature of events and issues to be covered as well as the interpretation and/or evaluation of the potential consequences and/or implications of an event. Thus the findings indicate a significant ideological gap between the centre – and its allies at the semi-periphery – and the periphery in terms of the value attached to events that could have potentially far-reaching implications for all citizens of the globe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbound, E. 2003. *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare. Invisible Enemy: Israel, Politics, Media and American Culture.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.voxpublishing.com>

Accessed on 2005/02/22

Abdela, L. 2005. *Iraq's war on women.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.opendemocracy.net>

Accessed on 2008/08/22

Abu-Fadil, M. 2005. *Coverage of Arabs, Islam Good? Western Media Under Scrutiny.* [O]. Available: <http://www.ayamm.org>

Accessed on 2008/08/22

Aday, S, Livingstone, S & Herbert, M. 2005. Embedding the truth: A cross cultural analysis of objectivity and television coverage of the 2003 Iraq War. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10(1):3-21.

Agence France Press. 2005.

[O]. Available: <http://www.afp.com>

Accessed on 2006/09/11

Ahmad, A. 2003. Many voices, many wars. *New Straits Times* 9 April:5.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

Aizenman, N. 2003. Mabrouk! Area Iraqis rejoice in the fall. *The Washington Post* 9 April:2.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

- Akel, B. 2008. *Islam for today. Islam and the Western Media*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.islamfortoday.com>
Accessed on 2008/08/22
- Akmar, S. 2003. Journey into land of anarchy. *New Straits Times* 9 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/08/19
- Al-Araby, A & Croft, J. 2003. *Democracy in the Middle East?*
[O]. Available: <http://www.islamreview.com>
Accessed on 2008/05/05
- Alexander, MJ. 1997. *Net Gain? New England's online newspapers assess benefits and drawbacks of their electronic editions. Paper presented to AEJMC, Chicago*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>
Accessed on 2005/02/02
- Al Jazeera's inside story. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:14.
[O]. Available: <http://list.msu.edu>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Allen, J. 2006. *World Press Freedom Day: Iraq's fledging media already shapes opinions*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.oneworldus.civiblog.org>
Accessed on 2007/05/18
- Allen, K. 2003. Cheney praises Invasion's wisdom: Appearance is first since war began. *The Washington Post* 10 April:4.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

Al-Menayes, JA. 1996. *From Argentina to Zimbabwe: Patterns of News Flow in the Nineties*. AEJMC Archives.

[O]. Available: <http://list.msu.edu>

Accessed on 2007/11/ 22

Altheide, DL. 2005. The news media, the Problem Frame and the production of Fear. *Sociological Quarterly* 38:646-668.

Altheide, DL & Grimes, J. 2005. *The Propaganda Project and the Iraq War*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.allacademic.com>

Accessed on 2006/06/23

Amin, S. 2001. Imperialism and Globalization. *Monthly Review* 53(2):6–25.

Antonowitz, A. 2003. U.S. Kills men in attack on hotel. *The Washington Post*

11 April:5. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Arnett, K. 2003. Gulf War 2: Rejoicing minority free after 35 years. *Daily Mirror*

10 April:12. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/10.

Arsenalt, A & Castells, M. 2006. Conquering the minds: Conquering Iraq: The social production of misinformation in the United States – a case study.

Information Communication and Society 9(3):284-307.

Ashrawi, H. 2001. *Palestinians Will Maintain Their Integrity*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.allacademic.com>

Accessed on 2005/06/18

Atkinson, SJ. 2003. *Mabrouk Area Iraqi's rejoice in the fall*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/03/22.

- Atwater, T, Salwen, MB & Anderson RB. 1985. Media Agenda-setting with Environmental Issues. *Journalism Quarterly* 62:393-397.
- Ayeni, OC. 2004. ABC, CNN, CBS, FOX and NBC on the frontlines, *Global Media Journal* 4(2):1-19.
- Ayish, I. 2001. International Communication in the 1900's: Implications for the Third World. *International Affairs* 68(3):487-510.
- Baker, SM & Brown, T. 2005. *Bush Tries to Tone Down High-Pitched Debate on Iraq: President Praises Rep. Murtha and Says People Should Feel Comfortable Expressing Opinions on the War.* *The Washington Post* 21 November:5. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24.
- Bakri, C. 2006. *Asia and the international press: The political significance of expanding markets.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.informaworld.com>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Ball-Rokeach, SJ. 1985. The origins of individual media-system dependency: a Sociological framework. *Communication Research* 4:485-510.
- Barnett, C. 1999. The limits of media democratization in South Africa: Politics, privatization and regulation. *Media Culture and Society* 21:649-671.
- Barnett, GA, Jacobson, T, Choi, Y & Sun Miller, S. 1996. Longitudinal Analysis of the international Telecommunications Network 1978-1996. *American Behavioral Scientist* 44(10):19-43
- Bartram, J. 2003. News Agency Wars: The Battle between Reuters and Bloomberg. *Journalism Studies* 4(3):387-99.
[O]. Available: <http://gaz.sagepub.com>
Accessed on 2006/05/16

- Battachaya, S. 2003. *Psychological warfare in Iraq brings success*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.newscientist.com>
Accessed on 2008/06/13
- Beeman, WO. 2004. *Berg Beheading Caps U.S. Failure in Iraq Media Wars*.
Pacific News Service.
[O]. Available: <http://news.pacificnews.org>
Accessed on 2006/07/13
- Bender, B. 2003. *Iraq democracy a dream, Bush told*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.iraqdemocracydream>
Accessed on 2008/06/13
- Bennett, LW. 2004. Gatekeeping and Press-Government Relations: A
Multigated Model of News Construction.
Political Communication Research: 283–314.
- Bennett, LW. 2005. *Propaganda & Media in an Age of Terrorism & War -
Public Diplomacy Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of
Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq. Operation Perfect Storm: The
Press and the Iraq War*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.publicdiplomacy.com>
Accessed on 2006/02/23
- Berelson, B. 1952. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*.
MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Berenger, RD. 2004. Gulf War fallout: A theoretical approach to understand
and improve media coverage of the Middle East.
Global Media Journal 3(5):176-188.
[O]. Available: <http://lass.calumet.produce.edu>
Accessed on 2006/06/23

Berkowitz, D. 1990. Redefining the gatekeeping concept for local television news. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 34(1):55-68.

Bernays, E. *Propaganda*. 2006.

[O]. Available: <http://www.groups.google.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/13.

Birkland, TA. 2004. The world changed today: Agenda-setting and policy change in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks. *The Review of Policy Research* 21(2):179-202.

Bleske, GL. 1991. Mr. Gates Takes Over: An Updated Version of a 1949 Case Study. *Newspaper Research Journal* 12:88-97.

Blustein, P. 2003. US plans for Iraqi economy hit friction: To help, World Bank says it needs UN go-ahead. *The Washington Post* 11 April:5.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Bogart, L. 1984. The public's use and perception of newspapers. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 709-719.

[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>

Accessed on 2006/06/23

Bogart, L. 1995. *Commercial Culture. The Media System and the Public*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Borgu, B. 2003. Greeting troops with singing in the streets – fight for freedom. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:2.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24.

Bornman, E, Fourie, P, Lesame, Z & Schoonraad, N. 2001. *International Communication*. COM 305 – C. Pretoria: Muckleneuk.

- Boyd-Barrett, O. 1977. *Media Imperialism: Towards an international framework for the analysis of media systems*. [O]. Available: <http://search.epnet.com>
Accessed on 2006/06/10
- Boyd-Barrett, O. 2004. Judith Miller, the *New York Times*, and the propaganda model. *Journalism Studies* 5:435-449.
- Boyd-Barrett, O & Rantanen, T. 2000. European national news agencies: The end of an era or a new beginning? *Journalism* 1(1):86-105.
- Brace, P & Hinckley, B. 1991. The Structure of Presidential Approval: Constraints Within and Across Presidencies. *Journal of Politics* 53: 993-1017.
- Branigan, W. 2003. Army seizes final government stronghold: Commander says end of combat days away. *The Washington Post* 9 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24.
- Brantz, CR, Baade, S & McCorkle RC. 1980. The News Factory. *Communication Research* 7(1):45-68.
- Bredemeier, K & Behr, P. 2003. Cheney says Iraqi oil output could be restored by year's end. *The Washington Post* 9 April: 9.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Breed, W. 1956. Analyzing News: Some Questions for Research. *Journalism Quarterly* 33:467-477.

- Bregman, A. 2002. *Israel's Wars: A History Since 1947*. London: Routledge.
[O]. Available: <http://books.google.co.za>
Accessed on 2008/05/22
- Broder, D. 2004. A war's legacy of pain. *The Washington Post* 21 March:2.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Brookes, R. 1999. Newspapers and national identity: the BSE/CJD crisis and the British press. *Media, Culture & Society* 21(2):247-263.
[O]. Available: <http://mcs.sagepub.com>
Accessed on 2006/03/22
- Brosius, HB & Kepplinger, HM. 1992. Beyond agenda-setting: The influence of partisanship and television reporting on the electorate's voting intentions. *Journalism Quarterly* 69:893–901.
- Brown-Syed, C. 1999. *The New World Order and the geopolitics of information*. [O]. Available: <http://www.valinor.purdy.wayne.edu>
Accessed on 2007/09/04
- Bucy, EP. 2003. *Embedded Reporting and Narrow News: A Matter of Professional Freedom and Responsibility*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.indiana.edu>
Accessed on 2007/05/13
- Buncombe, A. 2006. Marines cover up after Haditha killings. *The Independent World* 20 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.independent.co.uk>
Accessed on 2007/08/15
- Burns, TJ, Davis, BL & Kick, EL. 1995. Position in the world system and national emissions of greenhouse Gases. *Journal of World System Research* 3:432-466.

- Bush, Blair aggressive liars. 2003. *The Star* 10 April:6.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/08/19
- Bush, G. 2003. *President Discusses the Future of Iraq. Washington Hilton Hotel Washington, D.C.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.whitehouse.gov>
Accessed on 2006/06/26
- Bytwerk, R. 1998. *Political Propaganda.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.calvin.edu>
Accessed on 2006/05/16
- Campagna, J. 2008. *The Other Iraq.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.cpj.org>
Accessed on 2008/05/22
- Campo-Flores, A & Campbell, M. 2007. *News Week.*
[O]. Available: <http://ajs.uwpress.org>
Accessed on 2005/03/21
- Can't stop violence with violence, Bush is only making terror worse. 2004.
The Star 23 March:14.
[O]. Available: <http://www.thestar.co.za>
Accessed on 2005/08/19
- Carlson, P. 2003. Gassed by Iraqi troops: Blindsided by the INS. *The Washington Post*. 9 April:4.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Casselini, CW. 1960. Totalitarianism, Ideology and Propaganda. *Journal of Politics* 22(1):68-95.

