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DIVERSITY, AUTONOMY AND CONTROL IN NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF MODERN WARFARE

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
degree of**

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ABSTRACT

The influence of the news media in time of war has been argued about since the Crimean conflict and became a major issue in more recent history over the US withdrawal from the Vietnam War. This thesis seeks to contribute to the debates by exploring the news coverage of incidents in the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict and post-invasion Iraq conflict to determine whether there has been an increase in that influence.

Some analysts see an increase in influence arising out of the rise of the “new” internet-based and digital news media applications, including social networking sites, citizen journalism, dedicated on-line news sites and audience and specialist group news-related sites, and the linkage of these with traditional news outlets. They argue that increased diversity of coverage by an increasingly aggressive, adversarial news media, who have become participant actors in modern conflicts, is symptomatic of this increase in influence. This thesis concludes that there was unprecedented diversity in the coverage of three signal events in these the post-invasion Iraq and the Gaza conflicts and evidence of increased aggression by the news media as adversarial actors. But it did not find that there was substantial enhancement in the autonomy of the news media to the point where they presented a serious challenge to the control of the power holders in society. The evidence suggested that while there has been movement by the news media on a news media autonomy – power holder control continuum, it has to be kept in perspective. Such movement as occurred has been largely countered by the power holders (in these instances the political and military directors) through formal and informal forms of censorship and by adapting or adopting the new news media applications to their own purposes.

This thesis takes a social constructionist approach applying quantitative and qualitative frame analysis in a single study, to the news content concerning the two conflicts, of an international range of multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet-based) news media outlets as revealed by their digital archives. Linking these three types of increasingly inter-woven media, and especially including a variety of internet-based outlets, represents an extension of recent trends in news media content research. This approach raises issues and challenges. But it is necessary given that today large proportions of audiences obtain information on which they base their views and opinions from not one, but several news media platforms. Further research using this approach is urged as is the further development of the approach itself to keep pace with the rapidly evolving “new” news media (formed around bloggers, citizen journalists, the casual “everyperson” reporter and the interpersonal networks), increasingly interacting with or complementing more traditional forms of news media. Implications and lessons raised by this thesis for the principal actors, including suggestions for improving the sometimes difficult military-news media relationship, are also set out.

PREFACE

This thesis has its genesis in the excitement of a four-year-old boy racing around an urban paddock next to his home in suburban Christchurch in 1944 chasing anti-Japanese propaganda pamphlets raining down from a bi-plane chugging along overhead. This, and a wartime army father, sparked an interest in things military from an early age, an interest disappointed on the ground of myopic eyesight. But it was an interest satisfied by the opportunities to write about such things offered by a now 51-year, and continuing, career as a journalist, and a part-time career for half that time as a university student.

Those things military were written about within and between front line journalism over four and a half decades, a lot of that journalism involving court and law reporting, newsroom management, and journalism training work, the latter involvement continuing. Many years of part-time undergraduate study, mainly in history and sociology also enabled the author to maintain an academic interest in things military. But it has been the Centre for Defence and Security Studies at Massey University which has provided the opportunity to pursue that writing interest – through courses on modern military campaigns, joint services operations, terrorism and strategy - with purpose again and eventually to launch this thesis.

It is hoped that this biographical preface will not be taken as some form of self-aggrandisement. It is written with the intention of alerting the reader to the underlying unrecognised biases of the writer or undue emphases which he may have allowed to creep into the following text.

For instance, this thesis is based on an acceptance of the notion that people are presented through the international, multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet-based) news media with multiple and diverse versions of reality of events like the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the Haditha and Blackwater shooting incidents and the Gaza War and the white phosphorous use issue.

Among these “realities” are those which journalists take to be the real story which they present on a daily, hourly and, in today’s digital and cyber news media world, on a minute-by-minute basis about such events. These realities may be quite annoyingly different from those of the soldier involved in an action who later reads a news account of the event which he or she believes is unflattering, distorted or inaccurate. His or her interest at the time of the actual event being reported, is not about a forthcoming news story but in staying alive and keeping their comrades alive in a situation where death may have been a split second away. These news media “realities” may also be annoyingly different from those of the politician or the non-governmental organisation (NGO) director who believe they are doing the right thing according to their lights, only to have their decisions minutely picked away at by a clamorous news media. However these are all “realities” for the audiences which are reflected in the diverse news media coverage.

The objective of this thesis is to help demonstrate that diversity, offer some explanations for it and suggest implications that flow from it in this modern, communications technology-sophisticated, transparent, boundary-porous news media environment.

Hopefully this personalised preface will also help explain the emphasis placed on the bridging of two divides. First it is hoped that the “fish bowl theory,” which the reader will find explained in the Chapter One of this thesis, will help close a long-standing fault line that periodically activates between sociologists and journalists. For example some sociologists maintain from a social constructionist perspective that journalists “manufacture” news. The intention is to make the point that journalists construct reality through the way they write and frame their stories or narratives. Journalists bristle at that suggestion, which for them has a very different and negative connotation impugning their integrity. But the angst is the result of misunderstanding and, possibly on some occasions, a little light-hearted provocation.

The other is the hope for at least the reduction of the gap that sometimes creates friction between journalists who want to tell the whole story as soon as possible – even before it happens if possible – and the soldiers’ concern over possible breaches of operational security (OPSEC) which can cost their lives or the lives of others. While the parties sometimes paranoically doubt the other’s motives in these respects, it is suggested here that the friction could be reduced, through greater understanding about each other’s cultures and practices as well as formal roles and imperatives. It is suggested this could be achieved through close-up, practical training and association for both groups.

Not just training and association for those on the front lines of each vocation. But for the news media editorial personnel who supervise their war reporters or further process their work to produce modified or overall pictures of conflicts. And for the commanders at various levels who plan operations and direct soldiers.

It should be added that the results of this thesis are somewhat sobering for a journalist confident of the influence of the press over so many years, and even at the start of this thesis project. But this exercise has brought the realisation that however the news media in Western democratic societies in particular see themselves as the watch dogs or guard dogs over the powerful, and even as attack dogs able to take substantial bites out of a power holder or two, the powerful usually remain in control even as the pain of those bites subside. The news media autonomy - power holder control continuum, discussed in Chapter Ten, continues to operate.

Christchurch, February, 2011.

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My special thanks to my supervisor, Peter Greener, Senior Fellow at the Command and Staff College, New Zealand Defence Force, Trentham, Wellington, and Adjunct Professor at AUT University, whose wise counsel gave me the guidance and confidence to complete this thesis.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Professor Glyn Harper, Director of Massey University's Centre for Defence and Security Studies who allowed me indulge my long-time interest in things military at this late stage in my life.

Professor Harper's staff members, Dr John Tonkin-Covell and Dr Piers Reid, Major General (Retired), are owed my thanks for maintaining and sharpening that interest over the past few years with fascinating and enjoyable courses in modern military campaigns, joint services campaigning, terrorism and strategic matters. Professor Harper and Dr Reid in particular also assisted me with this thesis more than I can fully explain, or they may have realised, with the shrewd and helpful questions and suggestions with which they and other unidentified members of the audiences challenged me at centre student presentation sessions. Those questions were vital verbal sign posts which kept me on track.

Similarly, this thesis would probably not have been completed without the tolerance and understanding of Dr John Moremon, coordinator of post-graduate theses, and the help and patience given in response to my incessant queries to centre coordinator, Pam Dolman.

To them my earnest gratitude.

But my special thanks extend to the two fine women in my life who unfortunately are no longer with us. They are my late wife, Marion, who steadfastly supported me during my long journalistic and academic careers and in particular encouraged me to continue with my master's degree work even during her last illness. The other was my mother who understood the value of education and made sure I got one.

However, one caveat. While I have had all this assistance, any mistakes, misinterpretations or unrecognised biases which the reader finds, are mine alone.

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DIVERSITY, AUTONOMY AND CONTROL IN NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF MODERN WARFARE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“The Iraq war has been dubbed a war of two versions – one reported on American channels and the other reported on Arabic channels” - Al Jazeera, 31 May, 2008.¹

“Yet again, the disconnect. Yet again, American and Arab viewers are seeing two vastly different conflicts play out on their television screens. Yet again, the media has become a weapon of war.” – Lawrence Pintak, 2009, on the coverage of the Gaza conflict.²

Comments like those of the international television broadcaster *Al Jazeera* and journalism professor Lawrence Pintak suggest the diversity of the news coverage to which audiences who have followed two modern Middle East wars – the post-invasion Iraq (2005-2010) and Gaza (2008-2009) conflicts - have been exposed by today’s technologically sophisticated, international, multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet-based) news media outlets. It is coverage which does not only appear diverse, but which is as much a part of the today’s conflicts as the exchanges of military fire and political rhetoric.

1. *Al Jazeera, English*, “Inside Iraq: Media Influence on Iraq?” Archived online pointer to *Inside Iraq* programme. Retrieved 1 November, 2010.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/04/200861505810419157.html>

2. Pintak, Lawrence, “Gaza: Of Media War and Borderless Journalism”, in *Arab Media and Society*, issue 7, Winter, 2009. Publisher and co-editor of this journal, Pintak was commenting on the coverage of the 2008/2009 Gaza conflict. Retrieved 14 December, 2010.

<http://www.arabmediasociety.com/index.php?article=698&p=0>

2.

The multiple versions of events retailed by the international news media to concerned audiences about almost every significant incident or development has been a feature of the extensive and graphic multi-national news coverage of these conflicts in this era of “media war”³ Nowhere has this phenomenon been more apparent than in the coverage of three high profile events within these two conflicts. They are the killing by US Marines of 24 Iraqis at Haditha, western Iraq, on 19 November, 2005; the killing by Blackwater Worldwide private security contractors of 17 Iraqis in a public square in Baghdad on 16 September, 2007; and the use by the Israeli Defence Force of white phosphorous obscurant devices during the 2009 Gaza fighting.

This thesis seeks to make a contribution to research into the news coverage of modern military conflicts by exploring, through the digital archives of a range of international, multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet based) news outlets, the extent of the diversity of the news coverage of these three events.

3. Badsey, Stephen, “The Military and the Media: Past and Future”, keynote address, (Australian) Chief of Army’s History Conference, Canberra, 9-10 October, 2008, in *The Military, the Media & Information Warfare*, pp.6-21, Australian Military History Publications, Loftus, New South Wales, 2009, p.9; Thussu, Daya Kishan and Freedman, Des, “Introduction”, in *War and the Media, Reporting Conflict 24/7*, pp.1-12, eds., Thussu & Freedman, Sage Publications, London, 2003, pp.4-5. Discussing the working out of the practical relationship between the military and the media, Professor Badsey noted the evolution over the last three decades of the age of media war. Thussu & Freedman identify one of the alternative models for considering mainstream news media’s role in communicating conflict today as providing a battleground, “the surface upon which war is imagined and executed.” These two views of the term media war give an indication of its pervasive and multi-definitional nature.

It also seeks to identifying factors which give rise to that diversity and consider the implications and lessons for the major actors – political, military and news media - to be drawn from it.

The Iraq and Gaza conflicts are fertile ground for this study. Both have long-running aspects, the Iraq conflict being one of the longest continuous wars the US, as Coalition leader, has been involved in if that war is treated as an extension of the 1991 Gulf War. The Gaza conflict is part of the wider, decades-long Israeli-Palestinian troubles which have been punctuated by continual outbreaks of fighting. Many parties, locally, regionally and internationally have been involved in or concerned with both these geopolitically important conflicts. All three subject events focused on in this study had significant effects on the courses of the struggles. All were also widely reported and have had long public tails of international news media coverage which still continues.

For this thesis the diversity and other aspects of the news media coverage of the events under review will be explored from a social constructionist perspective. This theoretical perspective (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two) contends reality is socially constructed, with communication processes playing a key role.

4.

The part played by the news media and other major actors involved in the subject events in constructing the “realities” of the events as presented through the news media coverage will be explored by applying methodology grounded in frame theory. Frame theory is concerned primarily with the way that the news media and other major actors contribute to the framing of the subject events in the news media – the way stories or narratives are framed - by their culture and practices.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

While the study looks at a phenomenon which may appear self-evident, diversity of the coverage needs to be assessed and explained because it has, arguably, been seen as symptomatic of increasing aggressive, adversarial news media which are active participants in modern conflicts. Some observers see these features as indicative of an increase in the autonomy of the news media challenging the control of power holders in society.

This thesis can be seen as a contribution to the debates over whether modern news media trends, such as conglomeration and concentration of news media organisations, convergence of news media platforms, and changes in the culture and practice of journalism have reduced the range of voices heard through the media, to the advantage of the power holders in society.

The counter-proposition in that debate is that change in the news media and journalism has actually produced a more influential, independent and aggressively adversarial news media - of which diversity in the coverage of modern conflicts can be seen as a symptom - giving vent to more voices and challenging the control of the powerful. This is an issue which has been thrust back into the arena of debate by the recent *Wikileaks* papers' revelations and the coverage of the revolutions, at the time of writing, sweeping the Middle East.

Specifically this thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

(1) How did the news media cover the three events under review – the Haditha and Blackwater affairs which arose in the Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue in the Gaza conflict?

(2) Why did the coverage take the form it did?

(3) What implications and lessons can be drawn from that coverage?

Responding to the first question, this thesis will explore the diversity of the coverage of these events by a range of relevant international news outlets, by applying frame analysis to their digital article archives. The interpretative framing apparent in content and structuring of their archive entries and retrieved articles will be explored from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives to gauge the extent and diversity of their archived coverage, and changes in it, over time.

Seeking to satisfy the second question by explaining any discovered diversity, this thesis will set the results of the above analyses against primary and secondary source material on modern conflicts and the news media and journalism. The thesis will look at the influence of broad factors such as globalisation, technological developments and sociocultural issues. It will look at change in the *character* or form (not to be confused with the *nature*) of warfare; and the influence on the news coverage relating to conflicts of political and military actors, and the increasing involvement of audiences especially through the use of the internet and its applications. Finally, it will look at change in the organisation and operation of the news media, and in the practice and culture of journalism in the fast-evolving modern news media environment.

Seeking to answer the third question this thesis will consider the primary concern of this thesis - whether or not there has been a shift in the autonomy-control relationship between the new media and the power holders in society. It will also look at some of the implications of the results of the analyses for the principal actors – military, political and news media - and lessons for them which may be drawn from this study.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

This study is also an attempt to contribute to the relatively new but growing field of “push button” news media digital archive content research.⁴ It also takes up a challenge recently thrown down to researchers to engage in more comparative analyses of the content of multi-media news platforms using digital archives in single studies.⁵ This thesis will seek to extend this evolving approach by conducting the research as a multi-national analysis of content, using the individual digital archives of traditional print and broadcast news media outlets and the increasing range of internet-based news media and news related outlets. The multi-platform digital archive approach raises some interesting issues and, undeniably, problems. However it is contended that comparative multi-national, multi-platform news media digital archive research has considerable potential and is necessary given trends today. These include coping with virtual tsunamis of coverage of major events available to today’s news consumers and news media researchers and analysts. The trends also include the rise of internet-based and digitally enhanced news media, from online news outlets to the “everyperson journalist” armed with videophone and laptop, and changes within the traditional news media in response.

4. Deacon, David, “Yesterday’s Paper and Today’s Technology: Digital Archives and ‘Push Button’ Content Analysis”, in *European Journal of Communication*, vol.22, no.5, 2007, pp.5-25.

5. Keith, Susan, Schwalbe, Carol and Silcock, B. William, “Comparing war images across media platforms: methodological challenges for content analysis”, pp.87-97, in *Media, War & Conflict*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2010.

Additionally, and most significantly from the social science and news media research point of view, surveys which are referred to below show that large and increasing numbers of people today refer for their news - information which is widely believed to contribute to their understanding and views about issues and to public opinion formation – to combinations of print, broadcast and internet-based news media rather than just one.

This thesis is intended as a multi-disciplinary study within modern military history drawing on sociology and media studies and on journalism practice and culture. It is situated in that uneasy space between social science and journalism. Uneasy, because of the acknowledged friction that sometimes surfaces between practicing journalists and academic analysts over suggestions that the former “manufacture” news and thereby construct realities.⁶ It is a friction which the author does not believe should exist because it is a matter of reconcilable perspectives. Analogously, journalists generally work within a fish bowl, attempting to look out; academic analysts and commentators attempt to study the activity within the bowl from the outside. Each view has its distortions and limitations, but both are required to give a complete picture.

6. Schudson, Michael, “Four Approaches to the Sociology of News,” ch.9, pp.172-197, in *Mass Media and Society*, eds., James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, Hodder Education, London, 2005, at p.173; Johnson-Cartee, Karen S., *News Narratives and News Framing: Constructing Political Reality*, Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, USA, 2005, p.156. For example Schudson notes the umbrage taken at times by journalists to sociologists and media studies scholars suggesting they “manufacture” news. Also noted by Johnson-Cartee.

THESIS STRUCTURE BY CHAPTER

Chapter Two will summarise the theoretical basis of this thesis, reviewing literature on the framing of news stories or narratives and its application to the coverage of modern conflicts; and literature on news media organisation and journalistic culture and practice bearing on that coverage. Chapter Three will set out the methodological background to this study. It will consider how, drawing on previous research work, frame theory can be applied to explore diversity and other aspects of news coverage. This chapter will also discuss the application of the relatively new tools of “push button” research for obtaining and analysing data from news media digital archives, and the proposed extension of it here to a select range of international, multi-platform news media outlets. Chapter Four will outline the actual methods which will be used in the quantitative and qualitative analyses, and explain how the conflicts, incidents and news outlets were chosen. It will establish the time scales and framing criteria against which the coverage will be analysed. Chapter Five will briefly sketch the generally accepted “facts” of the conflicts and incidents to form a basis against which diversity of coverage can be measured. Chapter Six, in two parts, will outline and discuss the results of the quantitative analysis. This outline is based on raw data which will be found in Appendices A to D. Chapter Seven will discuss results of the qualitative analysis of the news coverage.

Chapter Eight will seek to explain any revealed diversity as outlined above.

Chapter Nine will consider implications of the analysis for the principal actors – news media, military, political and audience – and any lessons which may be taken from the study. Chapter Ten will bring together conclusions which may be drawn from this study, particularly in relation to the debate over the challenge presented to the power holders in society by the purported autonomy of the news media.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Establishing the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, this chapter reviews literature relating to the social constructionist perspective on the production of reality, particularly as it relates to news coverage of modern wars; to frame theory, which grounds the methodology to be applied to explore the diversity of that coverage; to evolving news media organisation and journalistic culture and practice especially as they relate to diversity in that coverage; and to the implications of any discovered diversity for the autonomy of the modern news media.

Diversity of the news media coverage of the post-invasion Iraq and the 2008-2009 Gaza conflicts is viewed here as an indication of the multiplicity of voices being read and heard through today's news media. This thesis sets out to explore that diversity and place any discovered diversity within the context of a discussion over whether it is also a reflection of an increasingly aggressive adversarial and independent news media which have become active participants in modern conflicts. The thesis will in turn situate the that discussion within the wider debate over whether or not revealed diversity and its effects are indicative of a lessening of the control over the news media by the power holders in society who, in the case of warfare, direct the conflicts.

A central issue is whether the news media has been greatly empowered as a result of globalisation and increasingly sophisticated communication technology, particularly digital developments which have seen the rise of satellite broadcasting and internet-based news distribution.

From a consideration of the social constructionist perspective of the creation of reality, this chapter will move on to discuss frame theory which is concerned with the interpretative frames through which people construct their realities, largely through communication. The social constructionist approach views the news media as manufacturing the reality of modern conflicts such as those in post-invasion Iraq and the Gaza War. Frame theory is concerned with the frames or windows which are used by the news media, their journalists and other actors – principally political and news media and audience based – to produce news reports or narratives about such conflicts, which people in turn use to construct their reality of the events. This discussion of frame theory is important because it provides the theoretical basis for the analysis in this thesis of the news coverage of the events of these two conflicts.

While the influence of the military, political and audience related actors will be taken into account in explaining the degree of diversity found on analysis to exist, the main focus in this thesis will be on the structure and functioning of the news media and the culture and practices of journalists and their application to the coverage of modern conflicts.

MANUFACTURING REALITY

Central to a consideration from a social constructionist perspective of the diversity of the news media coverage of the events and developments of the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts, are the propositions that the news media plays a key role in the social construction of reality and that, in turn, the news they produce is socially constructed. The view that reality is socially constructed through communication is a foundation tenet of what has been described by Monica Morris as “creative sociology”.⁷ This has influenced a wide grouping of theoretical schools whose work is underpinned by Max Weber’s notion that actors attach a subjective meaning to all human behavior.⁸ Among the disciples of this approach are Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann who argued from a sociology of knowledge standpoint that reality is socially constructed⁹ with language and communication playing a key role.¹⁰

7. Morris, Monica, *An Excursion into Creative Sociology*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977.

8. Ibid., p.5.

9. Berger, Peter L. & Luckmann, Thomas, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex England, 1971, p.13.

10. Ibid., pp. 51-52.

Historian and sociologist of journalism Michael Schudson has similarly traced the social production of news back to the works of Max Weber, the Chicago School's Robert Park in the 1920s, and the "news gatekeeper" studies of the 1950s and 60s.¹¹ Schudson sets out how various theorists in this field have described the ways in which journalists "construct the news", "make news", "socially construct reality", how "news is manufactured by journalists", "news is what newspapermen make it" and "news is the result of methods newswriters employ."¹² "Journalists write the words that turn up in the papers or on the screen as stories . . . Journalists make the news just as carpenters make houses and scientists make science," says Schudson.¹³ Journalists, however are not alone in this endeavour. In a formulation still regularly cited after three decades, other sociologists Harvey Molotch and Marilyn Lester, viewed news as being manufactured as the result of the purposive activities of news promoters, news assemblers and news consumers.¹⁴

11. Schudson, Michael, "The Sociology of News Production", pp. 262-283, in *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 11, 1989, pp.264-265.

12. Ibid., p.263; Schudson, Michael, "Four Approaches to the Sociology of News," ch.9, pp.172-197, in *Mass Media and Society*, eds., James Curran & Michael Gurevitch, Hodder Education, London, 2005, p.173.

13. Schudson, 2005, p.173.

14. Molotch, Harvey, and Lester, Marilyn, "News as Purposive Behaviour: On the Strategic Use of Routine Events, Accidents and Scandals", in *American Sociological Review*, pp.101-112, vol.39, February, 1974, p.101.

The social construction of reality implied by these formulations is clearly illustrated in the news coverage of societal conflict generally. Conflict, at all levels and in all spheres of society, is for journalists a highly prized element of news value, as their trainers teach¹⁵ and social scientists have long recognised.¹⁶ But this emphasis is most vividly shown in the dramatic and extensive news coverage attracted by warfare, the ultimate arena of social conflict.¹⁷ Journalism educator Jim Tully points out that stories framed around conflict (including war) are frequently ascribed a high news value, especially when they involve elite people or nations.¹⁸ News media researchers have pointed out that wars fit well within the process of news selection as they are “episodic, emotional, and provide conflict, impressive images, and more.”¹⁹

15. Tully, Jim, “News”, ch.1, pp.1-9, in *Intro: A Beginner’s Guide to Professional News Journalism*, ed., Jim Tully, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2008, p.4; Morrison, Al, “What’s News”, ch.3, pp.47-63, in *Intro: A Beginner’s Guide to Professional News Journalism*, ed., Jim Tucker, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, 1999, pp. 51-52; Tucker, Jim, *The Kiwi Journalist: A Practical Guide to News Journalism*, New Zealand Journalist Training Board, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1992, p.30.

16. Johnson-Cartee, Karen S., *News Narratives and News Framing: Constructing Political Reality*, Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, USA, 2005, pp.126-127; Galtung, Johan and Ruge, Mari Holmboe, “The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers”, pp.64-90, in *Journal of Peace Research*, vol.2, no.1, 1965; Lynch, Jake and Galtung, Johan, *Reporting Conflict: New Directions in Peace Journalism*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 2010. Well recognised for instance by Galtung, who promotes peace journalism to provide a deeper understanding of conflict.

17. Taylor, Philip M., *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*, Routledge, London & New York, 1997, p.99; Thussu, Daya Kishan, and Freedman, Des, “Introduction”, pp.1-12, in *War and the Media, Reporting Conflict 24/7*, eds., Thussu & Freedman, Sage Publications, London, 2003.

18. Tully, “News”, p.4.

19. Ruigrok, Nel, de Ridder, Jan A., and Scholtern, Otto, “News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers” ch.8, pp.157-183, in *Media and Conflict in the Twenty First Century*, ed., Philip Seib, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p.162.

Self-evident has been the extensive news media coverage of recent conflicts from the 1991 Gulf War to the 2008-9 Gaza conflict. British newspapers for instance provided extensive coverage of the Gulf War.²⁰

An extreme view of the manufactured news approach in the war context has been put forward by post-modernist cultural thinker Jean Baudrillard, who caricatured the media's social construction of the reality of warfare in his 1991 work suggestively entitled *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. According to Baudrillard, the news media, and particularly television, presented the 1991 Gulf War as hyper-reality. For him, it took place in virtual space, being played out on battle screens, projected to publics through television screens and resembling video games. The result was that the public was exposed to a simulacrum of the conflict.²¹ Baudrillard has been criticised for over-generalising, not testing his ideas against empirical research,²² and being taken with extravagant language and exaggeration to make his case.²³

20. *Times* (London), 25 March – 26 April, 1998 hard copies (minus one week) held by author; *Sunday Times* (London), 17 January, 1991, hard copy held by author. For example on a relatively quiet day during the 1991 Gulf War the *Sunday Times* managed 18 broadsheet pages of news, features and comment in a weekend edition published on 17 January which also contained a 16-broadsheet page "Colour Briefing." Over 27 days of the Kosovo conflict from late March to late April, 1999, the *Times* devoted to it an average of six front-section, broadsheet news pages daily. Over six years of the Iraq War from 2004 to 2009 the *New York Times* archives showed it published 22,181 items on Iraq averaging more than 10 a day, while during the 22 days of the combat phase of the Gaza War the *Jerusalem Post* article archive showed 374 items, or an average of 17 a day.

21. Baudrillard, Jean, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, translated by Paul Patton, Indiana University Press, 1995, first published in *La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu*, Editions Galilee, 1991, pp. 27 & 67-68; Patton, Paul, "Introduction," pp. 1-21, in *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, by Jean Baudrillard, p. 8.

22. Devereux, Eoin, *Understanding the Media*, Sage Publications, Ltd., London, second edition, 2007, first published, 2003, p. 22, Box 1.1.

23. Patton, Paul, "Introduction," pp. 1-21, in *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, by Jean Baudrillard, translated by Paul Patton, Indiana University Press, 1995, first published in *La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu*, Editions Galilee, 1991, p. 6. Patton accepts that Baudrillard's essays pursued a high risk writing strategy, courting equally the dangers of contradiction by the facts and self-refutation. "They occasionally force the facts to fit their own rhetorical oppositions."

For Schudson, while cultural, economic and political forces structure news production and journalists may shape news, they do not produce news out of nothing – “they act on ‘something’ in the world.”²⁴ Discussing the 1999 Kosovo conflict, Michael Sheehan has pointed out that war’s very nature involves the use of violence. He cites a comment by Lawrence Freedman that “War is not a virtual thing played out on screens, but intensely physical.”²⁵ In fact Baudrillard did not deny that something took place, and while he argued for the unreal, simulated nature of the conflict presented, he accepted the events portrayed were real in their political, military and social consequences.²⁶ But he argued that “something” was not a war in the traditional sense of the conflicts of the 1940s.²⁷ Paul Patton, Baudrillard’s translator, points out in an introduction to *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* that Baudrillard’s concept was of war of the past as having “always involved an antagonistic and destructive confrontation between adversaries, a dual relationship between warring parties.”²⁸ Baudrillard argued that in several respects this was not the case in the Gulf conflict. The disparity between US and Iraqi forces with regard to method and military technology was so great that direct engagement rarely took place, and when it did the outcome was entirely predictable.²⁹

24. Schudson, 2005, pp. 172-173. “The ‘something’ they work on are events, happenings, occurrences in the world that impress journalists and their audiences with their importance or interest, their remarkable-ness, their newsworthiness,” says Schudson.

25. Sheehan, Michael, “The Changing Character of War,” ch.12, pp. 210-225, in *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, eds., John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, fourth edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, p.220.

26. Baudrillard, p.70

27. Baudrillard, p.56; Patton, Paul, “Introduction”, in Baudrillard, pp.7 & 17.

28. Patton, “Introduction”, in Baudrillard, p.17.

29. Ibid., pp.17-18.

But Baudrillard's concept of war was narrow, superficial and overly static. War is not just open combat. Baudrillard did not fully integrate into his analysis the coverage of many of the broader more mundane, but integral, aspects of war – e.g. political and military strategic and tactical maneuvering and logistics, the build-up and ending. His focus on one medium, television, also limited his view of the overall picture of the conflict presented to audiences using a mixture of media. A more assiduous consumer of the news coverage – reader or viewer and these days usually both – would also have discerned within the combined print and television news material the two-sided nature of the conflict.³⁰

30. *New York Times*, 18 January, 1991, "War in the Gulf: The Overview; Iraqis Fire Missiles at Israeli Cities After Second Day of Allied Bombing; US Discourages an Israeli Response," *NYT* internet archive; *Independent (UK)*, 28 February, 1991, "Trapped Guard Fights it Out With Encircling Armour," hard copy held by author; *New York Times*, 31 January, 1991, "War in the Gulf: The Ground Combat; In a Ghost Town, a Deadly Skirmish," *NYT* internet archive; the *Evening Standard*, 1 February, 1991, "Bodies Litter the Streets of Smouldering Khafji," hard copy held by author; Atkinson Rick, *Crusade: The Untold Story of the Persian Gulf War*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1993; Gordon, Michael and Bernard E. Trainor, *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1995. For example considering the "fog of war" and military security requirements, and in spite of subsequent charges of excessive military censorship and journalistic patriotism, the two-sided nature of the conflicts was apparent from the newspaper coverage as significant events of the war were promptly and prominently reported, if not in detail. Losses of Coalition forces among ground forces and in the air combat or from ground fire were clearly and quickly reported as were Iraqi claims of successes. The *New York Times* article of 18 January contained a report released within hours of the loss of a US plane in air combat, and of a British plane, and Iraqi exaggerated claims to have shot down 55 attacking Coalition aircraft. Similar swift and prominent treatment was given the highly significant Iraqi incursion at Khafji and the major tank battles during the US VII Corp's left hook drive; while the two-way missile (Scuds, Patriots and Tomahawks) and propaganda warfare were every day apparent. Subsequent published accounts and analyses, such as those by Gordon and Trainor and by Atkinson – not available of course to Baudrillard at the time of his writing - confirm the combative character of these events reported in the newspapers.

Nor does resounding defeat or victory by either side disqualify a conflict from being defined a real war, nor imbalance of coverage, an essential element implied in Baudrillard's argument, determine the definition of war or its actuality.³¹ On those bases few "wars," if any, could be considered to have taken place this century.

Baudrillard did note that the Gulf conflict was different from wars of the 1940s and accepts at one point that "war is no longer what it used to be."³² But his perspective of war was limited. His focus on the Gulf conflict obscured the full significance of the changing character (as opposed to the nature) of warfare in the late 20th Century, and in particular the increasing emphasis on asymmetric warfare which has restored, paradoxically, a sense of balance to conflicts like post-invasion Iraq and Gaza (2008/9) in spite of unequal resources. While the term asymmetric war is not found in Baudrillard's original Gulf War writings of 1991, it is in the introduction by Patton to his 1995 translation.³³

31. Patton, "Introduction" in Baudrillard, pp.17-18.

32. Baudrillard, p.85.

33. Patton, in Baudrillard, p.9. Patton here refers to the conflict as an "entirely asymmetric operation, an exercise in domination rather than an act of war."

Nevertheless, Baudrillard's work is still valuable today. Its value lies in its focus on the gap between the actuality of war and that projected through the media. Most social theorists with an interest in warfare are not prepared to go as far as Baudrillard and other post-modernists. But historian Philip Taylor, whose writings are also concerned with the Gulf War news media coverage, distinguishes between "real war" and "media war".³⁴ He considers any media image of war "very much a flawed window on to the battlefield," merely a slice of the action, giving an incomplete and not necessarily accurate representation of what is actually happening.³⁵ He says the gap between war's image and war's reality remains extremely wide, but the process by which this image-reality gap is created needs to be understood from the starting point at which the information is gathered right through to its final point of reception by an audience.³⁶ Many other news media analysts, academic and practical, recognise the multiple realities or "truths" of the news media coverage of modern military conflicts.³⁷

34. Taylor, Philip M., *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, pp.119-121.

35. Ibid., pp.119-121.

36. Ibid., p.120.

37. Ruigrok, Nel, de Ridder, Jan A, and Scholten, Otto, "News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers", p.160; and, Tully, Jim, "Objectivity," ch.20, pp.303-308, in *Intro: A Beginner's Guide to Professional News Journalism*, ed. Jim Tully, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2008, at p.304, for example.

While the emphasis in this thesis is on the news media's role in covering military conflict, social scientists warn against what James Halloran has described as "media-centredness"³⁸ in considering the social construction of these multiple realities. They emphasise that the social construction of reality involved in the creation of media texts is a multi-institutional act which embraces cultural, economic, legal, organisational, political social and technological contexts.³⁹ Thus for this thesis the principal actors will be broadly defined. Media actors, particularly for the qualitative analysis, will include traditional newspapers and broadcasters, alternative or independent news media, and internet-based media, including the rising array of citizen-journalist, blogger and audience sourced collective websites. Political actors will include NGOs, anti-war/humanitarian organisations as well as formal government establishments. Military actors will in this thesis, include the formally constituted forces of the nations in the US-lead Coalition in Iraq and Israeli regular armed forces in the Gaza conflict. They will also include the opposed paramilitary and irregular forces in both conflicts and, significantly for the purposes of this thesis, the involvement of private security contractors, most auspiciously Blackwater operatives, filling some roles in Iraq which might otherwise have fallen to regular military.

38. Halloran, James, "Mass Communications Research: Asking the Right Questions," p.19, in *Mass Communications Research Methods*, eds., Anders Hansen, Simon Cottle, Ralph Negrine and Chris Newbold, Macmillan, London, 1998, cited by Devereux, p.34.

39. Schudson, in Curran & Gurevitch, 2005, p.173, Taylor, p.21, Devereux, pp.24 & 34, Johnson-Cartee, ch.6.

NEWS MEDIA DIVERSITY

Against this social constructionist background it is intended to consider and explore the extent of the diversity of the news coverage of the complex modern asymmetric warfare of the kind seen in the post-invasion fighting in Iraq and the 2008-9 Gaza conflict through frame theory and methodology. Diversity is central to the consideration of the role of the news media – whether its members have increasingly become aggressive, adversarial, and independent actors in such conflicts or remain neutral observers or instruments of the powerful. The concept of the news media operating, whether deliberately or unwittingly, as a device for social control in the service of the powerful has been a long-standing, favoured argument of conflict theorists.⁴⁰ For Michael Parenti, for instance, the mechanism of control is the distortion of important aspects of social and political life in the news media in repeatable, systematic, and even systemic ways.⁴¹ For Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, systematic propaganda is the principal means of ensuring the media serves the ends of the dominant elite in capitalist societies; while in those where the levers of power are in the hands of state bureaucracies, it is the monopolistic control of the news media, supplemented by censorship.⁴²

40. Dutton, Brian, *Sociology in Focus: The media*, Longmans Group, UK Ltd., London, 1986, pp. 2-3.

41. Parenti, Michael, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*, St Martins Press, New York, 1986, p.ix.

42. Herman, Edward S. and Chomsky, Noam, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Pantheon, New York, 1988, p.1.

Eoin Devereux points out that from the political economy perspective claims are made that conglomeration or concentration of news media organisations diminishes diversity and narrows the range of voices being heard through the media, threatening democratic dialogue and debate.⁴³ Concerns are also raised, he says, about the debasement of news content, with entertainment and infotainment being preferred over news, current affairs and investigative journalism.⁴⁴ However, others suggest that the globalised news media, under the impetus of continuous technological developments in communication and change in news media organisations and the culture and practice of journalism, have become greatly empowered. Diversity in this context is seen by some analysts as pointing to a more influential, independent, adversarial and aggressive news media, which is assuming more active participatory roles. This debate over diversity within, and the role of, the news media has only intensified with increasingly sophisticated communication technology developments particularly in the digital and internet based fields.⁴⁵

43. Devereux, pp.88-89.

44. Ibid., pp.88 & 91.

45. Young, Peter & Jesser, Peter, *The Media and the Military: From the Crimea to Desert Strike*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1997; McChesney, Robert W., *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1999; McChesney, Robert W., *Communication Revolution: Critical Junctures and the Future of the Media*, The New Press, New York, 2007; Robinson, Piers, "Researching US Media-State Relations and Twenty First Century Wars," ch.5, pp.96-112, in *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*, eds., Stuart Allan and Barbie Zelizer, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon., U.K., 2004; *Guardian (U.K.)*, 11 May, 2009, "Real-time media is changing our world", by Nik Gowing. Retrieved 15 July, 2010.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/may/11/real-time-media-government>

An article based on a new report by Gowing for the Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism, *Skyful of Lies & Black Swans: The new tyranny of shifting information power in crises*; Matheson, Donald, and Allen, Stuart, *Digital War Reporting*, Digital Media and Society Series, Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2009. The contribution of these authors to the debate is discussed below.

This debate has manifested itself in recent military history as negative characterisations (both from inside and outside the news media industry) of the Coalition members' mainstream news media as being too acquiescent over the 1991 Gulf War. The Gulf War was short and largely supported by the US and UK mainstream news media.⁴⁶ Then, in media post-mortems of the news media coverage of that conflict there was considerable angst about the apparently relatively uncritical, supportive coverage of that conflict. This acquiescence was linked, in part, to the effective media management by the military which is said to have humiliated and degraded American and other allied journalists.⁴⁷

A decade and a half on and similar claims were still being. These involved allegations by opponents of the Iraq War that during the build-up and early combat phases sections of the Western mainstream media, especially that of the US were too uncritical of their leadership.

46. *Daily Mail (UK)*, 1 March, 1991, p.1, "Get out and ring your church bells, says Gulf Chief: The Boys Are Coming Home"; *News of the World*, 20 January, 1991, "So Bloody Brave," (special tribute to British troops in Gulf). Hard copies held by author. These articles are indicative of the level of support from much of the British media at the time.

47. Young and Jesser, pp. 281 & 290.

Some, such as Eric Boehlert, have alleged the US mainstream media (MSM) acted like “lap dogs” of the administration;⁴⁸ while others, such as W. Lance Bennett and his co-authors have argued the US mainstream media failed the public in their coverage of the conflict.⁴⁹ But other commentators of the Iraq conflict have seen things differently. Two US commentators on the war, Ralph Peters and James Q. Wilson, in 2006 expressed concern at the stance of the mainstream and international media. Peters was concerned at the disappearance of patriotic reporters and pointed to the danger of the international media rather than the suicide bomber defeating the US in Iraq.⁵⁰ Discussing the news media’s adversarial stance to the war, Wilson saw the US in danger of losing in Iraq in the newspapers, magazines and television programmes.⁵¹

48. Boehlert, Eric, *Lapdogs: How the Press Rolled Over for Bush*, Free Press, New York, 2006.

49. Bennett, W. Lance, Lawrence, Regina G.I. & Livingston, Steven, *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007.

