

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH



FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

--ABBES LAGHROUR UNIVERSITY--

*An Investigation of Bias and Media Coverage :How the British  
and American Media Covered, War of Iraq ? as case study.  
a Comaprative Study.*

*Dissertation submitted to the Department of English as a partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master in Languagr and Culture.*

**Presented by :**

- BERDOUK Manel.
- ATTALLAH Nedjwa.

**Supervised by :**

Mr.LEBIAR Khaled

**Board of examiners:**

- Mr.AYADI Karim      President      (University of khenchla)
- Mr.LEBIAR Khaled      Supervisor      (University of Biskra)
- Mr.OUNISS Salim      Examiner      (University of khenchla)

Academic Year 2018/2019

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my dear husband for his confidence in me and for his financial support.

To my parents for their trustworthiness and encouragements.

Also to my sweet and lovely daughter houda ghoufran . I love all for everything you gave to me.

To all my friends who i tortured with my fears and complaints. I will be always grateful to each one of you.

***Manel***

I dedicat this work first and foremost, for my father for his love and support throughout my life. Thank you for giving me strenght to reach for the stars and chase my dreams, to the soul of my beloved mother .My sisters and brothers, for the big familly thanks as well.

To all my friends :Aicha,Nora,Soumia, abd Erahman and Khalil,thank you for your understanding and encouragement in many many moments of crisis.your friendship makes my life wonderful.cannot list all the names here, but you are always on my mind.

**Nedjwa**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

*Above all, thanks to Almighty God who is my source of wisdom. All glory to Him for granting me the chance and the ability to successfully complete this study.*

**" And whoever is grateful is grateful for [the benefit of] himself. And whoever denies [His favor] - then indeed, Allah is Free of need and Praiseworthy.**

**«Luqman 12»**

We wish to express our deepest gratitude to our supervisor **Mr. Lebiar Khald** for his precious and unreserved guidance.

We are grateful to **Mr .Ounis Salim** who helped us and encouraged us till the end.

We would like to express our gratitude and appreciations to **Mr. Kefali Walid.**

We are also indebted to our dear teachers: **Mr Guerza Omar, Mr Ounis Salim, Mr Fritah Nasreddine, Mr Slimani Marzoug , Mr Zine Mekki,**and **Mr.Ayadi Karim** who had been sources of knowledge and inspiration to us .

We would like to thank the jury members for accepting to examine my dissertation and for any remarks they would make to refine it.

“Those who educate children well are more to be honored than they who produce them; for these only gave them life, those the art of living well”.

Aristotle

***ABSTRACT :***

The study at hand seeks to investigate bias and media coverage, it seeks comparing How the UK and the US media covered the war of Iraq. By analyze some events and comparing them from different aspects and identify the causes behind any biased discourses. For going about the investigation under consideration, the research methodology adopted in this study is a descriptive one. Data was gathered through comparing selected critical events, and describing how they were portrayed during the Iraq war. The findings obtained from data analysis reveal the differences in reporting public opinion in the United States and United Kingdom. Giving that media has a significant role in wartime propaganda to become ever more sophisticated by employing other technologies as they advance. Historically, the 2003 war in Iraq can be seen to have occurred within a newly changed media environment. This development has contributed to challenge the traditional understandings of flows of information and influenced the international mediascape by providing other perspectives to conflicts, allowing for different media outlets to contribute to the narrative of wars and to provide their own political, cultural and social interpretations. Media underlined the power of alternative news providers. This equally suggests that the consideration of the international dimension becomes as significant as the domestic dimension in the planning of any media and communication strategies in the future. However, credibility would remain the determining factor to measure the successes of these media organisations in reporting news.

**Keywords:** Bias, Media Coverage, Dissertation, British and American Media, Iraq as a case study.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**BBC** British Broadcasting Corporation

**CNN** Cable News Networking

**CBS** Columbia Broadcasting System

**IO** Informaion Operation

**MP** Member of Parliament

**PSOPSY** Psychological Operation

**RSF** Reporters Without Borders

**WW11** World War 2

**WMD** Weapons of mass media

## LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure A:</i> What Happens in the World on Any Givenday (the % recorded as “news”).....	<b>17</b>
<i>Figure B:</i> The total set of facts relevant to understanding a given set of events.....	<b>18</b>

## TABLE OF CONTENTS :

DEDICATION.....	I.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	VII
ABSTRACT .....	VII
LIST OF ABREVIATION .....	VII
LIST OF FIGURES.....	VII
GENERAL	
INTRODUCTION11.....	1
1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM .....	2
2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	2
3. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY .....	2
4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	5
5. AIMS OF THE STUDY.....	6
6. ASSUMPTION OF THE STUDY .....	6
7. DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	6
8. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN .....	7
8.1. CHOICE OF THE METHOD.....	7
8.2. DATA COLLECTION.....	8
8.3. DATA ANALYSIS .....	8
9. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	8
10. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY.....	14
CHAPTER ONE: MEDIA BIAS & PROPAGANDA .....	15

INTRODUCTION.....	12
<b>1.THE CONCEPT OF MEDIA .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2.DEFINITION OF MEDIA .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2.TYPES OF MASS MEDIA.....</b>	<b>19</b>
4.THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA.....	20
5.MEDIA KEEPS YOU INFORMED IRRESPECTIVE OF GEO- LOCATION.....	21
6.MEDIA STRATEGIES.....	22
7.IMPACT OF MEDIA ON DIFUSSION OF CULTUR.....	23
8. RACISM AND .PRESS.....	24
9.THE NOTION OF CULTURE.....	25
10.CULTURAL DEPENDENCY AND TH.....	26
11.BIAS AND PROPAGANDA.....	27
12.BIAS AND OBJECTIVITY IN THE NEWS MEDI.....	28
13.THE PERCEPTION OF BIAS IN THE MAINSTREAM.....	29
14.PROPAGANDA AND NEW STORY WRITING.....	30
15.HOW TO OBTAIN USEFUL INFORMATION FROM PROPAGANDA AND STANARD STORIES.....	31
16.CONCLUSION.....	32

CHAPTER TWO : MEDIA WAR OR WAR ON MEDIA : LESSON FROM IRAQ	
INTRODUCTION.....	28
1-THE DEVELOPEMENT OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND WARTIME PROPAGANDA DURING THE IRAQ WAR.....	30
2-THE US MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE IRAQ WAR.....	35
2-1-THE MEDIA'S CLOSE REALATIONSHIP WITH THE WHITE HOUSE.....	35
2-2-THE BRITISH MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE IRAQ WAR IN 2003.....	36
2-3-THE WHITE HOUSE SETS THE AGENDA.....	38
2-4-LANGUAGE USED TO FRAM THE WMD DEBATE.....	39
CONCLUSION.....	40
GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	42

# *General Introduction*

## **1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM :**

There could be possibly no room for doubt that , media plays a significant role in covering different aspects of human's life , and it has a crucial role that can be clearly seen in wars . It also gives a picture of some human excesses that exist everywhere in some countries like Iraq , Palestine , Afganistan ....etc . However , not all media cover wars in a right and an appropriate way . Some are objective and represent actions as they really are . Some others are subjective and biased in transferring events to the audience , which leads to people having a wrong image of what is really going on in some areas of the world . What we are really seeking to investigate is to know whether British and American media coverage of Iraq war is done in an objective way or there is a certain kind of bias to hide some unknown things .

## **2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS :**

*In view of what is said above, the present study tends to answer the following questions:*

-Is the American and British media coverage of the war in Iraq objective ?

-If not , what are the causes that stand behind such bias ?

*Also :*

We hypothesize that the British media coverage is more objective than that of the American .