- Cawthorne, A. 2003. *Volunteer Human Shields to Head For Iraq*.
[O]. Available: <http://ajs.uwpress.org>
Accessed on 2005/10/22
- Cazzulini, M. 2003. Losing face: How the people of Iraq lost a despot and found a free future. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:5
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- CBS News. 2003. Text of Bush Speech.
[O]. Available: <http://www.cbsnews.com>
Accessed on 2006/08/28
- Chan, TK. 2004. U.S. Soldiers charged in abuse of Iraqi's. *The Washington Post* 21 March:7.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Chandrasekeran, B. 2003. Gulf War 2: Saddam's yacht... courtesy of the Royal Air Force. *Daily Mirror* 11 April:9
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Chang, TK. 1998. All Countries Not Created Equal to be News: World System and International Communication.
Communication Research 25 (5):528-563.
- Chang, TK, Lau, T & Xiaoming, H. 2000. From the United States with news and more. *Gazette* 62(60):505–522.

Chang, TK, Shoemaker, M & Brendlinger, N. 1987. Determinants of International news coverage in the US media. *Communication Research* 14:396–414.

[O]. Available: <http://search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2005/09/10

Chase-Dunn, C & Grimes, J. 1995. World Systems Analysis. *Annual review of Sociology* 21(7):387-417.

[O]. Available: <https://search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2005/02/09

Chase-Dunn, C & Hall, T. 1993. Comparing World Systems: Concepts and working Hypothesis. *Social forces* 71(4):851-886.

[O]. Available: <https://search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2005/02/09

Chatterjee, P. 2004. *Information Warriors Rendon Group Wins Hearts and Minds in Business, Politics and War.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.corpwatch.org>

Accessed on 2005/07/23

Chin, D. 2003. When journalists become the targets in battle. *New Straits Times* 9 April:2.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

Chirac in first move. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:11

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/10

Chiy, HI & Ladorsa, D. 1999. Access, use and preference for online newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal* 20(4):2-13.

[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>

Accessed on 2008/06/23

- Cho, D. 2003. Joy in Iraq contrasts with family's grief: Army officer from Clifton killed in grenade attack. *The Washington Post* 9 April:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Choi, YJ. 2001. *Breaking the International News Room Routine: A quasi experiment on international news Gatekeeping in Korea*.
[O]. Available: <http://ilminkor.org/board>
Accessed on 2007/07/20
- Chomsky, N. 2003. *Democracy now. On the Invasion of Iraq, U.S. Global Dominance, Oil and How Washington Is Helping to Ignite a New Arms Race*. [O]. Available: <http://www.globalresearch.co.za>
Accessed on 2006/08/26
- Chossudovsky, M. 2003. *War Propaganda*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.globalresearch.co.za>
Accessed on 2006/08/26
- Christie, TB. 2006. Framing the rationale for the Iraq War. *The international Communication Gazette* 68(5):519-532.
- Chu, YY. 1999. Overt and Covert Functions of the Hong Kong Branch of the Xinhua News Agency, 1947–1984. *Historian* 62(1):31-47.
- Clifton, R. 2003. 12 Minutes to find and destroy a tyrant.
Daily Telegraph 9 April:9.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Clyde, RW & Buckalew, JK. 1969. Inter media Standardization: An Analysis of News Editors. *Journalism Quarterly* 46:349-51.

- Cobb, RW & Elder, CD. 1972. *Participation in American politics: The dynamics of agenda building*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Cobb, RW, Elder, CD & Ross, MH. 1976. Agenda Building as a comparative political process. *American Political Science Review* 70:136-138.
- Coetzee, M & De Beer, AS. 2002. Nuuskartering van Nederland deur *Beeld* en van Suid-Afrika deur *Trouw* (Newsmapping of the Netherlands in *Beeld* and of South Africa in *Trouw*) *Ecquid Novi*: 23(2):290-3
[O]. Available: <http://ajs.uwpress.org>
Accessed on 2007/05/23
- Cohen, DL. 2003. Iraq and L word. *The Washington Post* 22 November:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24.
- Cohen, JE. 1995. Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda. *American Journal of Political Science* 39:87-107.
- Collins, S. 2000. *NATO and Strategic PSYOPS: Policy Pariah or Growth Industry?* [O]. Available: <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers>
Accessed on 2006/04/23
- Coole, D. 2005. Agency, truth and meaning: judging the Hurton report, *British Journal of Political Science* 35:465-85.
- Coorey, P. 2003. Mustard gas find. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:7.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Cowan, DE & Hadden, JK. 2004. God, Guns and Grist for the Media Mill. Constructing the Narratives for New Religious Movements and Violence. *Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 8(2):64-82.

- Daily Mirror Ali appeal: How you can help. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:12.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Davidson, LP. 2003. Gulf War 2: Family weep at Jess reunion. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:12. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Day Saddam joined history's list of fallen despots. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:6.
[O]. Available <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Derian, JD. 2003. War as game. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 1:37-50
- De Vreese, CH & Semetko, HA. 2001. Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro: A Cross-National Comparative Study of Frames in the News. *Political Communication* 18(2):107-122.
- De Young, K. 2003. UN to have vital role in Iraq: Bush Blair discuss policy plan. *The Washington Post* 9 April:8.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Dimitrova, DV & Ahern, CC. 2007. Tale of Two Wars: Framing Analysis of Online News Sites in Coalition Countries and the Arab World during the Iraq. *Howard Journal of Communications* 18(2):153-168.
[O]. Available: <http://pdfserve.informaworld.com>
Accessed on 2006/03/22
- Dimitrova, DV, Kaid, LL, Williams, P & Trammell, KD. 2005. *War on the web: the immediate framing of Gulf war II*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.sagepublications.com>
Accessed on 2005/08/18

- Dimitrova, DV & Stromback, J. 2005. Mission Accomplished?
International Journal for Communication Studies 67(5):399-417.
- Doob, LW & Robinson, ES. 1948. Psychology and Propaganda. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 179:88-95.
[O]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org>
Accessed on 2005/03/22
- Downs, A. 1972. *Up and Down with Ecology -- the Issue-Attention Cycle*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.sciencepolicy.colorado.edu>
Accessed on 2006/06/22
- Dunn, N. 2003. Ex-pat tells her story as your cash floods in. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:3. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Dupree, JD. 1971. International Communication: View from a window on the world. *Gazette* 17: 224-235.
- Du Preez, M. 2003. It was an extra-ordinary moment. Monday midmorning Iraqi time. *The Star* 10 April:7.
[O]. Available: <http://www.thestar.co.za>
Accessed on 2007/08/19
- Durham, MG & Kellner, DM. 2001. *Media and Cultural Studies. Key Works*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.
- Editor and Publisher. 2009. Top 25 Papers by Daily Circ, in New FAS-FAX
[O]. Available: <http://www.editorandpublisher.com>
Accessed on 2009/02/22

- Edwards, B. 2003. Gulf War 2: Brits raid foils bank robbery. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:10. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Eggen, D. 2003. Gulf War 2: 3 000 mourn Guy. *Daily Mirror* 12 April:7.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Eggen, D & Wilson, W. 2005. Suicide Bombs Potent Tools of Terrorists. Deadly Attacks Have Been Increasing and Spreading Since Sept. 11, 2001. *The Washington Post* 17 July:1.
[O]. Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Ellis, PR. 2003. Gulf War 2: Syria calls for allies to quit Iraq. *Daily Mirror* 11 April:7. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Ellul, J. 1973. *Propaganda. The formation of men's attitudes*.
Alfred A. Inc: New York.
- End in sight for Saddam's evil regime. 2003. *Associated Press. Daily Telegraph* 9 April:11.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- English, B. 2003. Saddam was Stalin now he's Houdini – hunt for fall of Baghdad palaces. 2003. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Entman, RM. 1993. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4):51-84.

Entman, RM. 2004. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S.Foreign Policy*. Chicago:University of Chicago Press.

[O]. Available: <http://books.google.co.za/books>

Accessed on 2006/05/22

Entman, RM. 2006. Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world.

Political Communication 23(1):121-122.

Erbing, L, Goldenberg, EN & Miller, AH. 1980. Front-Page News and Real-World Cues: A New Look at Agenda-Setting by the Media.

American Journal of Political Science 24(1):16-49.

Eribo, F. 1999. Global flow of news in Africa: Nigerian Media coverage of International News.

The Western Journal of Black Studies 23(3):154-167.

Esposito, J & Mogahed, D. 2008. Who Will Speak for Islam? *World Policy Institute* 25(3):47-57.

[O]. Available: <http://www.mitpressjournals.org>

Accessed on 2007/03/22

Esposito, JL & Piscatori, JP. 1991. Democratization and Islam. *Middle East Journal* 45(3):427-440.

[O]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org>

Accessed on 2008/07/23

Esser, F & D'angelo P. 2006. Framing the Press and the Publicity Process. *American Behavioral Scientist* 46(5):617-641.

[O]. Available: <http://abs.sagepub.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Eveland, WP, McCleod, DM & Signorelli, N. 1995. Actual and perceived US Public Opinion: The Spiral of Silence during the Persian War. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 7:91-109.

Eurolang. 2008. *Eurolang, communicating Europe's linguistic diversity*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.eurolang.net>

Accessed on 2008/07/22

Fattah, MA. 2002. *Democratic Values in the Muslim World*.

[O]. Available: <http://findarticles.com>

Accessed on 2008/07/22

Feraro, V. 1996. *Dependency Theory. An Introduction*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Finer, J. 2003. Marines battle their way toward central Baghdad.

The Washington Post 13 April:7.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Former POW Lunch used as Iraq war symbol. 2005. *ABC NEWS* 8 August: 9.

[O]. Available: <http://www.abc.net.au>

Accessed on 2006/06/23

Fourie, P. 2001. *Media Studies Volume 1. Institutions Theories and Issues*.

Lansdowne: South Africa.

Fowler, R. 1991. *Language in the news: discourse and ideology in the press*.

London: Routledge.

Foyle, D. 2004. Leading the Public to War? The Influence of American Public Opinion on the Bush administration's Decision to go to War in Iraq. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 16(3):269-294.

[O] Available: <http://ijpor.oxfordjournals.org>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Freid, A. 2005. Terrorism as a context of coverage before the Iraq War. *The Harvard Journal of Press Politics* 10(3):125-132.

[O]. Available: <http://www.sagepublications.com>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Fuchs, C. 2003. *The Mass Media Politics and Warfare*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.globalvillage/cyberwar.com>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Furnish, T. 2005. Beheading Captives in the name of Islam. *The Progressive Conservative USA* 7(3):583-614.