50. *Weekly Standard*, 2 June, 2006, vol.011, issue 20, “The Counter Revolution in Military Affairs,” by Ralph Peters. Retrieved, 2 April, 2008.
<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/006/649qrsob.asp>

51. *Opinion Journal: Wall Street Journal*, 6 November, 2006, “The Press at War: Whatever Happened to Patriotic Reporters?” in editorial page, by Wilson, James Q. Retrieved, 2 April, 2008.
<http://www.opinionjournal.com/federation/feature/?id=110009203>

Anne Nelson, of Columbia University, in a panel discussion in April, 2008, comparing US and Arab coverage of the Iraq conflict, defended the US news media against allegations it had been too acquiescent early on. She said that sections of the US media had been critical of the war from the outset.⁵²

As far back as 1997 analysts like Peter Young and Peter Jesser saw the emergence in the coverage of conflicts of an increasingly influential news media arising out of advances in communications. They said that, by 1997, the media had become a major player in limited conflict and peacekeeping deployments. “Given the rapid progress and far reaching advances in communications over recent years, the media can be expected to become increasingly influential in the future . . .,” they said.⁵³

Support for the soundness of their prediction is suggested by the emphasis all actors in the Iraq and Gaza conflicts (and others since the Gulf War) placed on the “media war” dimension.

52. *Al Jazeera*, 25 April, 2008, “Inside Iraq – Media Influence on Iraq?” Retrieved, 19 February, 2011.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/04/200861505810419157.html>

53. Young and Jesser, p.271.

Those who support the view of an increasingly autonomous news media can also point to further developments in the news communication field which have seen the evolution and widespread use of increasingly sophisticated hand-held and mobile, “everyman-enabling” technology which has provided instant coverage through interpersonal networks, or relayed through the established news media, of recent international conflicts and crises. Among events which have dramatically demonstrated the capabilities released have been the video coverage of the London July, 2005 “7/7” transport system terrorist bombings and the video coverage of the *Marvi Marmara* aid ship boarding incident during the Gaza flotilla episode in May, 2010. Other examples have been the video, voice and text coverage of civil disturbances in Asia and China and, at the time of writing, the Middle East. In the last two years there have also been the continuing revelations of the *Wikileaks* documents and videos. All this material has been diffused internationally. However Robert McChesney, as early as 1999, expressed the fear that the internet for all “its much ballyhooed openness . . . would likely be dominated by the usual corporate suspects.”⁵⁴ McChesney did, in 1999, however, qualify his remarks by noting the uncertainties produced by the fast-evolving nature of the media communication scene. Writing further in 2007, he struck a more optimistic note with a call to arms to Americans to defend the democratic potential of the digital revolution which he felt was at a critical juncture.⁵⁵

54. McChesney, Robert W., *Rich Media, Poor Democracy*, 1999, p.183.

55. McChesney, Robert W., *Communication Revolution*, 2007, p.xiii.

Piers Robinson, writing in 2004, also questioned whether it could at that stage be said that the news media has been greatly empowered and become more independent, influential, adversarial and “off message”⁵⁶ in its relationship with the state within the modern wartime context because of technological developments and geopolitical factors arising from the end of the Cold War.⁵⁷ Others have since embraced the notion of an increasingly powerful hi-tech modern news media more enthusiastically, contending that the power of the authorities is under challenge from the internet. Nik Gowing, a highly respected BBC presenter and a recognised analyst of the news media scene, has pointed to the growing capability of the non-professional “information doer” - everywhere present and armed with a cheap, “go anywhere” digital camera or mobile phone. They are, he maintains, challenging the credibility and massive human and financial resources of governments and corporations – and, indeed, the traditional news media.⁵⁸

56. Robinson, Piers, “Researching US Media-State Relations and Twenty First Century Wars,” p.99.

57. Robinson, pp.96 & 99.

58. *Guardian (U.K.)*, 11 May, 2009, “Real-time media is changing our world”, by Nick Gowing.

But other analysts still urge caution. Donald Matheson and Stuart Allan, for instance, seek to temper triumphal assessments over the influence of digital technologies and citizen-sourced material in war reporting. Discussing the Russia-Georgia conflict of 2008 and what trust may be placed in digital media sources in war situations, they recognised the enormous potential for content-sharing websites, blogs, cellphones and other media to bring rarely heard voices into the public space.⁵⁹ But they warned that the potential of the new technologies released in conflict situations might be abated by content that is merely a re-statement of partisan positions or disorganised fragments of experience which would do little to disrupt the power of those promoting violent ends to political problems.⁶⁰ They also point out that as states and political groups came to regard the digital and personal media as potentially powerful, they also sought to use them in the conflict.⁶¹

59. Matheson and Allan, *Digital War Reporting*, p.169.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

FRAMING CONFLICTS

As previously indicated, diversity of the news coverage of the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflicts will be explored through the framing perspective which has become a popular and proven approach among social scientists.⁶² Frame theory, which gained prominence through the work of Erving Goffman,⁶³ contends that people construct social reality through the use of conceptual frames or “windows.”⁶⁴ News frames are seen as the interpretative frameworks used by media professionals in telling stories, and other actors in presenting their stories through the media to audiences.⁶⁵

62. Johnson-Cartee, pp.24-31; Norris, Pippa, Montague, Kern, and Just, Marion, “Framing Terrorism,” ch.1, pp. 3-23, in *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government, and the Public*, eds., Norris, Kern and Just, Routledge, New York, 2003, especially pp.10-14; Gitlin, Todd, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making of the New Left*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2003, new edition, first published 1980, pp.7-9; Entman, Robert, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” pp. 51-58 in *Journal of Communication*, vol., 43, no.4, Autumn, 1993, pp.57-58; Gamson, William A., Croteau, David, Hoynes, William, and Sasson, Theodore, “Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality,” pp.373-393, in *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol.18, 1992, especially pp.373 and 391; Gamson, William A., “News as Framing”, pp. 157-161, in *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol.33, no.2, November/December 1989. These works should be taken in their entirety, but with special reference to the pages noted. Johnson-Cartee provides a useful overview and manual on framing; Norris, et al., construct a useful model of the role of framing in public opinion formation in terrorism and associated warfare contexts. Gitlin’s work is regarded as a classic of news frame analysis of the rise and fall of an anti-establishment movement in the US in the 1960s. Entman provides a mid-term assessment which predicts major paradigm status for the framing perspective; Gamson, et.al. offer an overview which places framing within the social construction of reality perspective; while Gamson, 1989, recognised early the value of frame analysis in examining both the manifest and latent content of news media texts.

63. Goffman, Erving, *Frame analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, pp.10-11.

64. Tuchman, Gaye, *Making News: a Study in the Construction of Reality*, The Free Press, New York, 1978, p.1, Devereux p.217.

65. Devereux, pp.247-248.

The structure of individual media stories or narratives, the language used in the individual texts and the overall discourse play important roles in the framing process. Some theorists see in the framing perspective the potential for a general theory of how communication texts work.⁶⁶

News framing deals with factors involved in the selection and presentation of events in news stories. Widely applied definitions suggest frames are persistent patterns applied by journalists and other news producers in organising news narratives. Through processes of selection, emphasis (or salience), exclusion and elaboration, these news producers present aspects of perceived reality in ways that supply context and suggest what the issues are or in such a way as to promote particular problem definitions, causal interpretations or moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations.⁶⁷

66. Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", p.56.

67. Tankard, J.L., Hendrickson, J., Silverman, K., Bliss and Ghana's, S., *Media Frames: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement*, paper for Education in Journalism Mass Communication Conference, Boston, 1991, p.11, cited by Johnson-Cartee, p.24; Entman, p.52; Gitlin, p.7. This definition is a composite constructed by the writer from authoritative versions offered by these authors.

Using frames, journalists bundle concepts, stock phrases and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments.⁶⁸ Pippa Norris, Montague Kern and Marion Just, say journalists rely on familiar frames and upon the interpretation of events offered by credible sources to convey dominant meanings, make sense of the facts, focus the headlines and structure the story lines. Conventional frames, they say, give meaning and order to complex problems, actions and events by slotting the news into familiar categories or story line “pegs”. And they furnish consistent, predictable, simple and powerful narratives that are embedded in the social construction of reality.⁶⁹ Thus, in the framing process journalists draw on a repertoire of methods and concepts as they engage in narrative production or story telling. Johnson-Cartee notes that journalism students learn the patterns of previously written news stories through their news classes. As they begin their professional life and as they develop their craft, news reporters continue to accumulate such news frames into “a *repertoire* of examples, images, understandings and action.”⁷⁰ (Emphasis in original.) They judge the “narrative fit” of incoming information or facts and situate this material in already existing news (or narrative) frames.⁷¹

68. Norris, Pippa, Kern, Montague, and Just, Marion, eds., *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public*, Routledge, New York, 2003, pp.10-11.

69. Ibid., p. 4-5.

70. Johnson-Cartee, p.161 citing D. Schon, *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*, Basic Books, New York, 1983, p.138.

71. Johnson-Cartee, p.159.

According to Johnson-Cartee, while the emphasis in considering news framing is often on the interpretative frameworks used by media professionals in telling stories, other actors – political and military for example - apply framing in attempting to influence the presentation of their versions of events in the media, and audiences use interpretative frames to incorporate news reports into their understanding of events. Johnson-Cartee adopts a concept of framing as a process by which a communication source, such as a news organisation (or a political leader, public relations officer, political advertising consultant, or news consumer), defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy.⁷² Norris, Kern and Just, point out that political leaders can respond to events and communicate policy priorities, simply and effectively by adopting predominant cultural frames to streamline and simplify their message. Reporters, they say, can also ‘tell it like it is’ within 60 seconds or within brief newspaper headlines, rapidly sorting news events from surrounding trivia by drawing on reservoirs of similar stories to cue readers. And the public can use frames to sort out and make sense of complex and unfamiliar events, people and leaders.⁷³

72. Johnson-Cartee, p.24, citing Nelson, T.E., Clawson, R.A., and Oxley, Z.M., “Media Training of a Civil Liberties Conflict and its Effects on Tolerance,” pp.567-583, in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 91, 1997, at p.567.

73. Norris et al., p.11.

In complex situations within societies rival frames may clash, Norris, Kern and Just point out. While conventional news frames reflect broader norms and values common within a particular society, dissident movements provide rival ways to frame and interpret events.⁷⁴ This suggests a generation of different interpretations of events and images sharing nothing in common. Norris and her associates point out that the role of the international media adds another layer of complexity, introducing challenging perspectives.⁷⁵

Controversially, some theorists argue a strong linkage between framing and agenda-setting theory. Championed from the 70s by Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw and associates,⁷⁶ agenda-setting has established a respected place in considerations of the news media role in the formation of public opinion and policy.⁷⁷ The theory views the news media as performing an agenda-setting function on political and other public matters by directing viewers or readers to what issues and topics to think about.

74. Norris, et al., p.13.

75. Ibid.

76. McCombs, Maxwell E. and Shaw, Donald L, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," pp.176- 187, in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol.36 no.2, Summer,1972, for their early formulation.

77. McCombs, Maxwell, "A Look at Agenda-setting; Past, Present and Future" pp.543-557, in *Journalism Studies*, vol.6, no.4, 2005; Dearing, James W., and Everett, M. Rogers, *Agenda-Setting, (Communications 6)*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1996; Lewis, Justin, *Constructing Public Opinion: How Politicians and the Media Misrepresent the Public*, DVD, Massey University Library collection. The Media Education Foundation, Northampton, MA, USA, www.mediaed.org, 2002 . McCombs (2005) summarises the state of the perspective after more than three decades. Dearing and Rogers (1996) provides a succinct introduction to and review of the field. Professor Lewis gives a general but informative view of the perspective in action in the formation of public opinion in the modern US context.

FRAMING, WAR COVERAGE AND JOURNALISM

Theoretical treatises on framing and agenda-setting and analyses employing them now run into the thousands.⁷⁸ A fertile ground for their application has been the news media coverage of warfare, with modern Middle East conflicts, as prolific generators of coverage being a focus of attention.⁷⁹ Studies in framing and agenda-setting of Middle East conflicts began with a trickle of works led by Shanto Iyengar and Adam Simon's classic 1993 work on agenda-setting, priming and framing of the 1991 Gulf War and public opinion.⁸⁰ The terrorist attack on the Twin Towers in September 2001 sparked not only the War on Terror and its consequent campaigns but also a plethora of conflict-related framing and agenda-setting specific studies and broad analyses.⁸¹

78. McCombs, 2005, p.555; Johnson-Cartee, "References," pp. 307-352, in *News Narrative and News Framing*, 2005. McCombs' 2005 research review of agenda setting theory alone draws on 400 studies. While not all are directly on point, Johnson-Cartee's manual on narrative and frame analysis concludes with a list of references totaling more than 3000 entries.

79. Hawkins, Virgil, "The Other Side of the CNN Factor: the media and conflict", pp. 225-240, in *Journalism Studies*, vol.3, no.2, 2002, pp.226-227.

80. Iyengar, Shanto and Simon, Adam, "News Coverage of the Gulf War Crisis and Public Opinion: A Study of Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing," ch.30, pp.248-257, in *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*, eds. Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1997.

81. Jasperson, Amy E., and El-Kikhia, Mansour D., comparative analysis of "*CNN and Al Jazeera's Media Coverage of America's War in Afghanistan*," ch.7, pp.113-132, in Norris, Kern and Just, eds., *Framing Terrorism*, DiMaggio, Anthony, *Mass Media, Mass Propaganda: Examining American News of the "War on Terror"*, Lexington Book, Lanham, USA, 2008. Examples in which Jasperson and Mansour conducted a comparative study of the coverage of the war in Afghanistan by *CNN* and *Al Jazeera*; while DiMaggio applied both perspectives to an broad analysis of American news media's coverage of the War on Terror, embracing the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, and its impact on public opinion.

Israeli-Palestinian conflicts have been studied using frame analysis and agenda-setting perspectives by a number of researchers. Among these is a qualitative examination by Tamar Liebes and Anat First of the effect on international public opinion of the television news coverage of controversial incidents during the 2000 conflict.⁸² More recent work includes a demonstration of how news stories influenced the way the public viewed Israel and Hezbollah during the 2005 Lebanon War.⁸³

A major focus has been on comparisons of the coverage by the media of individual nations or cross-national traditional news media. An example of the former is Serena Carpenter's demonstration of differential framing of the Iraq war in U.S. elite and non-elite newspapers.⁸⁴

82. Liebes, Tamar, and First, Anat, "Framing and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict", ch.4., pp.59-74, in *Framing Terrorism*, eds., Norris, Pippa, Kern, Montague, and Just, Marion, Routledge, New York, 2003.

83. Rill, Leslie A., and Davis. Corey B., "Testing the Second Level of Agenda Setting: Effects of New Frames on Reader –Assigned Attributes of Hezbollah and Israel in the 2005 War in Lebanon," pp. 609-624, in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol.85, no.3, Autumn, 2008.

84. Carpenter, Serena, "U.S. Elite and Non-Elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War: A Comparison of Frames and Source Use," pp.761-776, in *Journalism and Mass Communications Quarterly*, vol.84, no.4, Winter, 2007.

Apart from Jasperson and El-Kikhia's Afghanistan study⁸⁵, framing has also been applied to show international media differences between the coverage of that war by U.S. and German newspapers.⁸⁶

Significant comparative studies combining national or cross-national news media framing studies of Israeli-Palestinian and the Iraq conflicts with critical examinations of journalistic practice have also been carried out.⁸⁷ Increasingly the analysis of modern conflicts are extending to the framing and agenda-setting aspects of internet news coverage of the earlier years of the Iraq War.⁸⁸

85. Jasperson, Amy E., and El-Kikhia, Mansour D., "CNN and *al Jazeera*'s Media Coverage of America's War in Afghanistan," ch.7, pp.113-132, in eds., Norris, Kern and Just, *Framing Terrorism*. This article is a comparative analysis of the coverage of the conflict by the two outlets.

86. Herber, Lori, and Filak, Vincent F., "Iraq War Coverage Differs from U.S., German Papers," pp.37-51, in *Newspaper Research Journal*, vol.28, no.3, Summer, 2007.

87. Schatz, Roland and Kolmer, Christian, "The Portrayal of the War in the Middle East", pp.139-149, in *Jewish Images in the Media*, vol.2., eds., Martin Liepach, Gabriele Melischek and Josef Seethaler. Relation, n.s, Vienna, 2007; Kolmer, Christian and Semetko, Holli A. "Framing the Iraq War: Perspectives From American, U.K., Czech, German, South African and *Al-Jazeera* News," pp.643-646, *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol.52, no.5, January 2005. The first questions the objectivity of four prime time German TV programmes in their coverage of 2006 Lebanon war, while the second raise serious questions about the credibility and impartiality of TV news in the reporting of the Iraq war.

88. Schwalbe, C. B., "Remembering our shared past: Visually framing the Iraq war on US news websites," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12(1), article 14, 2006; Dimitrova, Daniela V., Kaid, Lynda Lee, Williams, Andrew Paul, Trammell, Kaye D., "War on the Web: The Immediate News Framing of Gulf War II", pp. 22-44, in *Press/Politics*, vol.10, no.1, 2005. Schwalbe investigates changes in visual framing over the first three years of the Iraq conflict on US news websites; while Daniela Dimitrova and associates have examined framing of the initial phase of the Iraq War on global websites.

As theorists point out, the organisation and operation of the news media and the training, practices and culture of the journalists lie at the heart of the framing process. Journalism practice with an emphasis on modern Middle Eastern conflicts have been the subject of many personal accounts of journalists operating in war zones⁸⁹ and general commentaries or anthologies from both academic and news media commentators.⁹⁰

Among topics which often feature strongly in these works are the much-debated dilemmas of personal safety, and objectivity, the last involving issues of accuracy and balance, bias, the journalism of attachment or detachment, and the pros and cons of independent operation by journalists or the embedding of them with military forces.

89. Filkins, Dexter, *The Forever War: Dispatches from the War on Terror*, Vintage Books, London, 2009; Leith, Denise, *Bearing Witness, The Lives of War Correspondents and Photojournalists*, Random House, Australia, 2004; Latovsky, Bill and Carlson, Timothy, *Embedded, The Media at War in Iraq*, The Lyons Press, Guilford, Connecticut, 2004; Bell, Martin, *Through Gates of Fire: A Journey Into World Disorder*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 2003; Simpson, John, *News From No man's Land: Reporting the World*, Pan Books, London, 2002; Arnett, Peter, *Live From the Battlefield: From Vietnam to Baghdad, 35 Years in the World's War Zones*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1994, are classic examples.

90. Lewis Justin, Brooks, Rod, Morsdell, Nick and Treadgold, Terry, *Shoot First, Ask Questions: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War*, Peter Lang Ltd., London, 2006; Tumber, Howard, and Webster, Frank, *Journalists Under Fire: Information War and Journalistic Practice*, Sage Publications, London, 2006; Foerstel, Herbert N., *Killing the Messenger: Journalists at Risk in Modern Warfare*, Praeger, Westport Connecticut, 2006; Fisk, Robert, *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East*, South Estate, London, 2005 ; Knightley, Philip, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propaganda and Mythmaker From the Crimea to Iraq*, first published 1975, new edition, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2004; Thussu, Daya Kishan and Freedman, Des, *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage Publications, London, 2003; McLaughlin, Greg, *War Correspondent*, Pluto Press, London, 2002; Pilger, John, "The Role of the Media in Conflict Zones: The Importance of Going Beyond the Surface," pp.31-41, in *Turning the Tide: A New Approach to Conflict Resolution*, ed. Peter Greener, The British Council/Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, 2001; Carruthers, Susan, *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillan Press, Hampshire, 2000; Young, Peter and Jesser, Peter, 1997.

Increasingly sophisticated digital and internet-based communication technology's impact on journalism and the news media is becoming increasingly significant, with coverage of conflicts by online news outlets, citizen journalists and bloggers the subject of several books and articles.⁹¹ A major, particularly insightful series of works which draws many of these issues together are those written or edited by Philip Seib. The Seib series focus on the evolution of the new high-tech news media, its impact on the coverage of modern Middle East conflicts and the political consequences for the region and internationally.⁹² Recent valuable contributions to discussions in journalistic, military and academic circles about the news coverage of modern conflicts have come from major conferences in New Zealand and Australia.⁹³ Apart from the many social science journals, of particular significance are the *Columbia Journalism Review* which has as a focus journalism practice and experiences of journalists operating in war zones; while *Military Review* and *Parameters* keep a close watch on the military-media relations and information war perspectives.

91. Matheson, Donald, and Allen, Stuart, *Digital War Reporting*, Digital Media and Society Series, Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K. 2009; *Blogging, Citizenship and the Future of the Media* Routledge, ed., Mark Tremayne, London, 2007; Allan, Stuart, *Online News, Journalism on the Internet*, Open University Press, Maidenhead, England, 2006.

92. Seib, Philip, *The Al Jazeera Effect: How the New Global Media Are Reshaping World Politics*, Potomac Books, Dulles, Virginia, 2008; *News Media and the New Middle East*, ed. Philip Seib, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007; *Media and Conflict in the Twenty First Century*, ed., Philip Seib, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005; Seib, Philip, *Beyond the Front Lines: How the News Media Covered a World Shaped by War*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

93. Recent Australasian conference examples are the *The Military, the Media and Information Warfare: The (Australian) Chief of Army's Military History Conference*, Canberra, 2008; and the series of conferences looking at the relationship between the media, the military and aid groups, *Reporting Wars: Challenges and Responsibilities*, conferences conducted at Sydney and Wellington in May, 2009; and *Reporting Wars: The Ongoing Challenge*, at Auckland, in May, 2010, which were followed by "Reporting Wars," a special edition of *Pacific Journalism Review*, vol. 16, no.1, May, 2010, containing a selection of conference papers along with a broader range of research articles.

CONCLUSION

Reviewing relevant literature, this chapter has established the importance of exploring by content analysis the diversity of news media coverage of modern wars in the increasingly technologically advanced, multi-platform, competitive, transparent and boundary-porous, international news media environment. Viewing diversity as symptomatic of the news media as increasingly aggressive, adversarial and independent participants in such conflicts, this chapter enters this thesis into the wider debate over the subservience of the modern news media to, or their independence from, the control of the powerful in society.

Setting the theoretical foundations for this thesis, this chapter has sketched the social constructionist perspective, which views social reality as being created in large part by communication, in which the news media play a major role. This chapter has also established the potency and popularity of frame theory for exploring news media content on which people construct their realities of the events of modern military conflicts. The chapter has reviewed previous frame analyses of news media content in the conflict area as a prelude to exploring the diversity of the news coverage of events in the post-invasion Iraq and the 2008-2009 Gaza conflicts. Also noted was the involvement of all the major actors, military, political, audience and news media, in the “manufacture” of the news content of conflicts.

But the principal focus of this chapter has been on the part played by the news media and journalists. Attention will turn in the next chapter to the methodological basis for this exploration of the diversity of the international, multi-platform, digitally archived news coverage of events within the two conflicts from both the qualitative and quantitative research perspectives.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Three will detail the methodology to be drawn on to explore the diversity in the international news media coverage of events from the post-invasion Iraq and 2008-2009 Gaza conflicts. Frame analysis will be the principal research approach applied to analyse the news coverage of the three specific incidents or issues – the Haditha and Blackwater shootings in the Iraq conflict and the use of white phosphorous during the Gaza violence. Frame analysis is, as the previous chapter indicated, a well-established research tool for exploring, quantitatively and qualitatively, the interpretative frames used in the construction of the news media stories or narratives about modern conflicts which present the social reality of these events to international audiences. It is also used to analyse the interpretative frames used by audiences to make sense of or generate the social reality of these events out of this news media coverage.

Frame analysis is at times controversially linked with the agenda-setting perspective which contends that the framing of news stories significantly influences public opinion about events and issues highlighted by the news media.

Frame analysis in this thesis will be applied to explore the extensive data fields of news content provided by the digital archives of news media outlets using the evolving technique of computer-based “push button” research (to be discussed below). This approach will be integrated in this thesis with another, which confronts the challenge of comparative analyses across print, broadcast and online news media in single studies. The combination of approaches is a methodological extension which in this thesis enables the comparative analysis of the news coverage of a wide range of international, multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet-based) news media and news media related outlets through their digital archives. These outlets will in this thesis include mainstream and alternative news organisations, and specialist internet-based news and audience action sites, and collective weblog sites.

PERSPECTIVES ON ANALYSING CONTENT

Frame analysis requires close critical reading of news media texts whether from quantitative or qualitative perspectives. The analysis of news media content is an established and popular social science research method for the exploration of trends in the media coverage of events and comparing that coverage with the “realities” of the social world.⁹⁴

But both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to content analysis in general have their supporters and detractors. Caricaturing criticisms of them, David Deacon and his co-authors point out it has been argued that the qualitative approach reduces generalisability and in the view of some critics is “impossibly subjective.”⁹⁵ Some advocates of qualitative forms of analysis have dismissed quantitative methods as “irremediably positivist, obsessed with frequency counts of indices of significance and unable to get much past the manifest content of communications to where the crucial meanings lie, beneath the textual surface.”⁹⁶

94. Devereux, pp.192 & 246. Devereux says that content analysis is typically used to identify the intentions and other characteristics of communications, detect the existence of latent propaganda or ideology and detect cultural patterns of groups, reveal the focus of propaganda, and describe trends in communication. It is also often used as a way of comparing media content with the “realities” of the social world.

95. Deacon, David, Pickering, Michael, Golding, Peter, and Murdock, Graham, *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*, Arnold, London, 1999, p.132

96. Deacon, et al., 1999, p.115.

But Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock regard these extreme positions as flawed and unhelpful.⁹⁷ They and other modern content analysts accept both qualitative and quantitative approaches are applicable and useful. Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock reject “academic apartheid,”⁹⁸ which implies separateness or exclusivity. Michael Patton shares their view on the mutual value of these approaches while recognising their individual advantages and limitations. Patton points out that while both have their strengths and weaknesses they constitute alternative, but not mutually exclusive, strategies for research.⁹⁹

Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock accept though, that quantitative analytical methods of content analysis are considered more suitable for producing “broad pictures, delineating trends, patterns and absences over large aggregates of texts.”¹⁰⁰ Patton in turn points out that the qualitative approach has been recognised as permitting the study of selected issues in depth and detail and allowing an approach to research that is not constrained by categories of analysis. Its methods contribute to the depth, openness and detail of inquiry, producing a wealth of information about a smaller number of people which increases understanding of cases and situations studied.¹⁰¹

97. Deacon, et al., 1999, p.132.

98. Deacon, David, Pickering, Michael, Golding, Peter & Murdock, Graham, *Researching Communication: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*, second edition, Hodder and Arnold, London, 2007 (first published 1999), p.138.

99. Patton, Michael Quinn, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, second edition, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California, and London, 1990, first published, 1980, p.14.

100. Deacon et.al. *Researching Communications*, 1999, p.117.

101. Patton, pp.13-14.

APPLYING FRAME ANALYSIS

For this thesis frame analysis will be conducted from both the quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The quantitative approach will first be used to analyse content relating to the conflicts and incidents and events under consideration, through the digital archives of selected news media outlets operating from or associated with involved nations or groups. The qualitative approach will then be applied over a wider range of internet-based and traditional news media outlets.

Frame analysis has become established as a powerful and popular tool in the analysis of news media stories or narratives and their role in the social construction of reality and in the formation of public opinion.¹⁰²

The foundation for the quantitative frame analysis will be provided by an approach which has proved useful in the quantitative exploration of the coverage of modern military conflicts. This is the multi-criteria approach in which the framing of news stories or narratives is measured against criteria devised specifically for analysing the conflicts and events under consideration.

102. Johnson-Cartee, pp.24-31; Norris, Montague and Just, "Framing Terrorism," pp.11-13.

This approach has been successfully applied by Nel Ruigrok, Jan A.de Ridder and O.Scholtern in analysing the news coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch newspapers;¹⁰³ by Daniela Dimitrova and Jesper Stromback for the framing of the Iraq War in elite newspapers of Sweden and the US;¹⁰⁴ and Serena Carpenter, in relation to the portrayal of the Iraq War by US elite and non-elite newspapers.¹⁰⁵ Ruigrok, de Ridder and Scholtern devised seven possible criteria designed to cover the content of the news coverage about the Bosnian conflict, while Dimitrova and Stromback developed eight war-specific frames which were coded on a presence/absence basis. The latter's operational definitions of framing were replicated by Carpenter. The criteria or frames considered appropriate for the current study will be derived from their work and will be detailed in the next chapter on methods.

103. Ruigrok, de Ridder, and Scholtern, "News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers".

104. Dimitrova, Daniela V. & Stromback, Jesper, "Mission Accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers of Sweden and the US," pp.399-417, in *Gazette, the International Journal for Communication Studies*, vol.67, no.5, 2005.

105. Carpenter, Serena, "US Elite and Non-elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War: A Comparison of Frames and Source Use."

DEVICES FOR FRAME ANALYSIS

Frame analysis of news media content can draw on a variety of elements including the context of the events and issues, illustrations, the placement of articles and the language used. Apart from consideration of these elements, the quantitative and qualitative analysis for this thesis will draw heavily on the work of the research group of James Tankard, Laura Hendrickson, Jackie Silberman, Kris Bliss, Salma Ghanem and David Thompson in 1991. Writing in 2001, Tankard said that, considering an empirical approach to media framing, they proposed a “list of frames” approach in which a vital first step was to identify a list of frames for the particular domain under discussion.¹⁰⁶ To assist coders with the content analysis each frame would then be defined in terms of specific keywords, catchphrases and images, he said. They provided a useful list of mechanisms, or focal points for identifying framing. Outlined by Tankard, these were:

1. Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines).
2. Subheads.
3. Photographs.
4. Photo captions.
5. Leads (the beginnings of news stories).
6. Selection of sources or affiliations.
7. Selection of quotes.
8. Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis).
9. Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to).
10. Statistics, charts and graphs.
11. Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.¹⁰⁷

106. Tankard, James W., jun., “The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing,” ch.4, pp.95-106, in *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World*, eds., Steven D Reese, Oscar H. Gandy jun., and August E Grant), Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, New Jersey, 2001, pp.100-101.

107. Tankard, p. 101

These will be applied in considering both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this research. Because only some archive entries are associated with illustrations, the focus of the quantitative analysis will be on textual content. Where photographs accompany archive entries or are directly linked with them, they may be considered in the criteria framing process. Illustrations will however play a more prominent part in the qualitative framing analysis which will also consider a broader range of outlets and articles. Tamar Liebes and Anat First's qualitative study from the 2006 Lebanon conflict was primarily concerned with photographs and television portrayals, but they also considered the role of the associated textual content.¹⁰⁸

CROSSING NEWS MEDIA BOUNDARIES

The adoption of international, multi-platform news media outlet digital archival research for this study is a response to the challenge offered by Susan Keith, Carol Schwalbe and B. William Silcock for more news media content analysis across print, broadcast and online media in single studies.¹⁰⁹ Like Keith, Schwalbe and Silcock, the author of this thesis rejects claims that such an approach is impossible.¹¹⁰

108. Liebes, Tamar, and First, Anat, "Framing and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict", ch.4., pp.59-74, in *Framing Terrorism*, eds., Norris, Pippa, Kern, Montague, and Just, Marion, Routledge, New York, 2003.

109. Keith, Susan, Schwalbe, Carol and Silcock, B William, "Comparing war images across media platforms: methodological challenges for content analysis," pp.87-97, in *Media, War & Conflict*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2010, p.94.

110. Keith, et al., p.94.

While recognising that there are issues to be dealt with, questions to be considered, problems to be solved – some not possible to answer, and some new ones raised - in this study, it is argued here that research into the news media coverage of modern military conflicts has to move beyond the relative safety of established single or limited platform studies to take account of the fast-changing communications and news media environment.

Keith, Schwalbe and Silcock's plea comes against the backdrop of increasing convergence of news media platforms and the increasingly technologically sophisticated communications field on which the modern news media draws.

Following their series of studies of the visual images from the opening phase of the 2003 Iraq invasion, they have discussed the methodological challenges of conducting comparative quantitative content analysis of war images across print, broadcast and online media in a single project.¹¹¹

111. Keith, et al., p.87.

This study is also being conducted as enthusiasm grows among news media researchers for the use of newspaper digital archives in what David Deacon refers to as “push button” content analysis.¹¹² Digital news media archival or “push-button” content analysis of newspapers is a relatively recent but increasingly applied approach,¹¹³ offering the opportunity to quantitatively explore large amounts of news material quickly, remotely and systematically.¹¹⁴ Keith and her co-authors were concerned primarily with quantitative image analysis, Deacon with using newspaper digital archives in content analysis. The present thesis seeks to apply and extend these developments by using the textual material from the digital archives of a broad international range of multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet-based) news media and news media-related outlets in content analysis of the coverage of key events within the post-invasion Iraq and recent Gaza conflicts. Quantitative analysis of the digital archives of a select range of outlets will be followed by qualitative analysis of the coverage of a wider range of outlets. For the latter analysis both textual and some associated visual content will be drawn on. Overall this study will draw on digital archives of traditional news outlets and news websites run in parallel to traditional news outlets, specific internet-based news media websites, websites featuring news presented by special purpose organisations and audience groups, and collective weblog sites.

112. Deacon, David, “Yesterday’s Paper and Today’s Technology: Digital Archives and ‘Push Button’ Content Analysis”, in *European Journal of Communication*, vol.22, no.5, 2007, pp.5-25; Deacon, et al., *Researching Communication*, 2007, pp. 133-136.

113. Deacon, et al., 2007, p. 133; Deacon, “Yesterday’s Papers and Today’s Technology”, p.7.

114. Deacon, “Yesterday’s Papers and Today’s Technology”, p.22.

Comparative analysis of the coverage of international multi-platform news media outlets through their individual digital archives is a considerable step from the comfort of using commercial news media article collation services. But it is submitted that the approach to be used here provides flexibility and the chance to incorporate in analyses a wider range of news media outlets including online-based news disseminators and the work of citizen journalists, professional, casual and amateur. This is important given that large portions of audiences today seek information about issues of interest to them – and on which it can be argued they, at least in part, formulate their opinions and views – from combinations of news platforms rather than one alone. For example, a Pew Internet and American Life Research report¹¹⁵ in March, 2010, found that 92 per cent of Americans use multiple platforms to get news on a typical day, including national TV, local TV, the internet, local newspapers, radio, and national newspapers. Forty six per cent get news from four to six media platforms on a typical day and just seven percent get it from a single media platform. Six in ten Americans get news from a combination of online and offline sources on a typical day, and the internet is now the third most popular platform, behind local television news and national television news.

115. Purcell, Kristen, Rainie, Lee, Mitchell, Amy, Rosenstiel, Tom, Olmstead, Kenny, *Understanding the Participatory News Consumer*, Pew Internet and American Life Project. Washington, March, 2010. Retrieved 21 March, 2010. <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2010/Online-News.aspx>

However, it must be acknowledged there are international variations in internet access and usage. For instance, according to the Internet World Stats (IWS) organisation's "World Internet Usage and Population Statistics," internet penetration figures, updated for 30 June, 2010, for the North American region were 77.4 per cent, Europe 58.4 per cent, while for the Middle East it was 29.8 per cent.¹¹⁶ The IWS organisation determined internet penetration ranged from 1.1 per cent for Iraq, 14.2 per cent for the Palestine West Bank, 43.2 per cent for Iran, to 71.6 per cent for Israel, 77.3 per cent for the United States, 82.5 per cent for the UK and 85.4 per cent for New Zealand. It must also be conceded that availability of any news media outlets does not necessarily equate to news use.¹¹⁷ But the trends support Keith and her co-authors' plea for more multi-media studies of all types. They pointed out that their methodological discussion is important because, with media audiences becoming increasingly fractured, merely analysing the visuals one outlet or one platform showed might not give an accurate picture of the war visuals available to media consumers.¹¹⁸

116. *Usage and Population Statistics*, Internet World Stats. Retrieved 25 January, 2010, <http://www.internetworldstats.com/>

117. *BBC Monitoring*, 13 December, 2006, "The Palestinian Press." Retrieved 21 March, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6176691.stm

For example, at that point the *BBC* reported that the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza were served by three daily newspapers and a number of weeklies. However, while the article gave the total circulation of the dailies as 35,000, it noted:

"Newspapers are not particularly widely read, with around a third of Palestinians saying they hardly ever pick up a paper."

118. Keith, et al., p.88. "In a world increasingly dominated by images, future studies of war and conflict coverage should consider print, broadcast and online images as well as visuals made available through mobile and social networking platforms."

While it pushes research boundaries, the multi-platform outlet, news media digital archival approach is considered appropriate and useful for the limited primary aim of this study, the exploration of diversity of the coverage by the international news media of two modern conflicts.¹¹⁹ This approach offers an opportunity to explore a very large pool of international news media content – encompassing a wide range of news media outlets from major national multi-platform organs of record to specialised internet news and special interest group and audience sponsored websites. This also offers the opportunity to explore a data field more realistically, representing the information to which international audiences are exposed in today's news media-saturated world. Although it cannot be claimed that everyone uses every relevant outlet, they are all available to audiences particularly interested in pursuing topics arising from conflicts like those under study here.

119. McMillan, Sally, J., "The Microscope and the Moving Target: The Challenge of Applying Content Analysis to the World Wide Web," in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol.77, no.1, Autumn, 2002, pp. 80-98, at p.80. McMillan and other internet-based researchers acknowledge that while there are many challenges, some traditional in news media analysis, but others unique, in conducting web-based content analysis, it had been found useful in examining themes such as diversity on the world wide web.

ARCHIVE VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

While web-based content analysis has been found useful by researchers for examining themes such as diversity, it is accepted here that there are challenges. Some, according to Sally McMillan, a researcher who has explored the application of content analysis to the world-wide web, are traditional in news media analysis, but others unique to web-based analysis.¹²⁰

Issues and questions of validity and reliability raised in traditional single platform news media archive based research – using newspaper archives and later also television station and network archives - have been well rehearsed. For example, Jennifer Earl, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy and Sarah A. Soule, in a review of the use of newspaper data in the study of collective action, have noted the variability of indexes used in early newspaper research and prepared by newspaper publishers or private sources. These variations in indexing systems, they point out, arise from differences in inclusiveness, thoroughness and consistency in setting them up and maintaining them.¹²¹

120. McMillan, "The Microscope and the Moving Target," p. 90.

121. Earl, Jennifer, Martin, Andrew, McCarthy, John D., and Soule, Sara A., "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action," pp.65-79, in *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2004, p.68.