### **3. Background and Significance of the study :**

Political mentalities towards the war may have firmly affected media utilize and validity view of news scope. The war in Iraq in 2003 incited a split amongst supporters and non-supporters locally and also internationally.

Whenever there is a solid political partisanship, the view of media validity might be influenced by the group of onlookers' issue contribution in a particular news occasion. There is a rising point of view on media validity contemplates that news believability might be a factor in group of onlookers contribution in the issue, as opposed to inner or outside qualities of news content itself. As per this viewpoint, news validity isn't exclusively an target highlight of news story or source, yet a subjective discernment by groups of onlookers.

The antagonistic media impact alludes to the procedure by which some news gatherings of people, when they are profoundly associated with an issue, have a tendency to see adjusted and unbiased news scope as one-sided against their own particular perspective and judge the news content as less believable (Arpan and Raney, 2003; Gunther, 1992; Gunther and Chia, 2001; Gunther and Initiate, 2002; Gunther, Christen, Liebhart and Chia, 2001; Vallone, Ross, and Lepper, 1985).

That is, when two contradicting fanatic gatherings are presented to probably impartial scope on a troublesome issue, the two gatherings will assess the indistinguishable news content as horrible towards their position and, along these lines, as uneven and one-sided.

Specialists have analyzed this impact between various fanatic gatherings when both were presented to the news scope on the included issue: star Arab and expert Israeli gatherings (Vallone, Ross, and Lepper, 1985), chiefs and association individuals on

strike (Dedicate, Kannaovakun, and Gunther, 2002), and adversaries and supporters of hereditarily prepared nourishments (Gunther and Schmitt, 2004).

The threatening media impact accept two hypothetical conditions: a profoundly issueinvolved gathering of people and unbiased news content. A gathering of individuals having solid contribution with a social or political issue is some of the time alluded to as a factional gathering.

At the point when news purchasers have solid feelings towards an issue, they will probably express wariness of the news scope, and the extent of their state of mind appears positive connection with the level of predisposition recognition (Arpan&Raney, 2003; Gunther, Dedicate, Liebhart, and Chia, 2001; Schmitt, Gunther, and Liebhart, 2004).

The partisanship is regularly distinguished by participation in a social or political gathering or association. A principal ethic in reporting is the objective of composing an impartial or adjusted news story in which the two sides are similarly very much secured. In any case, it is very normal for news editors to get protest letters from perusers on the two sides of an issue to the impact that news scope is one-sided for the opposite side. People's data handling instrument might be clarified by a few unique hypotheses.

One of these, unfriendly media recognition, is by all accounts identified with third-individual impact and mass-achieve impacts. Another hypothesis, the absorption predisposition impact, is a work of art and customary clarification of one-sided psychological preparing hypothesis that alludes to the propensity of individuals with restricting perspectives to assess uncertain data in support of their own suppositions. In contradistinction to this steady impression of digestion predisposition hypothesis,

unfriendly media impact hypothesis predicts contradicted discernment, yet the forecast is observed to be exact just if a medium is "wide achieve" (Gunther and Schmitt, 2004).

It is the view of a medium having a wide achieve limit, with its associative potential effect on expansive quantities of others (particularly nonpartisan sentiment gatherings) that creates the threatening observation. As proposed by the third-individual impact (Davison, 1983; Perloff, 1999), when divided gatherings are presented to ostensibly impartial news scope in broad communications, they have a tendency to see it as having a bigger unwanted impact on others than on themselves and, therefore, see the news as negative to their side. When they are presented to news content under nonmediated or on the other hand limit achieve conditions, the unfriendly media impact vanishes and osmosis inclination becomes possibly the most important factor (Gunther and Schmitt, 2004). The instruments through which the impact happens include judgment heuristics: Partisans who trust their camp is better than the restricting side may judge nonpartisan news as threatening in light of the fact that such an adjusted scope gives level with weight to the next

side's sub-par claims. At the point when war supporters detected their predominance in sentiment surveys, they would tend to judge an apparently adjusted report as one-sided on the grounds that they may think it supported the substandard gathering. Likewise, partisans who trust a news source is lined up with the opposite side always accept predisposition in all news scope from the news source. For example, war rivals would have accepted predisposition in news scope from Fox News on the off chance that they trusted that news source constantly supported the opposite side.

These somewhat strict conditions on the unbiased scope and fanatic gatherings have been mellowed in later investigations. Relative antagonistic media impact hypothesis

contends that the news content does not should be impartial. Regardless of whether news scope is inclined, both divided gatherings will assess the news content as generally one-sided against their side (Gunther and Chia, 2001; Gunther and Christine, 2002). For example, regardless of whether news scope is inclined towards one side, the gathering will at present see the news as troublesome to their position, in spite of the fact that their impression of predisposition is generally weaker than the other side's. This change takes out the necessity that the antagonistic media impact (HME) be tried just on nonpartisan news scope. In reality, there is no assurance of ideal objectivity in many news scope; in the exploratory examination of HME, specialists have regularly controlled news stories so as to meet the impartiality prerequisite.

Moreover, relative HME contends that the complexity predisposition impact isn't restricted to outrageous news gatherings of people, that is, very issue-included partisans who are for the most part just little subsets of the all inclusive community. Albeit just direct connections were discovered, specialists have additionally distinguished the view of predisposition in news scope toward the opposite side in more extensive examples of the populace (Gunther and Christine, 2002).

Supporters and adversaries of the Iraq War were particularly factional bunches who were very associated with this issue. Regardless of whether the scope in a specific medium they were presented to in some sense tended towards lack of bias, they would all things considered have judged that medium as one-sided, consequently giving it a lower believability evaluation than would nonpartisan gatherings. In any case, in a non-exploratory examination, it is troublesome to decide if the news scope they were presented to was unbiased or not.

At the point when an inclination or predisposition by media is available, defenders of one side of an issue who are presented to news ominous to their side have a tendency to evaluate the news scope or media as more inclined or one-sided than do defenders of the opposite side (Arpan and Raney, 2003).

In this manner, individuals' impression of every medium as far as the level of its arrangement with the administration's position might be an imperative factor in believability observation amid the war. The legislature authoritatively asserted the weapons of mass devastation also, a connection to al-Qaeda as significant explanations behind the war, yet gave minimal strong confirmation.

In the event that one is in help of the war and the administration's position, at that point a medium that is seen as supporting that position might be judged as more solid than other media. On the off chance that one doesn't bolster the war or the administration's position, at that point

an ace government medium might be viewed as less sound than other media. Therefore, the two impacts of gathering of people's issue contribution and the medium's arrangement with the government's situation on the evaluation of validity should be considered.

For example, if rivals of the war had seen most news sources on TV

to be master government, they would have given lower assessment of validity of the medium of TV in general.

Few studies have been carried out on bias and media coverage, but it seems as if none of the investigations have been conducted in the American and British media coverage of Iraq war. To this end, the present study deems it essential to have an

investigation into the biased media between the American and the British news in covering the Iraq war. The significance of this study stems from the following considerations:

- The findings of this work will hopefully be helpful to understand that media technologies became an essential factor in the conduct of war.

- This study can equally be a source of assistance for the public opinion to identify the causes behind bias and media coverage of Iraq war between American and British news .

- This work will show that the media were weaponised by war planners to become an essential element in winning the war, or, in other words, the media had been “militarised” by effective and powerful media strategies aimed at controlling the way the war was seen.

#### **5. Aim and Objectives of the Study :**

The ultimate aim of our study is to know whether the British media coverage of the war in Iraq is more objective than that of the American or vice-versa . For the sake of achieving the overall aim , two objectives were identified :

- To analyze some events and compare them from different aspects .