[O]. Available: <http://www.proconservative.net>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Gabrys, J. 2004. *Invisible Culture. Leaflet Drop: The Paper landscape of war*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.rochester.edu>

Accessed on 2006/07/23

Galtung, J. 1971. A structural theory of imperialism.

Journal of Peace Research 8:81–117.

Galtung, J. 2002. *Media: Peace journalism*.

[O]. Available : <https://www.nicr.ca/programs>

Accessed on 2006/07/23

Galtung, J & Ruge, MH. 1965. The Structure of Foreign news.

Journal of Peace Research 2(1):64-91.

- Gamson, WA. 1989. News as framing.
American Behavioural Scientist 33:157-161.
- Gans, HJ. 1979a. The Messages Behind the News.
Columbia Journalism Review 17(1):40-45.
- Gans, HJ. 1979b. *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Pantheon.
- Garfield, A. 2007. The US counter propaganda failure in Iraq. (War and Terror). *Middle East Quarterly* 10:23-32.
[O]. Available: <http://www.find.galegroup.com>
Accessed on 2007/11/23
- Garvin, G. 2003. *Media stumble through fog of war*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.proquest.umi.com>
Accessed on 2006/04/04
- Ghanem, S. 1997. Across the desk a study of 16 editors.
Journalism quarterly 33:423-433.
- Ghanem, S. 2006. *News as Culture: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Coverage of the War in Iraq*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.allacademic.com>
Accessed on 2008/07/23
- Gieber, W. 1956. Across the Desk. A Study of 16 Telegraph Editors.
Journalism Quarterly 33:423- 432.
- Giffard, CA & Rivenburgh, H. 2000. News agencies, national images and global media events. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 77:8-21.

- Gillian, K. 2003. A Glance at the War. *The Washington Post* 12 April:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Gitlin, T. 1980. Chapter 10. *Media routines and political crises*. In Gitlin, *The whole world is watching*.
[O]. Available: <http://books.google.co.za>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame analysis. An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Golan, G & Wanta, W. 2003. International Elections on US Network News. *International Journal for Communication Studies* 65(1):25-39.
- Gold, D & Simmons, JL. 1965. News selection patterns among Iowa dailies. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 29:425-430.
- Goldie, J. 2003. *Embedded journalism and Media Ethics in the coverage of the 2003 war: A historical perspective*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.ucalgary.c/md/parhad/document>
Accessed on 2006/04/04
- Graber, D. 1984a. *Processing the news*. New York:Longman.
- Graber, D.1984b. Mass Media and American Politics. *Congressional Quarterly Press* 62: 264-273.
- Graham, B. 2003. Let's get the job done. *The Washington Post*. 9 April:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Gross, T. 2004. The Case of Reuters: an agency that will not call a terrorist a terrorist. *National Review* 56(14):30-33.

- Gulf War 2: America warning for Syria. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 10 April:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Gulf War 2: Saddam Hussein, dictator, 1937-200? A life of evil. 2003.
Daily Mirror 12 April:11.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Gurevitch, P. 2004. Might and Right.
The New Yorker 79(16):69-81.
- Hafez, A. 2004. *A Case Study: The Mythology of Martyrdom in Iraq*.
[O]. Available: <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals>
Accessed on 2007/10/23
- Hall, S. 1973. *The determination of news photographs*, in S. Cohen, S, and Young, J (eds). *The manufacture of News*. London: Constable.
- Hall, S, Critcher, C, Jefferson, T, Clarke, J & Roberts, J. 1978. *Policing the crisis: Mugging the state and law and order*. New York: Homes and Meier.
- Haller, B & Ralph S. 2001. Not Worth Keeping Alive? News framing of physician-assisted suicide in the United States and Great Britain.
Journalism Studies 3(15):407-421.
- Hallin, DC. 1986. *The Uncensored War*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[O]. Available: <http://books.google.co.za>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Hallin, DC. 1994. *We keep America on top of the world: Television journalism and the public sphere*. London: Routledge.

- Hama-Saeed, M. 2007. *Media at risk in Iraq*.
[O]. Available: www.kurdishaspect.com
Accessed on 2007/11/18
- Hamelink, CJ. 1983. *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications*.
Longman: New York.
- Hampton, M. 2005. The Media at War: The Iraq Crisis. *Media, Culture and Society* 27:622.
[O]. Available: <http://www.sagepublications.com>
Accessed on 2006/08/18
- Hanley, C. 2003. Powell's Case for Iraq War Falls Apart. *Associated Press*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.commondreams.org>
Accessed on 2006/07/23
- Hardaway, R. 2004. The role of the media, law and national resolve in the war on terror.
Denver Journal of International Law and Policy 33(1):104-127.
- Hardy, K. 2003. Free TV. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:6.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Hashim, AS. 2003. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*
[O]. Available: <http://www.dx.doi.org>
Accessed on 2007/05/02
- Heisbourg, F. 2003. A Work in Progress: The Bush Doctrine and Its Consequences.
The Washington Quarterly 26(2):75–88.
- Hellinger, D. 2003. Erlich blasts media on Iraq War.
St Louis Journalism Review 33(2):18-23.

- Henry, L. 2006. Tragedy on Iraq will be George Bush's legacy.
The Washington Post 9 April: 9.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Henningham, J. 1998. Ideological differences between Australian journalists and their public.
Press/Politics 3:92-101.
- Herman, E. 2000. The Propaganda Model: A Retrospective.
Journalism Studies 1(1):101-112.
- Hersh, S.M. 2004. *Torture at Abu Ghraib*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.newyorker.com>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Hester, AL. 1971. An analysis of news from developed and developing nations. *International Journal for mass Communication Studies* volume XVII: 29-43.
- Hill, M. 2003. The month that shaped a nation. *The Washington Post* 9 April:11 [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Hitchens J. 2003. 2003. Gulf War 2: Saddam hides like a rat in a sewer. *Daily Mirror* 10 April:6
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Hoagland, J. 2003. Hussein's final mistake. *The Washington Post* 9 April:9.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

- Hoffer, CR. 1942. A Sociological Analysis of Propaganda. *Social Forces* 20:445. [O]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/journals>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Hoffman, H. 2006. The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism, 1933-1945. [O]. Available: <http://books.google.co.za>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Holsti, OR. 1969. *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Longman: Higher Education
- Home. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:2.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Home are the fallen. 2003. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Horvit, B. 2003. Combat, political violence Top International Categories. *Newspaper Research journal* 24(2):22-35.
- Horvit, B. 2006. International News Agencies and the War Debate of 2003. *International Communication Gazette* 68(5):427-447.
[O]. Available: <http://gaz.sagepub.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Howard up close and personal. 2003. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:4
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Hughes, J. 2003. Gulf War 2: Saddam martyrs on drugs. *Daily Mirror* 12 April 2003:4 [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10

Ingle, B. 1995. *Newspaper vs. Online versions: A discussion of the old and the new media.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Ingles, KS. 2008. THE PRESS IN AUSTRALIA.

Australian Journal of Politics & History 10(2):248–254

[O]. Available: <http://www.interscience.wiley.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Irresponsible on Iraq. 2005. *The Washington Post* 20 November:12.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA).

[O]. Available: <http://www.mondotimes.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Iyenger, S. 1991. *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyenger, S & Simon, A. 1993. News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and public Opinion: A study of agenda-setting, Priming and Framing. *Communication Research* 20:365-83.

Jabar, FA. 2005. *Iraq elections 2005.*

[O]. Available: <http://weekly.ahram.org>.

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Jervis, R. 2003. The compulsive empire. *Foreign Policy* 137: 83-87

[O]. Available: <http://search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2007/10/02

Jin, DY. 2002. *Is Cultural Imperialism over: Growing U.S. Dominance vs. Emerging Domestic Cultural Market.*

[O]. Available: <http://search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2007/03/22

John, E. 2003. New Iraqi government must reflect the will of the people.

New Straits Times 9 April:7

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

Journo's killed in defence. 2003. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:14.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Jowett, GS & O'Donnell, V. 2005. *Propaganda and Persuasion.*

Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Kahn, R. 2003. *Making Holes, not Wholes: Patriotic War Propaganda in relation to Global Mass Extinction.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.getvegan.com>

Accessed on 2007/11/18

Kamhawi, R. 2002. *Television News and the Palestinian Israeli Conflict: An analysis of Visual and Verbal Framing.*

[O]. Available: <http://hij.sagepub.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Kariel, H & Rosenthal, L. 1984. Factors influencing international news flow.

Journalism Quarterly 61:509-516.

Karim, H. 2001. Cyber – Utopia and the myth of Paradise: Using Jacques Ellul's work on propaganda to analyse information society Rhetoric. *Information, Technology and Society* 4:113-134.

[O]. Available: <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Karlsberg, M. 1997. News and Conflict: how adversarial frames limit public understanding of environmental issues.

Alternatives Journal 23(1):22-26.

Kaur S. 2003. When journalists become the targets in battle.

New Straits Times 9 April:4.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

Kellner, D. 2003. *Spectacles of terror and media manipulation: A critique of Jihadist and Bush.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.search.epnet.com>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Kelman, HC. 1995. Decision making and Public Discourse in the Gulf war: An assessment of underlying Psychological and Moral Assumptions. *Peace and Conflict* (2):117-130.

Kerr, T & Lakeman, JL. 2003. Gulf War 2: A Family weep at Jess reunion *Daily Mirror* 9 April:12.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/10

Kim, K & Barnett, GA. 1996. The Determinants of International News Flow: A Network analysis.

Communication Research 23(3):323-352.

Kirkpatrick, J. 2003. *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: Remarks to the 59th of the UN Commission on Human Rights Washington, DC, April 4, Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Head of the U.S. Delegation Geneva, Switzerland.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.religionandpolicy.org>

Accessed on 2007/07/2

Kirkpatrick, LA & Feeney, BC. 2003. *A simple guide to SPSS for Windows.*
Thompson: Wadsworth

Knox, M. 2003. Private Lynch, Symbol of fictitious war. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 29 May:3.

[O]. Available: <http://www.commondreams.org> Accessed on
2005/08012

Kojima, K. 1986. Generational Change and Journalism Methodology and Tentative Analysis.
Studies of Broadcasting 22:79-105.

Kosicki, GM. 1993. Problems and opportunities in agenda-setting research.
Journal of Communication 43(2):100-126.

Kramer, M. 1993. *Islam versus Democracy.*

[O]. Available: <http://www.geocities.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Krippendorff, K. 2004. *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology.*
Thousand Oaks CA:Sage.