Fast forwarding through news media technology-based developments, it is recognised that old problems are repeated in digital archival research – such as missing or duplicated content and details of the positions of stories or illustrations on pages or in newscasts - while new ones have appeared with the advent of internet-based content analysis of news media archives and indexing.¹²² They are persistent and pervasive as David Deacon’s 2007 analysis of issues of digital archives and “push button” content analysis suggests.¹²³ Focusing on newspaper archival material available through the *LexisNexis* global database and electronic research service, Deacon identified a range of validity and reliability concerns about this mode of analysis. He points to the validity issues of the difficulty of capturing complex thematic issues via key words; the problems of addressing the context of news content and the loss of visual dimensions of news; and the reality that dependence on digital archives can, because of their relatively recent development, limit the historical reach of news analysis.¹²⁴ He also points to a range of reliability concerns about the internal and comparative performance of databases, including inter-archive and intra-archive inconsistencies through for example, multiple-entered and missing data, and inconsistent unitisation (the way items may be bundled together).¹²⁵

122. Stempel III, Guido H, and Stewart, Robert K., “The Internet Provides Both Opportunities and Challenges for Mass Communication Researchers,” pp. 541-548, in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol.77, no.3, Autumn, 2000, pp.541 & 546.

123. Deacon, “Yesterday’s Paper and Today’s Technology”.

124. Deacon, “Yesterday’s Paper and Today’s Technology,” p.22;

125. Ibid.

But while Deacon recognises the existence of many issues with established digital archive systems he still finds value in their use.¹²⁶ The question he outlines is whether the validity and reliability concerns are so great as to deny any role for digital archives in the systematic quantitative analysis of news content?¹²⁷ He concludes that while there is a need for caution, the concerns do not preclude their use absolutely.¹²⁸ Guido Stempel and Robert Stewart have also made the further point, still just as valid now as when they made it in 2000, that whether mass communication research will be better or worse off in the 21st Century using the internet in its studies will depend on the skill of researchers in using it.¹²⁹

While the use of digital news archives in a multi-national comparative analysis is likely to raise a number of special problems and issues many of them can be resolved or minimised by the application of practices urged by David Deacon and his co-authors.¹³⁰ They urge the checking of resulting lists of items for “false positives” (arising from a keyword having several meanings); recognising the danger of being too precise in the keywords used; check lists for duplicated material; checking for inconsistencies in the unitisation of content; and as a preliminary exercise, conduct keyword searches using very general terms for the titles and periods being analysed, in order to check for significant structural omissions in the archive coverage under consideration.

126. Deacon, in “Yesterday’s Paper and Today’s Technology,” p.23

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid., Deacon, et al., *Researching Communications*, 2007, p.136.

129. Stempel and Stewart, p.541.

130. Deacon, et al., *Researching Communications*, 2007, p.136.

Extensive preliminary analysis of the available archives is required for a study of this kind. However, it is also important to accept in exploring diversity of news coverage through multi-national, multi-platform digital news media archives that differences in the structure and functioning of the archives can itself be data. For instance the appropriate keywords covering events and issues can reflect ideological and cultural differences. These differences may depend on the outlet's, or even the individual archivist's, view of an event and issue, and changes as they evolve.

CROSS PLATFORM CONTENT

A crucial issue is the differences in content emphasis when applying cross-platform research because each platform (print, TV, radio, internet) offers news which plays to its particular news media strengths institutionally. Carolyn A. Lin and Leo W. Jeffres for instance have conducted research into 422 websites associated with local newspapers, radio stations, and television stations of the largest metro markets in the U.S. and found that each medium has a relatively distinctive content emphasis, linked to institutional goals.¹³¹ However for this study it is contended that the archival textual content across platforms is not unduly dissimilar.

131. Lin, Carolyn A. and Jeffres, Leo W., "Comparing Distinctions and Similarities Across Websites of Newspapers, Radio Stations and Television Stations," pp.555-573, in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol.78, no.3, October, 2001, p.555.

Significant developments are all covered by most outlets of whatever platform type. While no doubt there were differences in their primary form of public presentation, their digital archives require conversion to text. Even broadcast news items regarded as significant enough for inclusion are archived by textual matchers, summaries, “promos” (promotional items), or textual links to attached video/audio. All represent textual items with framing potential. Parallel websites also show considerable similarity with that of the parent outlets, with *Jerusalem Post*, *New York Times* and the *Guardian*, for example, systematically identifying originating-platform or shared material. While there are clearly different modes of primary presentation, the textual content of their digitally-archived material may be regarded as being representative of their coverage and suitable for comparative analysis, especially on a proportionate basis.

RESEARCH SOURCES

Following the content analyses it is intended to carry out a review of primary and secondary sources (including books, articles, videos and CDs) to seek possible or likely explanations for any measured diversity found. However the major source of material for this study will be the first-up media texts as recorded in the archives of the outlets concerned. As the main issue here is what is actually presented to audiences, the accuracy of the texts themselves is not the prime concern (although the issues of accuracy, distortion etc will be discussed in relation to diversity where appropriate).

Nevertheless, Phillip Taylor has argued the value of contemporary news coverage of conflicts, in combination with other public sources in providing an accurate picture of events, either while they are happening or soon afterwards.¹³²

CONCLUSION

This chapter set out the methodological basis on which diversity of news coverage of the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous use incidents within the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts will be explored. It explained how frame analysis will be applied from both the quantitative and qualitative perspectives in analysing the news coverage of these events through the digital archives of a range of international, multi-platform news media outlets.

Proven techniques for conducting frame analysis from both the quantitative and qualitative perspectives were described. One is the criteria approach which will be used for the quantitative frame analysis. This approach measures framing of archived news stories or narratives against criteria devised specifically for the individual study. The other technique, which will be applied in the frame analysis from both the quantitative and qualitative perspectives, is an empirical approach which researchers have devised to provide mechanisms or focal points for identifying framing in news stories.

132. Taylor, Philip M., *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*, pp. xi-xii. Taylor recognised the lack of historical context of media coverage and the ease with which journalists were manipulated by the military and political establishments during the Gulf War and that there are generally gaps in knowledge gained through the media on military conflicts. But he contended it was possible to glean from public sources – including the news media – a remarkably accurate picture of what was actually going on in the Gulf War, either while it was happening or quite soon afterwards.

This chapter also focussed attention on the challenge laid down by previous researchers for more single studies using multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet based) outlet digital archives in content analysis. This thesis seeks to extend this to a diverse international range of news media and news-related outlets. But in using this methodological approach it is recognised that this thesis will have to meet or consider some of the challenges and issues of using the increasingly popular technique of “push button” news media content research in this way. While this thesis will attempt to deal with the methodological problems, all of them may not be resolved here. But this thesis will expose them for future consideration and research. The work, however, is important because news media content analysis needs to take account of the changing environment in which many people today obtain their news from a variety of news media platform sources.

Chapter Four will outline the actual methods that will be used in applying the described methodology in order to gauge diversity of international news media coverage of the Haditha and Blackwater shooting incidents in the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue arising from the Gaza conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

The application of the quantitative and qualitative framing methods for this exploration of the diversity of the news coverage of the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts and incidents within them, as disclosed in the digital archives of a multi-platform range of international, traditional and “new” news media outlets, is set out and discussed in this chapter. Quantitative analysis will first be applied to the conflict theatre and event coverage generally over similar conflict periods. This will be followed by frame analysis of the archive-indicated news coverage by a select range of outlets of the three specific events from the conflicts. This analysis will involve framing against a list of pre-determined categories for selected months.¹³³ Comparisons will then be made of the data within and across outlets to gauge variations or diversity in coverage. The categories to be used and the time periods involved are defined in this chapter and the reasons for the choice of conflicts, incidents and outlets are explained. Also described is a robust approach for determining the framing categorisation of the incident, high-interest month stories.

133. The raw data pertaining to the general conflict theatre and event coverage can be found in Appendix A to this thesis. The raw data relating to the event category coverage is set out in Appendices B to D.

This chapter also sets out the intention to follow the quantitative analysis with a qualitative frame analysis to be conducted, without pre-categorisation, to identify variation or diversity and broad themes in the coverage. While the quantitative research will primarily focus on textual news content of the selected outlets over specific periods of time, the qualitative research is open to a broader time scale and range of outlets and the inclusion of photographic and video content and other documentary material where appropriate. Also discussed in this chapter are the results of a preliminary analysis of the digital archives' general structure, functioning and content form, and considerations of validity and reliability, conducted to further confirm the methods to be used in this challenging study.

CHOICE OF CONFLICTS

The post-invasion Iraq and Gaza 2008/9 conflicts were chosen for the purposes of this study as they represent two of the most up-to-date 21st Century conflicts, with backgrounds which suggest they are continuing a transition in the **form** of warfare which began in the late 20th Century. The Iraq conflict is winding down after a long period of low intensity conflict following a short period of open warfare and, on a broader view, continuing a war which began, if one views it as resuming a conflict seeded in the Gulf War, in 1991.

The Gaza War involves a short, sharp period of combat which was the latest major outbreak of violence in the broader historically-rooted and simmering Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the resolution of which is regarded by many as the key to peace in the Middle East. Both have taken place in times of considerable technological and sociocultural change with particular bearing on the operation of the news media and the military in conflict situations today.

CHOICE OF INCIDENTS

The white phosphorous issue arising in the Gaza conflict and the Haditha and Blackwater killings in the post-invasion Iraq conflict were incidents and issues which attracted considerable international news media and public attention and had significant political and military repercussions. All had visual and textual elements to them and have been, for various reasons, extremely controversial.¹³⁴

134. An important caveat here is that while the three incident chosen for study here have involved the forces of democratic nations, who are continually under critical public scrutiny by their own and international news media, the choice of these incidents by the researcher is one of convenience to explore news coverage diversity and, through that, the autonomy of the news media. While the author has endeavoured to maintain impartiality in considering the three subject incidents in this thesis, it is important to make readers aware that incidents involving death or injury to civilians in these conflicts have also involved opposing forces. But those forces have not been as deeply or critically publicly probed for many reasons, including the secret character of asymmetric warfare; danger for investigators, and for journalist and other inquirers of probing deeply into the perpetrators' actions; lack of subsequent official investigation and process; lack of cooperation by, and access to, those sought to be investigated; and non-acceptance of the fundamental democratic privilege of free speech or press freedom by those responsible for those further incidents. Thus the killing and injuring of many Iraqi – by hundreds of bombs and through many murders - and some Gazan civilians have been attributed generally and vaguely to forces which, by adopting that stance, are not exposed to the same relentless glare of public investigation and publicity as have been the Marines at Haditha, the private security contractors at Nisour Square or the Israeli Defence Force in Gaza. This is a burden of democracy which is accepted, but it is important to recognise this general imbalance when one is considering this study of the coverage of the three chosen events.

CHOICE OF OUTLETS

For practical reasons the news outlets chosen for this study had to meet several requirements. Generally these were that they be those of nations and groups closely concerned with the conflicts; be representative of different news media platforms; have adequate digital archives covering the events and periods being analysed; because of language limitations of the researcher, be in or have been translated into English; and be readily available internationally to interested audiences.

Approximately 40 news websites were examined. Eventually it was decided that the analysis in respect of the events of both conflicts would be conducted initially using the web pages and associated website archives of twelve main news media outlets. They were *New York Times (NYT)*, *Guardian*, *Press TV in English*, *Al Jazeera in English*, *Arab News*, *Democracy Now*, *Global Voices*, *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch*, in respect of both conflicts. *Jerusalem Post*, *Ma'an News Agency* and *Electronic Intifada* were added for the Gaza conflict.¹³⁵

135. References throughout this thesis to *Al Jazeera* and *Press TV* content refer to their English language material unless otherwise stated.

The United States-based *New York Times*, British *Guardian* and Israeli *Jerusalem Post* are established newspapers of record with both national and international reach and therefore valuable sources of information about the conflicts. The Qatar-headquartered, international television broadcaster *Al Jazeera* occupies a very special place providing a Arab view to both conflicts and has become a big player in the news media scene in the Middle East and globally. It was one of the few major outlets which were able to provide a comprehensive coverage of the Gaza conflict from within the conflict zone. Iranian television broadcaster, *Press TV*, also with international reach, provided general coverage of both conflicts and in particular Hamas viewpoints during the Gaza War. Saudi Arabia-based *Arab News* is a long established highly regarded English language Arab newspaper. *Democracy Now* is a well-known, US-based but internationally-focused, independent broadcast and web news source. *Global Voices* is an increasingly influential international blog site with posts reviewing blogger activity in various regions; while *Electronic Intifada* provides Palestinian perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Ma'an News* is a news agency operated by independent journalists throughout Palestine, which operates a number of local television and radio stations. *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch* are NGOs whose websites present focused views through news, press releases and reports published in support of their human rights aims. All were in English or provided English translations.

The *New York Times* was chosen as the baseline outlet. Apart from its international reach it has one of the most comprehensive archive systems, noting all article entries, including relatively minor stories, pointers to significant stories, corrections etc., but few duplications. All are readily available to international audiences.

For the qualitative analysis content of these outlets' digital archives will be considered along with that from a wider range of digital archives of media outlets. The wider range of archives considered for the qualitative analysis included sites which:

- Particularly in the case of Western national media, displayed contrasting editorial orientations to those used in the quantitative analysis; or
- Did not meet the comprehensiveness or other requirements, but nevertheless provided significant data for qualitative analysis.

Examples of the first group include US and international broadcaster *Voice of America*, the major British national daily the *Independent* and a variety of other online news sites and Middle Eastern news media outlets.

Of particular significance among the second group are the digital archives of Iraqi news media outlets, access to which presented a formidable challenge. Some of the problems here were clearly the result of the turbulent state of political and military affairs in that country post-invasion, which has produced a fragmented and constantly changing news media industry scene. During the periods under study here, a fluid state of affairs existed, with news outlets continually being established, faltering and failing and their structure and form of content (including that of their vital archives, if they existed at all) undergoing continual change. Because of the influence of rival sectarian and religious groups and social and political complexities, the situation was at one stage described as producing the “Lebanonisation” of the Iraq media.¹³⁶

136. Cochrane, Paul, “The ‘Lebanonisation of the Iraqi Media: An Overview of Iraq’s Television Landscape”, in *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, online journal, no.16, 2006. Retrieved 21 March, 2010, at <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Cochrane.html>

This term was used by Paul Cochrane who noted the explosion of television media available to Iraqis following the US-lead invasion, comprising 300 satellite stations and a handful of new Iraqi-oriented networks. He likened this situation to Lebanon’s highly sectarianised hodge-podge of channels – linked directly or loosely with political parties – which regularly reported sect-specific news.

However content obtained for the English-translated website and digital archives of UK based *Azzaman* newspaper and, for periods, the Iraqi government-backed broadcast network *IMN* and its major flagship *Al Iraqiya* television channel will be drawn on for the qualitative analysis.¹³⁷ Some material will also be drawn in the qualitative analysis on other established news websites and those set up by special purpose audiences groups, such as those organised to support the Haditha marines.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

This study will first quantitatively analyse the general coverage of the subject conflicts, events and issues by each outlet in terms of the number stories contained in the digital news archives of each outlet for set periods and proportionate comparisons of coverage will then be made within and between outlets.

137. It is important to recognise that in addition to these, there are many other Middle East news media outlets whose content is only accessible in English through translation services and others that are not. To include them is beyond the resources of this thesis but a selection of them would be useful and important to future, more comprehensive single study multi-national, multi-platform news media outlet digital archive research.

Quantitative exploration of the diversity of the coverage will be conducted through the following steps:

For phase one of the quantitative analysis, it is intended to carry out **general monthly story counts** of each outlets' archive for (a) the Iraq and Gaza conflict theatres in general and (b) for the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous incidents and issues specifically. The raw monthly counts for the Iraq conflict theatre will extend from November, 2005, to November, 2010, for the Gaza conflict from December, 2008, to November, 2010. The monthly counts for Haditha run from November, 2005, for Blackwater from September, 2007, the months of incident occurrence. The white phosphorous counts parallel the Gaza counts.

From these raw statistics, trends in news coverage of the conflict theatre and events under study for each outlet should be discernible. However for a more representative assessment of the diversity of the coverage, the monthly incident/issue counts will be set against the general monthly conflict theatre counts and the results expressed as percentages. This should show the emphasis which each outlet places on the event or issue under consideration over time.

Proportionate comparisons can then be made across outlets. It is argued that these statistics should indicate the degree of diversity in coverage between outlets.

Table 1: Criteria analysis sample (from Appendix B)

OUTLET ARCHIVES - HADITHA ARTICLES BY FRAMING CRITERIA FOR
BASELINE MONTHS

| Table 1: <i>New York Times</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | 2 | 11.8 | 3 | 17.6 | - | - | 1 | 5.9 | 4 | 23.5 | 2 | 11.8 | - | - | 5 | 29.4 | 17 |
| June 06 | 9 | 19.6 | 4 | 8.7 | 2 | 4.3 | 6 | 13.0 | 9 | 19.6 | - | - | - | - | 16 | 34.8 | 46 |
| July 06 | 3 | 25.0 | - | - | 2 | 16.7 | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 25.0 | 12 |
| Sub-Tot. | 14 | 18.7 | 7 | 9.3 | 4 | 5.3 | 7 | 9.3 | 17 | 22.7 | 2 | 2.7 | - | - | 24 | 32.0 | 75 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 22.2 | 9 |
| May 07 | 1 | 8.3 | 1 | 8.3 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 58.3 | - | - | 1 | 8.3 | 2 | 16.7 | 12 |
| June 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 77.8 | - | - | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | 9 |
| Sub-Tot. | 4 | 13.3 | 2 | 6.7 | - | - | - | - | 17 | 56.7 | - | - | 2 | 6.7 | 5 | 16.7 | 30 |
| Totals | 18 | 17.1 | 9 | 8.6 | 4 | 3.8 | 7 | 6.7 | 34 | 32.4 | 2 | 1.9 | 2 | 1.9 | 29 | 27.6 | 105 |

Total unrelated entries 7; brief references 25.

(Unrelated entries and brief references are based on separate counts from the main criteria counts.)

For phase two of the quantitative analysis, monthly **framing criteria analysis** will be conducted of data from the outlet archives for high interest months of the Haditha and Blackwater incidents in Iraq and white phosphorous issue in the Gaza conflict. Expressed by criteria as percentages, this should allow consideration of the way individual outlets “played” or framed the incidents and issues over time and for comparisons to be made between outlets.

Preliminary work with the baseline *New York Times* news archive (discussed in the chapter six) and independent chronological data suggested that the appropriate months for the incident/ issue framing criteria analysis were: Haditha – May, June, July, 2006, and April, May, June, 2007; Blackwater – September, October, November, 2007, and January and December, 2008, and January, 2010; and white phosphorous, January, February, March, 2009, and September, October, November, 2009.

CHOICE OF CRITERIA

The quantitative analysis will comparatively explore the diversity through the framing of the coverage by each of the chosen outlets of the selected three events by setting the stories about them, from the digital archives of the selected outlets, within seven major framing criteria.

The frame criteria are drawn or adapted from the studies of Ruigrok, de Ridder and Scholtern.,¹³⁸ Dimitrova and Stromback,¹³⁹ and Carpenter,¹⁴⁰ and will be:

- Military framing of stories, focusing on military activity by belligerents, tactical, operational and strategic matters.
- Civilian involvement framing of stories, dealing with attacks on or involving civilians, including casualties and property and infrastructure damage, humanitarian issues including aid and NGO-related activity.
- Legal framing of stories, concerning the legality of conflicts, allegations of war crimes, and human rights abuses, and the use of legal processes, courts and other inquiries or tribunals to resolve issues or influence the course of events.
- Diplomatic framing of stories, dealing with international politicking, statements, moves and negotiations between countries and groups involved, including those within and from the UN, concerning the conflicts and incidents.
- Political framing of stories, concerning domestic political activity related to the conflicts.
- News media framing of stories, relating to media organisational and journalistic activity, involvement and influence, media war, and new media activity with regard to the conflicts and incidents.
- Public activity framing of stories concerning public action in support of or opposed to conflicts and issues including public demonstrations, petitions, polls and cyber activity.

138. Ruigrok, et al., in Seib, 2005, pp.164-165.

139. Dimitrova and Stromback, in "Mission Accomplished?" p.409.

140. Carpenter, in "US Elite and Non-Elite Newspapers' Portrayal of the Iraq War," p.767.

FRAMING BY CRITERIA

Determining the framing criteria category of the monthly incident and issue stories or narratives is a matter of judgment for the researcher and here it was decided to take a robust and generous approach.

The inclusion of entries and stories in the monthly framing criteria was relatively clear-cut in the case of (a) stories which were specifically about the incidents and issues being considered here; and (b) stories which were broader in scope or were about related matters, in which the original incidents or issues (i.e. Haditha, Blackwater or white phosphorous) were employed as *significant* or *substantial* framing devices. However, framing where the references were brief or less direct was a more complicated issue and required careful consideration. While some references were found in the preliminary methods analysis (described below) for this thesis to be very brief, their framing quality and context was as, or even more, significant in the framing process and determined which and where entries were included in the framing criteria categories and counts.

Examples of apparently unrelated stories included in the criteria counts were several entries archived across the outlets alleging white phosphorous use in the Yemen, Afghanistan, and, respectively, earlier in Iraq; Blackwater's alleged involvement later in Afghanistan and Pakistan and in other activities generally; various media describing other incidents as "another Haditha." Whether and where these were included depended on the quality of the connection and content concerning the original incidents included in the text. For instance *Press TV* frequently included references to, or background on, the original Iraq and Gaza incidents in many of its geographically unrelated archived stories on white phosphorous and Blackwater.

The framing quality and context issue of references is a complex one. But the preliminary research conducted, suggested that in considering sequences of archived items, wider framing influences had to be taken into account. It seemed clear that as a result of historic, contemporary and subsequent publicity – whether directly related or not, brief reference, chronological connector or significant reference - the notoriety of, and therefore the framing power of references to the events and issues, increases over time. By continual reference or emphasis, the catchword or catchphrase status of even very brief references steadily increases and there is an accumulation of framing baggage.

This process begins with pre-incident priming¹⁴¹ from earlier references. For instance the issue of using private security contractors in military roles had been discussed generally in the US media before the Blackwater affair. *Voice of America* had discussed the pros and cons, while the *New York Times* ran an editorial in the wake of the grisly killing of four Blackwater security contractors at Fallujah in February, 2004, cautioning that by using security guards the US was at risk of outsourcing the actual fighting in Iraq.¹⁴² Another example is the work of various parties in publicly condemning white phosphorous use in an earlier clashes in the Israeli-Palestinian and Iraq conflicts. These references were catalysed by the later Blackwater, Haditha and white phosphorous events being considered here and have then been continually reinforced by further publicity.

141. A concept linked originally to agenda- setting theory and adapted here to suggest a preparatory or sensitising effect toward later events or issues involving the same entities or similar actions.

142. *Voice of America*, 30 March, 2007, "Changing the Face of War." Retrieved 31 January, 2011.

<http://www.voanews.com/english/news/a-13-Jela-de-Franceschi.html>

New York Times, 24 April, 2004, "Privatising War," editorial. Retrieved 31 January, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/21/opinion/privatizing-warfare.html?scp=100&sq=Blackwater&st=nyt>

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Parallel to the quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis will be conducted across the coverage of the case study incidents and subsequent developments against the backgrounds of the overall conflicts. The qualitative analysis will also apply Tankard et al.'s list of mechanisms, or focal points for identifying framing, together with specific keywords, catchphrases and images.¹⁴³ The more flexible brief of the qualitative approach also means that apart from Tankard's framing list, consideration can also be given, as appropriate, to a wider range of aspects such as ideology, orientation of the outlets to the dominant protagonists in the conflicts, responsibility, causes and consequences, sources of stories and of comments.

Although the qualitative analysis will focus on the same archive time periods as the quantitative exploration, it will also extend beyond them. The qualitative analysis will also take greater account of visual – photographic and video – material, a wider range of textual content, and relevant secondary sources, commentaries and analyses.

143. Tankard, "The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing," p.101.

This material will include the coverage of later connected developments in these conflicts and the case study incidents. References will be made to the controversial United National Human Rights Committee's Goldstone Inquiry into the Gaza fighting, the British Chilcot inquiry into British involvement in the Iraq War, and the Gaza flotilla, *Marvi Marmara* ship-boarding affair of May, 2010.

ESTABLISHING THE METHOD

Because of the challenging nature of this study, it was decided to conduct a preliminary analysis to understand the structure and functioning of the digital archives to be used and identify issues of reliability and validity which might arise. This is a procedure which David Deacon and his co-authors suggest in respect of keyword searches for the terms and periods to be analysed in digital archive "push button" research.¹⁴⁴ There were in the present study obvious inter and intra-archival differences and inconsistencies which had to be considered before the primary research work could be undertaken. Each archive, it was considered presented its own particular challenges and issues, some of which will now be discussed, as will issues of framing and content variety.

144. Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 2007, p.136.

KEYWORD SELECTION

Following Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock's advice, the keywords to be used in the archival searches were chosen so as not to be too restrictive, nor too broad, to ensure relevant material was not missed yet the main thrust of the archive for specific events was captured. For instance it was decided to use broad keywords such as "Gaza" (implying the conflict theatre), "white phosphorous" or "Iraq", "Haditha" and "Blackwater", rather than the more specific "Gaza war and white phosphorous", or "Iraq war", "Haditha killings" or "Blackwater killings", or combinations of these. The former set of keywords were likely to provide a more complete cover, the latter set likely to miss relevant entries. For practical reasons – to avoid the overwhelming task of opening and scrutinising tens of thousands of archive entries - and to maintain proportionate comparability, no entries were discounted at this stage from the extensive **general conflict, theatre monthly conflict** or **specific incident/issue incident or issue monthly counts**. However the concern at this stage was with numerical and proportionate monthly coverage of conflicts and incidents, not yet with the framing process.

The broader simple keyword use (e.g. of Iraq or white phosphorous) did, however, raise the possibility some distortion in the data for the general monthly analysis data, by encompassing some unrelated stories, duplications, brief references with apparently little framing potential within stories, a range of miscellaneous items such as corrections, selected letters to the editor, and page or broadcast location pointers, and administrative entries.

However, that whole range of problem stories applied mainly to the very comprehensive *New York Times* archive and was easily detected. Over the whole range of outlets, because of the localised geographical – although geopolitically widely impacting - nature of these conflicts it was also considered that relatively few of the archived stories over the time periods of this study, would not relate in some way to the conflicts, incidents and issues under consideration. This was confirmed by work for this study on the more intensive event/issue **high interest monthly framing criteria analysis** in which it was important – and a more practical proposition - to discount irrelevant or superfluous entries.¹⁴⁵

145. In fact the monthly criteria analysis showed that of the archive items discounted from the framing count for various reasons, only a relatively small proportion were actually *unrelated*. For instance of 105 items retrieved by the keyword “Haditha” in the *New York Times* digital archive for the high interest months May, 2006, to July, 2006, and April, 2007, to June, 2007, only seven, or 6.67 per cent were unrelated. However only rarely were unrelated items to be found in some of the other archives - none, for instance, being found in the *Arab News* digital archives for May, June or July, 2006.

Generally however it was decided that **unrelated** entries that clearly emerged in the **monthly criteria data** would be discounted. For instance in the *New York Times* and *Jerusalem Post* archiving under the key phrase “white phosphorous” produced some results relating to food and agriculture stories; in the *New York Times* the keyword “Blackwater” also provided results relating to a wildlife reserve in the US; and the keyword “Haditha” produced a reference in *Press TV* and other publications to a story, relating to the condition of the Red Sea, involving Ghor Haditha, a Jordanian village.¹⁴⁶ Administrative entries, letters, corrections and pointers to other related content were not present in all archives and were discounted unless they were considered particularly significant. Whether or not to include apparent **duplications** was decided on an outlet by outlet, story by story basis, as they were not always what they seemed. In some cases (e.g. *Al Jazeera*) the full stories called up from identical brief archive entries were in fact found not to be duplications, but containing within them up-dated, substantially different news on continuing incidents or events. Those, it was decided, would be treated as separate items in this study. In other cases, duplications were indeed identical stories appearing in different sections or editions (e.g. Iranian *Press TV*’s archive for “white phosphorous”, displaying pairs of identical stories for its “Home” and “Palestinian” audiences) and in each case one was discounted.

146. *Press TV*, 6 May, 2006, “Dead Sea receding.” Retrieved 5 August, 2010.
<http://edition.presstv.ir/detail/8839.html>

Careful scrutiny, involving processes of confirmation, review and elimination, showed these were not fatal to the study. Because of variations in archiving by each outlet what to include or exclude was in each case a matter of researcher judgment.

ARCHIVE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING

The preliminary analysis of the structure and function of the digital archives also revealed variability in search capability, with some archives providing complete advanced date range services while others requiring careful date checks page by page. Some digital archives had cut-off points when oldest material went off their archive as new material arrived. Change also occurred in the structure and function of several of the archives, notably during the two years of this study those of *Al Jazeera*, *Press TV*, and *Al Iraqiya*, three crucial sites, which complicated analyses and check-backs on content.

Another issue considered at this stage was that of the timing of the archiving of content given the swiftly changing nature of web news. This, it was decided, would present little problem in treating it as valid material for data analysis because stories tend to become “fixed” within a day or so. Some digitally archived material also included the publication date in the parent outlet (*New York Times*) and latest update time (*Al Jazeera* and *Guardian*).

Beyond initial archive entries, some outlets provided only incomplete summaries free (pay for full articles) for older material (e.g. *Jerusalem Post*).

Comprehensiveness and completeness was variable, with retrieval from some archives displaying full texts, but others only summaries or omnibus daily stories. Some archives contained mainly major or front-page news. Other archives, like the *New York Times*, *Guardian* and *Jerusalem Post* provided comprehensive archive cover. Archives of several major outlets, *NYT*, *Guardian*, *Jerusalem Post* and *Al Jazeera*, contain a mix of parent publication's material and their web.com online operations. Some contain entries from sister publications as in the case of the *Guardian* with its sister Sunday paper, the *Observer*. However in spite of these differences it is contended that the digital archive material is representative of the outlets and proportionately comparable.

CONTENT FORMS

While differences of the form of the published news-related articles of the various archives needs to be recognised, their content will be considered comparable for the purposes of this thesis. News narratives considered will in most cases be conventional published stories or news texts – straight news, features, contributed articles (including op-eds) and editorials, which are all published, nominally, with the approval of the gatekeeping editor.

But the data field will also include the cumulative news media-directed archived output of special purpose NGOs *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch* – news, press releases, reports and press releases. It will also include the translated contributed articles, including commentaries and features, presented through *Electronic Intifada*, which covers the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the Palestinian perspective; and the blog posts archived by *Global Voices* in which regional editors review international web blog activity about the conflicts and incidents. In spite of the mix of reports they are taken here together as news media-associated content.

It should also be noted that in the case of *Global Voices* the use of the blogpost reviews in this thesis has the effect of limiting the number of items counted, and does not take into account the actual number of bloggers whose work is mentioned. But the outlet's archive does provide useful indications of the site's emphasis on issues and events and of broad blogger activity.

As noted in the methodology chapter (Chapter Three) there are also recognised differences in the foci of print, TV, radio and internet based news media operations which relate to their institutional strengths.¹⁴⁷ However whatever the outlets' form of public presentation, it is converted to text for the purposes of their digital archives and thus suitable for textual analyses of this study. Significant events and development with them – such those involving Blackwater, Haditha and white phosphorous – are also all covered by most internationally-focused news media outlets whatever their platform.

CONCLUSION

Setting out the methods to be applied in this study, this chapter has outlined the reasons behind the choices of conflicts, events and issues and outlets for this analysis of the diversity of international coverage of events within the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflicts. It established the time limits of the inquiries and explained how comparisons will be made in the quantitative analysis in order to gauge diversity of the coverage. This chapter also set out how the quantitative and qualitative frame analysis will be conducted.

147. Lin and Jeffres, "Comparing Distinctions and Similarities Across Websites of Newspapers, Radio Stations and Television Stations."

This chapter also defined criteria by which the framing of the archives-indicated coverage of the events for specified high-interest months will be measured; and established a robust method of criteria framing. Because of the challenging nature of this study, using the evolving and increasingly popular methodology of digital archive “push button” content analysis, a preliminary analysis of the structure, function and content of the outlet archives involved was conducted. This found challenges and issues involving aspects of structure and functioning of the archives, and in their comprehensiveness, completeness and form of content Nevertheless, it was considered from the preliminary analysis that in spite of these issues, the digital archives could be used for generating the data for this study, and that data could be analysed in this study as representative of the individual outlets and proportionately comparable across the outlets. In particular, whatever the apparent shortcoming of digital archive content, it was included in the archives as being a result of systemic archival work practices according to specified criteria and levels of significance.

This thesis will next give an outline of generally accepted facts about the conflicts and events to establish baseline “reality” (Chapter Five) before presenting the results first of the quantitative analysis (Chapter Six) and then the qualitative analysis (Chapter Seven).

CHAPTER FIVE

‘REALITY’ OF THE IRAQ AND GAZA CONFLICTS

Considering the social construction of reality and the comparative framing of events in the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts requires that there be standards against which any diverse accounts may be set. Researchers carrying out comparative framing studies in other conflicts have first established such standards.¹⁴⁸ While they accept that reality can never be fully described, they work with authoritative, detailed chronologies.

This chapter will provide basic outlines of the conflicts and the Haditha and Blackwater affairs and white phosphorous issue. These outlines will contain only “facts” over which there has been little or no dispute, or, where there is a significant dispute over any aspect, that this clearly acknowledged.¹⁴⁹

148. Ruigrok, Nel, de Ridder, Jan A., Scholten, Otto, “News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers: Impacts and Implications,” ch.8, p.p.157-183, in *Media and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Philip Seib, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p.167. Note particularly, section 5, “Chronology: News Coverage as a Reflection of Reality.”

149. The following accounts are constructed from mainstream news media accounts, timelines, published reports, and other secondary material.

IRAQ OCCUPATION AND DEPARTURE

The invasion of Iraq by a multi-national military force by the US in March, 2003, lead to a troubled occupation. Six years of fluctuating levels of sectarian violence, insurgency and civil war followed in Iraq, and for the key countries involved in the Coalition, declining public support back home.¹⁵⁰ Among the most deadly episodes during the violent years were an attack on an important Shia shrine at Samarra in February, 2006, leading to an outbreak of sectarian violence which saw hundreds killed, while the mere threat of a suicide bomb saw 1000 killed in a stampede at a Shia ceremony in Baghdad in August, 2006. Suicide or place-device bombings were numerous, multiple attacks killing up to 250. The violence which saw Iraq plunged into civil war eventually eased after a series of developments. These included new Coalition counter-insurgency (COIN) strategies and the US troop surge; the emergence of the Sunni “Awakening” movement and a cease fire with Muktada al Sadr’s Shiite militia; and the gradual progress toward establishing a new Iraqi Government and the eventual withdrawal of Coalition troops.

150. *BBC*, 5 October, 2009, “Timeline Iraq: A Chronology of Key Events.” Retrieved 13 October, 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/737483.stm
Wikipedia, “Iraq War.” Retrieved 12 October, 2009. This account of events was based on various news media time lines of which the BBC timeline cited is an example, and on the “Iraq War” *Wikipedia* entry.

A new COIN (counterinsurgency) strategy for Coalition forces, a massive reinforcement or surge of US troops in 2007, the Sunni “Awakening” movement and cease fire with Muqtada al-Sadr’s Shiite militia, eventually led to an improvement in the security position in Iraq.

The US formally handed sovereignty to the interim Government headed by Prime Minister Ayad Allawai in June, 2004, and on 15 December, 2005, Iraqis voted for their first full-term government since the Coalition invasion. A new government under Nouri al-Maliki took office on 20 May, 2006 and he remained prime minister after further parliamentary elections in 2010. In 2008 a security pact was agreed with the US under which all US troops would leave the country by the end of 2011. Coalition forces had been leaving progressively since 2004 and were followed by British forces in 2009 and US combat troops in late 2010, leaving a support force. Among the events which had the greatest impact on the conflict by turning back on the Coalition were the notorious Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse scandal of 2004, the Haditha killings of 2005, and Blackwater shootings affair of 2007.

KILLINGS AT HADITHA

The Haditha incident arose in November, 2005, when 24 Iraqi men women and children were killed by US Marines at this Euphrates Valley farming town in Anbar Province in an area known as a hot spot of Sunni insurgency. In the weeks preceding this incident there had been a number of Marine casualties in the area.

On 19 November a Marine patrol was hit by an improvised explosive device killing one trooper and wounding two others. Shortly afterwards five men who turned up in a taxi were shot by Marines. Arriving to assess the situation, a Marine officer ordered patrol members to clear several nearby buildings from where hostile fire had reportedly come. In the assault a number of the occupants were killed. An initial news release by the Marine Corps claimed 15 civilians were killed in the bomb blast and eight insurgents were killed in the subsequent fire fight. Following allegations by locals, backed by a video tape taken after the event by a local said to be a trainee Iraqi journalist and human rights activist, *Time* magazine probed the affair. Initially the claims were dismissed by Marine spokesmen as al Qaeda propaganda.

But after further inquiries *Time* published its article on the incident.¹⁵¹ The U.S. military high command ordered mandatory core values training for all Coalition soldiers in Iraq,¹⁵² and a series of investigations followed. Subsequently eight marines were charged under the US military justice system with offences, some with murder.

Domestic and international observers and news media commentators rated it with the Abu Ghraib scandal and as a defining point in the Iraq conflict, as the My Lai village massacre was in Vietnam. It presented a major public relations problem for the US Administration; and provided ammunition to Democrats and other domestic opponents of the administration and ruling Republican Party facing difficult domestic elections.

151. *Time*, 4 June, 2006, "How Haditha Came to Light." by Jeffrey Kluger. Retrieved 21 September, 2008.

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1200780,00.html>

152. *ABC News*, 31 May, 2006, "Haditha Response: US Troops to Receive 'Core Values' Training: All 130,000 Soldiers in Iraq to Get a Reminder on Legal, Moral, Ethical Standards." Retrieved 9 September, 2008. <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/story?id=2025692>

New York Times, 4 June, 2006, "War's Risks Include Toll on Training Values." Retrieved, 1 September, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/04/world/middleeast/04military.html?scp=3&sq=Haditha%20%20+%20Training%20Values&st=cse>

The incident also complicated attempts to establish a stable Government in Iraq and for the negotiation of a vital joint security pact between Iraq and the US. Further, it threw into question the US military's fighting philosophy in Iraq as circumstances changed and the military moved from the fire, movement and decisive action requirements of open combat to counterinsurgency methods of irregular warfare.¹⁵³ The incident also opened up another opportunity for radical Islamists and jihadis to foment trouble; and generated outrage across the Arab World. Internationally, there were allegations it was a war crime but the Marines from the patrol claimed that after coming under attack, they operated in accordance with their training, the rules of engagement current at the time and the laws of war. As the cases progressed through the military justice process charges against six Marines were dropped or dismissed amid claims of contradictory or weak evidence, bungled investigations and command influence, and as a result of a negotiation for testimony. In a trial a Marine officer, was found not guilty of dereliction of duty. But one Marine, patrol leader Staff Sergeant Frank Wuterich, still faces trial on reduced charges of voluntary manslaughter. Several senior officers received letters of reprimand.