- To identify the causes behind any biased discourses .

#### **6. Assumption of the Study :**

We assume that there are some reasons that stand behind biased media.

## **7. Definitions of Key Words :**

The following definitions are provided to ensure uniformity and understanding of these terms throughout the study:

*Bias* : “ a strong feeling in favour of or against one group of people, or one side in argument , often not based on fair judgement “. ( Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary , checked online in January , 20<sup>th</sup> , 2018)

*Media Coverage* : “ the means of communication that reach large numbers of people , such as television , newspapers , and radio “. (English Dictionary Reverso , checked on line in January , 20<sup>th</sup> , 2018) .

*War* : “ a conflict carried on by force of arms , as between nations or between parties within a nation ; warfare , as by land , sea , or air “. (Retrieved from a dictionary online in January , 20<sup>th</sup> , 2018 ) .

## **8. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN**

### **8.1. Research Design:**

This paper will explore the differences in reporting and published opinion in the United States and United Kingdom by comparing selected critical events ,and describing how they were portrayed during the Iraq war.

So in order to answer the research question, we would use for a descriptive approach since it aims at describing the core study of this research and castinglight on current case.

The use of this methodology involves data collection: Books, Articles, Conferences papers, and any relevant materials. The choice of the method was mainly based on the nature of the problem under investigation.

All data are presented and analysed in tables and graphs, statically reported in form of numbers and percentages to be interpreted, and in a descriptive form after each graph

### **9.Limitations of the Study :**

Our study has two limitations :

**-Limitation of time :** time is a crucial factor in any research. And since we are busy with studying and preparing for the first semester . we will have only one semester to carry on our study .

**-Lack of information in the field of CDA :** since we do not have a clear idea about the so called critical discourse analysis we will face serious problems in analyzing and comparing discourses .

### **10.Structure of the Study :**

Our work consists of two main parts. Chapter one this chapter is the theoretical parts of this dissertation. It presents a review about Media and culture; thus it divides on two main parts The first one will tackle the Notion Of mass media by offering media definition, strategies, types and the impact of mass media on cultures, then the second part will identify :how to detect bias and proppanda culture by providing an overview about the relation between both of them .

Practical part underlies fieldwork and comes a second chapter. The results of analyses and findings to emerge from the study as well as suggestions and recommendations for further research are being considered. Finally, we a general conclusion draws on the whole work, with emphasis on the findings.

*Chapter One:  
Media bias and Propaganda*

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION :**

Media plays a significant role in covering different aspects of human's life ,and it has a crucial role that can be seen during armed conflicts .This later is becoming increasingly important, especially with the quick development of new ,and different kind of communication technologies. This directed change has contributed to challenge the ancient way of understanding the flow of information and manipulated the international media scape by other views to warfare, permitting for several media outlets to contribut to the narrative of wars to provide their own cultural, political, and social explanations .These charachteristics of the actual media environment have become more clear in the warefare that have been noticed on the coverage of Iraq war.

## **1.2 The concept of media :**

Nowdays people received information and entertainment every where,and in different ways beacause of that this time is known by the age of information.This later is due to television ,radio ,newspaper and internet. So media is regarded as the powerful and the most effective supervise of spreading or sharing information.It plays a great and important role in modern culture, and has the power to suit the age,nda for this purpose this part will tackle the definition of media its strategies , types and the impact of media .

## **1.3 Definition of mass media :**

The program of media in which it compose its own audience can be considere as a contrôle program. In another words media hase its strict program.Moreover the media research, accordingly, takes into consediration the production of programs and

the consumption of the audience. For both view, research topics are justified, data sources are introduced, and recommendation for the research underbuilding are given.

Media has different definitions, as it has different affects. Everything can affected even what people do in their society because of their intentions, worths, attitudes and normative or expected patterns of behavior. It is a modified collection of media technologies and outlets that reach a large audience via communication.

W.H. Auden:

Said: "What the media offers is not popular art, but entertainment which is intended to be consumed like food, forgotten, and replaced by a new dish."

While *Malcolm X* defines media as "the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power. Because they control the minds of the masses."

Media is that tool which collar humans life with fake and artificial perceptions and arbitrary values. Mass media is a complex concept, and no single definition of it has achieved consensus. so, out of the many possible definitions examined, the following definition guides this study:

"Media literacy empowers people to be both critical thinkers and creative producers of an increasingly wide range of messages using image, language, and sound. It is the skillful application of literacy skills to media and technology messages. As communication technologies transform society, they impact our understanding of ourselves, our communities, and our diverse cultures, making media literacy an essential life skill for the 21st century."

*(The Alliance for A Media Literate America, 2000)*

As the mass media address nations, their development is a strand of the modernization of nations (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 261).

The development of mass media has a meaningful and a significant extent over time. Nowadays, Media considered as an umbrella term for all types of Print, broadcast and interactive communication.

#### **1.4 Types of Mass media :**

Media have different types that could be used in this time. Media-related exposure can be shared every day whether by young people, children, or adults. All the communication devices refer to media, that can be used to interact and communicate with many people and audiences in different places and countries with different languages. Media consists of several types genres: Print media, electronic media and New age media.

Print media it includes newspapers, magazines, booklets and brochures, house magazines, periodicals or newsletters, direct mailers, handbills or flyers, billboards, press releases, books and other publications. Within these publications, there are two main divisions of labor: reporting and editing. Reporters are the newspaper writers who investigate newsworthy events and interesting stories. Editors assign stories to reporters, edit story content, and decide which stories to print. Print media encompasses mass communication through printed material.

Electronic media or the Broadcast media is the kind of media which requires the user to utilize an electric connection to access it includes television, radio, and new-age media like the Internet, computers, telephones, etc. The purpose of using electronic media can be for many reasons; one of the reasons is that you can use it to market yourself and anything else from businesses to products and so on. Electronic media is an

efficient way to communicate to one another, either by the use of media devices and networks or social media sources such as Television or the Internet these are a few of the many ways you can use Electronic media to your advantage.

New age Media: With the advent of the Internet, we are now enjoying the benefits of high technology mass media, which is not only faster than the old school mass media, but also has a widespread range. Mobile phones, computers, and the Internet are often referred to as the new-age media. The Internet has opened up several new opportunities for mass communication which include email, websites, podcasts, e-books, blogging, Internet TV and many others, which are booming today. The Internet has also started social networking 4 sites which have redefined mass communication all together. Sites like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have made communication to the masses all the more entertaining, interesting, and easier!

### **1.5 The role of mass media :**

It is quite evident to all of us that the mass media has become an essential part of everyone's life. Rather, the media plays a constructive role in today's society from increasing public awareness to collecting views, information, and also the attitude of the people towards certain issue. With technological advancements, such as the Internet, have made it possible to bring the various forms of electronic media to our workplaces and homes at the click of a button. the influence of mass media is undeniable as it can make or break the belief of the people, or start a movement for a right cause. (Soumi Biswas)

### **1.6 Media Keeps You Informed Irrespective Of Geo-Location :**

No one can deny the blessings of media in today's world. The mass media helps people to remain informed and updated about the various news, events, social activities,

lifestyle, entertainment, and advertisements irrespective of the geographical barriers. For example, while sitting in India, one can get all latest news and events of UK, or USA. Like, even while sitting miles away, one got the breaking news of Donald trump winning the Presidential election.

Mass media have made profound impact on societies and their culture. It ceases the boundaries of different societies among the individuals and creates “Globalization”. Furthermore, media are a storehouse of information. It educate individuals about day to day occasions or new revelations.