Kull, S, Clay, R, Stefan, S, Evan, L & Phillip, W. 2003. *Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War. Report by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA).* [O]. Available: www.pipa.org

Accessed on 2006/05/23

- Kuo, K. 2003. *Iraq's embedded journalists*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.worldnetdaily.com>
Accessed on 2006/09/23
- Kurna, SL. 2003. Losing face: how the people of Iraq lost a despot and found a free future – you can't silence anymore. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:10.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Kurtz, H. 2003. Embedded reporters role in Army Unit's Actions questioned by Military. *The Washington Post* 25 June:1.
[O]. Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com>
Accessed on 2005/03/24
- Kuruvila, MC. 2006. *TYPECASTING MUSLIMS AS A RACE*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.sfgate.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Lacey, S & Coulson, DC. 2000. A Comparative case study: Newspaper source use on the environmental beat.
Newspaper Research Journal 21:13-25.
- Lakoff, G. 2005. *War on terror: rest in peace*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.alternet.org>
Accessed on 2006/10/23
- Lambert, PL. 2007. *End This War': Hundreds of Thousands Protest Iraq War*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.commondreams.org>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Lane, RE. 1961. *Political Life. Why people get involved in politics*.
[O]. Available <http://www.jstor.org>
Accessed on 2006/10/23

- Langholm, S. 1971. On the Concepts of Center and Periphery. *Journal of Peace Research* 8(3):273-278.
- Lasica, JD. 1997. Time to freshen up online newspapers. *American Journalism Review* 19(5):48-57.
[O]. Available: <http://www.newslink.org>
Accessed on 2007/10/23
- Lasswell, HD. 1951. The Strategy of Soviet Propaganda. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 24(2):66-78.
- Leaders Ulster Talks: Bush to IRA to seize peace. 2003.
Daily Mirror 9 April:12.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Lee, ST & Maslog, CC. 2005. *War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspapers coverage of conflicts*.
[O]. Available: <http://dx.doi.org>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Leedy, P & Omrod, JE. 2005. *Practical Research: Planning and Design*.
Pearson: Merrill Prentice Hall
- Lehrer, J. 2003a. *The Media's War Interview by Terrence Smith, Public Broadcasting Service: Online News hour*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.pbs.org/newshour>
Accessed on 2003/04/18
- Lehrer, J. 2003b. *Saving Private Lynch. Public Broadcasting Service: Online Newshour*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.pbs.org/newshour>
Accessed on 2003/04/18

Lewin, K. 1947. Channels of Group Life.

Human Relations 1:143-153.

Lewis, B. 2005. *Freedom and Justice in the Modern Middle East*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org>

Accessed on 2008/07/23

Lichter, S, Noyes, RE & Kaid, L. 1999. *No News or Negative News: How the Networks Nixed the '96 Campaign. In The Electronic Election: Perspectives on the 1996 Campaign Communication*.

[O]. Available: <http://hij.sagepub.com>

Accessed on 2008/07/23

Lippmann, W. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Lippman, W. 1960. *Public Opinion*. MacMillan: NYC

[O]. Available: <http://members.shaw.ca>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Loeb, S. 2003. US Asks Allies to Assist in Rebuilding. *The Washington Post* 11 April:5.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Lowrey, W. 2003. What influences small newspapers to decide to publish online. *Newspaper Research Journal* 24(3):83-90.

[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Loxton, L. 2003. War could hamper WTO agenda. *The Star* 9 April:8.

[O]. Available: <http://www.thestar.co.za>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

- Ludvigson, N. 2003. Big date in the desert. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:8.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Lundsten, L & Stocchetti, M. 2004. The war against Iraq in Transnational Broadcasting.
[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>
Accessed on 2006/11/23
- Lynn A. 2004. *Bush administration used 27 rationales for war in Iraq, study says*. [O]. Available: <http://www.news.uiuc.edu>
Accessed on 2006/03/11
- Lynch expected to fly home today. 2003. *The Washington Post* 12 April:11.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Lynch 2003a. Ambassador seeking asylum. *The Washington Post* 10 April:9.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Lynch, J. 2003b. *Reporting Iraq: What went right?*
[O]. Available: <http://www.basicint.org>
Accessed on 2008/07/23
- MacArthur, RR. 2003. The lies that we bought: the unchallenged evidence for war. *Columbia Journalism Review* 42(1):62-63.
[O]. Available: <http://cjrarchives.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- MacBride, E.1984. *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow*. New York: Uni-publishers.

- MacGinty, R. 2003. The pre-war reconstruction of post-war Iraq.
Third World Quarterly 24(4):601-617.
- MacGregor, I. 2009. *Facts and Figures*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.nmauk.co.uk>
Accessed on 2009/03/04
- Madikiza, L & Bornman, E. 2007. International communication: shifting paradigms, theories and foci of interest.
Communicatio 30(2):11-44.
- Mallaby, S. 2003. *The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire from Foreign Affairs*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org>
Accessed on 2007/11/04
- Marshall, JV. 2003. *The lies we are told about Iraq*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.independent.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Maslog, CC, Lee, ST, & Kim, LS. 2006. Framing analysis of a conflict. How newspapers in five countries covered the war.
Asian Journal of Communication 16(1):19-39.
[O]. Available: <http://dx.doi.org>
Accessed on 2007/03/19
- Masmoudi, M. 1979. The New World Information Order.
Journal of Communication 29(2):172-198.
- Mayring, P. 2000. *Qualitative Content Analysis*
[O]. Available: <http://www.qualitative-research.net>
Accessed on 2005/08/23

- McAllister, I. 2006. A war too far? Bush, Iraq and the 2004 U.S. presidential election. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36(2):260-281.
- McCartney, R. 2003. Worldwide protests continue. From London to Bangladesh military action is condemned.
The Washington Post 9 April:11.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- McChesney, RW. 2001. Global Media, Neoliberalism and Imperialism.
Monthly Review 52(10):98-105.
- McCombs, ME & Shaw, DL. 1972. The Agenda-setting function of the mass media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2):176-187.
- McCombs, ME. 1992. Explorers and surveyors: Expanding strategies for agenda-setting research. *Journalism Quarterly* 69:813-824.
- McCombs, ME. 1994. The future agenda for agenda-setting research.
Journal of Mass Communication Studies 45:94-117.
- McCombs, ME. 2004. *Setting the Agenda. The mass media and public opinion*. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- McCombs, ME & Ghanem, S. 2001. Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world.
[O]. Available: http://www.questia.com/library/book/framing_public_life
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- McQuail, D. 2000. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 4th Edition.
London: Sage Publications.

McQuail, D. 2006. A Review of: Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges.
Political Communication 23(3): 358-361.

Meireles, C. 1999. Statement, in Conceptual Art under the Military Regime.
[O]. Available: <http://www.brazilnetwork.org>
Accessed on 2006/02/23

Meyer, WH. 1989. Global News Flows: Dependency and Neo-imperialism.
Comparative Political Studies 22:243-264.

Milbank, D. 2004. Bush asks allies for unity on Iraq: No nation exempt from terrorism, President Bush says on war anniversary. 2004.
The Washington Post 9 April:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

Milbank, D & Deane, C. 2003. Hussein Link to 9/11 Lingers in Many Minds.
The Washington Post 22 May:4.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

Milbrath, LW. 1965. *Political Participation, How and why do people get involved in politics?* Rand McNally: Chicago.

Milmo, C. 2003. *Independent London. Iraq Marketplace deaths caused by Reytheon missile.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.corpwatch.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23

Mogapi, T. 2003. Realities of the past return to haunt veterans. *The Star* 11 April:4. [O]. Available: <http://www.thestar.co.za>
Accessed on 2007/08/19

- Moisy, C. 1996. *The Foreign News Flow in the International Age*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.hks.harvard.edu>
Accessed on on 2007/03/22
- Moore, J. 2003. *The Iraq War player profile: Saddam Hussein's Rise to Power, PBS Online Newshour*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.pbs.org/newshour>
Accessed on 2006/11/04
- Morgan, D & Ottaway, DB. 2002. *In Iraq War Scenario, Oil is Key Issue*.
[O]. Available: <http://repositories.cdlib.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Mowlam, M. 2003. Leader Ulster talks: Bush can provide. *The Washington Post* 11 April:11.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Mowlana, H. 1985. *International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis Unesco*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.unesdoc.unesco.org>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Mowlana, H. 1997. *Global Information and World Communication*. London: Sage Publications 1997.
- Murphy, SD. 2005. Use of Military Force to Disarm Iraq. *The International Journal of International Law* 97(2):419-432.
[O]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Myerson, DE. 2006. *Federalism and Incentives for a Success in Democracy*.
[O]. Available: <http://repositories.cdlib.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/22

Naggapan, ST. 2003. Iraq's priceless heritage destroyed. *New Straits Times* April 9:11. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/08/19

Nakash, Y. 2006. *Iraq War deepens Sunni-Shia divide*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.npr.org>
Accessed on 2007/02/20

Nakash, Y & Myers, J. 2006. *Reaching for power: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World*. [O]. Available: www.cceia.org/resources/transcripts
Accessed on 2007/02/20

Nakhoul, S. 2003. *Boy bomb victim struggles against despair*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.informationclearinghouse>
Accessed on 2005/06/23

Naustdalslid, J. 1997. A multi approach to the study of Center-Periphery Systems and Socio Economic Change.
Journal of Peace 14(3):203-222.

Neumann, N. 1974. *The Spiral of Silence Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*. II: University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Nielsen, R. 1985. *Powers of the press: twelve of the world's influential newspapers*. [O]. Available: <http://findarticles.com>
Accessed on 2007/08/23

Nnaemeka, T & Richstad, J. 1980. Structured Relations and Foreign News Flow in the Pacific. Region.
Gazette 26:235–58.