153. *New York Times*, 5 October, 2006, "Military Hones a New Strategy on Insurgency," by Michael R Gordon. Retrieved 2 September, 2008.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/05/washington/05doctrine.html?scp=104&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>
New York Times, 4 June, 2006, "War Risks Include Toll on Training Values," by Mark Mazetti. Retrieved 2 September, 2008.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/04/world/middleeast/04military.html?scp=175&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

Legal actions lingered, with Staff Sergeant Wuterich suing for defamation a Democratic Congressman John Murtha, who publicly described the incident as a cold-blooded killing of innocent civilians by Marines under pressure. However the suit was dismissed in April, 2009 by a federal appeals court which ruled that Murtha had been acting in his official capacity when he made the statements. Murtha died in February, 2010.

THE BLACKWATER INCIDENT

Blackwater Worldwide, in 2007, was a major security contractor in Iraq for the US Government, holding contracts to protect US diplomats. While escorting a convoy of State Department vehicles through Baghdad on 16 September, Blackwater security guards shot and killed 17 Iraqi civilians and wounded others in Nisour Square. Witnesses alleged the attack was unprovoked and the contractors continued to fire while Iraqi civilians were fleeing. Blackwater claimed its guards were responding to an attack. After firing on a car which came too close and firing stun grenades to clear their path, Blackwater said its guards were fired on by insurgents, some dressed as civilians and others as policemen.

The shootings in Nisour Square in September, 2007, threw the spotlight on Blackwater's activities in Iraq and the full extent to which private security contractors were being used in Iraq and other trouble spots around the world.

The immunity from Iraqi prosecution which Blackwater and other security contractors worked under strained relations between the US and the Iraqi Government. It was a sore point during negotiations with Iraq for a new joint security agreement. This lead eventually to the ending of the immunity for private security contractors working in Iraq.¹⁵⁴

A parallel controversy blew up in the United States over whether the Blackwater guards could be prosecuted under US criminal law. Private security contractors working under contract to the Defense Department were subject to the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA). But some legal experts argued that this did not apply to private security companies like Blackwater working under contract to the State Department.¹⁵⁵ The controversy lead to legislative moves to clarify the law.

154. *New York Times*, 8 December, 2008, "Plea by Blackwater Guard Helps Indict Others." Retrieved 13 October, 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/09/washington/09blackwater.html?ref=us>.

155. *New York Times*, "FBI Says Guards Killed 14 Iraqis Without Cause," by David Johnston and John M. Broder. Retrieved 12 October, 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/14/world/middleeast/14blackwater.html?scp=1&sq=FBI+Says+Guards+Killed+14+Iraqis+Without+Cause&st=nyt>

US federal prosecutors in December, 2008, unsealed charges against five Blackwater employees of voluntary manslaughter, attempt to commit manslaughter, and weapons violations. The Blackwater employees were charged with killing 14 unarmed civilians and wounding 20 other individuals.¹⁵⁶ A sixth man struck a deal with prosecutors and pleaded guilty to manslaughter and attempt to commit manslaughter. The prosecution was regarded as the first test of the US government's ability to hold private security contractors accountable for what it considered were crimes committed overseas.¹⁵⁷

Department of Justice prosecutors said it was the first prosecution under the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA) to be filed against non-Defense Department private contractors. However the charges against the Blackwater employees were dismissed in December, 2009, on the grounds that the case was based on statements made by the guards to investigating State Department agents who had promised them immunity before they made them.

156. United States Department of Justice, 8 December, 2008, "Five Blackwater Employees Indicted on Manslaughter and Weapons Charges for Fatal Nisour Square Shooting in Iraq," press release. Retrieved 13 October, 2009.

<http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2008/December/08-nsd-1068.html>

157. *New York Times*, "Plea by Blackwater Guards Helps Indict Others," 8 December, 2008, by Ginger Thompson and James Risen. Retrieved 13 October, 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/09/washington/09blackwater.html?ref=us>

WAR AND “WILLIE PETE” COMES TO GAZA*

The Gaza conflict from 27 December, 2008, to 18 January, 2009, was a period of intense conflict between armed forces of Israel and the Gaza Strip. The main combatants were the Israeli Defence Force (IDF)| which mounted “Operation Cast Lead” and the Palestinian militants including Hamas fighters, This followed the breakdown of negotiations over the renewal of a previous cease fire and the continuing blockade of Gaza by Israel, and rocket fire by militants from Gaza into Israel. Artillery and air bombardment by Israel into Gaza was followed up by a ground attack from 3 January, 2009. It was countered by an increase in the rocket firing activity by militants which continued throughout. Cease fires were declared by each side on 18 January and Israel completed its withdrawal on 21 January. The war of words has continued in a variety of national, regional and international forums.

* The term “Willie Pete” was a field term for white phosphorous munitions from the Vietnam War and has been used at times in the media coverage of the Gaza conflict.

During the combat phase civilian infrastructure on both sides were damaged and people (civilians and combatants) killed. The figures are disputed, ranging from 1200 to more than 1400 Palestinians killed and 13 Israelis; and damage to Gaza was estimated at \$US1.9 billion.¹⁵⁸ Recently a Hamas official placed Palestinian fighter and security officers' deaths at between 550 and 750.¹⁵⁹

Each side accused the other of committing war crimes. Israel in particular pointed to Hamas' rocket firing into civilian areas of Israel and its alleged use of the Gazan civilian population and neutral (i.e. UN and Red Cross) facilities to shield its activities. Hamas in turn directed attention to the civilian casualties and structural damage inflicted by Israel on Gaza. Human rights groups, other NGOs, and the United Nations protested about these actions and alleged disproportionate military action by Israel.

158. Cordesman, Anthony H., *The Gaza War: A Strategic Analysis*, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, final review draft, 2 February, 2009, p.62. Retrieved 13 October, 2009.

http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/090202_gaza_war.pdf

159. *Ma'an News*, 1 January, 2011, "Minister: 200-300 Hamas fighters killed in war." Retrieved 5 February, 2011.

<http://www.maannnews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=329861>

Much of the international controversy swirled around a few issues. Israel's use of white phosphorous smoke screening and marking munitions was among them.

Amnesty International and *Human Rights Watch* maintained that the Israeli Defence Force's use of white phosphorous munitions was unlawful because extensive use of it was made over residential areas causing death and injury to civilians and damaging civilian facilities, including homes, a school, a market, medical facilities and UN buildings.¹⁶⁰

Israeli Defence Force investigators maintained that the use of munitions containing white phosphorous was standard, legal, used by western militaries worldwide, and in accordance with Israel's obligations under international humanitarian law, and more specifically, with regard to the use of munitions with incendiary characteristics.¹⁶¹

160. *Amnesty International*, "Israel/Gaza: Operation "Cast Lead": 22 Days of Death and Destruction", Amnesty International Publication, London, 2009, p. 27. Retrieved 1 October, 2009. <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/015/2009/en/8f299083-9a74-4853-860f-0563725e633a/mde150152009en.pdf>

Human Rights Watch, "Rain of Fire: Israel's Unlawful Use of White Phosphorous in Gaza," New York, 2009, p.1. Retrieved 5 October, 2009. <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/iopt0309webwcover.pdf>

161. *Israeli Defence Force*, "IDF Releases Information on Military Investigations," press release, 22 April, 2009. Retrieved, 4 October, 2009. <http://dover.idf.il/IDF/English/News/today/09/4/2201.htm>

The use of smoke obscurants had proved to be highly useful in cloaking IDF forces and obscuring the enemy lines of sight, an Israeli State report concluded. “At no time did IDF forces have the objective of inflicting any harm on the civilian population,”¹⁶²

A United National Humans Rights Council investigation headed by South African Judge Richard Goldstone found evidence that both Israel’s forces and Palestinian militants potentially committed serious war crimes and possibly crimes against humanity. The panel recommended that each side conduct an independent inquiry and that those responsible be brought to justice.¹⁶³ While the Goldstone report accepted that white phosphorous was not at that stage proscribed under international law, it found the Israeli armed forces were systematically reckless in determining its use in built up areas.¹⁶⁴ The Goldstone report believed that serious consideration should be given to banning the use of white phosphorous in built up areas.¹⁶⁵

162. *The operation in Gaza: Factual and Legal Aspects*, State of Israel, July, 2009, p.148. Retrieved 4 October, 2009.

<http://dover.idf.il/NR/rdonlyres/3C9DB977-3225-4BC2-AD81B4144D6A4C78/0/GazaOperation.pdf>

163. *UN Press Centre*, 15, September, 2009, “UN mission finds evidence of war crimes by both sides in Gaza conflict”, press release. Retrieved 2 December, 2010.

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=32057&Cr=palestin&Cr1>

164. *Human Rights in Palestine and Other Occupied Territories: Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict*, (the “Goldstone Report”), Human Rights Council, HRC/12/48, Advance edited version, 15 September, 2009, p.16. Retrieved 30 September, 2009.

http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/specialsession/9/docs/UNFFMGC_Report.pdf

165. *Ibid.*, pp.17 and 250.

The Goldstone Report has itself become the focus of intense controversy with the allegations being denied by both sides. The report was endorsed by the UNHRC on October 15, 2009, and was subsequently the subject of two UN General Assembly resolutions, passed by split votes, calling for independent or credible investigations into alleged war crimes to be carried out by Israel and Hamas.

CONCLUSION

Chapter Five has provided brief accounts of the conflicts and events with which this thesis is concerned. These accounts are intended to serve both as background and as objective reflections of the reality of these conflicts and events against which the multi-platform news media coverage of them can be compared. This approach conforms to that recommended by Ruigrok, de Ridder and Scholtern in their study of the coverage of the Bosnian War by Dutch newspapers. They accepted that reality can never be fully described. But they considered that a chronology can serve as an objective reflection of the war reality to which the news media coverage can be compared.¹⁶⁶

166. Ruigrok, de Ridder and Scholtern, in "Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers," p.167.

Chapter Six will set out and discuss the results of the quantitative analysis of the coverage of the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the Gaza conflict, the Haditha and Blackwater incidents and the white phosphorous use issue, as revealed by the digital archives of a selection of international multi-platform news outlets. The chapter looks first at the general numerical trends in the coverage by and between the news media outlets. Secondly, the chapter makes statistical comparisons of the coverage of the Blackwater, Haditha and white phosphorous events in terms of the criteria set out in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SIX

QUANTITATIVE FRAMING ANALYSIS: RESULTS &

DISCUSSION (Part One)

WAR COVERAGE AND TRENDS

More than 121,800 entries from the digital archives of the twelve selected news media outlets were included in the quantitative analysis of the coverage of the post- invasion Iraq and 2008/2009 Gaza conflict theatres, the Haditha and Blackwater affairs and the white phosphorous issue. The general monthly theatre conflict and incidents/issues statistics totalled 120,557 entries. In most cases the data was obtained using advanced search facilities provided by the outlets, but in some cases manual archive page by page counts were required. The framing criteria counts for selected months required closer examination of 1272 articles. In most cases it was possible to examine full articles, but in some cases, where the full article was not available, the assessment had to be made from the headline and summary information in the archive entry.

Chapter Six, which is concerned with the quantitative analysis is in two parts and will set out broadly and discuss the data generated by searches of the outlet archives. Part One deals with the general numerical data for the outlet conflict theatre and for incident coverage by month; Part Two, the data for incident/issue articles for selected months by outlet and framing criteria. The figures revealed in the Part Two analysis are relatively small, but significant within the context of these two complex conflicts and the focus on specific incidents.

The raw data on which discussion in this chapter are based is detailed in the appendices to this thesis: Appendix A for the general theatre and incident coverage by month data, Appendices B to D for the framing criteria data for various outlets by selected months. Chapter Seven will discuss the results of the qualitative analysis.

BREADTH AND DIVERSITY

Analysis of the quantitative data from the digital archives of the selected international, multi-platform news media outlets revealed a major degree of diversity within and across the outlets and over time in their coverage of the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflict theatres, the Haditha and Blackwater shooting affairs and the white phosphorous issue.

A broad view of the numerical data showed similarities in coverage which generally followed the basic developments for both conflicts and incidents/issues. But closer analysis of the data showed many significant variations in terms of numerical frequency, emphasis and consistency of the coverage. In addition, the data for the framing criteria used to analyse the coverage of the incidents and issues over the selected months by the various outlets also demonstrated substantial variation in aspect focus or criterion emphasis.

THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE

IRAQ CONFLICT THEATRE COVERAGE

The monthly numerical data for the Iraq conflict theatre from the main archives of the nine selected news outlets showed that over the five years under review, the entries of most rose from November, 2005, to their highest levels in late 2006 through to late 2007 or early 2008. Coverage entries then dropped off in most cases to lower levels which were maintained through to November, 2010. This is consistent with the generally acknowledged course of the conflict which saw post-invasion sectarian violence, insurgency and civil war extending into 2008 before finally declining.

The major established Western outlets in the selection provided the most prolific coverage as indicated by their news media's digital archives. The UK *Guardian* and its associated publications archived 27,322 articles over the whole period, averaging 448 a month, while the *New York Times*' (*NYT*) overall total was lower at 24,606, with a monthly average of 403. However while the *Guardian*'s archives showed a peak of 786 in May, 2007, the *NYT*'s rose to 822 in January, 2007.

But the coverage by the Middle Eastern news media outlets, *Press TV* and *Al Jazeera* and by the widely respected *Arab News*, and major, established independent US news media outlet, *Democracy Now*, while not as prolific was nevertheless substantial. Data for *Press TV* on Iraq was incomplete, with monthly figures being available back to February, 2007. Nevertheless, its coverage was very high, at 14,779 overall and a monthly average of 321 for the available 46 months, and a peak rivalling the Western publications at 745 in October, 2007. *Al Jazeera*'s total of 7706 for the full period produced an average of 126 stories and a peak of 235 in January, 2007; while *Democracy Now*'s Iraq archive showed a total of 4280, an average of 70, and a peak of 147 in January, 2007. Archive data for Iraq by *Arab News* was available for this thesis to February, 2010, and over the 52 months entries totalled 5839 for an average of 112, and peaking in December, 2005, at 213. The archived coverage of the international weblog network site of *Global Voices* and special interest non-government organisations' (NGOs), *Amnesty International* and *Human Right Watch*, was numerically more limited but also significant. *Global Voices* led the totals with 1259 blog posts¹⁶⁷, giving a monthly average of 20.6, and a peak of 55 in April, 2007; *Amnesty International* provided a total of 789 with a peak of 32 in May, 2006; *Human Rights Watch* a total of 809 and a peak of 35 in November, 2006; with both *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch*, averaging approximately 13 entries a month.

167. It should be noted here that *Global Voices* main archive shows blog post entries which are essentially reviews by regional editors of the activity usually of several local bloggers in relation to issues and events. Its figures in this thesis can therefore only be regarded as indicative or representative and do not reveal the full extent of blogger activity over the conflicts and issues in this thesis.

HADITHA COVERAGE

Numerical data generally reflected the delay in the “breaking” of the Haditha affair of November, 2005, in most of the selected new media outlets for several months until May and June, 2006, following revelations in *Time* magazine. Coverage in most of the outlets remained high until the end of 2007, reaching mini-peaks that followed each new development, before fading with the progressive failure of charges against a number of US Marines allegedly involved. Although it was a major issue for a period (one trial is still pending, and it is still a lingering emblem of the Iraq war) it does not appear from the statistics to have had the lasting impact predicted by some who earlier saw it as another war-defining My Lai or Abu Ghraib issue. This can be explained in part by the fact that while it was a significant factor in producing a major shift in the US military’s strategy to meet the changing character of the Iraq conflict and produced some diplomatic friction between the US and Iraq and political ripples in the US, it was largely contained within the US military justice system. With the legal processes largely taking place in the US this also meant that much of the news was sourced from there.

The *New York Times*’ archive showed the most substantial coverage of the Haditha incident with a total of 215 entries over the 61 months, with a peak of 46 in June, 2006, and an overall average of 3.5 a month; with the *Guardian* closest with a total of 166, peak of 32, also in June, 2006, and overall average of 2.7 a month.

Table 2: Haditha and theatre entries by outlet

| News media outlet | Total Iraq theatre coverage | Total Haditha entries | Monthly peak | Haditha coverage as % of theatre coverage | Peak month coverage as % of theatre coverage | Consistency of coverage months out of 61 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---|--|--|
| New York Times | 24,606 | 215 | 46 | 0.9% | 8.7 % | 42 |
| Guardian | 27,322 | 166 | 32 | 0.6% | 6% | 43 |
| Al Jazeera | 7706 | 74 | 14 | 1.0 | 10.4 | 29 |
| Arab News* | 5839 | 45 | 21 | 0.8 | 14.8 | 15 |
| Press TV** | 14,779 | 54 | 8 | 0.4 | N/A | 23 |
| Democracy Now | 4280 | 56 | 14 | 1.3 | 12.8 | 19 |
| Global Voices | 1259 | 5 | 4 | 0.4 | 13.3 | 2 |
| Amnesty International | 789 | 5 | 2 | 0.6 | 11.8 | 4 |
| Human Rights Watch | 809 | - | - | - | - | - |

*52 months of data only available

**46 months of data from February, 2007, only available

Al Jazeera, emerged though as giving the most substantial coverage of the incident among Middle Eastern and US independent news media, with 74 entries over the full period peaking at 14 in June, 2006. Total coverage by *Democracy Now* was 56, also including a peak of 14 in June, 2006, Iran's *Press TV* totalled 54 stories for the limited months for which data was available, peaking at eight in May, 2007, and *Arab News* a total of 45, with a peak of 21 in June, 2006. This group averaged between 0.9 and 1.2 a month. *Global Voices* and *Amnesty International's* archives showed five entries each, averaging .08 a month, and the former peaking at four, the latter at two in the same month, June 2006.

HADITHA EMPHASIS

The differences in coverage between outlets were accentuated and rankings reordered however when the key issue of the emphases placed on the affair by the various outlets was considered - by comparing their overall coverage of Haditha with their overall theatre coverage.

On this measure the US-based *Democracy Now* showed up as the most focussed overall on the Haditha affair, its incident coverage representing 1.3 per cent of its theatre coverage. *Al Jazeera* also focused strongly on Haditha, its incident coverage being one per cent of theatre coverage. The *New York Times's* Haditha coverage was 0.9 per cent of theatre coverage; *Arab News*, on its limited months, 0.8 per cent; the *Guardian* and *Amnesty International* 0.6 per cent; and *Global Voices* and *Press TV*, the latter over its limited months, 0.4.

The early importance which the various outlets attached to the incident, once it was exposed, also varied, as indicated by the relationship of their archived June, 2006, coverage with their theatre coverage for that month. *Arab News* emerged as the most focussed at 14.8 per cent, with the blogger and citizen journalist network *Global Voices* at 13.3 per cent, *Democracy Now* 12.8 per cent, *Amnesty International*, 11.8 per cent and *Al Jazeera*, 10.4 per cent. The *New York Times* and *Guardian* archives showed less initial emphasis, at 8.7 and 6 per cent respectively for that month.

However, the *New York Times* and *Guardian* maintained more consistent scrutiny than the other media outlets on the affair over the whole period under review. The archive of the former – with most of the overall developments taking place in the US – returned entries for Haditha for 42 months out of 61; the latter for 43 months. US-based *Democracy Now* returned Haditha entries for 19 months.

Arab news media outlets' archives showed less frequent coverage, but they nevertheless maintained a close, continual interest. *Al Jazeera* 's archive returned Haditha entries 29 times, and, for their more limited overall coverage periods *Press TV*'s archive 23 times out of 46, *Arab News* 15 out of 52. *Amnesty International* returned entries in four months and *Global Voices* twice.

BLACKWATER COVERAGE

The very public Blackwater shooting incident in Baghdad in September 2007, attracted immediate and widespread international news coverage. This is reflected in the sharp rise in the selected outlet's archive entries for Blackwater from September to peaks in October. While this coverage generally fell sharply through November and December, 2007, it settled at a lower level, with minor peaks occurring as developments in the case and flow-on effects occurred. Coverage continued at reduced levels until a major sub-peak in January, 2010, which coincided with the dismissal by a US court of criminal charges against the private security contractors allegedly involved. However such has been the news media interest in the Blackwater affair and its flow-on effects that coverage has continued at pre-January, 2010, levels throughout the year of writing. This interest can be attributed to the view that the Blackwater shootings internationally exposed the full extent and implications of the use of private security contractors in conflicts in Iraq and elsewhere. Domestically, it raised controversy in the US over the increasing level of general outsourcing of government functions. In the short term it raised the issue of which government department (State Department or Department of Defense) should have control over the Blackwater operatives in Iraq. In the longer term it sparked moves to extend existing law which gave the US jurisdiction over private security contractors working overseas for the US Department of Defense, to those working for other government agencies like State. It also created intense friction between the US and Iraqi governments concerning the security agreement between them, Iraqi sovereignty and the right to prosecute US personnel in Iraqi courts for criminal acts.

Table 3: Blackwater and theatre entries from September, 2007, by outlet.

| News media outlets | Total Iraq theatre coverage | Total Blackwater entries | Monthly peak for October, 2007 | January. 2010 sub-peak | Blackwater coverage as % of theatre coverage | Archived incident coverage as % of theatre coverage for October 2007 | Consistency of coverage months out of 39 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|--|
| New York Times | 12,000 | 387 | 80 | 22 | 3.2 | 14.1 | 38 |
| Guardian | 14,861 | 226 | 30 | 12 | 1.5 | 4.6 | 38 |
| Al Jazeera | 4181 | 104 | 23 | 10 | 2.48 | 11.9 | 28 |
| Arab News* | 2438 | 58 | 12 | 8 | 2.38 | 8.8 (but 10 % for September) | 18 |
| Press TV | 11,157 | 237 | 44 | 22 | 2.1 | 5.9 | 37 |
| Democracy Now | 2081 | 263 | 44 | 15 | 12.6 | 35.8 | 38 |
| Global Voices | 578 | 4 | 2 | - | 0.7 | 5.3 | 3 |
| Amnesty International | 458 | 4 | 2 (for Nov. 2008) | - | 0.87 | 25 (for November, 2008) | 3 |
| Human Right Watch | 460 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1.3 | 22.2 | 5 |

*Data for 30 months only available.

These high profile aspects and the fact that the criminal proceedings against the guards and civil proceedings against Blackwater were taken in US courts also ensured that US news media coverage would be numerically dominant.

Numerically, the *New York Times* led the archived coverage of the Blackwater affair with an overall total of 387 articles between September, 2007, and November, 2010, for an average of 10 entries a month, with its peak of 80 in October, 2007, and a January, 2010 sub-peak, of 22. The widespread news media interest in the affair and the Blackwater phenomenon is further indicated by the fact that it was an international mix of *Democracy Now*, Iran's *Press TV* and the *Guardian* that were closest to, if some distance from, the *New York Times* in numerical coverage. *Democracy Now's* archive showed 263 articles, for an average of 6.7 articles a month over the full period, and an October, 2007, peak of 44 and the January, 2010, sub-peak of 15; *Press TV's* archive returned 237 stories, averaging 6.1 a month and also peaking at 44, followed by the sub-peak, like the *New York Times*, of 22; while the *Guardian* displayed 226 stories for an average of 5.8, a peak of 30, and sub-peak of 12.

The Arab news media outlets, *Al Jazeera* and *Arab News*, also followed the affair with modest, but still significant coverage, the former archiving 104 stories for an average of 2.7, October, 2007, peak of 23 and the January, 2010, sub-peak of 10. For 30 months from September, 2007, for which data relating to *Arab News* was available at the time of analysis, the outlet archived 58 stories, giving an average of 1.2 a month, peaks of 12 for both September and October, 2007, and a sub-peak for January, 2010, of eight.

The specialist NGOs' coverage was limited. *Human Rights Watch*'s archive showed six entries, for an average of 0.15 a month and a peak of two in October, 2007, and one for the sub-peak month of January, 2010; *Amnesty International* four entries for an average of 0.1 and two entries in its peak month of November, 2008. Also limited were the blog post reviews archived by *Global Voices* for Blackwater, four overall with two in the peak month of October, 2007.

BLACKWATER EMPHASIS

A different ranking of outlets again emerges though from a consideration of the emphasis the outlets placed on the affair – determined by setting their archived overall Blackwater coverage against their overall Iraq coverage - and their Blackwater coverage for peak months against their Iraq coverage for those same months.

This showed the major US independent outlet, *Democracy Now* placed the greatest emphasis on the Blackwater affair, with its overall coverage representing 12.6 per cent of its overall Iraq coverage. The *New York Times* was the next most focussed on the affair with an overall Blackwater coverage of 3.2 per cent of overall Iraq coverage. The Middle Eastern media, *Al Jazeera*, *Arab News* and *Press TV* also placed considerable emphasis on the affair, with their overall Blackwater coverage 2.48 per cent, 2.38 per cent and 2.1 per cent of Iraq coverage respectively. The *Guardian*'s overall Blackwater coverage was 1.5 per cent, *Human Rights Watch*'s 1.3 per cent (on six Blackwater entries), *Amnesty International* 0.87 per cent, and *Global Voices* 0.7 per cent.

Some change in the rankings was also seen when the emphasis on the Blackwater affair for the key month of October, 2007, was considered. *Democracy Now* also lead the way with its October, 2007, peak Blackwater coverage 35.8 per cent of its Iraq coverage for that month, followed well back by the *New York Times* with 14.1 per cent, *Al Jazeera* at 11.9 per cent, *Arab News* 8.8 per cent (but also 10 per cent for the September), *Press TV* 5.9 per cent, *Global Voices* 5.3 per cent (but also 5.6 per cent in August, 2008), and *Guardian* 4.6 per cent.

Democracy Now also maintained its leading emphasis on Blackwater, with its January, 2010, key month coverage of 53.6 per cent of its Iraq coverage for that month, ahead of *Press TV* at 12.9 per cent, followed by and *New York Times* and *Arab News* 10.5 per cent each, *Al Jazeera* 9.5 per cent, *Human Rights Watch* 2.9 per cent (one entry) and the *Guardian* 2.7 per cent.

Rankings again changed when consistency of coverage was measured by considering positive monthly returns from archive searches for Blackwater. These showed UK *Guardian* and its associated publications were up with *Democracy Now* and the *New York Times* for consistency with returned entries for Blackwater for 38 of the 39 months under review, while *Press TV* returned entries 37 times. The Arab news media were less consistent but still gave it significant continual cover, with *Al Jazeera*, returning entries for 28 of those months and *Arab News*, on available data, 18 times out of 30 months. *Human Rights Watch* returned Blackwater entries in five months, and *Global Voices* and *Amnesty International* three months.

GAZA CONFLICT THEATRE COVERAGE

Broad trends emerged from the archived coverage of twelve selected news media outlets of the brief outburst of violence of late December , 2008-early January, 2009, which was the Gaza War, and its long two-year tail of consequences, including fierce controversy over the use of white phosphorous by the Israeli Defence Force on the battlefield.

The events during the Gaza war and their flow-on effects received extensive international coverage. Overall, various allegations of breaches of the laws of war, human rights breaches and war crimes were levelled at Israel by various groups and nations in the wake of the fighting. There was considerable international diplomatic friction with attempts being made to sanction Israel through international forums such as the United Nations. Apart from diplomatic moves there were also attempts to prosecute Israeli Government ministers and military officers over the conflict through international courts and under domestic laws in various nations. Israel denied the allegations, including those in relation to the IDF's use of white phosphorous. It contended that the device's use as an obscurant was not barred by international law. In turn, Israel alleged breaches of the laws of war, human rights breaches and war crimes by its principal opponent in the fighting, Palestinian militants (who, in turn, also denied the allegations).

Table 4: White phosphorous and theatre entries by outlet.

| News media outlet | Total Gaza theatre coverage | Total white phosphorous entries | Monthly peak for January 2009 | White phosphorous coverage as % of theatre coverage | Jan'09 Peak month coverage of % of theatre coverage | Consistency of coverage months out of 24 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Ma'an News Agency | 8869 | 68 | 14 | 0.8 | 2.0 | 19 |
| Jerusalem Post* | 5531 | 34 | 9 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 15 |
| Press TV | 5842 | 202 | 63 | 3.5 | 3.8 | 21 |
| Guardian | 2567 | 75 | 25 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 17 |
| Al Jazeera | 2068 | 45 | 20 | 2.2 | 5.1 | 11 |
| New York Times | 1423 | 46 | 8 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 14 |
| Arab News** | 1104 | 38 | 11 | 1.6 | 3.8 | 10 |
| Democracy Now | 518 | 29 | 11 | 5.6 | 9.6 | 14 |
| Electronic Intifada | 1140 | 51 | 17 | 4.5 | 10.2 | 14 |
| Global Voices | 469 | 6 | 5 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 2 |
| Amnesty International | 799 | 47 | 18 | 5.9 | 25.4 | 14 |
| Human Rights Watch | 210 | 55 | 8 | 26.2 | 33.3 | 15 |

**Comparable data for 21 months only available

**Comparable data for 15 months only available

The Gaza theatre news coverage by the selected news media outlets in this study, as reflected in their digital archives, generally showed a quick rise from December, 2008, to January, 2009, peaks and then sliding through February and March, 2009 to relatively modest and consistent levels through to September. Theatre coverage hit a significant sub-peak through September and October, consistent with the release of, and controversy surrounding, the report of the fact-finding commission on the Gaza conflict established by the United National Human Rights Council (commonly referred to as the Goldstone Report). Coverage then returned to the lesser level again until the *Marvi Marmara* Gaza flotilla ship boarding incident in June, 2010,¹⁶⁸ created another major spike, although less than that of January, 2009. Theatre coverage returned again then to pre-June levels through to November, 2010. Although the Gaza flotilla data complicated analysis, this period was included in this study because the long-running white phosphorous issue persisted through it.

Middle Eastern news media dominated the numerical coverage of the Gaza conflict theatre. The Palestine - based independent online news outlet, *Ma'an News Agency*, led the digitally archived theatre coverage with a total of 8869 entries for the two-year period under review with a January, 2009, peak of 711 and an average of 369.5 a month. *Jerusalem Posts'* theatre coverage totalled 5531 for the 22 months to September, 2010, with a peak of 766 and an average of 251.4, while *Press TV* totalled 5842, peaking at 1663 and averaging 243.4.

168. Nine activists were reportedly killed in a clash which broke out on 31 May, 2010, as Israeli commandos boarded the *MV Marvi Marmara*, a vessel that was part of the an aid convoy attempting to break an Israeli blockade of the Gaza strip. A number of Israeli commandos and others aboard the ship were wounded. Each side has claimed the other started the fighting and the facts are in dispute. The incident has been the subject of a fierce international controversy. It is also the subject of a United Nations inquiry set up under the chairmanship of an eminent NZ jurist and former Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Palmer.

The Arab news media outlets, *Al Jazeera* and *Arab News*, also rivalled and in some aspects exceeded the major Western outlets' archived coverage. The *Guardian* totalled 2567 stories overall, averaging 107 stories a month, with a January, 2009, peak of 740, *Al Jazeera* a total of 2068, averaging 86.2 a month and a peak of 393. The *New York Times*, and, on available data to February, 2010, *Arab News*, provided more modest levels of coverage but still showed totals of 1423 and 1104, respectively, averages of 59.3 and 73.6 and peaks of 281 and 288. The independent US-based news media outlet *Democracy Now's* archive showed a lesser total of 518 stories, averaging 21.6 a month but peaking at 115.

However a feature of this conflict was the rise in new news media and specialist NGOs' news media activity. Apart from the major contribution of *Ma'an News Agency's* online operation, the archive of *Electronic Intifada*, a website offering news and information on the regional turmoil from a Palestinian perspective, showed a theatre total of 1140 articles, averaging 47.5 a month and a January, 2009, peak of 166; *Global Voices* blog post reviews totalled 469, averaging 19.5, with a peak of 158; *Amnesty International's* archive totalled 799 entries, averaging 33.3 and peaking at 71; while *Human Rights Watch* articles totalled 210, with an average of 8.75 and a peak of 24.

WHITE PHOSPHOROUS COVERAGE

The white phosphorous issue emerged in the Gaza conflict with a significant peak in coverage by most news media outlets in January, 2009, which can be associated with the combat phase. But, unlike the coverage for the other incidents considered in this study the coverage did not subside. The coverage of most outlets arising out of the Israeli Defence Force's use of white phosphorous obscurant devices, displayed substantial and, in the case of some news media outlets, even greater, later coverage peaks. These can be associated with the continued potency and visibility of the white phosphorous issue as a key element in the continuation of the conflict in non-combat terms through different national and international forums, particularly the United Nations and domestic courts, over the rest of 2009 and for much of 2010. Once again a significant element in maintaining the higher levels of coverage was the controversial September, 2009, Goldstone Report of the fact-finding commission on the Gaza conflict established by the United Nations Human Rights Council.

Iran's *Press TV* led the archived coverage with a total coverage of 202 items, averaging 8.4 stories a month, and peaking at 63 in January, 2009, producing significant secondary peaks of 19 in April, 2009, and 22 in the December. (It needs to be acknowledged here that its white phosphorous coverage did include a significant number of duplicated stories, but not enough to change its overall position.) The UK *Guardian* came closest, but well behind, with a total of 75 stories, averaging 3.1 a month and including a peak of 25; and *Ma'an News Agency*, with a total of 68 entries, an average of 2.8 and a peak of 14.

On this issue, specialist NGOs and the new news media website *Electronic intifada* joined some of the major outlets whose archives displayed more modest, but still significant, coverage. *Human Rights Watch* showed a total of 55 entries (again it should be noted, with some language translation-related duplications, especially in relation to its *Rain of Fire* report on white phosphorous use in the Gaza conflict), an average of 2.3 and a peak of eight; *Electronic Intifada*, a total of 51 articles, an average of 2.1 and a peak of 17; and *Amnesty International*, with a total of 47, peak of 18 and average of two. Their archived coverage appeared similar to that of the *New York Times* with a total of 46, an average of 1.9 and a peak of eight, and *Al Jazeera*, with a total of 45, average of two and a peak of 20.

More limited coverage came from *Arab News*, with a total of 38 stories, an average of 2.5 and a peak of 11, calculated for the 15 months to February, 2010, for which data was available; while *Jerusalem Post's* archive showed 34 entries for 21 months of available comparable data, with an average of 1.5 and a peak of nine; and *Democracy Now*, 29 entries, averaging 1.2 and a peak of 11. *Global Voices* coverage, calculated on regional blog reviews, was six with a peak of five and an average of 0.25.

WHITE PHOSPHOROUS EMPHASIS

Strikingly different rankings emerged however when comparisons were made of the emphases the various outlets placed on the white phosphorous issue by comparing their overall coverage of the white phosphorous issue with their overall Gaza theatre coverage. Similar comparisons are made specifically for the combat month of January, 2009, and high count months generally were also considered. The rise of the specialist NGOs and internet-based news media was underscored along with a focus peak for *Democracy Now*. *Human Rights Watch* archived coverage represented a total of 26.2 per cent of its Gaza coverage overall and 33.3 per cent of the January, 2009, coverage. *Human Rights Watch* also maintained its focus on the issue throughout the two years under review with its monthly white phosphorous coverage representing between 10 per cent and 100 per cent of its Gaza coverage in fourteen more months. *Amnesty International's* total archived coverage of the white phosphorous issue was 5.9 per cent of its overall Gaza coverage, reaching 25.4 per cent for January, 2009, and ranging between 5 and 100 per cent per cent in ten more months.

For *Democracy Now*, white phosphorous use was also a significant focus at 5.6 per cent of its Gaza coverage overall, an early interest of 9.6 per cent in January, 2009, and ranged between 5 per cent and 40 per cent ten more times on a monthly basis.

Electronic Intifada's overall white phosphorous coverage was 4.5 per cent of its overall Gaza coverage, 10.2 per cent in January, 2009, and ranged between 5.9 and 10.3 per cent seven more times.

By comparison, *New York Times* and *Press TV*'s overall archived white phosphorous coverage was modest, at 3.2 per cent and 3.5 per cent of their Gaza coverage. But they also placed substantial emphasis on it at critical points. After displaying only a 2.8 per cent emphasis on it in January, 2009, the *New York Times* ranged between 4.0 and 23.3 per cent in nine further months; *Press TV*, after returning 3.8 per cent in the January, ranged between 4.2 per cent and 18 per cent in seven more months.

The UK *Guardian*, and the Arab news media *Al Jazeera*, and *Arab News*' overall emphasis on the issue was also modest, at 2.9, 2.2, and 1.6 per cent of their Gaza coverage respectively, with their January, 2009, coverage representing 3.4, 5.1, and 3.8 per cent. But the *Guardian*'s emphasis was between 4.2 and 7.2 per cent in six later months; *Al Jazeera*'s between 5.6 per cent and 11.1 per cent in three later months; and *Arab News* between 5.8 per cent and 10.3 per cent in four later months. *Jerusalem Post* and *Ma'an News Agency*'s overall emphasis on white phosphorous, according to their archives, was limited at 0.6 and 0.8 per cent respectively. *Jerusalem Post*'s monthly emphasis, from 1.2 per cent in January, 2009, peaked at two per cent in July, while *Ma'an News Agency*, from a two per cent emphasis in January moved to 2.3 per cent in April. *Global Voices*'s emphasis in January, 2009, was limited to 1.3 per cent overall, with a January peak of 3.2 per cent, although it later reached 14.3 per cent with one blog post in November, 2009.

However both *Jerusalem Post* and online news agency *Ma'an News* emerged high in relation to consistency of coverage. *Press TV* led with entries for white phosphorous for 21 months out of 24, but *Ma'an News Agency* returned positive results for 19 months, and *Jerusalem Post* for 15 months out of 21 to August, 2010. They were rivalled by the *Guardian* with positive results for 17 months and *Human Rights Watch* for 15 months, while *Amnesty International*, *Democracy Now*, *Electronic Intifada* and *New York Times* returned entries 14 times out of 24 and *Al Jazeera* 11 times. *Arab News* returned positive results 10 times out of 15 months for which data was available, while *Global Voices* returned positive results twice.

CONCLUSION

Beneath similarities in the broad numerical trends in the news media coverage by the selected international news media outlets as they followed the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflicts and the associated Haditha and Blackwater affairs and white phosphorous issue, the numerical data revealed substantial variation within and between the outlets in terms of frequency, emphasis and consistency of coverage.

In general, the data from the selected outlets' digital archives showed the substantial strength of the coverage of these conflicts and events by the rising Middle Eastern news media against the traditionally dominant Western news media organisations. But even more striking from the data was the increasing contribution of internet based-news media outlets; and the impact of the news activities of specialist non-government organisations (NGOs) and of independent news media on matters within their remits.

The archived coverage of the major Western news media outlets, UK *Guardian* and *New York Times* and Iranian *Press TV* of the Iraq theatre showed as the most prolific; with lesser, but still substantial, coverage from the US-based independent *Democracy Now* and the Arab media. The *New York Times* provided the most substantial coverage of the Haditha affair with the *Guardian* further back followed by a group including the Middle Eastern news media outlets and *Democracy Now*. But *Democracy Now* and *Al Jazeera* placed the greatest emphasis on the affair when the outlets' overall coverage was compared with their overall Iraq coverage. While the Western "majors" provided the most consistent coverage on frequency of monthly positive search returns, *Democracy Now* and Middle East media kept a close, continual watch on the affair.