### **1.7 Media strategies :**

Media coverage is at times something to be eagerly sought out, and at other times something to be avoided at all costs. Knowing when to seek coverage and how to handle it, both when it is desired and when it is not, can make a huge difference in how amicably and quickly a conflict is resolved. Within a short timeframe, social media have become to be widely used in government organizations. Social media leader assume that the transformational capacities of social media result in similar communication strategies in different organizations. According to them, government is transforming into a user-generated state. (Albert Meijer) Social Media Strategies. Media strategies divide into three main parts, Advertising, Peace journalism and creating media.

### **1.8 Impact of mass media on diffusion of culture :**

Diffusion describes the spread of cultural trait from the point of origin throughout an area and into the neighboring regions or to the neighboring societies. The items of culture include food habits, dress, religious beliefs and language. The spread of habits of having tea, coffee , smoking certain brands of cigarettes , detergents , hair oil,

shampoo, tooth paste, tooth brush and hair dye is decidedly due to the impact of television in recent times, and even during the daily activities, certain words of the mother tongue have been replaced by certain linguistic expressions of the television. Children behave the same way children in television behave vis-à-vis their parents. These are all cases of cultural dissension, greatly affected and influenced by mass media.

### **1.9 Racism and the press :**

The persuasive power of the press is particularly effective if its reporting is consistent with the interests of most readers.

This is particularly the case for the coverage of race and ethnic affairs in the United States, Europe, and other Europeanized countries. Ethnic and racial conflicts have been a major topic of news. Immigration and integration are among the most alarming social issues of current European politics and media reporting. The rebellion of poor blacks who set fire to parts of Los Angeles in April 1992 was a story that hit the headlines all over the world.

Analyses of ethnic affairs coverage show a remarkable alignment of the press with the dominant white power elites, as well as with the popular resentment among the white population at large, whose protests against further immigration or serious equal rights policies are prominently displayed in, and thus further exacerbated by, the news media. Minorities generally remain in socioeconomic positions that have often been characterized as that of an underclass. Attacks against minorities and immigrants in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy are still, the order of the day and hardly energetically combated by the authorities. In sum, racism or ethnicism remains one of the major problems of white societies.

This complex picture, full of contradictions that pitch humanitarian values of equal rights against ethnic and racial dominance in virtually all domains of society, is also reflected in the coverage of ethnic affairs in the news media of Europe and the United States. The media have played a crucial role in the reproduction of the ethnic status as well as in the perpetuation of racism and ethnicism.

Racism remains one of the most pernicious problems of white society. Though often less blatantly and overtly than in the past, it continues to permeate racial and ethnic relations in North America. Resistance and protests against this social, economic and cultural oppression of minorities have brought about limited civil rights gains during the past two decades, but the fundamental relations of inequality have hardly changed. Indeed, one of the main strategies of the ideological framework keeping white dominance in place is precisely to deny or to play down the prevalence of racism and to blame its victims for the persistent inequalities that are its outcome. (Teun A. Van Dijk )

[14] the United States. The media have played a crucial role in the reproduction of the ethnic status as well as in the perpetuation of racism and ethnicism.

Racism remains one of the most pernicious problems of white society. Though often less blatantly and overtly than in the past, it continues to permeate racial and ethnic relations in North America. Resistance and protests against this social, economic and cultural oppression of minorities have brought about limited civil rights gains during the past two decades, but the fundamental relations of inequality have hardly changed. Indeed, one of the main strategies of the ideological framework keeping white dominance in place is precisely to deny or to play down the prevalence of racism and to blame its victims for the persistent inequalities that are its outcome. (Teun A. Van Dijk )

### **1.10 The notion of culture :**

Culture generated a large number of activities in which humans could attain the illusion that they are individuals of value in a world of meaning, as well as a sense of symbolic immortality, by contributing to an entity that continues on after the death of the individual. In other words, culture is central to the way we view, experience, and engage with all aspects of our lives and the world around us. Culture is a complex concept, and no single definition of it has achieved consensus. So, out of the many possible definitions examined, the following definition guides this study

”Culture is set of shared and enduring mind, values, and beliefs that characterize national, ethnic or other groups and orient their behavior” (Mulholland 1991).

The British cultural historian Raymond Williams has written that culture “is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.” (George, 2001, p.1) As Williams further explains, culture can not lose the older meanings along the way even that it has acquired new meanings over time.

Culture can be defined as “the total sum of the beliefs, rules, techniques, and artifacts that characterized human populations” or “the collective programming of the mind”.

### **1.11 Cultural dependency and the media :**

Any general discussion of media impact should include an assessment of the extent to which populations are actually exposed to the media. The most important factor helping to account for exposure is physical availability of the media. This is still something that cannot be taken for granted in many of the poorer countries. The major

obstacles to media development pertain to market conditions, political insecurity, linguistic diversity, illiteracy, and technology.

In the west, the press developed as a form of „mass“ communication because it could „sell“ large audiences to advertisers, and advertising revenue made it possible to sell newspapers at below-cost levels. In many poorer countries there are relatively small markets for the commodities that major advertisers want to sell. The conditions of production, are often very much more difficult than in most industrialized economies, for reasons of distance, terrain, shortages of equipment and skills, shortages of foreign exchange.

The view that mass media could help to break down traditional values thought to be inimical to development has therefore been found unhelpful in a number of ways; the relationship between given social values and a western model of development is peculiarly complex, and possibly requires a better understanding of both „developing“ and „developed“ societies than at present exists.

### **1.12 Bias and Propaganda:**

The logic behind bias and propaganda in the news media is simple and it is the same the world over .Each society and culture has a unique world view .This colors what they see and how they see it .News media in the cultures of the world reflect the world view of the culture for which they write .But the truth of what is happening in the world is much more complicated than what appears to be true in any culture .to be critical readers for the news media in any society ,one must come to terms with this truth and read accordingly .Critical thinking is a complex set of skills that reverses what is natural and instinctive in human thought .(Richard Paul,Center for critical thinking.)

### 1.13 Bias and Objectivity in the News Media :

The logic of constructing news stories is parallel to the logic of writing history. In both cases, for events covered, there is *both* a massive background of facts *and* a highly restricted amount of space to devote to those facts. The result in both cases is the same: 99.99999% of the “facts” are never mentioned at all (see Figure 1).



Figure N° 01:

“All the news that’s fit to print”, must be objective and fairness in the construction of news stories, it should present all the facts and only the facts. Objectivity and fairness is an illusion. No human knows more than a small percentage of the facts and it is not possible to present all the facts (even if one did know them). It isn’t even possible to present all the important facts, for many criteria compete for determining what is “important.”

The media focus on what their readers personally care about. Thus, even if their readers are irrational in some belief

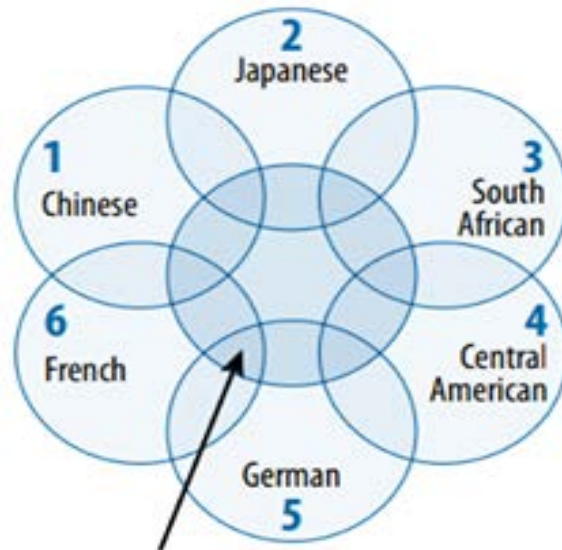
“Most people, having given up on getting a set of unadorned facts, align themselves with whichever spin outlet seems comfortable.” *The Wall Street Journal* May 7, 2004.