- Ojo, T. 1996. *Post NWICO debate: Image of Africa in the Western media*.
[O]. Available: <http://search.epnet.com>
Accessed on 2005/06/23.
- Okrent, PL. 2004. THE PUBLIC EDITOR; Weapons of mass destruction or mass distraction? *The New York Times* June 12:4.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/21
- Oliver, L. 2008. *Print and online newspapers on the rise*.
[O]. Available: <http://blogs.journalism.co.uk>
Accessed on 2008/09/23
- Oliviera, OS. 1990. Brazilian Media Usage as a Test of Dependency Theory. *Canadian Journal of Communication* 13(3-4):16-27.
- O'Shaughnessy, NJ. 2004. *Politics and Propaganda. Weapons of Mass Seduction*. [O]. Available: www.eruditor.com/books
Accessed on 2006/10/23
- Ostgaardt, E. 1965. Factors influencing the flow of news. *Journal of peace Research* 2:39-65.
- Palast, G. 2005. *The cause for the Iraq War*.
[O]. Available: [Http://skeptically.org](http://skeptically.org)
Accessed on 2007/10/02
- Park, S. 1955. The Press and Public Opinion. *American Journal of Sociology* 5(3):372-382.
- Parker, E. 2005. *Gatekeeping theory. An evolution*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.list.msu.edu>
Accessed on 2006/03/29

- Parry, R. 2003. Horrific image that made the world weep. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:6. [O]. Available <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Parry-Giles, SJ. 1996. Camouflaged Propaganda: The Truman and Eisenhower administrations covert manipulation of news. *Western Journal of Communication* 60(2):146-168.
- Patrick, BA & Thrall, T. 2004. *Winning the Peace: Paradox and Propaganda after the War in Iraq*.
[O]. Available: www.personal.umd.umich.edu
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Peiser, W. 2000. Setting the Journalist Agenda: Influences from Journalists' Individual Characteristics and from Media Factors. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 77(2):243–57.
[O]. Available: <http://jou.sagepub.com>
Accessed on 2007/11/21
- Peng, FP, Tham, NI & Xiaoming, H. 1999. Trends in online newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal* 20(2):52-62.
[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press. 2003. *Two years later, the fear still lingers*.
[O]. Available: <http://people-press.org/reports/display>
Accessed on 2006/03/22
- Pierre, K. 2003. Hussein's final mistake. *The Washington Post* 10 April:12.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

Pincus, J. 2003. Syria Warned Again Not to Meddle in Iraq: Wolfowitz Says U.S May Rethink Damascus Policy.

The 611 April:11.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Poe, D. 2003. *Reality America*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.mississippireview.com>

Accessed on 2006/05/23

Ponsford, D. 2009. *Metro circulation overtakes Daily Mirror*

[O]. Available: <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk>

Accessed on 2007/07/10

Powell, C. 2003. *Powell Interview on Black Entertainment Television's Youth Town*. [O]. Available: <http://www.state.gov/secretary>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Prados, J. 2003. A necessary war? Not according to U.S. monitors – or to U.S. intelligence which has watched the situation even more carefully. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59(3):26-33.

Press Reference. 2009. SOUTH AFRICA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers 2009.

[O]. Available: <http://www.pressreference.com>

Accessed on 2007/03/22

Priest, WP. 2003. CIA speculated For Iraq's Leaders and Loyalists, a Vanishing Act; Coalition Forces Find Few Traces of Hussein, Other Top Officials. *The Washington Post*:11 April:2.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

- Raghaven, S. 2007. Wave Creates Tension Across the Middle East.
Washington Post Foreign Service 4 February:1.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Rantanen, T & Boyd-Barrett, O. 2004. *Global and national news agencies. Global journalism. Topical issues and media systems.*
New York: Pearson Education
- Rauch, J. 2003. Rooted in Nations, Blossoming in Globalization? A Cultural Perspective on the Content of a “Northern” Mainstream and a Southern Alternative News Agency.
Journal of Communication Inquiry 27(1):87–103.
- Ravi, N. 2005. National Interests, Patriotism, and Cultural Values in the Coverage of the Iraq War.
The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics 10(1):45-62.
- Readership Institute. 2008. Print newspaper readership yielding to internet publishing. [O]. Available: <http://www.bizcommunity.com>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Redmond, AD. 1999. *The war in Bosnia: Operation Irma acted as a catalyst.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.pubmedcentral>
Accessed on 2007/03/22
- Rendell, S & Broughel, T. 2003. *Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent Extra!* [O]. Available: www.fair.org
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Rennie, J. 2004. *Desert Storm Front: Television News and Narrative Construction in the 1991 Gulf War.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.filmqueensu.ca>
Accessed on 2007/07/23

- Reporters without borders. 2008. *Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2008*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.mediaactioncenter.org>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Reuters. 2008. *Web Traffic to Top 10 Online Newspapers Grows 16 Percent Year-Over-Year in December, According to Nielsen Online*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.reuters.com>
Accessed on 2008/11/23
- Richards, T. 2001. Media and conflict portrayal. *Conflict Resolution Notes* 18(4):122-131.
[O]. Available: <http://pdfserve.informaworld.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Ricks, JK. 2005. Iraq War Debate Eclipses All Over Issues: GOP Flounders as Bush's Popularity Falls: Democrats Struggle for a Voice. *The Washington Post* 20 November:5.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Roach, C. 1990. The Movement for a New World Information and Communication order: A second wave.
Media Culture and Society 12(3):283-307.
- Roberts, N. 2003. Gulf War 2: Iraq faces mother of all bombs. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:3. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Roberts, PC. 2008. *What the Iraq War is about*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.antiwar.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Robinson, GJ & Sparkes, VM. 1976. International news in the Canada and the American Press: A comparative news flow study. *Gazette* 22:203–218.

Robinson, GJ. 1981. *News Agencies and World News in Canada, the United States and Yugoslavia*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.filmqueensu.ca>

Accessed on 2005/06/23

Rogers, EM & Dearing, JW. 1987. Agenda-setting Research: Where has it been, Where is it going? *Communication Yearbook* 11:555-594.

Rosengren, KE. 1970. Intra and Extra Media Data.
Acta Sociologica 13:96-109.

Rosengren, KE. 1974. International News: Methods, Data and Theory.
Journal of Peace Research 11:145-156.

Rosengren, KE. 1977. Four Types of Tables.
Journal of Communication 27(1):67-75.

Rothenberg, GE. 2002. *The undermining of Hungary-Austria: The Battle for hearts and minds*. *Austrian History Yearbook*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.filmqueensu.ca>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Routledge, P. 2003. Blair's war has shamed Britain. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:4

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/10

Ruth, C, Chaffee, F & Chaffee, H. 1971. Influences of Editors, Readers and Personal Opinions on Reporters. *Journalism Quarterly* 48:645-651.

Saving Private Ryan. 2007. *The Sunday Times*. 27August:3.

[O]. Available: <http://www.sundaytimes.co.za>

Accessed on 2008/07/23

Schemo, DJ. 2003. Iraq violates rules of war US complains in NY times. *The New York Times* 24 March:6.

[O]. Available: <http://www.newyorktimes.com>

Accessed on 2008/07/23

Scheufele, DA. 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects.

Journal of Communication 49(1):101-120.

Schleifer, R. 2005. Winning the Propaganda war in Iraq.

Middle East Quarterly 12(10):15-25.

Schramm, W & Atwood, E. 1981. *Circulation of news in the third world: A study of Asia. Hong Kong*: Chinese University Press.

Schulze-Wechsungen, C. 1934. Politische Propaganda, Unsere Wille und Weg

4:323-332. [O]. Available: <http://www.calvin.edu/academic>

Accessed on 2005/02/27

Schwalbe, S. 2005. *Democracy in Iraq*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.jcmc.indiana.edu>

Accessed on 2006/07/26

Semetko, H & Valkenburg, PM. 2000. Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News.

Journal of Communication 50(2):93-109.

Semmel, AK. 1976. Foreign news in four U.S. elite dailies: Some comparisons. *Journalism Quarterly* 53:732-736.

Shahid, A. 2003. 3 journalists killed in U.S. strikes: Military says forces fired from hotel. *The Washington Post* 9 April:2.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

- Shannon, TR. 1996. *An introduction to the world system perspective*. Boulder: Westview.
- Shen, F. 2004. Effects of news frames and schemas on individuals issue, interpretations and attitudes.
Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly 81(2):400-416.
- Shephard, M. 2003. *WAMM Woman against Military Madness. The fog of Modern Propaganda*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.worldwidewamm.org>
Accessed on 2006/10/23
- Shepherd, N & Scharnberg, K. 2003. Greeting troops with dancing in the streets. *Daily Telegraph*. 9 April:3.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Shinozuka, Y. 2003. We Took Down Two Today. *Harper's* 306:23-26.
[O]. Available: <http://www.btinternet.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Shleifer, R. 2005. Winning the propaganda war in Iraq.
Middle East Quarterly 12(3):15-25.
- Shoemaker, PJ. 1991. *Gatekeeping*. Newbury Park: SagePublications.
- Shoemaker, PJ & Cohen, AA. 2006. *News around the world: Content, practitioners, and the public*. Routledge: New York.
- Shoemaker, PJ, Danielian, LH & Brendlinger, N. 1991. Deviant acts, risky business, and U.S. interests: The newsworthiness of world events.
Journalism Quarterly 68:781-795.

Shoemaker, PJ & Reese, SD. 1991. *Mediating the message*. New York: Longman.

Siddiqui, DA. 2000. *Comparative analysis of the Islamic and the Western models of news production and ethics of dissemination*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.islamist.org>

Accessed on 2008/08/22

Sigmund, J. 2008. Online newspaper viewership reaches record in 2007.

[O]. Available: <Http://www.naa.org>

Accessed on 2008/08/22

Skurnik, WAE. 1981. Foreign News Coverage in six African newspapers: The potency of national interests. *Gazette* 28:116-130.

Smith, KA. 1987. Effects of Newspaper Coverage on Community Issue Concerns and Local Government Evaluations.

Communication Research 14:379–95.

[O]. Available: <http://gaz.sagepub.com>

Accessed on 2008/08/22

Snow, N & Taylor, PM. 2006. The Revival Of The Propaganda State. US Propaganda at Home and Abroad since 9/11.

The International Communication Gazette 68(5-6):389-407.

[O]. Available: <http://www.gaz.sagepub.com>

Accessed on 2006/03/10

Society of Professional Journalists. 2005. More newspaper readers now prefer online. *The Quill* 93(6):46-48.

[O]. Available: <http://www.galegroup.com>

Accessed on 2007/03/22

- Sommerlad, N. 2003. Protests as Iraqis are sent back. *Daily Mirror* 21 November: 7. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Sparkes, VM. 1978. The flow of News between Canada and the United States. *Journalism Quarterly* 55:260-268.
- Sproule, JM. 1989. Propaganda Studies in American Social Science: The rise and the fall of the critical paradigm.
Quarterly Journal of Speech 73:60-78.
- Sreberny-Muhammadi, A. 1997. *Media in Global Context-A reader*
London: Arnold
- Steiner, L. 1993. Propaganda and War. 1993. *Critical Studies in mass Communication* 19:286 – 300.
- St. George, D. 2003. Product of the 60's, now a mother of a marine. *The Washington Post* 9 April:6
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution of Iran. 2008. *Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA)*
[O]. Available: <http://www.iranculture.org>
Accessed on 2008/04/21
- Sussman, V. 1994. *An Unfettered Press. Electronic Newspapers.*
[O]. Available: <http://usinfo.state.gov>
Accessed on 2008/07/22
- Syque. 2002. *Modern propaganda.*
[O]. Available: <http://changingminds.org>
Accessed: 2005/02/09

Tankard, JW. 2001. *The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing. In Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World.* NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Taylor, J. 2005. Iraqi torture photographs and documentary realism in the press. *Journalism Studies* 6(1):39-49.