The *New York Times* led the archived coverage of the Blackwater affair with *Democracy Now*, the *Guardian* and *Press TV* closest. While the Arab news media outlets' coverage was less prolific, they kept a continual watch on this affair too. The *New York Times*, *Democracy Now*, the *Guardian* and *Press TV* were the most consistent with their coverage followed by the Arab outlets. However it was *Democracy Now* which placed the greatest emphasis on the affair. Lesser, but nevertheless, substantial emphasis came from *New York Times* and *Press TV* followed by the Arab outlets and then the *Guardian*.

Middle Eastern news media dominated the numerical coverage of the Gaza theatre, with Palestinian *Ma'an News Agency* leading and, with *Jerusalem Post and Press TV*, the most prolific. The *Guardian* led the rest with less but still substantial coverage from Arab media and *NYT*, followed by *Democracy Now*. However the signal development here was the strong coverage from the internet-based media *Ma'an New Agency*, *Electronic Intifada*, *Global Voices* and from the specialist NGOs.

Press TV led the archived coverage of the white phosphorous issue, with the *Guardian* and *Ma'an News* further back but closest. However the specialist NGOs and *Electronic Intifada* came through with strong coverage, rivalling the *New York Times* and *Al Jazeera*, and exceeded that of *Jerusalem Post* and *Democracy Now*. *Press TV* was the most consistent in its coverage of the issue with specialist NGOs and internet-based news outlets high on this order and among the more traditional outlets. But the most striking aspect was the leading emphasis on the issue by *Human Rights Watch*, while it was a major emphasis for *Democracy Now* and *Amnesty International*. They led the *New York Times* and *Press TV* for emphasis followed by the *Guardian* and the *Arab News* outlets and then *Jerusalem Post* and *Ma'an News Agency*.

In the second part of this chapter, data extracted from the same field was examined to see what variation existed in the framing of the coverage of these events by the selected outlets, using the chosen set of criteria set out in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SIX

QUANTITATIVE FRAMING ANALYSIS: RESULTS & DISCUSSION (Part Two)

FRAMING THE EVENT COVERAGE

Broad trends emerged from an analysis, by a set of relevant framing criteria, of the archived coverage over specific high-interest months by the selected news media outlets of the Haditha and Blackwater affairs arising from the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue arising out of the 2009 Gaza conflict over specific high interest months. This showed that in general the Haditha affair was framed mainly as a military and legal matter; the Blackwater affair mainly as a legal matter with strong military and diplomatic themes; and the white phosphorous issue as a legal and civilian matter. But beyond those broad differences, the analysis showed major variations in the primary and secondary framing emphases and strong sub-themes both within and between the outlets and over time. This second part of Chapter Six will set out in some detail and discuss the data for incident/issue articles by framing criteria for outlets over the reviewed months. The criteria used for this thesis are defined in the methods section, Chapter Four, and the raw data on which this analysis is based are to be found in Appendices B to D.

FRAMING HADITHA

The emphases on the framing of articles on the Haditha affair from their military or legal aspects by the outlets over the six selected months was apparent. But the two periods selected for review showed a distinctive split in emphasis with military framing dominating the first period, from May to July, 2006, with the legal and civilian aspects as strong secondary themes, followed by the political and diplomatic aspects. It was the legal aspect which represented the primary framing theme in the second period, from April to June, 2007, followed by a strong secondary military emphasis.

Overall, the numerical coverage of the Haditha affair during the two selected periods – May to July, 2006, and April to June, 2007 - was dominated by the major Western outlets, *New York Times*, with 105 stories, and UK *Guardian* 55. The coverage of the other outlets was lower but in many cases still significant, particularly in the cases of the US-based independent outlet, *Democracy Now* (24 stories), and the Middle East outlets *Al Jazeera* (34 stories), *Arab News* (31), and, on available second period data, Iran's *Press TV* (13).

But examining in more detail the framing of relevant articles on the Haditha affair available through the outlets' archives produced a vastly different picture of rankings and emphases in the framing of the Haditha affair. During the first period, May to July, 2006, the framing emphasis on the Haditha coverage by a majority of the outlets was primarily military. These were *Al Jazeera* for which the framing of the incident as a military matter was 37.5 per cent (9 stories) of its Haditha coverage, the UK *Guardian*, 34 per cent (16), *Democracy Now* 30 per cent (6) and *Arab News* 27.6 per cent (8). The military aspect was also the major secondary framing approach of the *New York Times* to the Haditha affair at 18.7 per cent (14).

However the military emphasis gave way to the legal aspect in the second time period, April to June, 2007, remaining the secondary framing focus for the *New York Times* at 13.3 per cent (4), *Al Jazeera* 10 per cent (1) and *Press TV* 7.7 per cent (1).

The legal emphasis emerged during the early period as the major framing perspective of the *New York Times* at 22.7 per cent (17 stories), and second strongest framing emphasis for the *Guardian* with 23.4 per cent (11 stories). During the later time period, from April to June, 2007, legal framing of the affair was dominant. It remained the main approach of the *New York Times* in 56.7 per cent (17 stories) of its Haditha coverage. But the *NYT* was joined in its focus on legal framing by *Democracy Now* which showed a 75 per cent (3) focus on legal framing for this period, *Al Jazeera* 60 per cent (6), and *Press TV* 53.8 per cent (7), while the legal aspect remained the major secondary framing focus of the *Guardian* at 25 per cent (2).

Overall, the framing criteria data showed the greatest emphasis was placed by these outlets on the legal and military framing of the Haditha affair during these two periods combined. For the *New York Times* 32.4 per cent (34 stories) of its total Haditha select-months coverage was framed from the legal aspect as its major emphasis. Legal framing was the primary focus for *Press TV* on its second period figures given that those for its first period were unavailable; and was the primary emphasis for *Democracy Now*, with 25 per cent (6) a figure shared with its military focus. The legal aspect was the secondary framing approach overall of *Al Jazeera* at 26.5 per cent (9) and the *Guardian* 23.6 per cent (13).

Al Jazeera's framing emphasis on its Haditha coverage overall was primarily military at 29.4 per cent (10 stories), as was the *Guardian's* at 29.1 per cent (16), *Arab News* at 25.8 per cent (8) and for *Democracy Now* military framing was 25 per cent (6), equal to its legal focus. The military aspect was overall the second strongest framing approach of the *New York Times* at 17.1 per cent (18), *Democracy Now* 25 per cent (6) and *Press TV* 7.7 per cent (1).

Although not primary, framing of stories as civilian matters during the first period was strongest among the Arab and internet-based news media. The civilian focus was the secondary framing theme of *Global Voices* at 25 per cent (1), *Arab News* at 20.7 per cent (6) and *Al Jazeera* 16.7 per cent (4). It was fourth on the criteria rankings for *Democracy Now* at 15 per cent (3). Proportionately, the major Western outlets' archived stories showed a lesser emphasis, with seven stories framed as civilian by the *New York Times* in this period, representing 9.3 per cent of its Haditha coverage, and the *Guardian's* four stories 8.5 per cent.

The emphasis on the framing of the Haditha affair as a political and diplomatic issue was modest overall, mainly confined to the first period between May and July, 2006. The strongest emphasis on political framing in that period was shown by the independent US-based outlet *Democracy Now* at 20 per cent of its Haditha coverage (4); *Al Jazeera* 12.5 per cent (3); the *New York Times* at 9.3 per cent (7) and the *Guardian* 8.5 per cent (4). The *Guardian* moved its total with a story in the second period for an overall political focus of 9.1 per cent. Diplomatic framing also involved mostly stories in the first period. *Amnesty International* 's framing focus was 33.3 per cent (1) of its Haditha coverage, figures it shared with its legal and military framing emphases; with *Al Jazeera* at 8.8 per cent (3), *Democracy Now* 10 per cent (2), *Arab News* 6.9 (2), *New York Times* 5.3 per cent (4), and the *Guardian* at 2.1 per cent (1). The *Guardian*'s diplomatic framing lifted to 3.7 per cent of its total coverage of two stories over the full six months reviewed.

FRAMING BLACKWATER

The Blackwater affair was mainly framed as a military issue during the initial review period from September to November, 2007, with a strong secondary diplomatic aspect. But through the later months of January and December, 2008, and January, 2010, the affair was framed mainly as a legal issue with a diminished but still significant diplomatic focus. Overall, the Blackwater affair was framed most strongly as a legal matter but with strong secondary military and diplomatic themes.

Numerically, the Blackwater affair, arising from the Nisour Square shooting of Iraqi civilians by civilian security contractors, was an immediate and major news story for the Western and Middle Eastern news media outlets. For the periods under criteria review the *New York Times*' digital archive showed 190 articles, *Democracy Now* 105, Iran's *Press TV* 90, *Guardian* 86, *Al Jazeera* 57 and *Arab News* 38.

During the first three-month period the Blackwater affair was framed most strongly as a military issue with stories dealing with the alleged actions of the guards, their duties and control and the structure, functions and scope of domestic and international operations of their parent organisation and similar organisations. For *Al Jazeera* during this period military framing represented an emphasis of 30.6 per cent (11 archived stories) of its Blackwater coverage, figures equal to its legal framing, the *Guardian* 24.2 per cent (15), *Democracy Now* 20.8 per cent (16), and *New York Times* 16.2 per cent (23).

The military aspect was a major secondary framing emphasis for both *Press TV* and *Arab News* - 20 per cent (13) and 28.6 per cent (8) - during this period. But for the Middle Eastern outlets and UK and US based news media the diplomatic aspect also was a substantial focus. It was the primary framing emphasis on the affair during the early period for *Press TV* with 43.1 per cent (28) of its coverage and *Arab News* 35.7 per cent (10). Diplomatic framing was a major secondary approach for the *Guardian* at 17.7 per cent (11), and was significant but lesser ranked framing for others, 16.9 per cent (13) for *Democracy Now*, 11.1 per cent (4) for *Al Jazeera* and 4.9 per cent (7) for the *New York Times*.

For both the US-based outlets *Democracy Now* and the *New York Times* the political aspect was their major secondary framing approach during this period, the former for 18.2 per cent (14) of its Blackwater coverage, the latter 11.3 per cent (16). *Human Rights Watch*'s political framing emphasis was 50 per cent (1 item) while that of the *Guardian* was 8.1 per cent (5 stories), *Press TV* 7.7 per cent (5) and *Arab News* 7.4 per cent (2). *Al Jazeera*'s political framing focus was 2.8 per cent (1).

But for *Al Jazeera* the legal aspect was its major early framing emphasis, with a focus equalling that for its military framing at 30.6 per cent (11 stories). The legal framing was also an early emphasis for several other outlets at this stage including the *New York Times*, 10.6 per cent (15), *Democracy Now* 14.3 per cent (11), *Press TV* 13.8 per cent (9), and the *Guardian* 11.3 per cent (7). Civilian framing of the affair was limited in this early time period with Middle Eastern and US independent outlets most focussed on it. *Arab News* applied it to 14.3 per cent (4 stories) of its archived coverage, *Democracy Now* 10.4 per cent (8) and *Press TV* and *New York Times*, 7.7 and 3.5 per cent (5 each) respectively, and the *Guardian*, 4.8 per cent (3).

However, coverage for the months of January and December, 2008 and January, 2010, showed a swing toward the legal framing aspect with diplomatic framing firming up its place as the next strongest approach. Legal framing was the dominant approach of the coverage over these months for *Arab News* with 60 per cent (6) of its coverage, *Al Jazeera* 52.4 per cent (11 stories), *Democracy Now* 39.3 per cent (11), *Guardian* 33.3 per cent (8), *Press TV* 32 per cent (8), and the *New York Times*, 27.1 per cent (13).

Diplomatic framing strengthened its position as the major secondary emphasis of *Arab News* at 30 per cent (3 stories), the *New York Times* 10.2 per cent (5), *Press TV* 16 per cent (4) and *Al Jazeera* 14.3 per cent (3), while it was lesser ranked but significant for the *Guardian* 8.3 per cent (2) and *Democracy Now* 3.6 per cent (1).

Overall, the framing criteria data for the selected months showed that the greatest emphasis was placed on the legal aspect of the archived coverage of the outlets, while the diplomatic and military framing emphases occupied strong secondary positions among the outlets.

For *Al Jazeera* 38.6 per cent (22 stories) of its total Blackwater coverage was framed from the legal perspective. This was also the major framing approach for *Human Rights Watch*, 33.3 per cent (1), *Democracy Now* 20.9 per cent (22) and the *New York Times* 14.7 per cent (28). It was also the strongest second framing emphasis of *Press TV* 18.9 per cent (17) and the *Guardian* 17.4 per cent (15), and of third-ranked significance for *Arab News* 15.8 per cent (6).

Military framing was, overall, the primary emphasis of the *Guardian* with 23.3 per cent (20 stories), followed, as their main second framing approach, by *New York Times* 12.6 per cent (24), *Al Jazeera* 21 per cent (12), *Arab News* 21 per cent (8) and *Democracy Now* 17.1 per cent (18). For *Press TV* military framing was a strong third-ranked approach at 15.6 per cent (14).

Overall, the diplomatic framing of the Blackwater affair was strongest among the Middle East media outlets, *Press TV* with 36.4 per cent (32 stories), *Arab News* 34.2 per cent (13) and *Al Jazeera* 12.3 per cent (7). Western-based, established news media showed less emphasis, the *Guardian* framing 15.1 per cent of its coverage (13 stories) diplomatic, *Democracy Now* 13.3 per cent (14) and *New York Times* 6.3 per cent (12). However the latter group, *Democracy Now*, *Guardian*, and *New York Times* lead the political framing with 13.3 per cent (14 stories), 9.3 per cent (8), and 8.9 per cent (17) respectively. On the other hand, for the Middle East news media outlets, political framing was more modest at 5.3 per cent (3) for *Al Jazeera*, 5.3 per cent (2) for *Arab News*, and 5.6 per cent (5) for *Press TV*.

The strongest overall emphasis on the civilian aspect was shown in the framing of the coverage of *Arab News* and *Democracy Now*, with the former at 10.5 per cent (4 stories) from that perspective, while the latter framed 10.6 per cent (11) civilian. *Press TV* framed 5.6 per cent (5) from the civilian aspect, *Guardian* 4.6 per cent (4), *New York Times* 3.7 per cent (7) and *Al Jazeera* 3.5 per cent (2).

FRAMING WHITE PHOSPHOROUS

The legal framing showed as the dominant theme over the six selected months for the white phosphorous issue, but it only narrowly surpassed the very strong secondary civilian focus among the 12 outlets. While the legal focus was dominant during the first period under review from January to March, 2009, civilian framing was a powerful secondary aspect. While the legal framing remained dominant during the second period from September to November, 2009, a diplomatic theme supplanted the first period civilian secondary emphasis.

EARLY PHASE FRAMING

Numerically the greatest coverage of the white phosphorous issue during the first three month period under criteria review was Iran's *Press TV* which archived 94 stories. The *UK Guardian* was closest with 48 stories, while most of the others were in the 15 to 30 range. Coverage dropped substantially during the second review quarter, September – November, 2009, *Human Rights Watch* leading with nine stories.

Most of the outlets placed their heaviest framing emphasis on the legal aspect in their coverage of the issue during the early period. Six of the twelve framed the white phosphorous issue this way as their primary focus and one more outlet shared this legal primacy with its civilian emphasis. Of the remaining five outlets, four made the legal framing their secondary focus.

Arab news media outlets and established independent US news media outlet *Democracy Now* were most focussed in this period on the legal aspect of the white phosphorous coverage, *Arab News* with 47.4 per cent (9 stories), *Al Jazeera* and *Democracy Now* both at 46.7 per cent (14 and 7 respectively) . They were followed by the specialist NGO *Human Rights Watch* at 30.4 per cent (7), equal to its civilian framing. This narrowly exceeded *Jerusalem Post's* legal framing focus of 30 per cent (3), an emphasis the Israeli outlet shared with its military framing. The UK *Guardian* framed the issue as primarily a legal one, at 22.9 per cent (11) as did *Press TV* at 23.4 per cent (22).

The legal framing of the white phosphorous issue in this period was strengthened by the four outlets which framed it primarily as a civilian issue, but made the legal aspect their second framing focus. They were *Electronic Intifada* for which its legal framing was 25.9 per cent (7), *Amnesty International* 21.7 per cent (5), *Ma'an News Agency* 15 per cent (3) and *New York Times* 13.3 per cent (2).

But the civilian framing focus of the outlets was also strong with *Global Voices* framing it as its main focus at 100 per cent (5), *Ma'an News Agency* at 55 per cent (11), *Amnesty International* at 52.2 per cent (12), *Electronic Intifada* 37 per cent (10) *New York Times* 33.3 per cent (5). Civilian framing was also the second framing focus for five of other outlets, *Democracy Now* at 40 per cent (6), *Arab News* 36.8 per cent (7), *Human Rights Watch* 30.4 per cent (7), *Al Jazeera* 30 per cent (9) and the *Guardian* 20.8 per cent (10).

Military framing of stories during the early quarter was more diffuse. It was the primary emphasis, equal with the legal approach, of *Jerusalem Post* at 30 per cent (3) and the strongest secondary emphasis of *Press TV* 12.7 per cent (12). For five other outlets the military framing was their third framing emphasis, the *Guardian* at 14.6 per cent (7), *Al Jazeera* at 10 per cent (3) and *Amnesty International* 8.7 per cent (2), the *New York Times* and *Democracy Now*, both 6.7 per cent (1). With one story each, the emphasis on the military framing of the white phosphorous issue was for *Ma'an News Agency* 5 per cent, *Human Rights Watch* 4.3 per cent and *Electronic Intifada* 3.7 per cent.

Diplomatic and political framing began to emerge behind the legal, military and civilian framing during the early time period. The most significant framing emphasis on the diplomatic aspect at that stage was by *Human Rights Watch* at 13 per cent (3), *Press TV* at 11.7 per cent (11 stories), *Arab News* 10.5 per cent (2), *Jerusalem Post* 10 per cent (1), *Electronic Intifada* 7.4 per cent (2), *New York Times* 6.7 per cent (1), and *Ma'an News Agency* 5 per cent (1). For *Ma'an News Agency* its early political framing emphasis was 10 per cent (2), for the *Guardian* 6.25 per cent (3) and *Democracy Now* 6.7 per cent (1).

LATER PHASE FRAMING

Although the number of white phosphorous stories involved fell off considerably by the later time period under review, from September to November, 2009, the legal emphasis on framing heightened. But this was accompanied by a major diplomatic focus often with the two intertwined. For four of the twelve outlets the legal emphasis was their primary approach - *Arab News* 80 per cent of its white phosphorous coverage (4 stories), *Human Rights Watch* 44.4 per cent (4), *Guardian* 37.5 per cent (3), and *New York Times* 20 per cent (1). In addition for four more the legal emphasis was shared with other foci. *Amnesty International* applied the legal and diplomatic frames equally with 50 per cent (2 stories) of its white phosphorous cover in each category. Similarly, shared emphases was also displayed by, *Electronic Intifada* 33.3 per cent (1), *Al Jazeera* 50 per cent (1), and *Jerusalem Post* 33.3 per cent (1).

But during this period the diplomatic emphasis became more prominent, led by *Ma'an News Agency* with its primary focus of 57.1 per cent (4) and the diplomatic aspect rivalling the legal in three other instances, *Amnesty International* at 50 per cent (2), *Electronic Intifada* 33.3 per cent (1), and *Al Jazeera* 50 per cent (1). Diplomatic framing was also the second ranked framing approach for *Human Rights Watch* at 11.1 per cent (1) during this period and for *Arab News* 20 per cent (1).

Press TV's primary focus was on civilian framing of two stories or 28.6 per cent of its archived coverage during this period, while three others showed single civilian framed stories in their archive, the *Guardian* for 12.5 per cent of cover, *Jerusalem Post* 6.7 per cent, and *Ma'an News Agency* 14.3 per cent. Only *Jerusalem Post's* archive showed a militarily framed entry for this period for 33.3 per cent (1) of its coverage for the period.

OVERALL SELECT MONTH FRAMING

Over the six months surveyed, legal framing of the white phosphorous issue emerged as the dominant emphasis among the twelve outlets. But while it was the strongest theme it was rivalled strongly by the civilian focus and also to a lesser degree by the diplomatic. An emphasis on the public action aspect was also a notable subsidiary framing approach. The legal aspect was the major emphasis for seven of the outlets, the civilian aspect for the other five. The civilian framing approach was also the most significant second emphasis for five of the legal leaders, while in turn the legal focus was the second most significant emphasis for three of the civilian leaders. Diplomatic framing was a major subsidiary theme, second most significant for one outlet but third most important for five, and fourth for three more. Public action was a consistent lower level emphasis.

Legal framing was the primary approach of *Arab News* at 54.2 per cent (13 stories) of its archived white phosphorous coverage, *Al Jazeera* 46.9 per cent (15), *Democracy Now* 41.2 per cent (7), *Human Rights Watch* 34.4 per cent (11 stories), the *Guardian* with 25 per cent (14), *Jerusalem Post* 26.7 per cent (4), the latter equal to its military emphasis, and *Press TV* 22.8 per cent (23). Legal framing was also the second major approach for *Electronic Intifada* 26.7 per cent (8), *Amnesty International* 25.9 per cent (7) and *New York Times* 15 per cent (3), while for *Ma'an News Agency* it was a third-ranked approach at 14.8 per cent (4).

Overall, civilian framing was the principal focus for specialist NGO, Palestinian, US, and internet -based news media outlets over the six selected months. The proportions of the total white phosphorous coverage framed in this way ranged between a fifth and more than 80 per cent.

It was the major emphasis for *Global Voices*, with five blog posts representing 83.3 per cent of its total archived white phosphorous coverage, *Ma'an News Agency* and *Amnesty International* each 44.4 per cent (12), *Electronic Intifada* 33.3 per cent (10), *New York Times*, 25 per cent (5). Civilian framing was also the strongest second emphasis for *Democracy Now* at 35.3 per cent (6), *Arab News*, 29.2 per cent (7), *Al Jazeera* 28.1 (9), *Human Rights Watch* 21.9 (7), the *Guardian* 19.6 per cent (11) and *Press TV* 12.9 per cent (13).

Diplomatic framing was a more modest but significant framing aspect overall - most emphasised by the Middle Eastern outlets. For *Ma'an News Agency* diplomatic framing was the major secondary emphasis at 18.5 per cent for five stories.

Representing significant proportions in some cases, it was third or fourth ranked for eight of the other outlets, *Jerusalem Post* 13.3 per cent (2), *Human Rights Watch* 12.5 per cent (4) and *Arab News* 12.5 per cent (3), *Press TV* 10.9 per cent (11), *Amnesty International* 11.1 per cent (3), and *Electronic Intifada* 10 per cent (3), *Al Jazeera* 6.5 per cent (2), and *New York Times* 5 per cent (1).

Public action framing emerged a strong third or fourth ranked theme, overall numerically small but proportionately significant, for seven of the twelve outlets, ranging across traditional Western, Middle Eastern and internet-based outlets. Proportionally it was led by *Jerusalem Post* 13.3 per cent (2), the *Guardian* 8.9 per cent (5), *Electronic Intifada* 10 per cent (3), *Press TV* 7.9 per cent (8), with *Ma'an News Agency* 3.7 per cent (1) and *Human Rights Watch* and *Al Jazeera* both 3.1 per cent (1). Political framing was sparse over these periods, with the most significant by *Democracy Now*, 11.8 per cent (2), *Ma'an News Agency* 7.4 per cent (2), the *Guardian* 5.4 per cent (3), *Electronic Intifada* 3.3 per cent and *Press TV* one per cent (1 each).

Overall, military framing was most significant in the white phosphorous coverage of *Jerusalem Post* at 26.7 per cent (4), *Guardian* 12.5 per cent (7), *Press TV* 11.9 per cent (12) and *Al Jazeera* 9.4 per cent (3). More modest emphasis was placed on this aspect by *Amnesty International* with 7.4 per cent (2), and *Democracy Now*, 5.9 per cent, *New York Times* 5 per cent, *Ma'an News Agency* 3.7 per cent, *Electronic Intifada* 3.3 per cent and *Human Rights Watch*, 3.1 per cent, for a story each.

CONCLUSION

The Haditha affair was framed mainly as a military and legal matter, the Blackwater affair as a legal matter with strong military and diplomatic themes; and the white phosphorous issue as a legal and civilian matter, also with diplomatic themes. But behind those broad trends, the data showed major variations in the framing foci both within and between the outlets and over time.

The analysis showed the Haditha affair was mainly framed as a military matter but with significant civilian and legal foci during the first period surveyed from May to July, 2006. But it was then framed primarily as a legal issue with a secondary military focus in the second period from April to June, 2007. Overall the framing of the Haditha affair was split almost equally between legal and military framing with the civilian issue secondary in most cases.

The Blackwater affair was found to be mainly framed as a military issue for a majority of outlets during the initial review period from September to November, 2007, but with some focussing on the diplomatic. But through the period including the months of January and December, 2008, and January, 2010, it was framed mainly as a legal issue across all outlets, with some secondary diplomatic framing. Overall, it was framed mainly as a legal issue, across four outlets, but with the return of some primary diplomatic framing.

The white phosphorous issue was framed mainly as a legal issue but almost as strongly as a civilian matter in the January to March, 2009, period, but the legal aspect dominated the second review period from September to November, 2009 with the diplomatic aspect emerging as a significant approach. Overall, the issue was framed mainly as a legal matter, but with the civilian aspect as the close, next main framing approach, and with diplomatic and military framing most often subsidiary to them both.

A distinctive feature from the analysis of the framing criteria data from these three issues was the increasing focus on the legal framing emphasis in their coverage within and across the outlets, accompanied by varying degrees of emphasis on civilian and diplomatic aspects.

The news media framing was an interesting constant lower level aspect, for eight outlets in the white phosphorous matter, and five outlets in both the Blackwater and Haditha affairs, in one case, that of *Global Voices*, being the primary framing emphasis for the Haditha matter at 75 per cent (3). The news media involvement suggests that the news media actors were considered significant players in the conflicts and were continually under close continual scrutiny both from without and within.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION: DIVERSITY AND MORE

Beneath similarities in the broad numerical trends in the news media coverage by the selected multi-platform group of 12 international news media outlets of the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflict theatres and the associated Haditha and Blackwater affairs and white phosphorous issue, the quantitative data set out in the two parts of this chapter reveals significant variation or diversity in terms of numerical frequency, emphasis and consistency of coverage, within and between the outlets and over time, for both the conflict theatres and the incidents under study. The data also shows considerable variation in the framing emphases of the stories or narratives relating to the Haditha and Blackwater affairs and white phosphorous issue within and between, and over time, by the selected group of 12 international outlets closely involved with the two conflicts. It is now proposed to explore further, in the following chapters the degree of variation or diversity that existed in the coverage from a qualitative perspective, and then consider possible reasons for discovered diversity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

QUALITATIVE FRAMING ANALYSIS: RESULTS & DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL ORIENTATIONS AND THEMES

The qualitative exploration of the framing of the digitally archived news coverage of the Haditha and Blackwater affairs in the post- invasion Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue arising from the 2008-2009 Gaza War, by an international range of multi-platform news media outlets reveals another dimension to the diversity of that coverage.

Considerable diversity was shown by the quantitative analysis of the coverage of these events by the select range of outlets. Some details and observations on the trends from that analysis were set out in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven will present a qualitative analysis of the coverage of a wider range of outlets providing both broader and deeper perspectives on the framing of these events. Particularly, this allowed a greater consideration of domestic diversity; the inclusion of some significant outlets for which complete data was not available; and particularly the inclusion of some Iraqi news media, for which more fragmented coverage and translation difficulties lead to them being omitted from the quantitative analysis. Unlike the quantitative analysis, the qualitative exploration in this chapter was not constrained by pre-determined framing criteria. This chapter will first look at the diversity in some of the language and visual material (i.e. photographic and video) used by the news media and principal actors using the news media to frame the events and aspects of the broader conflicts.

DIVERSITY IN FRAMING LANGUAGE AND VISUALS

Key mechanisms or focal points in James Tankard's empirical approach to the study of news media framing,¹⁶⁹ the language and photographs displayed in the digital archives of the selected range of news media outlets, demonstrate the diversity in the news coverage of the conflicts and the events.

The general awareness by the involved news media of the significance of published language is indicated by the frequent debates within the news media industry on the terminology used in the conflicts and events, and the frequent accusations of bias directed at sections of the news media and other news media-related publications by various parties. For instance, *Al Jazeera* has devoted major programmes to the Iraq war of two versions – that reported on American television channels and the other on Arabic channels,¹⁷⁰ and to the “stark differences” in media perspectives presented across the world by the reporting of that war.¹⁷¹ Lawrence Pintak has similarly considered the two vastly different conflicts over Gaza played out on American and Arab television screens.¹⁷²

169. Tankard, James, W. jun., “The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing”, pp.100-10.

170. *Al Jazeera*, 31 May, 2008, “Inside Iraq – Media Influence on Iraq?” Retrieved 18 September, 2008. <http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/04/200861505810419157.html>

171. *Al Jazeera*, 18 October, 2008, “Inside Iraq: Reporting on Iraq.” Retrieved 19 October, 2008.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/10/200810151416219622.html>

172. Pintak, Lawrence, “Gaza: Of media wars and borderless journalism,” Publisher's Column, in *Arab Media & Society*, Issue 7, Winter, 2009. Retrieved 8 February, 2011.

http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20090629091755_AMS7_Lawrence_Pintak.pdf

Generally, the post-invasion Iraq conflict has been presented through the news media by Coalition friendly nations and groups as insurgency during reconstruction of a war-disrupted nation attempting to establish democratic government; but by those opposed, as resistance to an unwelcome and damaging occupation against which Iraqis were fighting for restoration of sovereignty. The Gaza conflict was broadly framed in the news media by Hamas and its allies and supporters as an unlawful Israeli invasion, against which the elected Hamas administration and its fighters and allies were defending a Gazan population which was suffering under an unlawful siege by Israel. From the Israeli perspective it was framed as a defence of the homeland against persistent rocket and other attacks by terrorists groups.

The extreme sensitivity and struggle over terminology over the conflicts can be seen in instruction given US forces by the Petraeus-Amos Counter Insurgency (COIN) document published about the time of the Haditha affair in Iraq. This advised that in developing information operations, word choices such as “liberators and occupiers” should be carefully considered and others such as “battlefield” avoided.¹⁷³

Frequently these debates in the news media over terminology in these two conflicts swirled endlessly around the use of terms for the combatants. During the Iraq conflict terms such as terrorist, extremist, insurgent and militant contrasted with others such as occupier, invader or crusader.

173. Petraeus, David H. and Amos, James F., *Counterinsurgency, FM 3-24, MCWP 3-33.5*, Headquarters of the (US) Army, Washington, December, 2006, A-33, table 5.1.

The Coalition's opponents were variously described as freedom fighters, resistance fighters and anti-Coalition/government fighters and the Coalition's Iraqi allies as traitors.¹⁷⁴ Some of these terms emerged again in the Gaza conflict.

While the level of sectarian violence in Iraq at the time of the Haditha affair led much of the international news media to describe the situation as one of civil war, there was considerable news media soul-searching in the US news media, where this state was denied by the President Bush.¹⁷⁵

Descriptive phraseology has also framed the Gaza conflict, with Lawrence Pintak pointing out that *Al Jazeera English* chose to use the overarching title of "War on Gaza" (as opposed to other media outlets descriptions such as "War in Gaza"). Pintak, discussing the differing perspectives of the conflict in US and Arab news media contended the *Al Jazeera* term telegraphed the channel's perspective reflecting an implicit sense of identification with the Palestinian victims.¹⁷⁶

174. *Al Jazeera*, 8 February 2008, "Listening Post – Super Tuesday – February 8 – Part 2. Retrieved 7 February, 2011, from *You Tube*. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TffZzjgzimw>

175. *New York Times*, 26 November, 2006, "A Matter of Definition: What Makes a Civil War, and Who Declares It So?" by Edward Wong. Retrieved 22 February, 2011.

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/26/world/middleeast/26war.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Iraq+civil+war&st=nyt

AlterNet, 28 November, 2006, "Iraq Is a Civil War: Media Dominoes Falling," by Anna Crane (*Editor and Publisher*). Retrieved 22 February, 2011.

<http://www.alternet.org/waroiraq/44847/?page=entire>

176. Pintak, "Gaza: Of media wars and borderless journalism," p.5.

The framing power and sensitivity of descriptive language was also demonstrated in the Haditha affair by an initial reference by Democratic congressman and ex-Marine John Murtha, characterising the incident as cold-blooded killing of innocent civilians by Marines under pressure. His comments were diffused internationally, where they quickly made headlines. They also lead to a defamation action launched by Frank Wuterich, one of the Marines involved, but which was eventually dismissed on the ground that Murtha had been acting in his capacity as a lawmaker when he made the comments.¹⁷⁷

Throughout the Iraq conflict the term “martyr” was cast to mean different things in the news media. For the Iraqi Government network *Al Iraqiya* it was used to honour Iraqi citizens killed through insurgent action, while for websites support Islamic militants it was term applied to suicide bombers and others who died fighting Coalition or Government forces.¹⁷⁸ Pintak refers to the term *shahid* (martyr) being used by Arabic news organisations in the Gaza conflict to describe Palestinian dead. He also notes the sensitivity over it use, with *Al Arabiya* network’s news chief saying he had been threatened on Islamist websites for not allowing the word to be used to describe Palestinian dead.¹⁷⁹

177. *Huffington Post* 14 April, 2009, “Frank Wuterich Murtha Defamation Suit Dies in Court,” by Nedra Pickler. Retrieved 8 February, 2011,

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/04/14/frank-wuterich-cant-sue-m_n_186706.html

178. *Jihad Unspun*, 26 January, 2006 “Martyrdom Attack Leaves 10 Americans Dead”; 31 January, 2006, “Martyrdom Operation Kills Scores of Security Agents” headings on stories on news archive. Retrieved 23 October, 2008.

<http://www.jihadunspun.com/newsarchive/>

Al Iraqiya, 24 January, 2008, “Maliki ordered to send delegation to Nineveh a high security [area] to assess the situation after the Mosul explosion.” Retrieved 23 October, 2008.

<http://english.iraqimedianet.net/index.php?mod=article&cat=IraqNews&article=2792>

179. Pintak, “Gaza: Of media wars and borderless journalism,” p.3.

The Blackwater affair attracted a wide variety of negative and aggressive descriptive headline terms especially within the Middle Eastern news media. One of the central issues of framing terminology arising from the Blackwater affair was over the use of the term mercenary when applied to private security contractors (PSCs). This led, for instance, to a sharp public exchange in a debate on US-based broadcast outlet, *Democracy Now*,¹⁸⁰ between Jeremy Scahill, author of the best-selling book *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Army*¹⁸¹ and Doug Brooks, president of the International Peace Operations Association, a trade group for PSCs. Discussing the Blackwater affair, Scahill referred to PSCs in Iraq as mercenaries which Brooks disputed and an exchange ensued on the definition of the term. However, in the following months the term mercenary was used often in the international news media in relation to the affair.

Various actions by the Israeli Defence Force, including the use of white phosphorous obscurant munitions, were framed by several organisations including aid, humanitarian and anti-war groups as war crimes or breaches of humanitarian law or the laws of wars. These were denied by the Israelis in Gaza who counter-framed a variety of actions by Hamas and other Palestinian militants in similar terms.

180. *Democracy Now*, 18 September, 2007, "Can Iraq (or Anyone) Hold Blackwater Accountable for Killing Iraqi Civilians? A Debate on the Role of Private Contractors in Iraq." Retrieved February 7, 2011.

http://www.democracynow.org/2007/9/18/can_iraq_or_anyone_hold_blackwater

181. Scahill, Jeremy, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*, Serpent's Tail, Profile Books Ltd, London, 2008, first published 2007.

Textual content has been the focus of this thesis but it also acknowledges the framing effect of visual material – noted by Tankard in his list of mechanism.¹⁸² No visual images displayed this more in these three incidents than the white phosphorous airburst photographs or video links which accompanied many entries in the outlet digital archives. The airburst images which became iconic of the Gaza conflict after being frequently used as attached photographs or video links with the archived text of the coverage of a number of Middle Eastern news media, including *Press TV* and *Al Jazeera*. This was reinforced by the later use of graphic photographs of the results of white phosphorous use in NGO reports.¹⁸³ These included the prominent use on the front page of the *Human Rights Watch* “Rain of Fire” report of debris raining down on a UN facility.

The archived post-action visual coverage of both Haditha and Blackwater affairs did not reach the same iconic status. Although video material recorded afterwards by a journalism trainee helped spark the news media cover of the Haditha affair, no direct action photographs of either incident was available at the time.

182. Tankard, pp.100-101.

183. *Human Rights Watch*, “Rain of Fire: Israel’s Unlawful Use of White Phosphorous in Gaza,” New York, 2009, p.1. Retrieved 5 October, 2009.

<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/iopt0309webwcover.pdf>

Amnesty International, “Israel/Gaza: Operation “Cast Lead”: 22 Days of Death and Destruction,”

Amnesty International Publication, London, 2009, p. 27. Retrieved 1 October, 2009.

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/015/2009/en/8f299083-9a74-4853-860f-0563725e633a/mde150152009en.pdf>

However bloodstained and damaged vehicles in the Blackwater instance, and in the case of Haditha, shrouded bodies, were photographed after the events and used by Middle Eastern news media more prolifically than the Western media. Western news media's reluctance to showing pictures of injury and death is well known, while the Middle Eastern news media was less reluctant being generally intent on showing what was happening to the Iraqi people.¹⁸⁴

Both conflicts saw the use of video clips by all combatant parties, posted on their own dedicated websites or on video storage sites like *You Tube* to advance their agendas. These included improvised explosive device (IED) attacks on Coalition forces and bombings in Iraq; and an Israeli tank commander and an alleged Israeli sniper being shot in Gaza. The Israeli Defence Force and Hamas both launched their own *You Tube* channels soon after the outbreak of the Gaza conflict.¹⁸⁵

184. *Al Jazeera*, 31 May, 2008, "Inside Iraq – Media Influence on Iraq?" Retrieved 1 February, 2011. <http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/04/200861505810419157.html>

185. Caldwell IV, William B. (Lt-Gen.), Murphy, Dennis M., and Menning, Anton, "Learning to leverage new media: Israeli Defense Forces, in recent conflicts," pp.2-10, in *Military Review*, May-June, 2009, p.7.

FRAMING HADITHA

Middle Eastern and some US news media outlets in general framed the Haditha incident as undermining the legitimacy and moral basis for the Iraq conflict and saw it as a further justification for an early withdrawal of Coalition troops. Commonly, in both the Western and Middle Eastern news media, it was framed as a conflict-defining scandal like the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse or Vietnam-era My Lai massacre. Less critical US news media framed the incident as a serious matter for inquiry but urged a wait-and-see approach rather than a rush to judgment. United Kingdom news media coverage similarly framed the affair but included British linkages complaining it was symptomatic of involvement in the wrong war at the wrong time which the British and US leaders had lead their countries into, and extolling the superiority of the British approach to counter-insurgency. The response of the domestic Iraq media was framed in more muted terms, But externally-based Iraqi media and Iraqi correspondents writing for Western news media were more strident and condemnatory in their framing of the Marine killings. Middle Eastern news media in general framed the incident as symptomatic of the carelessness of Coalition troops with Iraqi lives and the suffering of the Iraqi people. Some, however, acknowledged the violence was also coming from within.