Human “objectivity” is an ideal that no one perfectly achieves. It requires a great deal of

intellectual humility (knowledge of our extensive ignorance) and begins by freely admitting

one’s own point of view, as well as the need to consider competing sources of information

and opinion when making important judgments. A lot of events are viewed and interpreted in different points of view. Openness to a range of insights from multiple points of view and a willingness to question one’s own point of view are crucial to “objectivity.” This can be suggested in a diagram that illustrates how multiple viewpoints often stand in relation to the same set of events (see diagram, ). Objectivity is achieved to the extent that one has studied a wide range of perspectives relevant to an issue, obtained insights from all of them, seen weaknesses and partiality in each, and integrated what one has learned into a more comprehensive, many-sided whole. Each should serve to “correct” exaggerations or distortions in the others and to add facts not highlighted in the others.



**The total set of facts relevant to understanding a given set of events**

*Note:*

- Only some of the facts are highlighted in any point of view.
- All points of view ignore or play down some facts.
- No single point of view provides total understanding.
- Understanding multiple viewpoints increases insight.

A good example of how to achieve « Objectivity» can be illustrated on the following

.So, to understand the war between Britain and its

colonies in North America (1776–1783), one must look at the events from at least three points of view: that of the British government, that of the Colonial leaders, and that of the indigenous peoples.

**To achieve objectivity :**

1. identify the point of view from which a given news story or historical account is constructed,
2. identify the audience it is written for,
3. recognize what points of view it is negating or ignoring, and

4. distinguish the raw facts behind the story from the interpretation and spin being put on those facts. Discovered the multiple sources for information and a way to determine when those sources are most credible.

#### **1.14 The Perception of Bias in the Mainstream :**

Quite naturally, but uncritically, people think of those who agree with them as objective and those who disagree with them as biased. Thus, if news commentators present mainstream views with a liberal spin, they are viewed as “objective” only by the liberals in the audience. If mainstream views are given a conservative spin, they are viewed as “objective” only by the conservatives in their audience. The media therefore present liberal or conservative slants on the news in accordance with their audience’s views.

#### **1.15 Propaganda and News Story Writing :**

*“What is on the front page is more difficult to avoid than what is inside.”*

*The New York Times International ,May 11, 2004.*

Propaganda according to Webster’s New World Dictionary refers to “any systematic, widespread dissemination or promotion of particular ideas, doctrines, practices, etc., to further one’s own cause or to damage an opposing one.” Which means that there is no clear-cut or a specific separation line between the real news story writing with a given cultural audience in mind, on the one hand, and with constructing propaganda on the other hand. Both coverage way, systematically aimed to play down the worth of opposing perspectives or points of view.

Also to “glorify” or “demonize” specific groups of people by suppressing or ignoring information that does not support its preconceptions and favored ideology, this

kind of historical writing can take on the character of propaganda .Few news writers would admit that the word propagnnda applies to their stories , because it carries with it a negative connotation (suggesting deception or distortion).

Most people, as a result, are trapped in one world view (because they have received a steady diet of stories and accounts articulated from that perspective and have not seriously considered any alternatives). This does not mean, of course, that a given world view is unvaried. Not everyone who shares a viewpoint agrees on every issue.

It is usually much easier for people to recognize the truth of these tendencies when thinking about the news coverage in other nations or cultures—especially when thos other nations and cultures differ greatly from their own. Israelis easily recognize bias and propaganda in Arab coverage though they see little in their own coverage, and vice versa.

### **1.16 How to Obtain Useful Information from Propaganda and Standard News Stories :**

Obtaining useful information, even from propagnanda and one-sided news stories, is possible but only if one learns to read, hear, or view them critically. This means that the stories must be analyzed with a clear awareness of the point of view they embody, recognizing the attempt to influence our thinking and beliefs. One must analyze them as one analyzes one side of a multi-sided argument. One-sided presentations are not the truth pure and simple, though they contain at least part of the truth, the part that supports the side in question.

What is more, in standard news stories something of the opposing point of view is often mentioned (though, usually, in fine print, deemphasized in the last few paragraphs of

the story, or couched in terms or quote marks, suggesting that the reader should dismiss it).

*Here are some key questions we should ask when analyzing and interpreting news stories:*

- Who is the intended audience?
- What point of view is being privileged?
- What point(s) of view is (are) being dismissed or played down?
- How can I gain access to the point of view being negated (from those who most intelligently understand it)?
- Which stories are featured on the front page and why?
- What information is “buried” in the article and why?

## **Conclusion**

As have been detailed so far, this chapter reported a brief overview about the concept of mass media and the notion of culture. It began by offering definitions about mass media, its types and strategies then the impact of mass media on culture as a first part while another review of bias and propaganda was presented as a second part that consist of bias and objectivity in the news media .

The following chapter will demonstrate the central position of propaganda during the 2003 Iraq war, illustrating the major features that shaped the media campaign to remove Saddam Hussein. Terrorist Attack as case tragedy, It offering a review about the attack and how media response to this attack as well as a coverage of different world media as first part ,the second part will include The media construction of terrorism.

*Chapter Two:  
Media War or War on  
Media: Lessons from Iraq*

## **Introduction**

It is impossible to know, however, how much of this is a brilliantly managed campaign of psychological war against Iraq, and how much the public floundering of a government uncertain about its next step. Said (2004)

Taking into account the above mentioned quote, we understand that media technologies became an essential factor in the conduct of war. The Iraq war became the ground to test new media strategies adopted by the Pentagon where reporters had to join military units and cover the war from their side. It could be argued that such a policy elevated controversial discussions among many journalists, scholars and analysts, since reporters were too close to the military, and their movements were strictly limited. However, independent reporters who decided not to join the embedding programme, provided the other side of the stories, yet their safety and movement were constantly at risk.

The use of language and terminology by politicians during the war was crucial in advancing preferred messages in communicating with the public, such as labelling Iraq as part of the “Axis of Evil” and allegations of their having “weapons of mass destructions”, “links to the Al-Qaeda terrorist group”, and being “threats to world peace”. All these were echoed by the press and contributed to Western public understanding of the conflict, yet this required an extensive diplomatic effort to build up an international coalition, as in the 1991 Gulf War, and a massive “public diplomacy” to ensure that these messages were reaching the public domestically and worldwide.

In addition, the role of media corporations was no less central in the campaign, especially those who decided to align themselves with the war effort, such as Fox News. Big corporations in the US contributed to and influenced media performance during the

war, and their common interests with the American administration was another part of the remarkable pattern in understanding the developments that occurred within media campaigning and wartime propaganda during the Iraq war.

# **1. The Development of Communication Strategies and Wartime Propaganda During the Iraq War :**

Previous wars helped to improve media strategies in this particular war. It is believed that the effectiveness of communication strategies in this war strongly relied on the development of technology in order to efficiently shape public opinion and win support. As Martin Bell (2003) asserts, major changes have occurred since the 1991 Gulf War in terms of technology: Times change, Weapons and strategies change with them.