[O]. Available: <http://pdfserve.informaworld.com>

Accessed on 2006/09/23

Thayer, F. 2002. *Principles and tactics of propaganda: inevitability and effectiveness of managing public attitudes.*

[O]. Available: <http://home.tampabay.com>

Accessed on 2005/02/09

The Brussels Tribunal. 2007. Iraqi media professionals killed in Iraq under US-Occupation.

[O]. Available: <http://www.brusselstribunal.org>

Accessed on 2005/02/09

The death toll of US forces. 2004. *The Washington Post* 20 March:9

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

The House Committee on Government Reform. 2004.

[O]. Available: <http://www.fas.org>

Accessed on 2006/01/23

THE NEW STRAITS TIMES PRESS.

[O]. Available: www.nstp.com.my/Corporate/nstp

Accessed on 2008/04/19

The press in South Africa. 2008.

[O]. Available: <http://www.medioclubsouthafrica.com>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

- The Washington Post*. 2008. General Information. History of the Post
 [O]. Available: <http://www.washpost.com>
 Accessed on 2008/09/24
- Thompson, A. 2003. *The role of the Internet in the second Gulf War*.
 [O]. Available: <http://www.scoop.co.nz>
 Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Thusso, DK. 2000. *International Communication: Continuity and Change*.
 London: Arnold.
- Thussu DK. 2003. *Live TV and Bloodless deaths: war, infotainment and 24/7 news*, in Thussu, DK & Freedman, D. eds. *War and the Media. Reporting Conflict 24/7*. London: Sage.
- Thusso, DK. 2005. From MacBride to Murdoch: The marketisation of global communication.
JAVNOST – THE PUBLIC 12(3):47-60.
- Ting, SL, Maslog, CC. & Kim, HS. 2006. Asian Conflicts and the Iraq War. A comparative framing analysis. *The International Communication Gazette* 68(5):499-518.
 [O]. Available: <http://www.gaz.sagepub.com>
 Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Traugott, MW & Brader, T. 2002. Patterns in the American News Coverage of the September 11 Attacks and Their Consequences.
 [O]. Available: <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers>
 Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Trivundza, IT. 2004. Delo's Orientalist Gaze: Framing the Images of Iraq. *Medij.istranz god* 10:83-98.
 [O]. Available: <http://www.gaz.sagepub.com>
 Accessed on 2007/07/23

Tuchman, G. 1978. *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Tunstill, KL. 1992. Europe as a world news leader.

Journal of Communication 42(3):84-99.

US asks allies to assist in rebuilding. 2003. *The Washington Post* 11 April:6.

[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/06/24

Vann, B. 2003. New York Times Reporter Judith Miller accused of hijacking military unit in Iraq. *World Socialist* 27 June n.p.

[O]. Available: <http://sws.org/articles/2003>

Accessed on 2007/07/23

Vandenberg, KM. 2004. *Sociological propaganda: A Burkean and Girardian Analysis of twentieth-century American advertising*.

[O]. Available: <http://www.kbjournal.org>

Accessed on 2006/03/22

Van Slyke Turk, J. 1986. Information subsidies and media content: a study of public relations influence on the news.

Journalism Monographs 100:101-112.

Vong, Y. 2003. Wars, SARS and priced down cars. *New Straits Times* 9

April:5. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>

Accessed on 2007/08/19

Wall, J. 1999. *Aerial Mind-Control. The Threat to Civil Liberties*. *Nexus Magazine*, October-November 1999.

[O]. Available: <http://www.raven1.net>

Accessed on 2006/03/22

Wallace, R. 2003a. Bagh glad: Joy but fighting goes on. *Daily Mirror* 10 April:3. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10

Wallace, R. 2003b. Still an ugly place. *Daily Mirror* 9 April:6
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10

Wallerstein, I. 1979. *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walters, TN, Walters, LM & Gray, G. 1996. Agenda Building in the 1992 presidential campaign.
Public Relations Review 22(1):9-16.

Wan, A. 2003. Leave when the job is done. *New Straits Times* 9 April:6.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/08/19

Wanta, W, & Hu, WH. 1992. The Agenda-setting Effects of International News Coverage: An Examination of Differing News Frames.
International journal of Public Opinion Research 5:250-64.

Ward, I. 1995. *Drought, News Media and Policy Debate* 22:85-97.

Warraq, JK. 2008. *Why the West Is Best*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.city-journal.org>
Accessed on 2008/07/21

Warren, K & Guscott, J. 2000. *The battle for your mind. Poppaganda, PR and PsyOps*. [O]. Available: www.library.ubc.ca
Accessed on 2006/03/23

- Wartime spending measure stalls on unrelated issues. 2003. *The Washington Post* 10 April:10. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24
- Watkins, CS. 2001. Framing Protest. News Media frames of the Million Man March. *Critical studies in Media Communication* 18(1):83–101.
- Wax, JL. 2003. Countries must embrace democracy *Daily Mirror* 9 April:2.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/10
- Weaver, DH, Graber, DA, McCombs, ME, Chaim, H & Eyal, CH. 1981. *Agenda-Setting in a Presidential Election: Issues, Images, and Interest*. New York: Praeger.
- Weaver, DH. 2005 *The American Journalist in the 21st Century*.
[O]. Available: <http://newsinfo.iu.edu>
Accessed on 2007/07/23
- Wenzel, P. 2007. Public-sector transformation in South Africa. *Progress in Development Studies* 7(1):47-64.
[O]. Available: <http://pdj.sagepub.com>
Accessed on 2008/07/21
- White, DM. 1950. The Gatekeeper: a case-study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly* 27(4):383-390.
- Williams, D. 2008. *Western Democracy vs. Islamic Democracy: Iraq politics*.
[O]. Available: <http://www.americanchronicle.com>
Accessed on 2008/07/21
- Wilson, P. 2003a. Warlords talk of life in Iraq after Saddam. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:9. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24.

Wilson, P. 2003b. Lawless Iraq a stern test for Washington. *Daily Telegraph* 9 April:4. [O]. Available: <http://www.bigchalk.com>
Accessed on 2007/06/24

Wilson, M. 2000. *Mimetic Engineering. PsyOps and Viruses for Wetware.*
[O]. Available: www.library.ubc.ca
Accessed on 2006/03/23

Wimmer, RD & Dominick, JR. 1997. *Mass Media Research. An Introduction.*
Wadsworth Publishing Company: Belmont.

Wong, L, Thomas, A, Kolditch, RMT & Potter, M. 2003. WHY THEY FIGHT:
COMBAT MOTIVATION IN THE IRAQ WAR.
[O]. Available: <http://www.bits.de/public/documents>
Accessed on 2007/07/23

Wood, BD & Peake, JS. 1998. The dynamics of Public Policy Setting.
The American Political Science Review 92(1):173-184.

Wu, DW. 2000. Systematic Determinants of International news coverage: A
comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication* 50(2):110-128.
[O]. Available: <http://www.interscience.wiley.com/journal>
Accessed on 2005/02/09.

Yagade, A & Dozier DM. 1990. The Media Agenda-Setting Effect of Concrete
versus abstract issues.
Journalism Quarterly 67(1):3-10.

Zwirko, W. 2003. *Embedded journalists reporting questioned.*
[O]. Available: <http://www.tompaine.com>
Accessed on 2007/07/23

Appendices

Appendix1: List of newspaper articles as per sample

	9 – 13 April 2003	Headline	Number of article
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Iraq's priceless heritage destroyed	001
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Many voices, many wars	002
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Oyster sauce sales to help Iraqi's	003
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Second batch of journalists leave for Iraq	004
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Selangor to look into war problems of investors	005
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	What then after Iraq War ends?	006
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Vital for UN to play active role in post-war Iraq	007
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	If KL was Baghdad....	008
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Leave when the job is done	009
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	No plans to recall team despite attack on journalists' hotel	010
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Mopping up the blood	011
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	When journalists become the targets in battle	012
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	New government must reflect genuine will of people	013
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Iraq War, government may cut revenue collection	014
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Journey into land of anarchy	015
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Wars, SARS and priced down cars	016
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	9 April 2003	Liberation of Iraq is an American Arabian tale of nightmare proportions	017
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Basra palace falls to British – war in Iraq- Inside Saddam's palaces	018
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Climbing clowns who spoil family farewells – War in Iraq – Pride and Protest	019
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Deal with Saddam or victory will ring hollow	020
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	End in sight for Saddam's evil regime	021
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Fall of Baghdad palaces	022
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Greeting troops with singing in the streets – fight for freedom	023
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Howard up close and personal – War in Iraq – Pride and Protest	024
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Inside a glutton's world of gold and marble palaces	025
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Is Saddam a dead man? US bombs leader's hideout	026
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	P,M,s urging ridiculed	027
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	SAS aid to injured Russian convoy	028
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Sounds of war muffled as Blair and Bush talk peace	029
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	The big picture: Dropping the bomb	030
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Trades cheer Baghdad air strike	031
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Mustard gas find	032
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	12 Minutes to find and destroy a tyrant	033
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Raid on the Dictator	034
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	War Iraq: Raid on the Dictator	035
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Hit or myth: 11 things the experts got wrong	036
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Journos killed in defence	037
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Life goes on amid the chaos of conflict	038
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	War in Iraq: Raid on the Dictator	039
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Sent in to kill Saddam	040
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Tikrit - War in Iraq: Raid on the Dictator	041
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Warlords talk of life in Iraq after Saddam	042
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Howard tells Bush we'll help in the changeover	043
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Hunt for the smoking gun	044
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Losing face: how the people of Iraq lost a despot and found a free future – you can't silence anymore	045
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Lawless Iraq a stern test for Washington – REGIME OF GREED	046
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Lawless drive to Baghdad paved with dangers – REGIME OF GREED	047
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Looking for the loot: palaces plundered – REGIME OF GREED	048
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	9 April 2003	Saddam was Stalin now he's Houdini – HUNT FOR THE TYRANT	049