The *New York Times* initially viewed the Haditha incident as an example of what terrible things could happen when soldiers were required to occupy hostile civilian territory in the middle of armed insurgency and organised civil war.¹⁸⁶ Editorially the newspaper later framed the situation in Iraq, in which the incident occurred, as the result of lack of realistic planning for success and called for decisive strategic planning.¹⁸⁷ It also framed Haditha as matter of responsibility – an incident which required straight answers about what went wrong and who up the chain of command should take responsibility for it.¹⁸⁸ There was little direct criticism of the involved troops in the editorials and opinion pieces. However columnists and contributors noting the irony of having to teach “refresher courses in values” to troops in a war more widely based on values,¹⁸⁹ linked the Haditha scandal and others to an erosion of American moral standing,¹⁹⁰ and alleged a lowering of standards in the military.¹⁹¹

186. *New York Times*, 28 May, 2006, “The Price Tag of Iraq,” editorial. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/28/opinion/28sun1.html?scp=4&sq=Haditha+editorials&st=nyt>

187. *New York Times*, 18 June, 2006, “A Long Road Ahead,” editorial. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/18/opinion/18sun1.html?scp=3&sq=Haditha+editorials&st=nyt>

188. *New York Times*, 4 June 2006 “A Hard Look at Haditha,” editorial. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/04/opinion/04sun1.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Haditha+editorials&st=nyt

189. *New York Times*, 2 June, 2006, “Teaching Remedial Decency”, by Maureen Dowd. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://select.nytimes.com/2006/06/03/opinion/03dowd.html?scp=104&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

190. *New York Times*, 25 September, 2006, “Do Unto Your Enemy” by Paul Rieckhoff. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/25/opinion/25rieckhoff.html?scp=160&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

191. *New York Times*, 10 July, 2006, “A Vietnam Lesson, Unlearned,” by Bob Herbert. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://select.nytimes.com/2006/07/10/opinion/10herbert.html?scp=147&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

However other US media counter-framed the affair as a matter which should await the results of investigations before passing judgment;¹⁹² the “glib” talk making comparisons between Haditha and the My Lai massacre as so much propaganda and hot air;¹⁹³ and, a year later, politicians as having rushed to judgment and critics as having discarded evidence to fit the anti-war template.¹⁹⁴

The UK *Guardian* editorials, columnists and contributors framed the Haditha affair as, potentially another My Lai massacre. Editorially, it urged that there be no rush to judgment but said that the US military’s promises of a full, speedy and open investigation, prosecution and severe punishment had to be kept.¹⁹⁵ Another writer noted the British military’s belief in its superior approach to counter-insurgency.¹⁹⁶

192. *Voice of America*, 7 July, 2006, “Alleged US Atrocities in Iraq Lead to Investigations, Speculation.” Retrieved 11 September, 2008.

<http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2006-07/2006-07-07-voa66.cfm>

193. *Slate* (a US internet news magazine), 5 June, 2006, “The Hell of War: Why Haditha Isn’t My Lai,” by Christopher Hitchens. Retrieved 21 September, 2008.

<http://www.slate.com/id/2143011>

194. *Wall St Journal*, 19 October, 2007, “What Happened at Haditha.” Retrieved 21 September, 2008.

<http://www.opinionjournal.com/editorial/?id=110010752>

195. *Guardian*, 1 June, 2006, “My Lai on the Euphrates?” editorial. Retrieved 3 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/jun/01/iraq.comment?INTCMP=SRCH>

196. *Guardian*, June 2, 2006, “My Lai’s untaught lessons”, by Richard Norton-Taylor. Retrieved 3 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/jun/02/theuntaughtlessonsofmylai?INTCMP=SRCH>

Other commentators framed the incident as a values issue, pointing out that ethics started at a higher level,¹⁹⁷ or saw the Haditha affair and further allegations emerging of Iraqi civilian deaths as forcing the US to confront brutal culture among its finest sons.¹⁹⁸ However several commentators – including expatriate Iraqis – drew on the Haditha incident in framing the wider issues of Iraqi civilians’ suffering and deaths at the hands of the feuding Islamist militias and the occupying forces¹⁹⁹ in an occupation that was driving Iraq toward civil war²⁰⁰ and strangling democracy there at birth.²⁰¹

The *UK Independent* editorially framed the Haditha affair as an episode in a protracted and messy conflict with a myriad of dark corners.²⁰²

197. *Guardian*, 2 June, 2006, “Ethics start at the top,” by Andrew Murray. Retrieved 3 February, 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/search?q=Haditha&page=6&show=recent§ion=&date=date%2F2006>

198. *Guardian*, June 4, 2006, “US confronts brutal culture among its finest sons,” by Paul Harris, Peter Beaumont and Mohammad al Ubeidy in Baghdad. Retrieved 3 February, 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/jun/04/usa.iraq?INTCMP=SRCH>

199. *Guardian*, 17 October, 2006, “The Price of Freedom”, by Houzan Mahmoud. Retrieved 3 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/oct/17/655000isnotjustanumber?INTCMP=SRCH>

200 *Guardian*, 7 June, 2006, “The Bloody Iceberg’s Tip” by Sami Ramadani. Retrieved 3 February, 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/jun/07/comment.usa2?INTCMP=SRCH>

201. *Guardian*, December 1, 2006, “Democracy Strangled at Birth”, by Haifa Zangana. Retrieved 3 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/dec/01/howmidwiveskilledthechild?INTCMP=SRCH>

202. *Independent*, 3 June, 2006, “A protracted and messy conflict, with its myriad dark corners,” leader. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/leading-articles/leading-article-a-protracted-and-messy-conflict-with-its-myriad-dark-corners-480830.html>

However the *Independent's* columnists and contributors framed their views in a wide variety of ways. Some framed the incident in terms of Marines culpability. One, while not seeking to excuse the Marines, saw the incident as horrifying but not surprising in the light of the reported circumstances at the time;²⁰³ Another, though, believed the marines had disgraced their flag and country and if officers or senior NCOs were involved in the atrocity they should pay for their crimes with their lives²⁰⁴ Others framed the affair in wider war crimes terms, Robert Fisk asking if the incident could just be the tip of the mass grave of Iraqi civilians killed in the conflict;²⁰⁵ while another writer placed it among crimes of the war that should not be forgotten.²⁰⁶

Reaction by domestic Iraqi news media outlets to the Haditha affair was initially muted. Western observers have put this paucity of domestic coverage down to the Iraqis having become accustomed to such incidents day in, day out. The tone of the domestic Iraqi media could be described as being one of exasperated resignation.²⁰⁷

203. *Independent*, 2 June, 2006, "Haditha was horrifying, but it was not surprising," Joan Smith. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/joan-smith/joan-smith-haditha-was-horrifying-but-it-was-not-surprising-480711.html>

204. *Independent*, 29 May, 2006, "Marines who have disgraced their flag and country," by Bruce Anderson. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/bruce-anderson/bruce-anderson-marines-who-have-disgraced-their-flag-and-country-480174.html>

205. *Independent*, 3 June, 2006, "On the shocking truth about the American occupation of Iraq," by Robert Fisk. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/fisk/robert-fisk-on-the-shocking-truth-about-the-american-occupation-of-iraq-480871.html>

206. *Independent*, 12 February, 2008, "Our crimes in Iraq must not be forgotten", by Yasmin Alibhai-Brown. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/yasmin-alibhai-brown/yasmin-alibhaibrown-our-crimes-in-iraq-must-not-be-forgotten-781051.html>

207. *AP Worldstream*, 4 June, 2006, "Alleged misconduct by US troops adds to Iraq's combustible mix of woes." *Iraq Updates*. Retrieved 28 October, 2008, now unavailable. http://www.iraqupdates.com/p_articles.php/article/8435

The tone of exasperated resignation in the domestic Iraqi media is best captured in an early cartoon in the Baghdad newspaper *al-Mutammar*. It showed a smiling man in a hospital bed, his right leg in cast inscribed with "terrorism" and his left arm in a cast on a which were the words "American violations", but raising his right hand in a V for victory sign - all under the caption "The price of Freedom". (Reference in *Iraq Updates* article).

However some of the strongest Iraqi reaction came from Iraq news media based outside of Iraq. Contributors to *Azzaman*, an Iraqi print and online newspaper publishing in the UK, Iraq and internationally, framed the Haditha “massacre” as “but one of many,”²⁰⁸ and an “atrocities” which was an example of the “kill first and apologise later” approach by the US and its allies which had produced reckless friendly fire deaths in droves of Iraqi civilians.²⁰⁹ While there was an acceptance that the butchering murder and killing was being carried out by foreign invaders and others claiming to be Iraqi citizens, one framed it as the result of demoralisation of US troops who realised their mission was unjustifiable.²¹⁰ Another writer framed the incident as undermining the declared aims of introducing democracy to the country and establishing a state of law.²¹¹ The latter writer also saw the way the Pentagon had treated revelations of US marines’ atrocities in Iraq (with expressions of sorrow, condolences, and undertakings of fair and independent inquiries and appropriate punishment) as tantamount to carefully orchestrated chapters of a theatrical play.²¹²

208. *Azzaman*, 4 June, 2006, “The Haditha massacre is but one of many,” by Dr Imad Allo. Retrieved 28 June, 2008. <http://www.azzaman.com/english/index.asp?fname=opinion\2006-06-04\204.htm>

209. *Azzaman*, 18 June, 2006, “Kill first and apologize later”, by Sammak Burhan-eddin. Retrieved 28 June, 2008. 2008. <http://www.azzaman.com/english/index.asp?fname=opinion\2006-06-18\114.htm>

210. *Azzaman*, “The Haditha massacre is but one of many”.

211. *Azzaman*, “Kill first and apologize later.”

212. Ibid.

Other media throughout the Middle East were equally strident in their condemnation of the killings, their editorials and commentaries including demands for the removal of US and Coalition presence in Iraq. But their major theme was anger at the treatment and suffering of Iraqi people, at the hands of Coalition troops but also, significantly, others within the society.²¹³

Saudi-domiciled *Arab News* in its opening editorial framed Haditha as a threat to the US mission in Iraq. Haditha, it believed could mark the moment when Washington finally lost the battle for Iraqi hearts and minds and the US finally surrendered its last patch of moral high ground.²¹⁴ *Arab News* later questioned how much longer the US could remain after this other My Lai.²¹⁵

213. *Washington Post*, 6 June, 2006, "World Opinion Roundup: How Haditha Helps Iran." Retrieved 20 October, 2008.

http://blog.washingtonpost.com/worldopinionroundup/2006/06/how_haditha_helps_iran.html

Middle East Times, 9 June, 2006, "Review of Arab Editorials." Retrieved 20 October, 2008.

http://www.metimes.com/Opinion/2006/06/09/review_of_arab_editorials/3182/

Arab newspapers like *Ad Dustour*, a Jordanian newspaper which generally supports the pro-American monarchy contended that Haditha had diminished the political authority of the US. A *Middle East Times* survey cited the Amman daily as saying that atrocities committed by US soldiers and pro-Iraqi government militias were no different from those committed by the former regime of Saddam Hussein. An editorial in *Al Khaleej*, of the United Arab Republic, said Americans had effectively joined forces with the terrorists, according to *Middle East Times*. Bahrain's *Al Ayam* daily pro-government paper said the massacres at Haditha and Ishaquiya (where other civilians were killed) indicated US soldiers had lost their humanity and described as "ridiculous" the courts trying the soldiers. Syria's state-run daily newspaper *Al Thawra* urged the US to hurry up and declare a timetable to withdraw and to bring to justice all the American troops who committed war crimes against civilians. *Al Thawra* said that the debate going on in the United States over the ethics of the war being launched in Iraq in the aftermath of revelations of troops killing unarmed civilians cannot "absorb the wave of anger ... or reduce the growing hatred against American policy."

214. *Arab News*, 22 March, 2006, "Haditha Killings". Retrieved 12 September, February 1, 2008.

<http://www.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=79590&d=22&m=3&y=2006>

215. *Arab News*, 3 June, 2006, "Other My Lais." Retrieved 1 February, 2008.

<http://www.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=83168&d=3&m=6&y=2006>

Leading Middle Eastern newspaper figures have nominated the internal affairs of Iraq and casualties among its people as their major concerns as opposed to the Coalition media's preoccupation with success or failure.²¹⁶ The focus of the Iranian news media was directed to opposing the US presence, with commentaries framing the Haditha affair as contributing to the disintegration of US foreign policy and linking it with Abu Ghraib and Blackwater as: "Scandal after scandal . . . the disaster goes on and on. It seems that the war in Iraq has become an endless array of immoral actions by US forces."²¹⁷

HADITHA THEMES

The efforts of the principal actors, political military and public, to frame the affair in their own terms were equally diverse. Within the US media the administration and ruling Republicans, sought to frame it as a matter for military justice to handle to avoid it becoming an mid-term election issue and a focus of a wider debate on the Bush administration's handling of the conflict generally.²¹⁸

216. *Al Jazeera*, 31 May, 2008, "Inside Iraq – Media Influence on Iraq?" Retrieved 1 February, 2008. <http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/insideiraq/2008/04/200861505810419157.html>

217. *Iran Daily*, 3 July 2006, "Time For an 'Agonizing Reappraisal'." Retrieved 27 October, 2008. <http://iran-daily.com/1385/2600/html/national.htm>
Tehran Times, 23 September, 2007, "And Now the Blackwater Scandal," Retrieved 27 October, 2008. http://www.tehrantimes.com/Index_view.asp?code=11976

218. *New York Times*, 1 June, 2006, "In First Comments on Case, Bush Promises Justice in Military Investigation of Civilian Deaths." Retrieved 6 September, 2008. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/01/world/middleeast/01haditha.html?>

Initially the affair was treated by the military as a matter of values training. However, framing and counter-framing within the US military community became intense as the affair passed through the investigation and prosecution stages. On the official version it was framed as actions by the marines allegedly outside their military mandate.

Counter-framing by supporters and defence lawyers portrayed the Marines as following the rules of engagement (ROEs) current at the time and depicted them as being scapegoated for faulty command decisions and a mismatch between between the fighting philosophy of the US military between that required for the invasion and later required in the occupation phase. Coverage of the formal hearings of charges against the Marines, also demonstrated friction between military authorities seeking to prosecute, and military officers conducting reviews and hearings who had reservations about the prosecutions or found deficiencies in the cases.

Audience agency or involvement also appeared in the form of public comment, and support and news websites for the Marines which also criticised higher decision makers and the mainstream news media, set up by members of the wider community.²¹⁹

Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki personally framed it as a terrible crime and expressed himself as tired of Coalition killings. He was both admired for his courageous stand and criticised for his ingratitude toward the allies by some Western newspaper. However, while he needed to appear strong, his actions were limited because of the difficult political and diplomatic situation at that time.

The Haditha affair was seen by some as a challenge to Iraqi sovereignty, with calls for the Haditha Marines to be tried in Iraqi courts for crimes against its people. However this was not possible under an agreement struck previously between the Coalition and Iraq guaranteeing immunity from prosecution for Coalition forces. Not only was Prime Minister Maliki attempting to negotiate a new security agreement at that time, he was also struggling to construct a cabinet for his fledgling government from bickering sectarian groups.

219. *New York Times*, 30 May, 2006, "On a Marine Base, Disbelief Over Charges"; *New York Times*, 22 July, 2007, by Carolyn Marshall. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/30/world/middleeast/30voices.html?scp=175&sq=Hadi>

New York Times, 22 July, 2007, "Web Sites Rally Support for G.I.'s in Legal Trouble," by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 16 February, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/22/world/middleeast/22abuse.html?scp=1&sq=Haditha>

One website organiser told the *New York Times*: "The insurgency has found a new bomb, and that's to accuse these young men of wrongdoing, because we throw the book at them . . . We all feel like the big brass have eaten their young here."

Observers also put the muted response among the Iraqi people down to Iraqis being wearied by high general level of violence in the country, and concern by Iraqis wary that any premature withdrawal by Coalition forces as a result of events like Haditha would put them at risk arising from sectarian conflict.

FRAMING BLACKWATER

Although civilian security contractors had been operating in Iraq for a considerable time – Blackwater under a major contract with the US State Department for the protection of its diplomats and officials – there had been relatively little publicity. Media focus on the contractors changed dramatically in the wake of the publicity over the Nisour Square shootings. The full extent of the Blackwater's security operations and those of other civilian security contractors came under intense scrutiny.

As the Blackwater affair broke and as it ran its course, a phenomenon best described as frame magnification took place in the US news media, with various aspects of the parent Blackwater company's operations in Iraq and other areas, and the administration's dependence on them, deeply probed. Apart from the news media's enthusiasm for the familiar or the running story, these were fuelled by government agencies and political factions with agendas of their own. Quickly the Blackwater affair became framed in the US media as private security contractors being out of control, *New York Times* calling for tighter control and accountability. The administration called in the FBI to investigate and treat the affair as a criminal investigation.

As the affair evolved it became a multi-framed issue in the US media. It was progressively framed:

- Politically, as a row over the true costs of the Iraq conflict, over the increasing level of outsourcing of the war and eventually over outsourcing in general of government functions by US administrations.
- Administratively and militarily, as a controversy over which US government department, State or Defense, should have control over Blackwater operatives in Iraq.
- Legislatively, as moves to extend existing law - which enabled the US to prosecute private security contractors working for the Department of Defense overseas who committed crimes - to those working for other government agencies like State.
- Diplomatically, with friction between Iraqi and US governments over immunity from prosecution for US personnel in Iraq and the right of Iraqis' to prosecute them for criminal acts in Iraqi through Iraqi courts. The Iraqi administration again presented the matter as an issue of sovereignty and independence, adopting a more vocal approach than it had over Haditha.
- Legally, with the prosecution of five of the Blackwater guards involved in the Nisour Square affair – a prosecution which eventually collapsed – and civil proceedings brought in US courts on behalf of those injured in Nisour Square and the relatives of those killed.

These high profile aspects and the fact that the criminal proceedings against the guards involved and civil proceedings against Blackwater were taken in US courts meant that US news media coverage was dominant and a source of much of the international coverage.

Iranian and wider Arab news media criticism of the killings was trenchant with the affair being framed as of carelessness over the lives of Iraqi civilians massacre, a massive breach of human rights and a war crime. Iraqi, Iranian and wider Arab criticism of the killings were renewed once the criminal charges against the Blackwater operators failed. This was also framed in the Middle East news media as a failure of the US system of justice.

Following the Nisour Square shootings, the *New York Times* launched a series of editorials framing the affair as a legal and political issue attacking the Bush administration for privatising the war by using private security contractors. The newspaper also criticised the “mistake” which set up the legal immunity from prosecution accorded in 2004 to foreign private contractors working for the US in Iraq, and the mishandling of the Nisour Square investigation during which State Department agents offered immunity to the guards involved. The *New York Times* portrayed the activities of Blackwater and other private security contractors as undermining the military’s efforts to win over the Iraqis.²²⁰

220. *New York Times*, 3 October, 2007, “Blackwater’s rich contracts,” editorial. Retrieved January 31, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/03/opinion/03wed2.html?scp=25&sq=Blackwater+Editorials&st=nyt>

The *New York Times* saw the mishandling of Nisour Square investigation as reinforcing the argument for an orderly exit of all American forces from Iraq and returning to the Iraqis the power and responsibility of building a nation.²²¹ As events developed it commended a new security agreement with the Iraq government which stipulated private security contractors working for the Pentagon who committed crimes would be subject to prosecution in Iraqi courts. It also called for the pushing through of legislation in the US seeking to make all contractors liable under American criminal law, regardless of which agency they worked for.²²² Later it presented the throwing out in the US of criminal charges eventually brought against the Blackwater guards involved in the Nisour Square affair, as highlighting the government's inability to hold mercenaries accountable for crimes they commit.²²³ However Arab news media and some Iraqi news media were more strident in their condemnation of foreign security contractors. In the wake of the Nisour Square affair one writer in the Iraqi news outlet, *Azzaman* framed security contractors in general as trigger happy guys, in the Iraqi vernacular called *hameeha harameeha*, or "sentry turned thief," who under the law then existing could not be held even if they killed half of the Iraqi population.²²⁴

221. *New York Times*, 5 November 2007, "Legal Loopholes in Iraq," editorial. Retrieved January 31, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/05/opinion/05mon3.html?scp=19&sq=Blackwater+%2B+editorials&st=nyt>

222. *New York Times*, 2 December, 2008, "At Least Some Accountability" editorial. Retrieved January 31, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/03/opinion/03wed2.html?scp=17&sq=Blackwater+%2B+editorials&st=nyt>

223. *New York Times*, 10 January, 2010, "Privatized War, and Its Price", editorial. Retrieved 1 February, 2011.
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/11/opinion/11mon1.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Blackwater+Editorials&st=nyt

224. *Azzaman*, 26 September, 2007, "Security' contractors have come to kill and not secure," by Maad al-Shammari. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.
<http://www.azzaman.com/english/index.asp?fname=opinion\2007-09-26\op.htm>

Saudi outlet *Arab News* editorially framed as hypocritical the US administration's condemning the existence of militias in Iraq, yet countenancing the existence of its very own militias masquerading as civilian contractors.²²⁵ It also said that Blackwater being above US and Iraqi law was something the administration was going to have to "fix extra-quick" if they (the administration) wanted to retain even the tiniest shred of a reputation for decency.²²⁶ It framed the eventual throwing out of the charges against the Blackwater guards involved as a deep stain on US justice.²²⁷

Writers in the *Guardian* framed the issue was one with strong British connections, given that British private security contractors were operating in Iraq. They contended the scandal must make the British re-think the outsourcing of combat operations by private military and security companies and questioned how far the public were willing to go to see wars which were supposedly fought in their name outsourced to mercenary troops.²²⁸ Others saw the conflict between the Bush administration and the al-Maliki government in Iraq over holding the Blackwater guards to account as going to the heart of the sovereignty issue of who runs Iraq.²²⁹

225. *Arab News*, "Thugs on the loose" 25 September, 2007, editorial. Retrieved 2 February, 2011.

<http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=101677&d=25&m=9&y=2007>

226. *Arab News*, "Lack of accountability," 31 October 31, 2007, editorial. Retrieved 2 February, 2011. <http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=103031&d=31&m=10&y=2007>

227. *Arab News*, "Stain on US justice," 2 January, 2010. Retrieved 2 February,

2011. <http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=130570&d=2&m=1&y=2010>

228. *Guardian*, 19 September, 2007, "A privatisation too far?" author unidentified. Retrieved 30 January, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/sep/19/aprivatisationtoofar?INTCMP=SRCH>

229. *Guardian*, 24 September, 2007, "Blackwater poisons the well," by Ed Harriman. Retrieved 30 January, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/sep/24/blackwaterpoisonsthehell?INTCMP=SRCH>

Much of the comment arising from the Blackwater affair concerned regulation of private security contractors involved in combat roles. While some opposed their use, others believed that companies like Blackwater were here to stay and the matter was one of regulation. One of the latter writers contended the best human rights defenders could hope for was for regulatory measures that rewarded PSC corporate responsibility while guaranteeing that contractors who engaged in criminal conduct found themselves in the docket.²³⁰

Human Rights Watch also entered this controversy, with its senior counter-terrorism counsel, Jennifer Daskal, in a story reporting interviews with Nisour Square survivors, framing the issue more broadly than most of the other writers. While legislation to fill the legal gaps was working its way through Congress, she said such legislation was only as good as the oversight and enforcement which accompanied it. She saw it as an issue that needed wholesale reform of the way security contractors, and those that oversaw their work, did business.²³¹

230. *Guardian*, 14 March, 2008, "Let's leash the dogs of war," by Matthew Harwood. Retrieved 30 January, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/mar/14/letsleashthedogsofwar?INTCMP=SRCH>

231. *Human Rights Watch*, 14 December, 2007, "Blackwater in Baghdad: 'It was a horror movie'," by Jennifer Daskal. Retrieved 30 January, 2011.

<http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2007/12/13/blackwater-baghdad-it-was-horror-movie>

FRAMING WHITE PHOSPHOROUS

The war of words through the international news media over the Gaza conflict was intense, with white phosphorous a focal issue framed around whether or not its use was banned under international law and lying within the wider allegations and denials of war crimes framing the events of the conflict.

The Gaza conflict gave rise to sharp divisions of opinion through the international media, and at one point the reader's editor of the British *Observer*, sister publication of the *Guardian*, appealed to readers to recognise the important line between argument and insult and asked: "Why is it that when heartfelt anger enters a debate we so often wave goodbye to rational debate?"²³²

White phosphorous use was a focal issue for commentators and contributors to the British *Guardian* from both sides of conflict. Health Minister in the Hamas government in Gaza Basim Nairn using it to frame his commentary claiming that Hamas and other groups were fighting against Israeli aggression.²³³ Uri Dromi of the Jerusalem Centre for Ethics pointed out its use was not unlawful and he hit out at *Amnesty International* for its allegations against Israel of war crimes while paying lip service to the launching of rockets into Israel by Hamas over the years.²³⁴

232. *Observer*, 25 January, 2009, "The readers' editor on . . . the important line between argument and insult," by Stephen Pritchard. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/2009/jan/25/readers-editor?INTCMP=SRCH>

233. *Guardian*, 13 January, 2009, "Hamas has no quarrel with Jews, only with the actions of Israel," by Basim Nairn. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/search?q=White+phosphorus&page=7&show=recent§ion=&date=date%2F2009>

234. *Guardian*, 24 February, 2009, "Israel's use of force was justified," by Uri Dromi. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/feb/23/israel-palestinian-territories?INTCMP=SRCH>

The *Guardian* itself which had editorially urged ceasefire during the outbreak of violence, two months later cited white phosphorous use in its plea for an international inquiry as evidence mounted of war crimes allegedly committed by Israel.²³⁵

Arab news outlets were scathing of Israel's use of white phosphorous as part of their general criticism of Israel. For instance *Arab News* editorially framed Israel's allegedly illegal actions in the Gaza conflict as a matter of equality in the application of international law. It contended that the issue was not just about white phosphorous, claiming that Israel through its atrocities committed against civilians broke every international law in the book that preserved and respected human life. It claimed that going by the way international rules were applied or not applied to Israel, the Jewish state need not fear much.²³⁶

For *Press TV* and *Al Jazeera in English* the white phosphorous issue use by the IDF in Gaza was a major issue. Apart from stories specifically about its military use, it was a significant element in the framing of news stories about the impact on civilians and war crimes allegations during and immediately after the conflict.

235. *Guardian*, 24 March, 2009, "A case to answer", editorial. Retrieved 16 February, 2011, by <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/mar/24/israel-gaza-war-crimes-palestine?INTCMP=SRCH>

236. *Arab News*, 26 January, 2009, "Crime and no punishment, editorial." Retrieved February 10, 2011. <http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=7§ion=0&article=118522&d=26&m=1&y=2009>

The white phosphorous issue continued to make significant contributions to their coverage after the conflict, either directly or as part of more general stories about international moves to prosecute Israel. *Al Jazeera*, with a news team in Gaza, probed the issue from its early stages and focussed consistently on the impact of white phosphorous on the civilian population throughout the combat period. It continued to follow that up afterwards along with themes relating to military aspects and war crimes moves. *Press TV*'s coverage followed a similar pattern. The Iranian outlet also regularly used substantial amounts of material on the white phosphorous use in Gaza to background and frame stories about white phosphorous use by other forces elsewhere in the region. Both tied their archive Gaza text entries to white phosphorous visuals, *Press TV* frequently using air burst and shots of debris falling on buildings and people during the Gaza conflict, while *Al Jazeera* routinely provided video links to its *YouTube* site. *Jerusalem Post*'s archived news stories and contributed articles in the main featured the defensive approach of the IDF and Israeli Government. Several stories were directed to Israeli denials of white phosphorous munitions being used illegally. Others covered Israeli counter-attacks against what was claimed was bias in the statements and releases of the human rights NGOs.²³⁷

237. *Jerusalem Post*, 18 January, 2009, "*Human Rights Watch: White (phosphorous) lies*," by Gerald M. Steinberg. Retrieved 17 February, 2011.
<http://www.jpost.com/Cooperations/Archives/>
Jerusalem Post, 15 July, 2009, "Gov't strikes back against 'biased' human rights NGOs . . .," by Herb Keinon. Retrieved 17 February, 2011.
<http://www.jpost.com/Cooperations/Archives/>

Human rights NGOs, notably *Human Rights Watch* and *Amnesty International* had kept up a stream of reports, news stories and releases focussing initially on establishing the use of white phosphorous in Gaza and its impact on the civilian population, urging the international community to take action to stop its use, and against all parties for alleged breaches of international law. Both organisations produced widely publicised major reports on the impact of the conflict on the people of Gaza which dealt with the white phosphorous issue.²³⁸

Bloggers, including journalists, international activists and residents, whose work was reviewed through *Global Voices* placed the focus on the civilian side of the issue, painting graphic and detailed personal and eye witness accounts - or accounts people gleaned from relatives - of the effects on people and buildings inside Gaza of the use of white phosphorous munitions.²³⁹ Others from across the Arab world shared conflict-relevant thoughts on Palestine, Arab nationalism and the death of children in Gaza which drew on the white phosphorous issue for framing.²⁴⁰

238. *Human Rights Watch*, "Rain of Fire: Israel's Unlawful Use of White Phosphorous in Gaza"; *Amnesty International* "Israel/Gaza: Operation "Cast Lead": 22 Days of Death and Destruction."

239. *Global Voices*, 12 January 2009, "From Italy to Palestine: Vittorio Arrigoni writes from Gaza," by Ayesha Saldanha. Retrieved 17 February, 2011.

<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/01/12/from-italy-to-palestine-vittorio-arrigoni-writes-from-gaza/>
Global Voices, 17 January, 2009, "Palestine: Everything is in vain in Gaza - breathing, running, hoping," by Ayesha Saldanha. Retrieved 17 February, 2011.

<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/01/17/palestine-everything-is-in-vain-in-gaza-breathing-running-hoping/>

240. *Global Voices*, 13 January, 2009, "Arab World: "Why the Children of Gaza Don't Deserve to Die?" by Amira Al Hussaini, Retrieved, 17 February, 2011.

<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/01/13/arab-world-why-the-children-of-gaza-dont-deserve-to-die/>

Electronic Intifada (EI) views itself as an independent publication committed to comprehensive public education on the question of Palestine, “providing a needed supplement to mainstream commercial media representations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”²⁴¹ *Electronic Intifada*’s contributors were wide ranging in their coverage of the white phosphorous issue and other stories in which its use was element on the impact of the conflict on stories about the impact of the conflict on the civilian population, the humanitarian situation and civilian casualties. Midway through the Gaza fighting the white phosphorous issue began featuring in stories about the rising tide of legal actions by international lawyers launching legal actions against Israel.²⁴² The white phosphorous issue also figured regularly in stories alleging war crimes and urging investigation and prosecution; and in reviews and anniversary stories of the conflict for two years afterwards.

Surveillance of the media coverage was another theme to which the white phosphorous issue contributed. One writer joined in the intense public row which developed over the BBC’s refusal to run an appeal advertisement for Palestinians;²⁴³ while another handed out a major bouquet to the Palestinian *Ramattan News Agency* for its coverage of the conflict including beaming images of the conflict into millions of homes around the world.²⁴⁴

241. *Electronic Intifada*, “About EI: Introducing the Electronic Intifada.” Retrieved 17 February, 2011. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/aboutEI.shtml>

242. *Electronic Intifada*, 10 January, 2009, “Abettors of war crimes will be held accountable,” by Adri Nieuwhof and Daniel Machover. Retrieved 17 February, 2011. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10159.shtml>

243. *Electronic Intifada*, 4 February 2009, “BBC’s ‘impartiality’ anything but,” by Muhammad Idrees Ahmad. Retrieved 17 February, 2011. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10275.shtml>

244. *Electronic Intifada*, 20 February 2009, *Ramattan’s war: The world’s eyes into Gaza*, by Toufic Haddad. Retrieved 17 February, 2011. <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10324.shtml>

CONCLUSION

The qualitative analysis set out in this chapter reinforces the evidence of the earlier quantitative analysis (see Chapter Six) to demonstrate the unprecedented diversity of coverage of the Haditha and Blackwater events in the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue from the Gaza conflict. The qualitative analysis has added to the statistical findings, the diversities of editorial stance, ideological orientation and actor agenda.

The major difference to emerge from the qualitative analysis of the digitally archived coverage of a wide range of news media international, multi-national outlets over the three events was that between the Western and Middle Eastern outlets' approaches.

This diversity was demonstrated most vividly in the focus of the Middle Eastern outlets, along with a number of internet-based and specialist NGO outlets, in their coverage on the civilian aspects of the three events.

The focus of significant mainstream US outlets, such as the *New York Times*, was on the conduct of the military personnel involved, the wider implications within their own societies and the impact of the Iraq events on the overall missions.

Both groups however tended to frame the events in terms of their potential influence for bringing to an end of what were presented by their main outlets as flawed overall missions. The major difference here was mainly of how soon this should happen, under what conditions and how it would be viewed.

Also clear was the difference between these two groups in the tone of the stories about the three events, both tending to be aggressive and adversarial but that of the Middle Eastern group being more strident, at times bordering on the abusive in some cases.

Striking, were the differences in terminology used by the actors and the news media – either as reportage or by choice - to describe the character of the conflicts, the incidents and the combatants. The ideological loading of these terms presented significant problems for news media attempting to maintain impartiality in their coverage and the appropriate language has been the subject of several significant articles or programmes.

Again, as in the quantitative analysis, a strong theme which emerged was that of legal emphases in all three instances, which often saw the coverage of the events issues revolve around allegations of war crimes or general criminal conduct. The coverage saw them countered by denials and defences of legally permitted conduct or in accordance with formally established procedures or rules of engagement.

Western news media outlets tended to display more diversity domestically than the Middle Eastern Media. The editorial, columnist and contributor coverage of Middle Eastern news media outlets tended to follow similar lines, the differences being mainly that of degree. Overall they tended to be more strident and condemnatory than the Western news media. However, among those surveyed here, the significant exception was *Al Jazeera*, with its generally independent approach.

Among Western outlets very different stances could be seen nationally, for instance between the *New York Times*, the *Voice of America*, and *Wall Street Journal*, and the independent news media outlet *Democracy Now* over the Haditha affair. Individually, there was the UK *Guardian's* coverage which, apart from its own editorial viewpoint, included, in the case of all three events, a diverse range of perspectives from its own columnists and contributors. Most obviously among these were contributions from a Hamas political minister and a prominent Israeli who both considered the white phosphorous issue in their very different framing of the Gaza War situation. Similarly the *Guardian* carried widely varying viewpoints from contributors and columnists on the Blackwater affair.

The time span of these three incidents has also seen an increase in diversity associated with the rise of NGO activity and internet-based news outlets, citizen journalism and social networking systems, whose efforts are often picked up by the more traditional news media.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WHY THE DIVERSITY IN COVERAGE?

Unprecedented diversity in the international multi-platform news media coverage of the Haditha and Blackwater affairs arising from the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the white phosphorous issue arising from the Gaza War was demonstrated by the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the digitally archive news content of a select range of news media outlets described in Chapters Six and Seven of this study.

The analyses of the coverage of the three events also revealed a number of significant themes which appear to indicate explanations for that diversity. They include the multifactioned, asymmetric character of the conflicts in which they occurred; the importance attached to the media coverage of the events by all the major actors (political, military and audience-based groups); and the attention given to the three events by the outlets within the overall news coverage of these conflicts. Other explanations indicated are the extent to which these events were played out in legal and diplomatic arenas, both of which guaranteed major and conflicted public coverage; and the tenacity of the news media in general in pursuing the issues arising along tortuous information paths and over long periods. Others include the challenging rise of the Middle Eastern news media, presenting sharply contrasting emphases in the coverage of the events from that of the traditionally dominant Western outlets; and the increasingly active news media-directed role played by human rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs) especially in the Gaza conflict and white phosphorous issue.

Yet others include entry into the coverage of a wide and expanding range of internet-based news media outlets, including specialised news sites; traditional (broadcast and print) news outlet add-on internet-based activity; significant actor (military and political) information/news sites, special purpose audience sites, individual and collective blog sites and organised and chance citizen journalists. Another explanation lies in the change in the practice and culture of journalism toward a more aggressive, adversarial and active participant character in the coverage of the conflicts and events.

These features exhibited in the news coverage provide the keys to explaining in this chapter the diversity of the news coverage of these events when the evidence from the analyses is set against the background of the ever-developing ideas and knowledge of news coverage of modern military conflicts to which this study is intended to contribute. This chapter, then, will seek to show the part these factors played in producing the diverse versions of these events and diffusing them internationally in an increasingly technologically sophisticated, competitive, transparent and boundary-porous news media environment.

CHANGING WAR: MEDIA WAR AND LEGALISATION OF WAR

An explanation for the diversity of the news coverage of these events can be found in the intensity, consistency and persistence of the coverage and its striking legal focus. This legal emphasis appears as characteristic of modern, urbanised, asymmetric war fought as much in the media and in the courtrooms and inquiry forums as on the fields of combat.

Exploration of the news coverage of the Gaza and post- invasion Iraq conflicts and the three subject events throws up in sharp relief a number of defining characteristics.

These include:

- The multiplicity of actors, domestic and international, directly or indirectly involved;
- The focus on urban warfare involving a mixture of guerrilla war and counter-insurgency and an absence of open battles.
- Civilians bearing the brunt of the violence, accompanied by frequent allegations of human rights abuses and war crimes.
- Religious rhetoric periodically inflaming the conflicts, but the overarching struggles expressed more commonly in terms of group and national identity or sovereignty.
- The news media's involvement in many aspects of the conflicts as an information source and propaganda vehicle, weapon and target, platform for and subject of debate and controversy and as a battleground.
- The highly technological means employed by the stronger parties pitted against the mix of old and adaptations of the new by the weaker.

These characteristics are also archetypical of the changing form or character of modern warfare brought about largely by globalisation, and social and cultural change, including in the technological field which has significantly influenced communication and news media capabilities and applications.

These characteristics bear the hallmarks of what Mary Kaldor has described as “new wars” of the modern era as distinguished from the “old wars” of the Cold War era²⁴⁵ and Michael Sheehan’s extension of her arguments to focus on the asymmetric character of modern conflicts.²⁴⁶ Both recognise the part played by the news media. Although Kaldor does not dwell on it at great length, Sheehan does give it more significance in his discussion of modern asymmetric warfare including that in the Middle East.

Sheehan notes how non-state actors in the post Cold War period have moved to transform both cyberspace and the global media into crucial battlefields, alongside terrestrial military and terrorist operations.