In the first Gulf War there was a time lapse of five weeks between the air and ground campaigns. In the second Gulf War that was cut to just twelve hours. The campaign started on 20 March. It was the world's first real computer war. On the second night, Iraq was hit with 1,000 precision-guided missiles and bombs. The presidential compounds on the West bank of the Tigris River in Baghdad were reduced to rubble within seconds. General Tommy Franks, the commander of the mainly American forces, described it as a campaign unlike any other in history (Bell, 2003: 193)

Before the Iraq war, much research has examined the developments of wartime propaganda and war reporting, as well as the relationship between the media and the military to manage and control information during the course of wars: this was the substantial integration of media into the war machine and the effects of this on coverage. According to Robin Brown (2003), there are three concepts of communication as a tool of influence that have been used by the US "in waging war on terrorism". These are "military concepts of information warfare, foreign policy concepts of public diplomacy, and approaches to media management drawn from domestic

politics” (Brown 2003: 90). The first is based on *The Information Operations* (IO) doctrine, which, according to Brown (2003), can be seen as “a systematic attempt to make sense of warfare as an exercise in information processing”. Computer systems thus become tools to gather, process and disseminate information, so that IO can include any effort to attack or defend the information necessary for the conduct of operations. However, the military had taken the idea of information warfare a step further, providing a coherent framework to bring together existing activities: “psychological operations (PSYOPS), deception, public affairs - that is the military-press interface - and civil military affairs with computer network operations” (ibid).

The second concept is *public diplomacy*. Brown suggests this aims to draw together international broadcasting, cultural diplomacy, educational exchanges and overseas information activities (ibid: 91). The aim of these civilian information operations was to advance American interests through the creation of a positive image of the US by fostering knowledge and understanding about the country. By presenting the truth, including negative stories, the US would build trust and credibility (ibid).

The third principle is *political news management* or “spin”, which Brown described in institutional terms as “a newcomer to the international arena”. In defining the role of spin, Brown declared that this is about developing elaborate mechanisms to secure and control media coverage, where this machinery normally focuses on short-term media coverage and a strategic communications function that develops proactive communications strategies, “for instance by using the activities of leaders to communicate key messages” (ibid). Therefore, spinning is aimed to persuade the media that one version of reality rather than another is the “real” story, and that the way it has told it is the correct one.

Justin Lewis et al (2006) stated that in an age of increasingly sophisticated digital and satellite communications, the use of information as a weapon is becoming a dominant feature of modern warfare. It was therefore the impact of 'Information Dominance' during the war on Iraq, which was the key strategy in the US and UK to influence public opinion domestically and worldwide to support the war efforts and the governments' policies. According to David Miller (2004a), the concept of Information Dominance is the key to understanding the US and UK's respective "propaganda strategies", as it redefines our notions of spin and propaganda and the role of the media in capitalist societies (Miller 2004a: 7). In his analysis, Miller pointed out two new elements to Information Dominance when compared to traditional conceptions of propaganda. The first is the integration of propaganda and psychological operations into a much wider conception of information war. The second is the integration of information war into the core of military strategy. Furthermore, the experience in Iraq in 2003, according to Miller, showed how the planned integration of the media into instruments of war is developing. It also showed the increased role of the private sector in Information Dominance, a role that reflects wider changes in the armed services in the US and UK (ibid:9). Miller regarded applying the concept of Information Dominance to media management's activities would also allow the US and UK's strategists to tolerate dissent in media and alternative accounts on the internet. Dissent only matters if it interferes with their plans. As US military authors Winters and Giffin put it, "Achieving Information Dominance involves two components: (1) building up and protecting friendly information; and (2) degrading information received by your adversary."

Both of these refer not simply to military information systems but also to propaganda and the news media (ibid: 9-10). Therefore, Miller believed that the

embedding policy was a clear means of building up and protecting friendly information, a policy which allowed journalists better access to the fighting scene.

In a report by *Reporters Without Borders* (RSF) called “Slaughter in Iraq” on the journalists who were killed in Iraq between 20<sup>th</sup> March 2003 and 20<sup>th</sup> March 2006, the organisation stated that the war on Iraq had proved to be the deadliest for journalists since WWII. “A total of 86 journalists and media assistants have been killed in Iraq since the war began” (RSF, 20 March 2006: 2).

Kari Lydersen argued that one aspect about the domination of news is the control and manipulation of viewpoints and information coming directly from the government - and sometimes that control meant suppressing other voices. This was an explanation why attacking the alternative media on certain occasions had its own strategic justifications. The Bush administration has also been hard at work on limiting and ideally silencing opposing or challenging viewpoints and factual narratives coming from other sources. The administration has attacked Al-Jazeera, the Qatar-based and state funded media outlet which is the primary news source for much of the Arab world. On March 25 the New York Stock Exchange revoked Al-Jazeera’s credentials. Meanwhile hackers have prevented either its Arab or English-language sites from being accessible in the US. And the administration has pressured Qatar amir, Hamad bin Khalifa al Thani, to force Al-Jazeera to give more emphasis to their versions of events (Lydersen, *Alternet.org*, 31 March 2003: np). As John Simpson (2003) suggests, whether the attack on Al-Jazeera’s office in Baghdad was deliberate or not, it was disturbing that the channel’s offices had been hit twice in two consecutive wars - in Kabul 2001 and Baghdad in 2003 - and that “on each occasion American command had complained that Al-Jazeera was supporting the enemy” (Simpson 2003: 345). Yet Simpson argued that, although “all senior editorial figures had been warned to keep

away on the night of the bombing”, several media personnel were killed (ibid). Simpson added that the attack was *intentional*, just as the Kabul one was. Thus, “there are those who believe it was a war crime, which should be punished as such” (ibid: 346). In the case of Iraq, Simpson argued that there were no warnings, and the attack on Iraqi state television on 26<sup>th</sup> March 2003 by a joint US/UK bombing mission did indeed take out the Iraqi television station, yet several civilians were also killed as the station was in a residential area. The mission was supposedly justified, as the station was “part of a command and control centre” and the station was housed in “a key telecommunications vault” for satellite communications. Nevertheless, the operation was widely condemned, with the International Press Institute declaring the attack a violation of the Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Amnesty International also questioned whether it might constitute a war crime, while Human Rights Watch and Reporters Sans Frontiers both condemned it outright (Simpson 2003: 314-315). Yet, according to Simpson, “John Gibson of Fox News, by contrast, claimed the credit for this attack”. Gibson stated that “Fox’s criticism about allowing Saddam Hussein to talk to his citizens and lie to them has had an effect” (Gibson cited in Simpson 2003: 315). Media Battles and News Management According to Philip Seib (2004), when a superpower is at war, it must then decide how much effort it wants to put into justifying its actions. “If the outcome of the conflict is certain, the temptation exists to just fight, win, and be done with it”.

## **2. The US media and public opinion during the Iraq war in 2003**

The Gallup Poll uncovers that popular supposition in the US amid the Iraq war is a good example for what correspondence researchers have named the rally-round-the-hail marvel. After a moderate begin, the larger part of Americans – over 70% – was behind President Bush.

Notwithstanding, bolster was bring down before the war (around half) and it declined again after the war because of the human and budgetary expenses of US and British occupation.

Swinging to the press, we may state that while daily papers of eminence in the US by and large merit their moderately great notoriety for fair-mindedness, spectators have indicated various shortfalls concerning their execution amid the Iraq war.

Feedback of US scope of the Iraq war has so far focused on the telecom division, i.e. Television and radio. US systems blended open feelings with extraordinary reports entitled "Commencement Iraq" on MSNBC or "Standoff with Saddam" on CBS.

The biggest radio gathering in the United States, US Cable News Networking, was scrutinized for arranging star war revitalizes all through the nation

### **2.1. The Media's close relationship with the White House :**

It has frequently been noticed that there is a cooperative connection amongst policymakers and the press. This examination proposes that this relationship is especially solid when the subject includes weapons of mass obliteration. This is by all accounts the case for two reasons.