The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Home are the fallen	050
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: A Family weep at Jess reunion	051
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Brits raid foils bank robbery	052
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Bombs blast homes instead of dictators bunker	053
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Bombs blast homes instead of dictators bunker	054
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Leaders Ulster talks: Osama in suicide call	055
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Leaders Ulster talks: Bush to IRA: Seize peace	056
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Leader Ulster talks: Tyrant's evil grip is over	057
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Horrific image that made the world weep: How you can	058
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Horrific image that made the world weep: Courage girl	059
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam survives	060
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Mob goes for militia suspects	061
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Leaders Ulster talks: Riot flares at city demo	062
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Leader Ulster talks: President Bush can provide	063
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: War Woman: Mortars, helmets, four men and one	064
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: US kills news men in attack hotel	065
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: US kills press men in attack on hotel	066
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	9 April 2003	Gulf War 2: The price paid to bring down Saddam's regime	067
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Anton Antonowicz watches the fall of Baghdad	068
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: America warning for Syria	069
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Bagh Glad	070
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Blair's war has shamed Britain	071
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Ba'aths will have a vital role	072
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Blix WMD no longer top priority	073
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Brit chief's gaffe over US troops	074
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Daily Mirror Ali Appeal: How you can help	075
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Daily Mirror Ali Appeal : heather is shocked and upset	076
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Day Saddam joined History's list of fallen despots	077
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Gulf War 2: E-Pat tells her story as your cash floods in	078
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Hope amid chaos: Cavalry laugh off Para claims	079
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Hope amid chaos: Man of peace fights to serve	080
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Hope amid chaos: I wept with joy as I saw one of them	081
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Law and order fear of looters	082
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: On to Tikrit	083
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Rejoicing minority free after 35 years	084
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam hides like a rat in a sewer	085
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: The tyrant disappears as regime crumbles: where is	086
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	10 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Gulf War 2: pounds 20 000 for our Ali appeal	087
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Gulf War 2: BBC and ITV claim news wins	088
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Bombers blitz Tikrit	089
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Comic Ali	090
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Comic Al	091
The <i>Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Can you buy me new hands? Can I play and eat with	092

<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Chirac in 1 st move	093
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Don't think it is all over	094
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Free TV	095
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Inside a liar	096
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Iraq faces mother of all bombs	097
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Post free to Gulf	098
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Still an ugly place	099
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam's yacht... courtesy of the Royal Air Force	100
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Sony's row over sick game title	101
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Syrian's call for allies to quit Iraq	102
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: UK cleric shot and hacked to death	103
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: You can give pounds 40 000	104
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Your messages to the troops	105
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	11 April 2003	Gulf War 2: You freed Kirkuk now...get out	106
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: 3 000 mourn Guy	107
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Big date in the desert	108
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Corpses rot by roads hospitals are no	109
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Day 23 Swagdad	110
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Deck of death	111
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Fund to help child victims: How you can help	112
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Fund to help child victims: pounds 70 000	113
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Hunting the pack	114
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Home	115
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Looters turn on GMTV's reporter	116
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Marines kill 2 kids	117
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam Hussein, dictator, 1937-200? A life of evil	118
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam martyrs on drugs	119
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Saddam rejects exile call	120
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: The Grief: Wales lays to rest first fallen hero	121
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Your messages to troops	122
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: Pounds 70 000	123
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: How you can help the troops	124
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	12 April 2003	Gulf War 2: The hunt for Saddam is on	125
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Let's get the job done: B-1 crew recalls raid on Hussein	126
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	3 Journalists killed U.S. strikes: Military says Forces fired at from hotel, office	127
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Army officer from Clinton dies in Iraq: In military he found challenges he sought	128
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	As more correspondents die, media rethink their positions	129
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Authority melts in Baghdad as U.S. Forces tighten grip: marines take airport in Eastern suburbs	130
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	For U.N humanitarian agency: Big worries and major challenges in Iraq	131
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Gassed by Iraqi troops: Blindsided by the INS: Exile lends support to Bush, then finds herself on Immigration's deportation list	132
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Marines secure airport in Eastern Suburbs	133
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Military defends risks of aggressive tactic	134
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	House, Senate GOP at odds over tax cut: supporters of Bush's 726 billion plan threaten to reject budget resolution	135
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	In Basra growing resentment, little aid: Casualties stoke hostility over British presence	136
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Marines battle their way toward central Baghdad: Complex occupied after fierce fight	137
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Hispanics split over war in Iraq: Views diverge between immigrants, U.S. born	138
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Product of 60's Now the mother of a marine: Va. Woman lives with the memories of then, the worries	139

		of now	
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Procedures on Iraq contracts draw fire on hill	140
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Policy group calls for diverse governments in Postwar Iraq	141
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Once a place of privilege, palace now rich in symbolism	142
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	On the home front, mothers drawn together: once a week parents share worries, wonders	143
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Return of an Iraqi exile	144
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Better health care for Iraqi's	145
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	U.N. to have vital role in Iraq: Bush and Blair discuss post war policy plan	146
<i>The Washington Post</i>	9 April 2003	Turk General faces tough choice in Iraq: Military could step in to block Kurd gains	147
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Good day for the Iraqi people resonates across U.S.: Some reassured the reaction In Baghdad as allied Forces bring Saddam Hussein's reign to an end	148
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	'Mabrouk' Area Iraqi's rejoice in the fall	149
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Administration now turns to finding prohibited weapons: Discovery may soothe war sceptics	150
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	After the fall an uneasy climb out of the chaos	151
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Army seizes final Government strongholds: Commander says end of combat 'days away'	152
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Behind patriotic words, same old spam: War provides a new guise for senders	153
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Cheney praises Invasion's 'wisdom': Appearance is first since war began	154
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Cheney says Iraqi oil output could be restored by year's end: Industry analysts rank political and legal problems, not technical ones as biggest obstacles to production increases	155
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Critics of war tend to be critics of coverage	156
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Democrat hopefuls split on war in Iraq: Presidential candidates attack Bush tax cuts and vow remedies, if needed in Mich.	157
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Do you have a loved one in Iraq?	158
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Drawn to serve – or not: Military recruiters say war coverage helps and hinders enlistment	159
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	How to support the troops	160
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	In Europe Baghdad's fall is greeted with relief: Blair cautions against declaring victory too soon	161
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Iraq's U.N ambassador concedes Saddam's defeat: Some diplomats believe Douri is seeking political asylum	162
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Iraqi immigrants in Dearborn celebrate end of bloody regime	163
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Iraqi leaders are nowhere to be seen: Forces may be protecting figures near Syria border	164
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Iraqi's now feel free to disagree	165
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Joy in Iraq contrasts with family grief: Army officer from Clinton killed in grenade attack	166
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Kurdish Militias proceed cautiously: Temptation to seize Iraqi cities and oilfields checked by fears, U.S. handlers	167
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Marines orders: Ready, set, switch, commanders react to the moment	168
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	U.S marines spurns post-war police role: pressure builds to provide order, protection.	169
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	U.S takes last of 3 key Shiite cities: residents warmly welcome troops.	170
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Wartime spending Measure Stalls on Unrelated Issues.	171
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Where we've all been damaged: Kurdish relish news of Baghdad fall.	172
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	A hopeful but worried nation : Polls find Bush's	173

		approval rates rising despite more fighting in Iraq.	
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Baghdad's airport becomes bustling command post.	174
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Bill to fund Iraq stalled on hill: Measure bogged down in GOP disputes.	175
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Britain greets Baghdad news with reserve, many fear involvement in Iraq will be lengthy.	176
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	From Kuwait: A retired General plans a new Iraq: Critics complain that Bush administration has been secretive about Garner's role.	177
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Hussein's final mistake	178
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Maintaining a presence for Peace: GU Protest Survives US Victories in Iraq.	179
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	Mulling Action, India Equates Iraq, Pakistan: Pre-emption Cited in Kashmir Conflict	180
<i>The Washington Post</i>	10 April 2003	S Korean Leader says North is 'Petrified by U.S Success in Iraq.	181
	10 April 2003	Saudis Debate in the shadow of War: Anti-American Fervour Spills Over Into Discussion of Democratic Reform.	182
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	'Warned Again Not to 'Meddle in Iraq' : Wolfowitz Says U.S May Rethink Damascus Policy.	183
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	US 'Winging' War Plan in Northern Iraq: After Fall of Baghdad, Small Force Makes Good on Strategic Bluff in Push Toward South.	184
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	US Asks Allies to Assist in Rebuilding	185
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	US issues list of 50 Most Wanted Leaders, Troops on Streets Will Join Manhunt.	186
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	US Plans For Iraqi Economy Hit Friction: To Help, World Bank Says It Needs UN Go-Ahead.	187
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	US Uses Iraqi TV To Send Its Message	188
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	Water Shortage Worsens Daily in Basra: War and Vandalism Compound Problem Posed By an Aging Supply System.	189
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	A Glance At The War.	190
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Antiwar Trio Says Iraq's Future Is What Counts; Leaders Try To Repair Relations With Allies.	191
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Anything and Everything Goes; With No Authority to Stop Them, Iraqi's Plunder Capital of Goods.	192
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	At Palace, a New Case of Shock and Awe; Iraqi's Find Unfathomable Opulence at Hussein Complex After Sneaking Onto Grounds.	193
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	Conferees Back 80 Billion Spending Bill; 59 Billion Slated To Pay For Iraq War; Airlines Get 3 Billion in Aid.	194
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Contact With Iraqi's Who Knew About US POW's Lost.	195
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Defences Unseen in Hussein Town; Predator Shows only Looting in Tikrit, Where Last Stand Was Feared.	196
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Fall of Iraqi cities Raises Questions About Oil; Northern Output Could Resume in Month but Legal Issues Remain, Analysts Say.	197
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	Fighting In Dollars and Cents; High-Tech Weaponry Is Small Part of Iraq Expenses.	198
<i>The Washington Post</i>	11 April 2003	For Iraq's Leaders and Loyalists, a Vanishing Act; Coalition Forces Find Few Traces of Hussein, Other Top Officials.	199
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Lynch Expected To Fly to US Today.	200
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	No Easy Victory.	201
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Race is On to Locate Hussein's Billions.	202
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Rampant Looting Sweeps Iraq; Last Major City Falls to Allied Forces, but Hussein's Home Town Still Unoccupied.	203
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	Turkish Officials Back Away From threats to Invade Northern Iraq.	204
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	US, UN In a cautious Dance; Both Seek Cooperation	205