“... so war is now fought on a number of different planes of reality simultaneously, and reality itself is subverted in the cause of war through sophisticated strategies of informational and electronic deception.”²⁴⁷

245. Kaldor, Mary, *New Wars and Old Wars*, Polity Press, Cambridge, second edition, 2006; Kaldor, Mary, *New Wars and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1999; Johnson, Alan, “New Wars and Human Security: An Interview with Mary Kaldor,” in *Democratiya*, no.11, Winter, 2007, pp.14-35. Retrieved 2 December, 2009.

http://dissentmagazine.org/democratiya/article_pdfs/d11Kaldor.pdf

246. Sheehan, Michael, “The Changing Character of War,” Ch.12, pp. 210-225, in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, eds., John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, fourth edition, Oxford University Press, 2007.

247. Sheehan, p.213.

Contemporary war, according to Sheehan, takes place in a local context, but is also played out in wider fields and influenced by non-governmental organisations, intergovernmental organisations, regional and global media and users of the internet. He said that in many ways, contemporary wars are fought on television, and the media therefore have a powerful role in providing a framework of understanding for the viewers of the conflict.²⁴⁸ Sheehan says:

“The media have become far more important in terms of shaping or even constructing understandings of particular wars. Media warfare has made war more transparent. Each side now goes to great lengths to manipulate media images of the conflict.”²⁴⁹

Sheehan points out that a central feature of the (Iraq) conflict was the American dominance of information warfare, both in the military sense and in the post-modern sense of the manipulation of the civilian communications and global images of the war to produce an international understanding of the fighting that reflected what the US administration wished the watching world to perceive.²⁵⁰

“In addition, the insurgents were able to use the global media to manipulate perceptions of the character and implications of the strategy of terrorism and destabilisation.”²⁵¹

248. Sheehan, p.215.

249. Ibid, p.220.

250. Ibid, p.218, “Case Study: The Iraq War 2003-2007” panel.

251. Ibid.

SYNERGIES OF MEDIA AND LEGALISED WAR

Both the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the media coverage highlight the extent to which the law – from domestic to international- has been invoked in all three events under study. Many parties can be seen as using international and domestic laws to influence events or disadvantage opponents and using the resultant news media coverage to gain traction in the sphere of public opinion.

Claims are to be found in the coverage of the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous events that they involved war crimes, breaches of the laws of war or of human rights or other abuses and there were many legal twists and turns as events unfolded attended by considerable international publicity. The Haditha and Blackwater affairs have been dealt with by US criminal courts and military hearings and through civil courts, with some residual matters still to be heard. They have also lead to controversies over jurisdictional powers over foreign troops in Iraq who committed crimes, and over the prosecution of US courts of private security contractors working overseas for US departments other than Defense who committed offences. However the white phosphorous issue has gone down a broader legal path being part of a parcel of allegations of war crimes and breaches of humanitarian law against Israel, considered by a United Nations Human Rights Committee inquiry on the Gaza War (the Goldstone inquiry). Many attempts have also been made to take legal action in foreign domestic courts against Israel and Israeli military officers and politicians. Allegations of war crimes and other breaches were also considered at the UNHRC inquiry against Palestinian militants.²⁵²

252. *UN Press Centre*, 15 September, 2009, “UN mission finds evidence of war crimes by both sides in Gaza conflict”, press release. Retrieved 2 December, 2010.
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=32057&Cr=palestin&Cr1>

The resultant quantity, intensity, scope and diversity of news media coverage arising from this focus on the legal aspects of the events can also be seen as a demonstration of the synergies generated when media war and other elements of asymmetric warfare are linked.

In all three incidents many of the allegations of war crimes and other abuses were no doubt based on genuinely held belief. But the incidents also presented opposing groups and their allies and sympathisers with ammunition to use as part of their armoury. This aspect of the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts resonates strongly with the comprehensive formulation of a general theory of synergistic asymmetric warfare constructed by Chinese military analysts Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, in a 1999 book in which they subsumed legalisation of war and media war under the umbrella of unrestricted warfare.²⁵³

The Chinese analysts advocated the use by less powerful groups and nations of combinations of military, trans-military and non-military means to strike at superior powers like the U.S.²⁵⁴ Their “unrestricted warfare” calls for the selection from a wide range of methods - including regulatory, information, cyber and media warfare - to be used.²⁵⁵

253. Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare*, PLA, Literature and Arts Publishing House, Beijing, February, 1999. Extensive extracts translated by the CIA-connected Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Retrieved 28 March, 2010.

<http://www.c4i.org/unrestricted.pdf>

A translated version of this book was published in the United States sub-titled *China's Master Plan to Destroy America*, Pan American Public Company, Los Angeles, 2002.

254. Ibid., p.146 (pdf page numbers).

255. Ibid., p.191. Warfare methods urged include not only media attacks and using the media for propaganda purposes but also buying or gaining control of corporate stocks to turn media organisations such as newspapers and TV stations into tools of media warfare.

Using the law, for the Chinese analysts, includes turning against the powerful nations the rules which they themselves have made and by which they constrain themselves and enter their complex of methods of warfare at various points.

Warfare, according to the analysts, is to be extended across different domains which include economic, political and media as well as the military and in supra-domain combinations.²⁵⁶ They urge that various forms of warfare be conducted through organisations or supra-national combinations of national, international or non-state organisations up to and including the UN. They say the trend toward supra-national combinations in warfare and other conflicts has been increasingly obvious since the Gulf War of 1991.²⁵⁷

In its extreme militarised form the use of law has become known as “lawfare” which Western analysts view as a key aspect of modern asymmetric war. A US Deputy Judge Advocate General, Major General Charles Dunlap, defined it as:

“The exploitation of real, perceived or even orchestrated incidents of law of war violence being employed as an unconventional means of confronting a superior military power.”²⁵⁸

256. Ibid., p.189.

257. Ibid., p.184.

258. *Washington Times*, 3 August, 2007, “Lawfare amid warfare,” by Charles J. Dunlap. Retrieved 10 December, 2009.

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2007/aug/03/lawfare-amid-warfare/print/>

Charles Dunlap added “... make it appear that the United States is fighting in an illegal or immoral way, and the damage inflicted upon the public support the forces of a democracy need to wage war is as real as any caused by a traditional defeat.”

David Rivkin and Lee Casey, US commentators who study the changing the legal architecture of war, have described lawfare as:

... the growing use of international law claims, usually factually or legally meritless, as a tool of war. The goal is to gain a moral advantage over your enemy in the court of world opinion, and potentially a legal advantage in national and international tribunals.”²⁵⁹

Rivkin and Casey see these efforts “of a piece” with a similar "progressive" movements to remake the traditional laws of war, attempting to import into the area of armed conflict concepts and norms from the world of domestic law enforcement. They note routine demands by various NGOs for irregular enemy combatants (like al Qaeda and the Taliban) to be treated as prisoners of war or criminal defendants, that military force can be applied only to the minimum amounts necessary to neutralise a particular opponent (rather than with a view to achieving ultimate victory), and have sought to ban an increasing number of weapons and weapons systems as being "inherently indiscriminate.”²⁶⁰ Other observers have also noted attempts to redefine currently legitimate military actions as illegal.

259. *Wall Street Journal, Opinion Journal*, 23 February, 2007, “Lawfare”, by David B. Rivkin, jun., and Lee A. Casey. Retrieved 10 December, 2009.

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB117220137149816987.html#articleTabs=article#articleTabs=article>

260. Ibid.

MAIN ACTORS AND THE MEDIA

The range of actors involved and of their involvement in media coverage provides evidence from the analyses of the heightened awareness by military, political and audience groups and individuals of the news media dimension of the conflicts and events and the increasing technological capabilities, and the need to influence them.

These actors have sought to keep pace, and their activities – including engaging directly in news media operations using the new communication technologies, particularly internet-based applications, themselves - have increased the diffusion, diversity and extent of the coverage and generated a more intense news media war.

MILITARY AND THE MEDIA

The coverage of the two conflicts and the subject events displays diversity of coverage driven by increased awareness of the importance and use of the media by the involved militaries, using that term in its broadest sense to include the formally constructed and irregular or insurgent forces and private security contractors.

The militaries in both conflicts sought to manipulate or control the news products of the media and became heavily engaged in media activities themselves, most military groups setting up websites and posting their own videos, as they fought to establish legitimacy and public support and undermine that of their opponents.

But both in post-invasion Iraq and in Gaza, they have had to operate in the most difficult, yet highly media transparent, combat environments in modern warfare. Most of the combat action in these two conflicts has taken place in urban areas under the intensive and pervasive scrutiny of the international media, some of whom have been friendly and supportive, some ambivalent and some hostile. The difficulties are numerous and complex, particularly for the Western democratically-based forces. Nominally they are mandated to follow practices and policies of openness, in the case of Iraq accommodating huge numbers of embedded journalists while aware of many independents operating outside their jurisdiction. Yet there was no similar requirement of openness or accommodation on their opponents.

The Haditha and Blackwater affairs and the white phosphorous issue all represent examples of what has been called the “strategic corporal” effect (having consequences out of all proportion to their apparent size). All three arose in transparent urban-warfare environments of constant and intense news media scrutiny in which more traditional military forces were pitted against irregular enemy combatants blending easily and swiftly with civilian populations. In these combat environments inflicting injury on enemy combatants and avoiding collateral damage, including civilian casualties, are matters of fine judgment usually under difficult circumstances. Under these conditions even the most routine tactical decision-making can blow up into a major internationally controversial incident with major strategic implications guaranteeing (as these events did) intense and wide ranging international public interest and publicity. One result of the increased media transparent environment has been the legalisation of the battlefield, with regular oversight by legal officers of lower level field commanders’ tactical decisions.

Evidence from the coverage demonstrates the contribution to diversity made by the attempts of all sides to use traditional and internet-based news media as part of their armoury in these conflicts. The Coalition and IDF established their own channels on *You Tube*, Al Qaeda and major insurgent groups in Iraq and Palestinian militant groups in Gaza posted videos of their actions on specialised websites or on *You Tube*, or supplied video or made statements to accommodating news outlets for use and wider distribution.²⁶¹

Military use of the media can however backfire with discordant messages causing loss of credibility and exacerbating emerging controversial events. An attempt by the US military to get a message on the Haditha incident out before the insurgents put out their own information, resulted in an incorrect news release and exacerbated the problems that arose after *Time* magazine's expose on the affair emerged.²⁶²

The exposure and persistent coverage of all three incidents demonstrated the impossibility in the modern transparent conflict environment of imposing traditional official censorship and the difficulty of effectively applying, hopefully, more palatable versions.

261. *Al Jazeera*, 17 August, 2007, "You Tube and the Iraq War." Retrieved 19 February, 2011.
<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/listeningpost/2007/04/2008526122429785418.html>

Caldwell IV, William B. (Lieutenant General), Murphy, Dennis B and Menning, Anton, "Learning to Leverage New Media: The Israeli Defence Forces in Recent Conflicts", pp. 2-20, in *Military Review*, May-June, 2009, p.7.

262. *New York Times*, 6 May, 2007, "Propaganda Fear Cited in Account of Iraqi Killings," by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 4 September, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/06/world/middleeast/06haditha.html?scp=66&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

None of the subject incidents were blocked by the embedding of journalists with the Coalition military in Iraq, the Iraq fledging government's banning or closure orders on news media who were considered to have overstepped the mark, or the denial of access of journalists, many from major Western outlets, to the Gaza conflict zone. Many independents operated in Iraq and Iraq had its own domestic news media operations. *Al Jazeera* had staff in Gaza before the conflict broke out and operated from there throughout, and because of its airburst form the white phosphorous munitions use was unmistakably visible – and even more spectacular - from outside Gaza.

Because of the Western news media's access difficulties (taken eventually to the Israeli courts) much of the news agenda and the Gaza conflict was set by Middle Eastern media which tended to frame the conflict largely in terms of Palestinian civilian casualties and property damage.

The Haditha affair illustrates an informal process of censorship at work. Coverage of it was hampered by the danger to journalists of entering the troubled Haditha area where fighting was continuing²⁶³ (which also hampered the military investigation²⁶⁴) with the result much of the work for *Time*'s initial expose was done by email connection with locals.²⁶⁵ Journalists in both conflicts faced the danger of getting caught in cross-fire and broadcast facilities of news outlets have been attacked; while in the Iraq conflict many journalists or support staff, mostly Iraqi, have been kidnapped or murdered by militants, and there have been some denied claims of journalists being targeted.²⁶⁶

263. *New York Times*, 11 March, 2007, "Reporting the News Even When a Competitor Gets There First" by Byron Calame. Retrieved 19 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/opinion/11pubed.html?scp=4&sq=Haditha%20+%20New%20York%20Times%20+%20Public%20Editor&st=cse>

264. *New York Times*, 13 June, 2007, "US Inquiry Hampered by Iraq Violence, Investigators Say", by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 17 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/13/us/13haditha.html?scp=50&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

265. *Time*, 4 June, 2006, "How Haditha Came to Light," by Jeffrey Kluger, February 19, 2011. Retrieved 5 February, 2011.

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1200780,00.html>

266. *Guardian*, 29 November, 2007, "News deaths hit an all time high", by Roy Greenslade. Retrieved 5 February, 2011.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2007/nov/29/newsdeathshitanalltimehigh?INTCMP=SRCH>
Foerstel, Herbert N., *Kill the Messenger: Journalists at risk in modern warfare*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, 2006, pp xiii & xiv.

In the high incidence year of 2007, encompassing the two subject Iraq incidents, Greenslade notes on his blog site that 171 journalists and support staff were killed around the world and of those 64 were in Iraq, with most of those in the overall total murdered after being targeted because of their jobs. Foerstel says that in today's modern urban warfare there are no front lines and no longer "collateral casualties." Journalists have become primary targets and the modern war correspondent is in the cross hairs, he says.

The significant number of political actors involved directly and indirectly, nationally and internationally in the Iraq and Gaza conflicts, all seeking to contribute to or influence the news coverage to suit their agendas, guaranteed diversity in the news treatment of the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous events.

The analyses of the coverage of the events also suggests an interesting and complex dynamic at work between the political sphere and the diplomatic and legal spheres. The evidence (set out in Chapter Six) is that the political aspect only rarely showed to a limited extent in the emphasis in the coverage of the three events. US politicians were successful in diverting the Haditha issue to the legal sphere and away from the domestic political or US-Iraqi diplomatic arenas where they could have suffered electoral or war-poll damage. Again, in the Blackwater affair US political responsibility was limited by sharing the focus of attention on it with the legal issues of controlling private security contractors in Iraq and elsewhere and the prosecution of the guards involved, and on the corporate body and wider issue of the use generally of private security contractors in modern conflicts.

The coverage also indicates that the US politicians managed generally to stay out of the explosive Gaza white phosphorous issue. For the Middle Eastern politicians none of the events showed up in the coverage as a major internal political issue. However Israel's opponents were successful in escalating the white phosphorous issue along with other aspects of the Gaza War into a still-live international diplomatic issue, through regional and international bodies including the UN.

NEW AND RISING NEWS MEDIA ACTORS

The analyses of the news coverage of these conflicts and the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous events demonstrates the increased diversity of coverage created by the entry onto these multi-dimensional battlegrounds of a phalanx of new and rising actors. They include a maturing generation of news-generating, internet-based and digitally-connected groups and individuals. The increased diversity also reflects the heightened activity of a Middle Eastern news media (demonstrated in Chapter Six) challenging the historical dominance of coverage by the Western news media. Adding to the diversity is the increased news media-directed activity of specialised NGOs particularly in the Gaza conflict and over the white phosphorous issue. These increases in media activity have also been based in large part on the advancing sophistication in communication technology. The diversity has been heightened still further by the “re-birthing” of traditional Western news media outlets as they adopt the internet-based technologies to meet the commercial and news coverage challenges of the increasing field of online news actors.

Overall these factors gather to produce an intensely competitive news media environment for the coverage of these conflicts and events like the Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous issues, which guarantees increased diversity and, through organisational and operational arrangements, formal and informal, ensures widespread domestic and international diffusion of content.

The analyses show that *Human Rights Watch* and *Amnesty International* were major news media players in the Gaza conflict and white phosphorous issue. They produced continuous streams of news, statements and reports which received wide international distribution. Particularly potent in driving the white phosphorous issue were their high profile reports “Israel/Gaza: Operation ‘Cast Lead’: 22 Days of Death and Destruction,” prepared by *Amnesty International*, and “Rain of Fire: Israel’s Unlawful Use of White phosphorous in Gaza,” a *Human Rights Watch* publication.²⁶⁷

With an estimated 50 NGOs involved in the Gaza conflict, many reporting to the news media and to international organisations including the United Nations, diverse coverage - often from humanitarian perspectives and at variance with official versions – was bound to be generated and diffused through the international news media.

Organised internet outlets like the international weblog site *Global Voices*, Palestinian online *Ma’an News Agency* and Palestinian-orientated *Electronic Intifada* show evidence of contributing significantly to the volume of the coverage and diverse perspectives of the international coverage. Their activities represented the tip of the internet iceberg in the overall coverage.

267. *Amnesty International*, “Israel/Gaza: Operation ‘Cast Lead’: 22 Days of Death and Destruction,” Amnesty International Publication, London, 2009, p. 27. Retrieved 1 October, 2009.

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/015/2009/en/8f299083-9a74-4853-860f-0563725e633a/mde150152009en.pdf>

Human Right Watch, “Rain of Fire: Israel’s Unlawful Use of White Phosphorous in Gaza, Human Rights Watch,” New York, 2009, p.1. Retrieved 5 October, 2009.

<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/iopt0309webwcover.pdf>

Internet and digital technology saw a rise in weblogs and internet messaging from inside Iraq and Gaza, the use in the conflicts of official websites of the militaries involved in the conflicts, and the establishment of individual news websites and weblogs by independent journalists and soldiers. Alongside these has been the recent appearance of a virtual army of citizen journalists ever ready to increase the diversity of the coverage with internet messages or video camera or videophone photography contributed to the major print and broadcast outlets or to video sharing sites like the *You Tube* video operation. They have also more recently been joined by an explosion of social networking sites such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* which played significant roles in the Gaza conflict.²⁶⁸

The Haditha incident in particular highlighted the interaction between the citizen journalist and the traditional news media. The story gained momentum following *Time* magazine's expose run after its journalist had confirmed the story from video photographs taken soon after the incident by a local Iraqi described as a trainee journalist and human rights activist.²⁶⁹

268. Caldwell, Murphy & Menning, pp. 6-7.

269. *Time*, 4 June, 2006, "How Haditha Came to Light," by Jeffrey Kluger, February 19, 2011. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1200780,00.html>

However once the military authorities began to move to prosecute the Marines involved in the Haditha incident, web sites began to spring up in the US supporting the Marines who, the organisers contended, were under siege by politicians and the military attempting to scapegoat them for decisions made by those above them. The sites also sought to defend the marines against what the organisers regarded as the negative publicity of the mainstream news media.²⁷⁰

Stuart Allan has traced the development of the new communications technology catalysing the rise of participatory and citizen journalism. He points out that during the Iraq conflict web site activity, whether “official” ones associated with established news organisations, or “unofficial” ones such as personal blogs – became indispensable resources.²⁷¹

Caldwell, Murphy and Menning describe how, during the Gaza War where traditional media were denied access to the battlefield, both the Israelis and Palestinians sought to control “new” media through coordinated efforts at creating supportive online communities that might act as force multipliers in cyberspace.²⁷²

270. *New York Times*, 22 July, 2007, “Web Sites Rally Support for G.I.’s in Legal Trouble,” by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 18 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/22/world/middleeast/22abuse.html?scp=1&sq=Haditha>

One website organiser told the *New York Times*: “The insurgency has found a new bomb, and that’s to accuse these young men of wrongdoing, because we throw the book at them . . . We all feel like the big brass have eaten their young here.”

271. Allan, Stuart, *Online News: Journalism and the Internet*, Open University Press, 2006, Maidenhead, England, p.100.

272. Caldwell, Murphy and Menning, p.8. They describe how Gazans sent out tweets, updated blogs and used cellphones to transmit photos of carnage to the outside world.

Australian academic Professor Lyn Gorman has traced the evolutionary nature of this internet and digital aspect of media war. She categorised the Vietnam War as the “First Television War”; the 1991 Gulf War as the “First Real Time War”; the 1999 Kosovo campaign as the “First Web War”; the 2001 Afghanistan War as the “First Video War”; the 2003 Iraq War as the “First Blog War” and “War of Citizen Journalists”; and the current US-Al Qaeda War as the “First *You Tube* War”.²⁷³

Competition from the internet-based news media has forced major change on the more traditional print and broadcast international news media to adapt to the internet and digital communication technology. This was demonstrated in the digital archives of major print and TV outlets used in this study, such as the *New York Times* and *Guardian*, which combined content from both their parent and parallel web.com operations. Most of the major websites in this study also provided links to video and audio coverage of parent or associated operations. Mainstream news media also invite textual and visual news contributions from their audiences through various internet-based and digital systems.

But one of the most striking aspects of the analyses was the extent, depth, editorial approach and robustness of the archived news coverage by the Middle Eastern outlets of the post-invasion Iraq conflict and Gaza conflicts and the three subject events.

273. Gorman, Lyn, October 9, 2008. “The Cold War: An Australian Perspective”, pp. 96-112, in *The Military, the Media and Information Warfare*, eds., Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, Australian Military History Publication, Canberra, 2008, at p.98. Publication contains papers from the (Australian) Chief of Army’s Annual History Conference, Canberra, 9-10 October, 2008. Comment from Professor Gorman’s paper and oral remarks at the conference.

The material reviewed for this thesis showed the major focus or very strong themes for the Middle Eastern news media was the personal and material impact on the Iraqi and Gazan people, in contrast to the emphasis by the Western mainstream media's focus on more institutional aspects, military, diplomatic and legal. The language allowed in comment articles and editorials and in headlining and other framing of news stories about the subject events in some Middle Eastern outlets such as *Azzaman*, *Press TV*, and *Arab News* was also more prejudgmental, accusatory and strident than the Western news media.²⁷⁴

This coverage reflects the general rise of the Middle Eastern news media over the past decade and a half which has challenged the traditional news domination of the Western news media. This was led by the Pan-Arab satellite and internet network *Al Jazeera* first launched in 1966. Largely though its powerful coverage of the Afghanistan, Iraq and Gaza conflicts, the *Al Jazeera* network, now broadcast internationally in several languages, has become a major news media force in the region and a global presence rivalling the influential US-based *CNN*. *Al Jazeera* has driven a rise in the Middle Eastern news quantity, media quality and capability and been joined by many other Arab media actors, including the rival *Al Arabiya* and Iranian *Press TV*.

274. Apart from any ideological differences, jurisdictional and geographic distance explanations need to be considered in respect of the variation in language used in the Western and Middle Eastern news media over the two Iraq incidents which were the subject of criminal legal actions in the US.

Philip Seib has pointed out that the explosive rise of news media in the Middle East had by 2008 seen the appearance of some 450 other Arab satellite channels, many with parallel websites.²⁷⁵

Committed to presenting an Arab perspective on regional and international events, *Al Jazeera* has covered the Afghanistan conflict throughout; the Iraq conflict subject to periods of suspension by authorities; and was the only international television broadcaster inside Gaza throughout the Gaza combat period. Emphasising *Al Jazeera's* significance, Seib in 2008 said the battle for hearts and minds in the Middle East was being fought on the newscasts and talk shows of *Al Jazeera*. Seib, writing before the Gaza war, was referring specifically to Iraq, but his comments in general were also directed toward Israeli-Palestinian conflicts.²⁷⁶

AGGRESSIVE NEWS MEDIA AT WAR

Given the duration of the coverage, the peaks and troughs and the fluctuating emphases of the coverage, the Haditha and Blackwater affairs and the white phosphorous issue appear not as simple events to be swiftly dealt with, but as complex exposes or a long series of mini-exposes.

275. Seib, Philip, *The Al Jazeera Effect: How the new global media reshaping world politics*, Potomac Books, Inc., Washington, D.C., 2008, p.x.

276. Ibid, p.ix.

This is in part the result of the media activities of the major actors' attempts to manipulate the coverage. But the duration and persistence of the coverage can also be seen as in part the result of the probing and tenacity of the journalists. The use of strong language by some commentators and in the framing of news stories about these matters, found in the coverage, is also reflective of the aggressive approaches of some outlets and journalists.

The probing, tenacious and aggressive approach of some journalists in the coverage of these incidents and more widely in these conflicts arises in part out of the modern, high paced, competitive news media demand for continual – continuous in the case of some internet-based news media outlets – sensation and freshness. This approach places journalists in the position of active participants in these conflicts. But in conflict situations it also places on them great pressures in terms of objectivity, balance and accuracy.²⁷⁷ The overall effect, however, is a further increase in the diversity of the coverage.

277. Allan, Stuart and Zelizer, Barbie, "Rules of Engagement", ch. 1, pp. 3-21, in *Reporting War: Journalism and War*, 2006, p. 8, Discussing the coverage of war in this era of 24/7 rolling news channels, they said that all too often in the drive to be first to break a story, due care and accuracy were sacrificed in the heat of the moment.

The news media's desire for sensation from conflicts was noted by historian Philip Taylor points out the media's enthusiasm for publishing revelations after the 1991 Gulf War based on matters that were in fact well known at the time.²⁷⁸ Sheehan has also pointed out that in modern conflicts journalists have been transformed from observers into active participants.

“Each side now goes to great lengths to manipulate media images of the conflict, *and journalists have effectively been transformed from observers into active participants*, (emphasis added) facing most of the same dangers as the soldiers and helping to shape the course of the war through their reporting . . . ”²⁷⁹

The active participant role of journalists was presaged by several authors, including Peter Young and Peter Jesser who as far back as 1997 contended the news media had become a major player in limited conflict and peacekeeping operations .²⁸⁰

278. Taylor p.xii

279. Sheehan p.220.

280. Young, Peter & Jesser, Peter, *The Media and the Military: From the Crimea to Desert Strike*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1997, p.271.

The aggressive, adversarial journalistic approach to the coverage of the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts and the Haditha and Blackwater events is in many ways a reflection of the evolution of Western journalism over the past fifty years as the practice and culture of journalism has undergone change. The conservative approach of the 1960s has been swept away by social change, globalisation and increasingly sophisticated communications technology for both the news media industry and journalism and for audiences.²⁸¹

While old rules are still cited in newsrooms, in practice these changes at times see the previously rigorously maintained separation of fact and opinion blurred especially in electronic and cyber news media, speculation and rumour acceptable as a substitute for fact, balance and fact checking at times seemingly a matter of convenience and deadline pressure, and the duty to audiences and community blurred by an enthusiasm for entertaining readers and viewers.

281. *Christchurch Star* 1959 -2009, microfilm files, Christchurch Public Library; *The New Zealand Herald Manual of Journalism*, ed. John Hardingham, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1967; *Intro: A Beginner's Guide to Professional News Journalism*, ed. Jim Tully, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2008; Price, Steven, *Media Minefield: A Journalist's Guide to Media Regulation in New Zealand*, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2007. For instance a general change from the conservative to a more aggressive editorial approach of the New Zealand news media over this half century was noted by the writer in a personal year-by-year survey by representative dates of the *Star* files conducted during 2009. Similar change was observed in UK, Australian and US newspapers reviewed on a regular basis over that period. The change is also reflected in the instruction contained in the journalism training manuals referred to, published more than 40 years apart, and the statement of NZ newspapers' current purpose by the NZ Press Council cited by Price.

Journalistic cynicism has evolved into relentless negativism, and quick sensation, while the probe and the expose are highly prized. The trend toward negativity in Western journalism has been noted by framing theorists and acknowledged by journalists themselves. Karen Johnson-Cartee has pointed out that in the US context “overwhelmingly, journalistic accounts of the political process are negative”.²⁸² She also describes how the US news media’s emphasis on conflict (in the general sense) and its accompanying negativity has been lead to a confrontational or critical style of investigative journalism. Meanwhile in NZ editorial negativity has been defended on the basis that it is often the most important or newsworthy aspect of a story.²⁸³

War reporting in this modern context takes place – as in Iraq and Gaza –in the customary confusion of war, complicated by the peculiar nature of asymmetric war with secrecy the major weapon of one party, force security a requirement of the other. The demands for a fresh angle often comes under deadline pressure where the value of a news story is measured in minutes – even seconds in the case of internet news – instead of hours.

282 Johnson-Cartee, pp.275-276 & 283.

283. Price, Steven, *Media Minefield, A Journalist's Guide to Media Regulation in New Zealand*, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2007 p.189, Interpreting the NZ Press Council’s position on negative angles in news content, Price says: It is the media’s job to “identify things that are wrong or need rectifying.” Publications should not be criticised for zoning in on the negative, because this is often what is important and newsworthy.

The conflicts and events being discussed in this thesis also took place in circumstances in which obtaining the balancing “other side” of such stories or checking facts with hostile actors involved would be difficult or impossible. That would require interrogating, critiquing or investigating secretive combatants who would take unkindly – with likely deadly consequences in the Iraq context – to the sort of news media treatment to which democratic nation forces are subjected.²⁸⁴

SPLINTERED OBJECTIVITY

Splintered objectivity within the international news media and among individual journalists also contributes to the diversity of the coverage of these conflicts and the Haditha, Blackwater affairs and white phosphorous issue. The coverage suggests that there are major differences between conceptions of objectivity applied by and within the Western and Middle Eastern news media. Seib, in 2008, pointed out that many governments dismissed the emerging Middle Eastern media, especially *Al Jazeera*, as not being “objective” providers of information and therefore presumably having little clout with their audiences.

“But to use Western standards of journalistic objectivity to judge the effectiveness of these media misses the point of why they are so influential. They are credible (sic to Arab audiences in particular); that’s what matters.”²⁸⁵

284. Liebes, Tamaar and Kampf, Zohar, “The PR of terror: How new style wars give voice to terrorists,” ch.4, pp. 77-95 in *Reporting War*, eds., Allan and Zelizer, pp.84-85; Filkins, Dexter, *The Forever War: Dispatches from the War on Terror*, Vintage Books, London, 2009, p.226.

Liebes and Kampf point out that when journalists attempt to interview hidden terrorists the circumstances do not encourage an adversarial approach. Professional compromises also have to be made and the more dangerous the terrorist the more painful the concessions. Filkins, considering the question of why the insurgents let him and other Western journalists live as they worked in Baghdad, said he assumed they had decided that they (the journalists) were useful to them. “That was not a comforting thought. Even if it meant they would let us survive.”

285. Seib, 2008, pp.x-xi

Defending itself against claims of a lack of objectivity *Al Jazeera* has presented a formulation which it terms “contextual objectivity,” which is central to guiding what and how editorial content is presented to its audiences.²⁸⁶

But evidence of the splintering of objectivity giving rise to diversity of coverage is also found at the individual journalistic level. Objectivity in war reporting is among the most hotly debated issues among the ranks of journalists where many definitions of the term are to be found. They are representative of a variety of collective “schools” and individual positions including what have been termed journalism of detachment or attachment, advocacy ranging from patriotic to oppositional, and from impartial and “tell it like it is” journalism to committed humanitarian and internationalist stances.²⁸⁷

CONCLUSION

Setting evidence from the analyses of the digitally archived news coverage by the selected outlets of the Haditha and Blackwater affairs from the post-invasion Iraq conflict and white phosphorous issue from the Gaza conflict against the general background of knowledge of the news coverage of modern conflicts provides several complementary explanations for the revealed diversity.

286. El-Nawawy, Mohammed, and Iskandar, Adel, “The Minotaur of ‘Contextual Objectivity’: War Coverage in the Pursuit of Accuracy with Appeal”, in *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, online journal, no.9, Fall/Winter, 2002. The authors say the term demonstrates the hybrid struggle between attaining objectivity in news coverage and appealing to network audiences. Retrieved 21 March, 2010. <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Fall02/Iskandar.html>

287. Tully, Jim, “Objectivity”, ch. 20, pp.303-308, in *Intro, A Beginners Guide to Professional News Journalism*, ed. Jim Tully, New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, Wellington, 2008 for a general discussion on objectivity in journalism.

They include the urbanised, asymmetric character of these modern conflicts fought as much in the news media and in legal forums as on the battlefield; the heightened consciousness among the main actors of the need to manipulate, use and control the news media coverage of conflicts; the explosion of new internet and digitally-enabled news media actors; the rise of the Middle Eastern news media challenging the hegemony of the traditionally dominant Western news media; and the increased media-directed activity of NGOs in the Gaza conflict over the white phosphorous issue.

These factors operate in an increasingly technologically sophisticated, competitive, transparent and boundary-porous news media environment in which an aggressive, adversarial international media journalism has become an active feature of the conflicts.

Having answered the questions of (1) how the news media covered these events, and (2) why they were covered in the way they were, this thesis will now turn in Chapter Nine and Ten to answer the final question (3) of what are the implications, overall findings and lessons of the discovered diversity?

CHAPTER NINE

IMPLICATIONS

Findings of the analyses so far have disclosed significant implications for the conduct and coverage of modern conflicts. Chapter Nine will discuss those implications before Chapter Ten embarks on a consideration of the final conclusions.

The analyses have confirmed an unprecedented diversity of news coverage of the events under scrutiny, generated by and through an aggressive, adversarial multi-platform international news media operating in an increasingly technologically sophisticated, transparent and boundary-porous communications environment. This has implications for future conflicts including:

- Intensification of “media war” in its various forms.
- Increased problems for political and military leaders in achieving and maintaining public support for war-making.
- Increased significance of military-news media relations which are often fractious because of the actors’ conflicting imperatives.
- A need for greater emphasis on the media in maintaining accuracy and balance in a highly competitive news environment covering the action on fluid, complex and dangerous, largely urban, battlefields of asymmetric war.

MEDIA WAR

The analyses conducted in this thesis suggest a media war dimension every bit as intense as that on the physical fields of battle. This multi-faceted characteristic emerged in discussions on the:

- Increasing awareness by the principal actors – military, political, and audience-based groups - of the importance of the news media dimension in modern conflicts, and of the capabilities and potential of evolving internet and digital communication technology.
- Variety of functions which the news media served apart from an information source, as weapon, propaganda device and battleground, and the involvement of the news media in other dimensions of the conflict, most notably the legal sphere.
- Diverse editorial orientations of news media outlets and approaches of the journalists and contributors to the conflicts and events, sometimes raising issues of objectivity and bias.
- Challenge of an increasingly robust Middle Eastern news media to the hegemony of the traditional Western news media in the coverage of events especially within the Middle East region representing another aspect to the media dimension of the conflicts.
- Rise of newer forms of news media including online news organisations, weblogs and its sub-categories of warblogs, and citizen journalism - casual or formal - and increased audience involvement through interpersonal networks such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*.
- Change in the organisation and operation of the international news media and the practice and culture of journalism, as the result of historical evolution, but catalysed by the advancing communications technology.

- Adoption by, or interaction with, the new forms by traditional news media seeking to be “re-born” in order to survive the competitive challenge of the “new” news media.
- The increased use of the media by NGOs, especially in the Gaza conflict over the white phosphorous issue.

These influences can only increase with increasingly sophisticated communications technology and the linkages being established between the evolving personal networks and the newer news media systems and the traditional news media and the newer news media attempting to enter the field.

FRACTIONATED PUBLIC OPINION

Waging war seems likely to become more difficult for the power holders in Western democratic societies because of the demonstrated diversity of the news coverage, generated by a more aggressive, adversarial participant news media and its diffusion through a transparent, boundary-porous international news media environment. In that environment the diversity of news coverage seems likely to contribute to a more fractionated public opinion in the run up to and continuing conduct of such conflicts.

Considering this within Daniel Hallin’s dynamic - linking political decision makers, news media and the public to changes in support or opposition to conflicts - suggests that in future legitimate dissent may evolve and be picked up more quickly by an already aggressive and adversarial news media.

Daniel Hallin accepted in 1986 that there had been a move of the US media along a continuum from cooperative or deferential to a more adversarial stance toward officials and their policies during the Vietnam War, but submitted it had to be seen in perspective.²⁸⁸ He argued the news media had been a more of a follower than a leader in the public opinion change which saw the US lose public support and withdraw from the Vietnam War. He presented a dynamic which suggested that the loss of support was due to a loss of consensus among the political and military leadership which made public dissent legitimate after it had initially been consigned to a “sphere of deviance,” and largely driven underground or ignored. After public dissent emerged in the sphere of legitimacy it was then reflected in the news media coverage.²⁸⁹

Hallin’s dynamic is still valid but it must be adapted to take account of changes in the aggressive adversarialism of today’s news media. It must take into account evolving communication technological sophistication, continuing globalisation and changing actor capabilities and group involvements. But in particular, as a result of the new technologies there has been emerging a growing linkage – it is too soon to categorise it as a partnership – between empowered audiences and a news media that has become increasingly aggressive, adversarial participants in conflicts and events such as are being considered here.

288. Hallin, Daniel C., *The Uncensored War*, Oxford University Press, 1986, New York, p.7;

289. Hallin, pp. 3-12 & 211-215; Carruthers, Susan, L., *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillan Press Ltd, Hampshire and London, 2000, pp. 146-152. Hallin sets out his dynamic, which is also summarised by Carruthers.

For politicians and the military, wars must in that context be well-founded in public opinion and even then must be swiftly concluded. The Hallin dynamic operated in the case of both of the conflicts considered here, with that in Iraq beginning with a pre-existing reservoir of public dissent which grew relentlessly over the years; and in the Gaza war international public opposition, primed by ongoing decades-long troubles, peaked very rapidly. But in future substantial legitimate public dissent and loss of support may evolve more quickly still.

STRATEGIC CORPORALS

Public opinion in modern conflicts can also be substantially influenced by single events and the conflict environments under review are ripe for the generation of the “strategic corporal” effect which sees apparently small tactical level military actions have major operational or strategic repercussions.

The Haditha and Nisour Square affairs, which gave rise to the effect were essentially actions which had repercussions out of all proportion to their relative size. While not denigrating the symbolic and physical effects of the white phosphorous use by the IDF in the Gaza War, it seems that events need not be illegal acts to trigger the effect.

All military actions of the formal democratic-nations involved were also under intense scrutiny in these asymmetric conflicts from critical, generally negative news media - their own and those of opposed and less democratic nations. They also faced scrutiny and opposition from other special purposes groups quick to capitalise on mistakes to advance their own agendas and increasingly capable of using the news media to promote their causes.

CONFLICTING IMPERATIVES

A long-standing acknowledgement in democratic nations at war is that the military and the news media covering the conflicts need each other. But there is also a need for each to be aware of the other's conflicting imperatives. These are primarily the journalistic ethos of openness and the military requirement of operational security, often the cause of paranoia being expressed by each side about the other's motive.

Friction has always been present between the news media and the military and showed itself during the Iraq period embracing the Haditha and Blackwater affairs in spite of commanders' optimistic statements of the situation.²⁹⁰

The Haditha and Blackwater affairs occurred at a time when trust between the news media and the US military in Iraq was at a low ebb,²⁹¹ especially after the Fallujah battles. Antipathy was also clear in the Gaza conflict over the blocking of some mainstream news media from entering the battlezone.

Censorship – formal or informal – is one approach sometimes taken, but that often creates controversy and further friction. This is illustrated by the debates that have arisen in and about the news media over the Coalition's system of embedding journalists with military units, and the local antagonism generated by action by the Iraqi Government to ban errant media.