To start with, issues and occasions identifying with weapons of mass obliteration frequently, if not generally, happen in the mind boggling domain of universal undertakings and include inquiries of national security and knowledge. Worldwide

occasions and issues are more effortlessly spun by policymakers than are residential stories in light of the fact that there are couple of unmediated channels through which people in general can find out about them. The media's important dependence on moderately few sources themselves and those frequently unknown makes it simpler for policymakers to control breaks and remain on message. Second, approach reactions to WMD are muddled, crossing political, military, and logical areas. However "weapons of mass pulverization" have an oversimplified nearness in people in general's creative ability: as transports of fate that debilitate Americans where they live.

## **2.2. The British media and public opinion during the Iraq war in 2003 :**

Public opinion in the United Kingdom was more critical of the war than in the United States, but less critical than in the rest of the European Union states. After the beginning of the war, support rose to above 50 per cent. A second climax of support could be observed in the final phase of war when allied troops had much more success than in the beginning. The images of the Saddam statue tumbling down, pictures of cheering Iraqis etc. brought a public breakthrough for support of Blair's policy.

Before the war the British it was clear that there was nothing close to full support for Blair's policy in the press. There was an open confrontation between the proponents and the opponents of war. This, however, was mostly true for the elite press. The mass-selling tabloid sector, which is dominated by papers like Rupert Murdoch's Sun and News of the World, was mostly in tune with Blair's pro war policy. When during the war British MP Galloway asked for sanctions against the US, the Sun called him a "traitor". There are clear indications of stout patriotism and a pro-government approach characterising Murdoch's tabloid press all through the pre-war- and war-periods. This is an important observation since whenever we speak of the British press as being the role

model for impartiality in journalism, we must not forget that the British tabloids are popular opinion leaders.

When the war started, The Independent's correspondent Robert Fisk, who is known as an advocate of humanism, described in full detail how a taxi driver in Baghdad was blown up. Blair was criticized for ignoring the human aspect of war. The second day headline was „Night of Terror“. On March 27, a large article on front page called the bombing of the market place in Baghdad an obscenity“. However, with the growing success of British and US troops in Iraq, critical remarks about the war became less outspoken and were more and more banned from the front page, until The Independent finally led with the Final countdown for Baghdad“.

On the other hand, the media environment of 2003 was substantially more complex than during the 1991 Gulf War. Pan-Arab satellite news channels such as Al Jazeera and international news channels like BBC were readily accessible to American news consumers via websites (Hamdy & Mobarak, 2004). These news sources reflected views quite unlike those of the domestic U.S. media, and American online users could access alternative voices from those foreign news sources. In addition, blogs, pro- and anti-war groups' websites, and emails were actively used to distribute information and opinions. However, it is difficult to declare which medium was the dominant channel for war news. Most of the traditional news organizations extended their services to the Internet as a means of securing additional revenue streams. Non-traditional news sources, namely portal sites and nonbranded online news sites, also competed with these traditional news providers.

It seems evident that the Internet had emerged as a major channel for news during the 2003 war. While one-quarter of online users normally get news from the Internet on a typical day, a recent PEW survey found that more than threequarters of online

Americans made use of the Internet in connection with the war in Iraq (Rainie, Fox, & Fallows, 2003). According to that survey, the most popular sources of news were the branded news websites maintained by newspapers and television networks. People reported that the main reasons for using the Internet to get news were for source variety, rapid updates, and different news points of view.

However, the study did not investigate how people evaluated the quality of news from different media or how credible they perceived the Internet to be as a channel for news during wartime. To understand better the role of the Internet in times of international conflicts, we ask first how people perceived this new news medium.

### **2.3.The White House sets the agenda :**

Across the three time periods of May 1998, October 2002, and May 2003, the attention that both the Clinton and Bush administrations gave to WMD issues and events received a comparable level of attention from the media — even if, on certain occasions, the journalists were criticizing the administration’s “spin.” If the White House acted like a WMD story was important, in other words, so too did the media. If the White House ignored a story (or an angle on a story), the media were likely to as well.

When journalists did take on the administration — especially when the White House’s perspective formed the “conventional wisdom” — their stories were often buried or their criticism was more implicit than explicit.

Since September 11, 2001, the Bush administration has been especially successful at getting the American media to confirm its political and diplomatic agenda. Media reporting on the President amplified the administration’s voice: when Bush said to the country that Americans are vulnerable to WMD in the hands of terrorists, the media

effectively magnified those fears. The media failed to independently prioritize WMD problems or to match alternative policy responses to particular problems. The net effect was to keep the administration's message dominant.

#### **2.4. Language used to frame the WMD debate:**

News outlets seldom signal to their audience that the language of the WMD debate can serve a political function. Politicians employ coded language in the WMD debate to elicit fear, as, for example, in the case of President Clinton's emphasizing the risks of WMD to Americans to defend his creation of the new Office of Infrastructure Protection and Counter-Terrorism and his decision to have US troops in the Persian Gulf inoculated against anthrax:

“We will train and equip local authorities throughout the nation to deal with an emergency involving weapons of mass destruction, creating stockpiles of medicines and vaccines to protect our civilian population against the kind of biological agents our adversaries are most likely to obtain or develop. ... If we fail to take strong action, then terrorists, criminals and hostile regimes could invade and paralyze these vital systems, disrupting commerce, threatening health, weakening our capacity to function in a crisis.” (NPR-ATC 5/22/98)

Conversely, there have been occasions when US politicians have wanted to minimize Americans' concern over WMD. The Bush administration, for example, has had an interest in distancing US nuclear weapons systems from being considered “weapons of mass destruction.” In the Congressional debate over funding research and development for new systems, for instance, many supporters of funding used “cute” terms such as “mini-nukes” or “bunker-busters” to refer to them.

Similarly, the Bush Administration's creation of the "deck of cards" or its use of the monikers "Dr. Germ" or "Chemical Ali" to refer to Rihab Taha al-Azawi al-Tikriti or Ali Hassan al-Majid framed the military objective of capturing Iraqi leaders with language that minimized the seriousness of their being at large — an important public-relations objective, especially given the US lack of success at capturing the leaders of al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

## **Conclusion :**

In this chapter, we have demonstrated the central position of propaganda during the 2003 Iraq war, illustrating the major features that shaped the media campaign to remove Saddam Hussein. We have argued that one of the significant aspects of the war was the particular ways used to integrate the media into the war effort, as never seen in any other conflict before. The use of sophisticated technologies during this war and hence the implementation of advanced techniques in communication strategies elevated the discussion on the role of media in modern conflicts, whether through information management, information technology and information concepts that were used in order to advance the messages and create a supportive

public opinion for the war, domestically in the US, UK and elsewhere worldwide. These concepts were part of the work of sophisticated media strategists who benefited from modern technologies to build a strong campaign aiming to support the military attack on Iraq in order

to remove Saddam Hussein's regime. Therefore it was argued in this chapter that the media were weaponised by war planners to become an essential element in winning the war, or, in other words, the media had been "militarised" by effective and powerful media strategies aimed at controlling the way the war was seen.

# *General Conclusion*

## **General conclusion**

The conclusions of this research suggest that from the discussed techniques and methods within the media strategies implemented in the 2003 Iraq war, the role of information technology will continue to form a significant role in wartime propaganda. This role will predictably turn to become ever more sophisticated by employing other technologies as they advance.

It was evident that the 2003 Iraq war marked a shift in the international news industry. It revealed the power of media strategies in crafting and managing information, yet also underlined the power of alternative news providers, such as the Arab satellite channels. The presence of Arab media in reporting this conflict appeared to have two significant impacts on the world media scene; the first is that it ended the Western media's domination when reporting conflicts in the region of the Arab world and the Middle East by providing equally powerful and often more comprehensive coverage of conflicts, especially in places such as the Palestinian territories, Lebanon, Sudan and Yemen. Secondly, Arab media during the 2003 Iraq war managed to provide Arab audiences with coverage that was sufficiently challenging to the US and British mainstream media and to the American and British military line, that it consequently enhanced the image of Arab media as credible sources of news during this war.