		on Post-war Iraq, But Neither Wants to Make First Move.	
<i>The Washington Post</i>	12 April 2003	A Show of Faith For Iraqi Refugees.	206
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Bush Concerned by Iraq Looting, But Confident in Plan, Administration Seeks to Bolster Campaign's Image In The Arab World.	207
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Caught Between Loyalties; Muslims anxious About Own Role, Improvement For Iraqi's After War.	208
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Chemical Weapons A Hot Story's Elusive Proof.	209
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Daybook A Look At Friday's major developments in the war with Iraq.	210
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Foreign Policy: After Iraq , US Debates The Next Steps.	211
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Humanitarian Groups say US lags in Restoring Order: White House Is Pressing Allies For Help in Stabilising Iraq.	212
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Hussein Loyalists Pull a Fast Vanishing Act; Once Feared Party Cadres Leave No Trace.	213
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Hussein's Fall Bolsters Middle East Reformers; Even Wary Governments Voice Need For Change.	214
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Hussein's Party Cadres Gone, But Amazingly She is Not, Iraqi Woman's Trails Reflect Troubles of Shiite Majority.	215
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	In Califf War Becomes Litmus Test; Two Areas Reflect Deep Divide.	216
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	In Mosul, Self Defence Becomes a Priority; Looting Subsides but Gunfire Continues; Us Commander Pledges a Local Police Force	217
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Iraq Neighbours Warned: US is watching behaviour.	218
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Iraq's Leaders Have Gone To Ground; Coalition Forces Find New Traces in Searches.	219
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Passion in Baghdad, But Not on Wall Street; April 7-11, 2003.	220
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	President Gives Syria a Warning on Iraq; Damascus Told No To Harbour Officials.	221
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Rescued POW Lynch arrives in Washington.	222
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	The Month That Shaped A Nation.	223
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	US Troops Help Restore Order to Kirkuk's Streets.	224
<i>The Washington Post</i>	13 April 2003	Worldwide Protests Continue, With Smaller Crowds, From London To Bangladesh, Military Acton Is Condemned.	225
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	War could hamper WTO Agenda.	226
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Migratory birds could lose their way in war clouds.	227
<i>The Star</i>	10 April 2003	Jubilation in Baghdad spreads across the world	228
<i>The Star</i>	10 April 2003	It was an extraordinary moment. Monday mid morning Iraqi time.	229
<i>The Star</i>	10 April 2003	Bush, Blair are aggressive liars.	230
<i>The Star</i>	11 April 2003	Bury your warhead in the desert sand.	231
<i>The Star</i>	11 April 2003	Realities of the past return to haunt veterans.	232
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Remove the trade barriers for Africa's sake.	233
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Now under new management.	234
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Hani taught us to fight against injustice, says ANC official.	235
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Another day, another city falls.	236
<i>The Star</i>	09 April 2003	Iraqi information minister becomes web star	237
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	24 March 2004	Give UN primary role in Iraq's transition	238
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 March 2004	Bush asks allies for unity on Iraq: No nation exempt from terrorism, President Bush says on anniversary.	239
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 March 2004	Iraqi Journalists Disrupt Powell Briefings: Killing of Pair prompts Walkout.	240
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 March 2004	The Death Toll of Us Forces	241
<i>The Washington Post</i>	210 March 2004	A War's Legacy of Pain	242
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	Bush assailed on Terrorism war	243
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	Bush turns to Fla. to set aggressive pace: Rally Kicks off Intensive Grass Roots Campaign.	244

<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	In Iraq, IRS Agents Had the Right Stuff.	245
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	U.S. Soldiers charged in abuse of Iraqi's	246
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	2 U.S. Soldiers, 2 Iraqi's Killed in Rocket Attacks: Shiite Cleric Advises UN Not to Back Constitution.	247
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	Gilded Honors for Iraq's Top Brass.	248
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 March 2004	Thousands In manhattans Protest War; Peaceful March, Rally on Madison Avenue Urges U.S. Withdrawal From Iraq.	249
<i>The Star</i>	23 March 2004	Calls for restraint as world condemns assassination.	250
<i>The Star</i>	23 March 2004	Can't stop violence with violence Bush is only making terror worse.	251
<i>The Star</i>	23 March 2004	World leaders in Madrid for Memorial Mass.	252
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	19 November 2005	Iraqi's will be forced to return.	253
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	21 November 2005	Protest as Iraqi's are sent back.	254
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	22 November 2005	US and UK to net pounds, 100 BN Iraqi Oil	255
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	22 November 2005	Al Jazeera's inside story	256
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	22 November 2005	Killed in second Iraq Trip	257
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	22 November 2005	Protests as Iraqi's are sent back	258
<i>The Star</i>	22 November 2005	Dutch tycoon goes on trial over Iraqi gas attacks	259
<i>The Star</i>	23 November 2005	Blair rejects Muslim view on cause of terror	260
<i>The Washington Post</i>	19 November 2005	Bush in Asia, Vows to Keep U.S. Staff in Iraq: In surprise	261
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Against the Tide in Iraq: Mc Cain Stakes His Future on a Belief That the war Can and Must be Won	262
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Ouse Rejects Pullout after GOP Forces a Vote: Democrats Enraged Personal Attacks.	263
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Nearly 50 Iraqi's Killed In Suicide Attacks: Bombers Strike Shiite Funeral, Baghdad Market: 5 U.S. Soldiers also Killed.	264
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Irresponsible on Iraq	265
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Iraq War Debate Eclipses All Over Issues: GOP Flounders as Bush's Popularity Falls: Democrats Struggle For a Voice.	266
<i>The Washington Post</i>	20 November 2005	Against the Tide On Iraq: McCain Stakes His Future on a Belief That the War can and Must Be Won.	267
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 November 2005	Under U.S Design, Iraq's New Army Looks a Good Deal Like the Old One.	268
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 November 2005	The Bosnian Example For Iraq.	269
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 November 2005	Muslim Youth Find a Bridge In a U.S. Tradition: Scouting	270
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 November 2005	Bush's Asia Trip Meets Low Expectations	271
<i>The Washington Post</i>	21 November 2005	Bush Tries to Tone Down High-Pitched Debate on Iraq: President Praises Rep. Murtha and Says People Should Feel Comfortable Expressing Opinions on the War.	272
<i>The Washington Post</i>	22 November 2005	Cheney Again Assails Critics of War: Rejection of 'Revisionism', Comes as is Standing Drops in Polls.	273
<i>The Washington Post</i>	22 November 2005	Iraq and the 'L' Word.	274
<i>The Washington Post</i>	22 November 2005	Voters Moved by Murtha, Not necessarily his Views: District Reflects Conflicted Views on Iraq War.	275
<i>The Washington Post</i>	27 October 2006	Iraq War Deaths Total Number	276
<i>The Washington Post</i>	27 October 2006	Rumsfeld Tells Iraq Critics to 'Back Off'	277
<i>The Washington Post</i>	26 October 2006	U.S. Deaths In Iraq Near Peak Months	278
<i>The New Straits Times</i>	22 November 2005	World News Agencies Criticised	279
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	28 October 2006	UK Soldier dies in Crash	280
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	28 October 2006	War zone Troops Won't Have To Pay Council Tax: Exclusive Cash Boost for High risk jobs.	281
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	22 November 2005	We Found Love on the Frontline.	282
<i>The Daily Mirror</i>	28 October 2006	Tragedy on Iraq will be George Bush's legacy.	283
<i>The Star</i>	27 October 2006	Muslim Cleric sparks Outrage by accusing woman of inviting rape.	284
<i>The Star</i>	30 October 2006	Islamic Cleric taken to hospital after fainting.	285
<i>The Washington Post</i>	28 October 2006	Officer, Soldier Shared Passions: Two Slain in Iraq Loved Family, Country and the Military, Mourners Say.	286

<i>The Washington Post</i>	27 October 2006	In Baghdad a Sudden Change to Play: Lull in violence During Holiday Frees Families Long Confined By Fear.	287
<i>The Washington Post</i>	28 October 2006	Our Obligations on Iraq.	288
<i>The Washington Post</i>	28 October 2006	Search For U.S. Soldiers Spurs Sadr City Battles: Translators Brother Was Freed, Premier Says.	289

Appendix 2: Quantitative coding sheet

1. Unique number of article

--	--	--

1-3

2. Newspaper

The *Daily Mirror* 1

The *Daily Telegraph* 2

The Washington Post 3

The *New Strait Times* 4

The Star (South Africa) 5

--

4

3. Date of Newspaper

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

5-12

4. Organisational sources

International News Agencies:

- Reuters 01
- AP 02
- Agence France Presse 03
- UPI 04

Local News Agencies 05

In-House Journalists 06

Journalists war zone 07

Embedded journalists 08

Independent Newspapers 09

Journalists in foreign countries 10

Foreign Post Service 11

Other 12

--	--

13-16

--	--

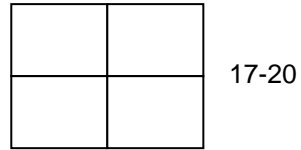
5. News sources quoted in the article

Elite nations 01

Elite persons 02

Elite groups 03

Journalists and correspondents	04
White House officials	05
Military spokespersons	06
Army officers	07
Academics or scholars	08
Clerics and religious leaders	09
Anti-war protestors and activists	10
Iraqi civilians	11
Other	12



6. Attitude towards the United States

Positive	1
Negative	2
Neutral	3



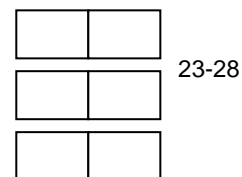
7. Attitude towards the war

Positive	1
Negative	2
Neutral	3



8. Themes applied in the article

Religion	01
Peace talks	02
Environmental	03
Violence	04
Humanitarian	05
Freedom and Victory	06
Wealth and opulence	07
Military manoeuvres	08
Conspiracy	09
Financial	10
Anti- war protests	11



Electioneering	12
Press freedom	13
Atrocities	14
Post war reconstruction	16

9. Propaganda

Yes	1
No	2



29

10. Direction of news flow

Centre-periphery flow	1
North- South flow	2
Triangular pattern of news flow	3

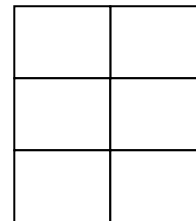


30

11. Newsworthiness

Context related factors

- Hierarchical status of country	01
- Political and ideological factors	02
- Economic factors	03
- Social and cultural factors	04
- Geographic proximity	05
- Attributes of population	06



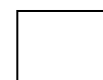
31-36

Event related factors

- Social and normative deviance	07
- Elite, nations, countries and people	08
- Perceptions of journalists and editors	09
- Timeliness	10
- Foreign correspondents and agencies	11
- The human factor	12

12. Other

Education	1
Weather	2



37

Appendix 3: Qualitative coding sheet

1. Number of article

--	--	--

2. Newspaper

- The Daily Mirror 1
- The Daily Telegraph 2
- The Washington Post 3
- The New Strait Times 4
- The Star (South Africa) 5

--

3. Date of Newspaper

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

4. Themes applied in the article

5. Propaganda

6. News determinants

6. 1 Context related determinants