The 2003 Iraq war contributed to a restoration of the credibility in the performance of Arab satellite channels. This was achieved by focusing on controversial and equally critical issues to the military, such as civilian casualties and the high human costs of the assaults on civilian areas and neighbourhoods in Baghdad, Basra and other cities in Iraq. This angle of the coverage disturbed the war planners in Washington and London and anger was expressed in their constant criticism and accusations against Arab media,

particularly Al-Jazeera, of not being accurate in reporting war incidents and also of being a propaganda tool for Saddam's regime.

However, by focusing on civilian casualties, Arab channels such as Al-Jazeera, Abu Dhabi, Al-Arabiya and others, contributed strongly to coverage of the war from what could be described as the "victims' perspective" rather than the military and official line. This outlined a major difference between Arab and western channels in reporting the war. In the case of Al-Jazeera, showing the appalling images of dead and injured civilians meant presenting pictures that were unlikely to appear on Western media. Similarly, when the channel showed images of American and British dead and captured soldiers, a huge anger was generated within the White House and Downing Street. These responses and criticisms towards Al-Jazeera's coverage by US and British officials indicate the significant role the channel played in challenging the coalition's media strategies and serve as proofs that Al-Jazeera expanded the news agenda remarkably to include the human cost of the war. However, such a challenge was not met lightly as, towards the end of the third week of the major combative period, Al-Jazeera's office in Baghdad was hit by an American missile, although it was claimed to be hit by mistake, yet it resulted in the death of one of its reporters in Baghdad.

Finally, it could be concluded that the evaluation of Al-Jazeera's experience in covering the war on Iraq in terms of accuracy, objectivity and professional standards, indicated that the channel has succeeded in equally challenging the military line and providing the audiences with what was intended as accurate and objective reporting.

The growing impact of all these factors was clearly seen and discussed during the 2003 Iraq war. This equally suggests that the consideration of the international dimension becomes as significant as the domestic dimension in the planning of any

media and communication strategies in the future. The growing interest by governments to finance the expansion of international broadcasting services in many media organisations to air in several languages, including Arabic, is clearly important in any understanding of the parameters shaping future media strategies and international news coverage. However, credibility, as mentioned above, would remain the determining factor to measure the successes of these media organisations in reporting news.

# *Bibliography*

## **Bibliography :**

### **Books :**

- Al Kasim, F. (2005), The Opposite Direction: A Programme which Changed the Face of Arab Television, in Zayani, M. (2005), The Al-Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media, Pluto Press, London, pp. 93-105.
- Connelly, M. and Welch, D. (2005), War and the Media Reportage and Propaganda 1900-2003, I.B. Tauris, London
- Delyou, F. (2004). Communication: Concepts, Theories, and Methods. 3rd Ed. Dar Al-Fajr, Cairo.
- Richard ,P and Linda,E.The Fondation of Critical Thinking.

### **Articles**

- Ervand A.( 2003). The US media, Huntington and September 11. Third
- Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication 12 (2006) 209–229 <sup>a</sup> 2006 International Communication Association.
- The Iraq War 2003 in Western Media and Public Opinion: A Case Study of the Effects of Military (Non-) Involvement in Conflict Perception, Paper Presented at the Second METU Conference on International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 23.-25. Juni 2003 by Prof. Dr. Kai Hafez University of Erfurt, Germany (kai.hafez@uni-erfurt.de)
- World Quarterly, Vol 24, No 3, pp 529-544. Carfax Publishing. Web. Accessed on 17-03-2017.

## Online sources

[www.criticalthinking.org](http://www.criticalthinking.org)

[https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/mass\\_media.html](https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/mass_media.html)

[https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/w/whauden101625.html?src=t\\_mass\\_meda](https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/w/whauden101625.html?src=t_mass_meda)

[https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/malcolmx131740.html?src=t\\_media](https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/malcolmx131740.html?src=t_media)

<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/media-strategies>

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14747730802692484?src=recsys&journalCode=rglo20>

<http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/112/la-fin-dun-reve-french-newspaper-coverage-of-911>

<https://immi.se/intercultural/nr10/wilhelm.htm>

**Al-Jazeera English Online** (2009), China launches Arabic TV channel, Al-Jazeera English

Online, 25 July 2009, URL: <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/asiapacific/2009/07/200972563026919452.html> (Accessed 20 March 2010).

<https://www.coursehero.com/file/p1687sa/Question-5a-of-10-3-Communicating-with-the-Public-1163955-Maximum-Attempts-1/>

8/1/1/1

<https://publicintelligence.net/nato-stratcom-shaping-public-opinion/>

7/1/1/4

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2006.00322.x/full>

(Lydersen, Alternet.org, 31 March 2003: np).

<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/27c/293.html>

(Gibson cited in Simpson 2003: 315).

(Hamdy & Mobarak, 2004).

<http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1998/05/22/clinton.academy/transcript.html>

## **Résumé :**

L'étude en cours cherche à enquêter sur les préjugés et la couverture médiatique, elle cherche à comparer: Comment les médias britanniques et américains ont couvert la guerre en Irak. En analysant certains événements et de les comparer à partir de différents aspects et d'identifier les causes de tout discours biaisé en ce qui concerne la réalisation d'une thèse de recherche dans l'ensemble. Pour mener l'enquête à l'étude, la méthodologie de recherche adoptée dans cette étude est descriptive. Les données ont été recueillies en comparant les événements critiques sélectionnés et en décrivant comment ils ont été décrits pendant la guerre en Irak. Les résultats obtenus de l'analyse des données révèlent les différences dans les rapports et les opinions publiées aux États-Unis et au Royaume-Uni. la propagande de guerre pour devenir de plus en plus sophistiqué en employant d'autres technologies à mesure qu'elles avancent. Historiquement, la guerre de 2003 en Irak peut s'être produite dans un environnement médiatique récemment modifié. Ce développement a contribué à remettre en cause les conceptions traditionnelles des flux d'information et influencé le paysage médiatique international en offrant d'autres perspectives aux conflits, permettant aux différents médias de contribuer au récit des guerres et de fournir leurs propres interprétations politiques, culturelles et sociales. Le rôle des médias dans les conflits armés devient de plus en plus important, en particulier avec le développement rapide de technologies de communication nouvelles et différentes. Media a souligné le pouvoir des médias alternatifs, tels que les chaînes satellitaires arabes. Focalisation sur les victimes civiles, chaînes arabes Al-Jazeera, Abu Dhabi, Al-Arabiya et d'autres, ont fortement contribué à la couverture de la guerre par ce que l'on pourrait appeler la «perspective des victimes» plutôt que par la ligne militaire et officielle. L'impact croissant de tous ces facteurs a été clairement vu et discuté lors de la guerre en Irak en 2003. Cela suggère également que

la prise en compte de la dimension internationale devient aussi importante que la dimension nationale dans la planification de toute stratégie de communication et de communication à l'avenir. L'intérêt croissant des gouvernements pour financer l'expansion des services internationaux de radiodiffusion dans de nombreuses organisations médiatiques à diffuser dans plusieurs langues, y compris l'arabe, est clairement important dans la compréhension des paramètres définissant les futures stratégies médiatiques et la couverture des nouvelles internationales. Cependant, la crédibilité resterait le facteur déterminant pour mesurer les succès de ces médias dans le reportage.