290. *New York Times*, 7 January, 2008, "For Pentagon and news media, relations improve with a shift in war coverage," by Tom Shanker. Retrieved 15 February, 2011.

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/07/washington/07military.html?_r=1&scp=2&sq=Iraq&st=nyt

291. *New York Times*, 24 June, 2007, "'If it Bleeds it Leads'; A Marine Tutorial on Media 'Spin'," by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/24/weekinreview/24word.html?scp=48&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

Trust is another foundation on which to base the media-military relationship. But trust is a fragile thing which needs to be constantly proven in a conflict situation.²⁹²

However the stakes are too high to rely on it alone. With the imperatives of the media and military so different, the risk of a breach, accidental or deliberate, is always there and for which someone – a journalist or a soldier - may die or a career may be lost. The problem may not lie with the journalist or soldier in the field. Behind them both are chains of command and decision-making processes introducing a variety of considerations, in the case of the news media, including competition, broader views, other perspectives and information and different news value judgments, into the equation.

UNDERSTANDING NEEDED

However if trust alone is not enough, then what? Understanding, with each of the actors appreciating the other's roles and obligations would seem to be a firmer extra building block for a good working relationship. This requires the military to understand the organisation and operation of the modern international media and the practices and culture of journalism as discussed in this thesis.

292. Galloway, Joseph, "From Vietnam to the Gulf: A Personal Perspective," pp.174-184, in *The Media, the Military and Information Warfare*. Galloway is an exceptional example of a professional US journalist who had to fight with the US troops in the IaTrang Valley against the North Vietnamese to stay alive to file his photographs and story and who was afterwards highly respected and trusted by the US military.

Modern militaries also need to fully appreciate the potential and capabilities of the evolving nature of communication and information systems, and particularly relating to the news media, traditional and “new.”

Observing the IDF experience in recent conflicts including the 2008-2009 Gaza War, US military commentators have discussed the need for this in relation to the US military’s approach to “new” internet and digitally-based applications. William Caldwell (Lt-Gen), Dennis Murphy and Anton Menning have said of the “new” media:

“ . . . civilian and military leaders can ill-afford to ignore it. Perhaps more importantly they must not fail to understand and use the new form of information dissemination, as it possesses serious implication for military operations.”²⁹³

The Haditha affair was an example of how easily things can go wrong in the modern technologically sophisticated communication environment. An attempt to avoid giving an advantage to al Qaeda lead to a swift but, as it turned out, incorrect initial release going out from the US military²⁹⁴ But the mistake was revealed, to the disadvantage of the military, by an Iraqi trainee journalist with a video camera and the work of a Western journalist using email.²⁹⁵

293. Caldwell IV, William B. (Lieutenant General), Murphy, Dennis B and Menning, Anton, “Learning to Leverage New Media: The Israeli Defence Forces in Recent Conflicts”, pp. 2-20, in *Military Review*, May-June, 2009, p.2.

294. *New York Times*, May 6, 2007, “Propaganda Fear Cited in Account of Iraqi Killings,” by Paul von Zielbauer. Retrieved 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/06/world/middleeast/06haditha.html?scp=66&sq=Haditha&st=nyt>

295. *Time*, 4 June, 2006, “How Haditha Came to Light”, by Jeffrey Kluger. Retrieved, 16 February, 2011.

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1200780,00.html>

A delay by the IDF in conceding that it was using white phosphorous obscurant munitions in Gaza appeared from the coverage to give Israeli's opponents and enemies time to make capital out of the issue and initially create the impression that the IDF's use was illegal or that Israel was hiding something. Caldwell, Murphy, and Menning have also noted that in the midst of the electronic war for public opinion traditional media were denied access to the Gaza battlefield, but this IDF strategy may have backfired. "Without an independent foreign media presence, Hamas' claims of atrocities against civilians and exorbitant death tolls went unchallenged."²⁹⁶

Drawing on the experience of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and writing on the eve of the Gaza conflict, Professor Murphy says a culture shift is needed in the US military to ensure that in a future information environment dominated by new media, it fully understood both the opportunities and challenges. This includes the ability to exploit new media to achieve military objectives and defeat an adversary's skilled use of it within real and perceived bureaucratic and legal constraints.²⁹⁷

296. Caldwell et.al, p.8.

297. Murphy, Dennis M., *Fighting Back: New Media and Military Operations*, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, 2008, pp.4-5. Available on line at, <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usacsl/Sudies.asp>

Professor Murphy has also urged a focus in this “age of radical transparency” on operational security (OPSEC) within current military planning processes and an increased attention to educating soldiers in order to both enhance and protect military operations.²⁹⁸ Adversaries who can exploit the new environment with information as an asymmetric weapon of choice, non-combatants who can impact operations through ready access to real-time media means and a generation of soldiers sailors airmen and marines who expect to communicate freely at the click of mouse to a potential global audience have complicated the situation, he says.²⁹⁹

Against that background it suggested here that training for soldiers in the new communication technologies and military media relations should include material on the practice and culture of journalism and changing news media environment as discussed in this thesis. They should include practical role-playing exercises against experienced journalists and, for key military personnel, involve complex challenging scenarios based on real cases like Haditha, Blackwater and the white phosphorous issues, and the analysis of relevant news stories.

298. Murphy, Dennis M., “Operational Security in an Age of Radical Transparency,” in *IOSphere*, Winter, 2009, reprinted as an issue paper, by the Centre for Strategic Leadership, United States Army War College, January, 2009, vol 2-09. Retrieved 5 February, 2009, through:

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usacsl/Studies.asp>

299. Ibid.

Some pre-assignment training in safety and conditions is given by some news organisations to journalists undertaking war reporting. But a greater understanding of the substantive military aspects of conflicts like these is also necessary for the news media. Not just for the journalists and correspondents who work within the conflict environment, but also some of those on the long chain back to publication and broadcast (including editors, news editors, chief reporters and sub-editors) who may have a significant influence on the handling of reports and the overall coverage of events. There is no room for naivety in war reporting or coverage. Key people should understand such things as the immutable nature of warfare, the particular character of the war being covered, the context in which they take place and the perspectives of the principal actors, as well as the human consequences and human rights law and the wars of law. With the news media now active participants in modern conflicts their supporting “back room” personnel also need to understand the hardships, risks and responsibilities faced by the military and the journalists going to the conflict theatre.

Stressed in particular should be the importance of achieving accuracy and balance in the media. Neither is easy, particularly in asymmetric warfare where one of the combatant parties may be relying on secrecy and terror as weapons. Practising typical Western news media tactics on such parties can be dangerous to health. But shortcomings – including unconfirmed or doubtful material, conjecture or rumour and imbalances and absences of the “other side” of the story – should always be clearly acknowledged in stories.

Some material may also have to be held back in the meantime until some confirmations are obtained. Haditha was an example where some news media reportedly held back on the story awaiting verification.³⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to bring together some of the implications from the quantitative, qualitative and secondary sources analysis of the digitally archived news coverage of a select range of multi-platform international news media outlets of Haditha and Blackwater affairs and the white phosphorous incident from the post-invasion Iraq and Gaza conflicts. They demonstrate the complexity of waging war in the modern transparent and boundary-porous, multi-platform international news media environment. They also point to media war as a vital dimension of the conflicts and in particular the importance of the military-media relationship. However it is a relationship which is shown to be brittle and occasionally giving rise to friction. Formal and informal modes of censorship have their place but should be reinforced by news media and the military personnel achieving a sound understanding of the others imperatives, responsibilities and actions. Finally this chapter made broad training suggestions for developing this link. The following chapter will set out conclusions reached in this thesis.

300 *NewYork Times*, 11 March, 2007, "Reporting the News Even When the Competitor Gets There First," Byron Calame, public editor. Retrieved 15 February, 2011.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/opinion/11pubed.html?scp=2&sq=Iraq+%2B+Haditha&st=nyt>

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of the digital archives of a multi-platform range of international news media outlets has demonstrated the unprecedented diversity of news coverage of three signal events from two modern conflicts to which audiences were potentially exposed. Those events were the Haditha and Blackwater shootings from the post-invasion Iraq conflict and the Israeli Defence Force's use of white phosphorous obscurant munitions during the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict.

These analyses have also demonstrated heightened aggressiveness in the international coverage of the three events, reflected in language that was at times strident, and the persistent, probing nature of the coverage. The exploration of coverage has also shown the degree to which the international media became adversarial participants in these events and the conflicts in which they were set.

But while the news media are shown by this study to be aggressive, adversarial participants in the two recent conflicts and key players in the intensifying media war dimension of modern warfare, the evidence does not support optimistic claims of a major shift in the autonomy-control relationship between the news media and power holders in society.

DIVERSITY

An underlying argument links the control issue to the diversity of news coverage of events. That argument, retailed in Chapter Two of this thesis, is that globalisation, social change and technological developments, especially in the field of communications, have lead to a conglomeration of the news media today which has decreased the number of disparate voices heard in society on issues like those above. The counter-argument is that through those broad forces international audiences are exposed to a greater range of information, views and opinions than ever before.

The analyses conducted for this thesis has demonstrated that there was considerable diversity of the digitally, archived multi-platform, international coverage of the post-invasion coverage of the Iraq conflict, the Gaza conflict, and the associated Haditha, Blackwater and white phosphorous events which was diffused through the boundary-porous news media environment. It is an environment which has seen a change from simple chain models of news diffusion of the past involving large news agencies, to a complex, dynamic and ever-changing network of different media where every medium both receives and transmits news.³⁰¹

301. Rantanen, Terhi, "European News Agencies and their Sources in the Iraq war," ch. 16, pp.301-314, in eds. Stuart Allan and Barbie Zelizer *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon., 2004, pp. 303-304.

The results do not support the suggestion that news media organisational conglomeration necessarily means loss of diversity in perspectives, views and opinions. It is true that many formal and informal inter-organisational content sharing arrangements do exist and the practice of journalism relies very heavily on judicious formal or informal use of material from other news sources to bolster, background or initiate new stories. But differing ideological and editorial orientations, intense news media competition and journalistic practices ensure that much of this diffused material is given a different perspective, reflected in the qualitative analysis.

AGGRESSIVE, ADVERSARIAL NEWS MEDIA

The analyses also demonstrate the increasing aggressive, adversarial nature of the news media in conflicts. This is reflected in the language and tone of the news media coverage of the conflicts and especially the three events the subject of this thesis, the persistence of this coverage by most and the probing nature of much of it. The Western news media outlets' aggression was often directed internally – at their own military, political and other institutions – as much as externally towards current opponents. The Middle Eastern news media outlets tended to focus most of their aggression outwards, usually toward the West although sometimes toward the wider Arab electorate. However *Al Jazeera* and some of its would-be imitators have shown a willingness to focus inwards on some issues.³⁰²

302. Seib Philip, *The Al Jazeera Effect: How the New Global Media Are Reshaping World Politics*, Potomac Books Ltd., Dulles, Virginia, 2008, pp.115 & 20.

An increasingly adversarial aggression of the Western news media in general is apparent if an historical view over the last half century is taken. During that historical period the Western news media has grown up - from its original traditional role of “watch dog” for the public over the activities of the powerful to that of “guard dog”³⁰³ and now to “attack dog.”³⁰⁴

The increase in aggressive, adversarial news media coverage has been linked in this thesis with the rise of Middle Eastern news media challenging the traditionally dominant Western news media (led by *Al Jazeera*) and increased NGO news-related activity in the events analysed, particularly in relation to the Gaza and white phosphorous matters. The rise of internet-based news and information disseminators has also played a crucial role. They range from dedicated online news sites to bloggers, casual and vocational citizen journalists with video cameras and phones, and armies of international interpersonal web network users of standard email and now *Twitter* and *Facebook*; and the adoption and adaptation of those developments by traditional outlets seeking to compete with newcomers. The impact of these developments has seen the Iraq war described as the first “warblog war” and that between the US and Al Qaeda as the first “*You Tube* war.”³⁰⁵ To which one might now add the Gaza War as the “first *Twitter* or *Facebook* war”.

303. Donohue, George A., Tichenor, Phillip J., and Olien, Clarice N., “A Guard Dog Perspective on the Role of the Media,” *Journal of Communication*, pp. 115 -132, Spring, 1995.

304. Johnson-Cartee, p.283. Discussing Donohue et al.’s work, she notes that news reporters do more than simply “watch” and report facts about the government to their audiences. “Rather, they will frequently take a bite out those they are covering.”

305. Gorman, *The Media, the Military and Information Warfare*, p.99.

CHALLENGING POWER HOLDERS?

While substantial diversity and aggressiveness in the news media coverage has been shown in this thesis, the question of whether this goes as far as indicating serious challenge to the power holders in society remains.

Various authors have argued this case in general. The rise of these internet-based news media adaptations and real-time media have lead some journalism commentators like the *BBC*'s Nik Gowing to argue the arrival of a revolutionary change seriously challenging the power of the authorities.³⁰⁶ This argument has been given currency by more recent developments such as the real-time videoing of the *Marvi Marmara* Gaza flotilla ship boarding incident, *Wikileaks*' exposures with news media cooperation; and at the time of writing the Egyptian revolution which some claim was sparked by interpersonal internet communication notably *Twitter* and *Facebook*. Ghayth Armanazi, former Arab League ambassador to the UK also pointed out recently that the influence of *Al Jazeera* on the Egyptian and Tunisian troubles was also very important.³⁰⁷

306. *Guardian*, 11 May, 2009, "Real-time media is changing our world."

307. *Sky News UK*, 17 February, 2011.

But, on the results of this thesis, while the coverage of the events of the post-invasion Iraq conflict and Gaza War demonstrate considerable diversity and adversarial aggression, the effect on the power holders does not appear as significant as some might suggest.

This emerges more clearly if the autonomy-control issue is placed on a continuum within which models of the Western news media are constantly moving. At one end lies the news media with their position on the continuum determined by which model of the news media is dominant at any particular time. These models of the news media have been suggested by Daya Thussu and Des Freedman.³⁰⁸ Their first model views the news media simply as a conduit for the power holders with journalists acting as compliant publicists and followers of public opinion. The second model views the news media as active participants in the conflicts, taking adversarial roles, as they present versions of reality according to their own agendas and seeking to influence public opinion. At the other end of the continuum sit the power holders – among them the military and political actors – armed with a wide array of formal and informal censorship means and other forms of control.

308. Thussu and Freedman, pp.4-8.

There is evidence that there has been a see-sawing of influence on and by the news media in modern conflicts which support the utility of the concept of a continuum of news media autonomy and control by the powerful. This indicates the news media's models shifted from adversarial, active participant to compliant between the Vietnam War, where journalists were allowed relative freedom, and the 1991 Gulf War, where they were tightly restricted. Following those experiences Coalition policy for the 2003 Iraq war made allowance for both embedded and independent journalists providing much more, but not unlimited, scope for news media activity than in the Gulf War. These changes it is suggested can be viewed as the dynamics of the continuum in operation. Considered on this autonomy-control continuum the movement of the news media appears on the evidence of this thesis to be quite small.

This thesis provides evidence of the control capabilities and general adaptability of the powerful in the Haditha and Blackwater affairs and the white phosphorous issues pursued by the news media. The analysis of the coverage of the Iraq incidents and the white phosphorous issue demonstrated how the Western style political and military establishments successfully deflected responsibility and negative effects. The evidence showed how the Haditha affair was moved away from them and into the more calming judicial arena.

The Backwater affair was also moved into the judicial arena and diffused among other spheres, while US government contracts with Blackwater and its successor company continued and the international private security company industry today continues to prosper. While Israel's opponents have managed to have the Gaza conflict placed on the UN agenda, the white phosphorous issue was defused to a certain extent by the Goldstone findings (which included that the use of white phosphorous as an obscurant was not illegal). General attempts to have Israel, its politicians and military officers brought before international and domestic courts on war crimes or other counts, while generating much publicity, have so far failed.

There were also the defensive measures of banning and other control measures on errant news media by the Iraqi government when necessary. The Israeli access ban on the Gaza battle zone for some mainstream news media outlets also needs to be considered.

The movement on the continuum is even less again if one considers the grip which the opponents of the Coalition in Iraq and IDF in Gaza were able to maintain on information about their activities by a variety of informal means. Hamas maintained a tight grip on information from within Gaza, largely providing official statements, *You Tube* postings, and guided tours for journalists; while in Iraq, challenging or displeasing insurgent groups was lethal for many Iraqi journalists and some Western journalists.

The movement appears even less yet again if one considers the issue on an international basis, taking into account the systemic controls – ideological and formal – which power holders in some Middle Eastern countries maintained over the coverage of these conflicts and events by their news media.

Generally, it is also apparent that as new internet-based and digital and interpersonal systems have been employed in and by the news media, they have been adopted by the power holders directing the combatants of all sides, confirming an argument advanced by Matheson and Allan and others. In both conflicts and the events this thesis has focused on, the internet-based and digital news media and associated personal communication technological developments were heavily implicated and used by the major actors.

The limits of new communication technologies' impact on the relationship between the news media and power holders have also been discussed by a number of news media analysts, especially in relationship to the so-called "new" news media. For instance Matheson and Allan have pointed out that the potential of new technologies released in the media coverage of conflict situations might be abated by the very nature of the content. They also noted that as states and political groups came to regard the digital and personal media as potentially powerful, they also sought to use them.³⁰⁹

309. Matheson and Allan, p.169.

Others, such as McChesney, have also spoken of the likelihood of powerful interests taking over the internet.³¹⁰

On the “new media” front, one should also remember the restoration of power and authority in Iran, China, Myanmar and Thailand after disorder that was initially so dramatically relayed to the world through videophone and video camera communication from citizen journalists, casual and vocational. Nor is it clear at the time of writing, that the turmoil in the Middle East demonstrates final proof of a major change in the news media autonomy-power holder control equation. News media autonomy in that region is an issue that must await the establishment of new orders which will then apply their own calculation to that equation. It may well be that any movement is only very temporary.

Similarly, *Wikileaks* activities – which link the “whistleblower” to major outlets - are likely to drive state information holders to increase the security of their information handling and storage. States have also ignored or minimised the importance of the leaked material, and criminal prosecutions are currently pending against those involved.

310. McChesney, 1999; McChesney, 2007.

While it seems clear from the coverage of the Gaza and post-invasion Iraq conflicts and the white phosphorous, Haditha and Blackwater events there has been emerging a more adversarial, aggressive participant media, their challenge to the power holders behind these events has been largely met. In other words there has been a degree of movement on the continuum demonstrated by the coverage of these events in the Western context. But looking at the issue from the perspective of all of those involved the degree of movement on the continuum is quite small. Control by the power holders has either been confirmed or largely maintained and that which may have been temporarily lost has been restored. The news media “attack dog” may have been given teeth with a bit more bite, but the dog ranger is sitting round the corner in his van waiting to catch the dog should it jump the fence.

EXTENDING METHODOLOGY

Apart from exploring the major issue of news media autonomy-power holder control in modern conflicts, this thesis has had a number of other objectives. One of these was to contribute to the evolving methodological approaches of “push button” research using digital archives of multi-platform (print, broadcast and internet based) news media for comparative content analysis in single studies. They are not without challenges and issues, as previous researchers have noted. But this thesis offers further proof of the usefulness and potential of these approaches.

More work with these approaches is vital given the increasingly dynamic modern news media environment in which traditional and established forms of news media are linking with the tide of personal and interpersonal news-related activities of individuals and groups. This thesis shows that in this complex modern news media environment a composite of these approaches offers an avenue for exploring issues of news media coverage diversity and of autonomy and control of the news media. Such a composite is also important given the news media environment in which many readers and viewers, in part at least, form their views and opinions based on information received not just from one news media platform but from combinations.

CLOSING GAPS

Finally, this thesis has, it is hoped, narrowed two divides which periodically show up between journalists, the military and social scientists. One is that between social scientists and journalists. The academic arguments that journalists “manufacture” news through their culture and practices, including their framing processes, often earns the ire of working journalists, for whom the suggestion has more negative connotations. Social scientists need to more carefully explain themselves; journalists to do what they do best, listen carefully to those explanations.

The other divide is that which sees friction between journalists and soldiers on and off the battlefield. It is unlikely ever to be completely closed given the demands of journalists for access to battle zones and complete, preferably instant, information about events; and of soldiers for the maintenance of their operational security - and the paranoia each feels about the others' stance over these imperatives.

But that misunderstanding and mistrust can be minimised by greater understanding of one another's working practices and cultures through practical training and personal association at all levels. For news media skeptics who may dismiss this as indoctrination, it is no more indoctrination than the familiarisation efforts of other major actors in the conflict drama. And indoctrination is something that the newsman or woman prides themselves on being able to see through.

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OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 1: *New York Times*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 545 | 4 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| Dec | 569 | 3 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 435 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 420 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 540 | 1 | 0.2% | | | | | |
| April | 486 | 2 | 0.4% | | | | | |
| May | 488 | 17 | 3.5% | | | | | |
| June | 528 | 46 | 8.7% | | | | | |
| July | 458 | 12 | 2.6% | | | | | |
| August | 524 | 5 | 1.0% | | | | | |
| Sept | 592 | 3 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| October | 646 | 2 | 0.3% | | | | | |
| Nov | 748 | 3 | 0.4% | | | | | |
| Dec | 644 | 11 | 1.7% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 822 | 7 | 0.9% | | | | | |
| February | 668 | 4 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| March | 630 | 3 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| April | 595 | 9 | 1.5% | | | | | |
| May | 621 | 12 | 1.9% | | | | | |
| June | 537 | 9 | 1.7% | | | | | |
| July | 627 | 4 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| Aug | 480 | 4 | 0.8% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 792 | 8 | 1.0% | 33 | 4.2% | | | |
| October | 568 | 6 | 1.1% | 80 | 14.1% | | | |
| Nov | 479 | 2 | 0.4% | 29 | 6.1% | | | |
| Dec | 463 | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 2.2% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 395 | 2 | 0.5% | 10 | 2.5% | | | |
| February | 355 | 4 | 1.1% | 4 | 1.1% | | | |
| March | 372 | 5 | 1.3% | 3 | 0.8% | | | |
| April | 415 | 3 | 0.7% | 11 | 2.7% | | | |
| May | 406 | 6 | 1.5% | 7 | 1.7% | | | |
| June | 352 | 6 | 1.7% | 6 | 1.7% | | | |
| July | 376 | 0 | 0.0% | 11 | 2.9% | | | |
| August | 352 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 1.4% | | | |
| Sept | 342 | 1 | 0.3% | 5 | 1.5% | | | |
| October | 314 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.3% | | | |
| Nov | 359 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 301 | 0 | 0.0% | 16 | 5.3% | 65 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 288 | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 2.8% | 281 | 8 | 2.8% |
| Sub-Tot | 19532 | 204 | 1.0% | 244 | 1.2% | 346 | 8 | 2.3% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 1: *New York Times (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 245 | 1 | 0.4% | 6 | 2.4% | 118 | 5 | 4.2% |
| March | 225 | 1 | 0.4% | 2 | 0.9% | 75 | 2 | 2.7% |
| April | 238 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 2.9% | 30 | 7 | 23.3% |
| May | 230 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.7% | 43 | 7 | 16.3% |
| June | 337 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 46 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 208 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.4% | 32 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 200 | 1 | 0.5% | 10 | 5.0% | 31 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 233 | 1 | 0.4% | 7 | 3.0% | 39 | 3 | 7.7% |
| October | 238 | 1 | 0.4% | 8 | 3.4% | 51 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 288 | 1 | 0.3% | 9 | 3.1% | 47 | 2 | 4.3% |
| Dec | 243 | 2 | 0.8% | 11 | 4.5% | 29 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-10 | 210 | 0 | 0.0% | 22 | 10.5% | 38 | 0 | 0.0% |
| February | 184 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 3.3% | 34 | 1 | 2.9% |
| March | 209 | 1 | 0.5% | 5 | 2.4% | 48 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 204 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.5% | 25 | 2 | 8.0% |
| May | 191 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 3.1% | 25 | 1 | 4.0% |
| June | 233 | 0 | 0.0% | 9 | 3.9% | 140 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 231 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.7% | 69 | 2 | 2.9% |
| August | 268 | 1 | 0.4% | 4 | 1.5% | 52 | 1 | 1.9% |
| Sept | 231 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.3% | 46 | 3 | 6.5% |
| October | 197 | 2 | 1.0% | 8 | 4.1% | 32 | 2 | 6.3% |
| Nov | 231 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 2.6% | 27 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 5074 | 11 | 0.2% | 143 | 2.8% | 1077 | 38 | 3.5% |
| P1 Sub-T | 19532 | 204 | 1.0% | 244 | 1.2% | 346 | 8 | 2.3% |
| Total | 24606 | 215 | 0.9% | 387 | 1.6% | 1423 | 46 | 3.2% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 2: *Guardian*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 435 | 2 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| Dec | 370 | 2 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 391 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 381 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 553 | 3 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| April | 472 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 489 | 10 | 2.0% | | | | | |
| June | 532 | 32 | 6.0% | | | | | |
| July | 439 | 5 | 1.1% | | | | | |
| August | 484 | 8 | 1.7% | | | | | |
| Sept | 570 | 4 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| October | 648 | 5 | 0.8% | | | | | |
| Nov | 743 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 542 | 7 | 1.3% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 709 | 1 | 0.1% | | | | | |
| February | 618 | 1 | 0.2% | | | | | |
| March | 649 | 1 | 0.2% | | | | | |
| April | 692 | 2 | 0.3% | | | | | |
| May | 786 | 4 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| June | 727 | 2 | 0.3% | | | | | |
| July | 706 | 2 | 0.3% | | | | | |
| August | 525 | 1 | 0.2% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 539 | 3 | 0.6% | 18 | 3.3% | | | |
| October | 656 | 7 | 1.1% | 30 | 4.6% | | | |
| Nov | 544 | 4 | 0.7% | 14 | 2.6% | | | |
| Dec | 452 | 2 | 0.4% | 7 | 1.5% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 518 | 7 | 1.4% | 2 | 0.4% | | | |
| February | 519 | 11 | 2.1% | 3 | 0.6% | | | |
| March | 583 | 15 | 2.6% | 8 | 1.4% | | | |
| April | 503 | 2 | 0.4% | 8 | 1.6% | | | |
| May | 465 | 2 | 0.4% | 3 | 0.6% | | | |
| June | 459 | 2 | 0.4% | 3 | 0.7% | | | |
| July | 459 | 2 | 0.4% | 9 | 2.0% | | | |
| August | 366 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.5% | | | |
| Sept | 439 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 1.1% | | | |
| October | 403 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.2% | | | |
| Nov | 438 | 3 | 0.7% | 1 | 0.2% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 357 | 2 | 0.6% | 10 | 2.8% | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Jan-09 | 372 | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 2.2% | 740 | 25 | 3.4% |
| Sub-Tot | 20533 | 154 | 0.8% | 132 | 0.6% | 800 | 25 | 3.1% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 2: *Guardian (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 296 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.4% | 218 | 11 | 5.0% |
| March | 387 | 1 | 0.3% | 7 | 1.8% | 144 | 6 | 4.2% |
| April | 327 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.2% | 83 | 6 | 7.2% |
| May | 265 | 1 | 0.4% | 2 | 0.8% | 97 | 6 | 6.2% |
| June | 356 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.6% | 66 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 334 | 1 | 0.3% | 5 | 1.5% | 52 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 269 | 1 | 0.4% | 14 | 5.2% | 38 | 1 | 2.6% |
| Sept | 270 | 1 | 0.4% | 4 | 1.5% | 77 | 4 | 5.2% |
| October | 290 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.7% | 85 | 1 | 1.2% |
| Nov | 346 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 1.7% | 60 | 3 | 5.0% |
| Dec | 325 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.2% | 64 | 2 | 3.1% |
| Jan 010 | 448 | 1 | 0.2% | 12 | 2.7% | 51 | 2 | 3.9% |
| February | 280 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.4% | 55 | 1 | 1.8% |
| March | 325 | 1 | 0.3% | 2 | 0.6% | 70 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 280 | 1 | 0.4% | 2 | 0.7% | 45 | 1 | 2.2% |
| May | 263 | 1 | 0.4% | 4 | 1.5% | 59 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 263 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.8% | 200 | 2 | 1.0% |
| July | 291 | 1 | 0.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 94 | 2 | 2.1% |
| August | 242 | 1 | 0.4% | 5 | 2.1% | 59 | 1 | 1.7% |
| Sept | 310 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.3% | 63 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 279 | 1 | 0.4% | 5 | 1.8% | 39 | 1 | 2.6% |
| Nov | 343 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 0.9% | 48 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 6789 | 12 | 0.2% | 94 | 1.4% | 1767 | 50 | 2.8% |
| P1 Sub-T | 20533 | 154 | 0.8% | 132 | 0.6% | 800 | 25 | 3.1% |
| Total | 27322 | 166 | 0.6% | 226 | 0.8% | 2567 | 75 | 2.9% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 3: *Jerusalem Post*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-08 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | 316 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | | | | | | 766 | 9 | 1.2% |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 1082 | 9 | 0.8% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 3: *Jerusalem Post (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | | | | | | 366 | 2 | 0.5% |
| March | | | | | | 286 | 1 | 0.3% |
| April | | | | | | 248 | 3 | 1.2% |
| May | | | | | | 193 | 1 | 0.5% |
| June | | | | | | 210 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | | | | | | 196 | 4 | 2.0% |
| August | | | | | | 212 | 2 | 0.9% |
| Sept | | | | | | 207 | 1 | 0.5% |
| October | | | | | | 247 | 1 | 0.4% |
| Nov | | | | | | 205 | 1 | 0.5% |
| Dec | | | | | | 216 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan 010 | | | | | | 207 | 3 | 1.4% |
| February | | | | | | 213 | 2 | 0.9% |
| March | | | | | | 199 | 1 | 0.5% |
| April | | | | | | 143 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | | | | | | 176 | 2 | 1.1% |
| June | | | | | | 471 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | | | | | | 284 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | | | | | | 170 | 1 | 0.6% |
| Sept | | | | | | To Aug 23, 2010 | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 4449 | 25 | 0.6% |
| P1 Sub-T | | | | | | 1082 | 9 | 0.8% |
| Total | | | | | | 5531 | 34 | 0.6% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 4: *Al Jazeera*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 192 | 2 | 1.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 188 | 2 | 1.1% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 149 | 1 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| February | 125 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 184 | 1 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| April | 144 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 135 | 4 | 3.0% | | | | | |
| June | 135 | 14 | 10.4% | | | | | |
| July | 96 | 5 | 5.2% | | | | | |
| August | 76 | 3 | 3.9% | | | | | |
| Sept | 140 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| October | 123 | 2 | 1.6% | | | | | |
| Nov | 170 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| Dec | 181 | 5 | 2.8% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 235 | 3 | 1.3% | | | | | |
| February | 213 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 214 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 174 | 5 | 2.9% | | | | | |
| May | 166 | 4 | 2.4% | | | | | |
| June | 144 | 1 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| July | 180 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 161 | 2 | 1.2% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 156 | 2 | 1.3% | 10 | 6.4% | | | |
| October | 194 | 3 | 1.5% | 23 | 11.9% | | | |
| Nov | 128 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 2.3% | | | |
| Dec | 129 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.8% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 132 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| February | 129 | 2 | 1.6% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| March | 213 | 3 | 1.4% | 1 | 0.5% | | | |
| April | 200 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.5% | | | |
| May | 121 | 1 | 0.8% | 1 | 0.8% | | | |
| June | 118 | 2 | 1.7% | 4 | 3.4% | | | |
| July | 121 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1.7% | | | |
| August | 82 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.2% | | | |
| Sept | 114 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| October | 112 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.9% | | | |
| Nov | 133 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 95 | 1 | 1.1% | 11 | 11.6% | 121 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 100 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.0% | 393 | 20 | 5.1% |
| Sub-Tot | 5802 | 69 | 1.2% | 63 | 1.1% | 514 | 20 | 3.9% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 4: *Al Jazeera (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 90 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 149 | 2 | 1.3% |
| March | 71 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.8% | 122 | 8 | 6.6% |
| April | 101 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.0% | 59 | 1 | 1.7% |
| May | 82 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.2% | 80 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 132 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 63 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 109 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 54 | 3 | 5.6% |
| August | 107 | 1 | 0.9% | 2 | 1.9% | 82 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 63 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 3.2% | 55 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 74 | 2 | 2.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 87 | 1 | 1.1% |
| Nov | 83 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 4.8% | 60 | 1 | 1.7% |
| Dec | 96 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.0% | 95 | 2 | 2.1% |
| Jan 010 | 105 | 1 | 1.0% | 10 | 9.5% | 61 | 0 | 0.0% |
| February | 70 | 1 | 1.4% | 3 | 4.3% | 45 | 5 | 11.1% |
| March | 138 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.7% | 63 | 1 | 1.6% |
| April | 81 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.2% | 36 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 74 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 69 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 86 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 161 | 1 | 0.6% |
| July | 85 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 43 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 120 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 4.2% | 46 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sep | 103 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.0% | 58 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Oct | 98 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 5.1% | 36 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 97 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.1% | 30 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 1904 | 5 | 0.3% | 41 | 2.2% | 1554 | 25 | 1.6% |
| P1 Sub-T | 5802 | 69 | 1.2% | 63 | 1.1% | 514 | 20 | 3.9% |
| Total | 7706 | 74 | 1.0% | 104 | 1.3% | 2068 | 45 | 2.2% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 5: *Press TV*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | February, part month only | | | | | | | |
| February | 176 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| March | 585 | 2 | 0.3% | | | | | |
| April | 638 | 3 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| May | 573 | 8 | 1.4% | | | | | |
| June | 503 | 2 | 0.4% | | | | | |
| July | 532 | 4 | 0.8% | | | | | |
| August | 615 | 3 | 0.5% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 703 | 5 | 0.7% | 16 | 2.3% | | | |
| October | 745 | 2 | 0.3% | 44 | 5.9% | | | |
| Nov | 560 | 3 | 0.5% | 5 | 0.9% | | | |
| Dec | 470 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 1.1% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 376 | 1 | 0.3% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| February | 426 | 1 | 0.2% | 1 | 0.2% | | | |
| March | 568 | 1 | 0.2% | 1 | 0.2% | | | |
| April | 548 | 1 | 0.2% | 9 | 1.6% | | | |
| May | 463 | 2 | 0.4% | 3 | 0.6% | | | |
| June | 448 | 4 | 0.9% | 4 | 0.9% | | | |
| July | 356 | 3 | 0.8% | 2 | 0.6% | | | |
| August | 265 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.5% | | | |
| Sept | 288 | 1 | 0.3% | 2 | 0.7% | | | |
| October | 163 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.6% | | | |
| Nov | 293 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.3% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 276 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.1% | 303 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 201 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.5% | 1663 | 63 | 3.8% |
| Sub-Tot | 10771 | 47 | 0.4% | 102 | 0.9% | 1966 | 63 | 3.2% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 5: *Press TV (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 181 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.6% | 561 | 13 | 2.3% |
| March | 180 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.7% | 227 | 18 | 7.9% |
| April | 185 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 1.6% | 172 | 19 | 11.0% |
| May | 212 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1.9% | 192 | 15 | 7.8% |
| June | 162 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.6% | 118 | 5 | 4.2% |
| July | 187 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 99 | 2 | 2.0% |
| August | 180 | 1 | 0.6% | 8 | 4.4% | 76 | 2 | 2.6% |
| Sept | 152 | 2 | 1.3% | 7 | 4.6% | 94 | 2 | 2.1% |
| October | 134 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1.5% | 155 | 1 | 0.6% |
| Nov | 140 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 2.1% | 115 | 4 | 3.5% |
| Dec | 177 | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 5.6% | 122 | 22 | 18.0% |
| Jan 010 | 170 | 0 | 0.0% | 22 | 12.9% | 135 | 14 | 10.4% |
| February | 115 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 5.2% | 108 | 6 | 5.6% |
| March | 109 | 1 | 0.9% | 4 | 3.7% | 108 | 2 | 1.9% |
| April | 134 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 5.2% | 108 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 161 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.6% | 152 | 2 | 1.3% |
| June | 161 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 3.1% | 560 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 193 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1.0% | 174 | 1 | 0.6% |
| August | 223 | 0 | 0.0% | 18 | 8.1% | 156 | 2 | 1.3% |
| Sept | 253 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 2.0% | 172 | 1 | 0.6% |
| October | 291 | 3 | 1.0% | 16 | 5.5% | 137 | 3 | 2.2% |
| Nov | 308 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 2.3% | 135 | 5 | 3.7% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 4008 | 7 | 0.2% | 135 | 3.4% | 3876 | 139 | 3.6% |
| P1 Sub-T | 10771 | 47 | 0.4% | 102 | 0.9% | 1966 | 63 | 3.2% |
| Total | 14779 | 54 | 0.4% | 237 | 1.6% | 5842 | 202 | 3.5% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 6: *Arab News*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 201 | 1 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| Dec | 213 | 1 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 119 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 105 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 144 | 2 | 1.4% | | | | | |
| April | 137 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 132 | 2 | 1.5% | | | | | |
| June | 142 | 21 | 14.8% | | | | | |
| July | 133 | 6 | 4.5% | | | | | |
| August | 161 | 2 | 1.2% | | | | | |
| Sept | 161 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| October | 161 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Nov | 188 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 155 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 136 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 182 | 1 | 0.5% | | | | | |
| March | 173 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| April | 172 | 1 | 0.6% | | | | | |
| May | 140 | 1 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| June | 129 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 140 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 177 | 0 | 0.0% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 120 | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 10.0% | | | |
| October | 137 | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 8.8% | | | |
| Nov | 100 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 4.0% | | | |
| Dec | 75 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.7% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 96 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| February | 74 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| March | 115 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1.7% | | | |
| April | 105 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.0% | | | |
| May | 97 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| June | 102 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.0% | | | |
| July | 85 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| August | 74 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.4% | | | |
| Sept | 91 | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| October | 83 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Nov | 89 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 86 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.3% | 71 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 85 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.2% | 288 | 11 | 3.8% |
| Sub-Tot | 5015 | 42 | 0.8% | 38 | 0.8% | 359 | 11 | 3.1% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 6: *Arab News (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 63 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 98 | 3 | 3.1% |
| March | 83 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 86 | 5 | 5.8% |
| April | 65 | 2 | 3.1% | 1 | 1.5% | 58 | 1 | 1.7% |
| May | 54 | 1 | 1.9% | 1 | 1.9% | 58 | 4 | 6.9% |
| June | 70 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 51 | 2 | 3.9% |
| July | 51 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 39 | 4 | 10.3% |
| August | 74 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.7% | 52 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 68 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.5% | 40 | 3 | 7.5% |
| October | 58 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 63 | 2 | 3.2% |
| Nov | 51 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.0% | 55 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | 77 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.3% | 53 | 2 | 3.8% |
| Jan 010 | 76 | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 10.5% | 63 | 1 | 1.6% |
| February | 34 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.9% | 29 | 0 | 0.0% |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 824 | 3 | 0.4% | 16 | 1.9% | 745 | 27 | 3.6% |
| P1 Sub-T | 5015 | 42 | 0.8% | 38 | 0.8% | 359 | 11 | 3.1% |
| Total | 5839 | 45 | 0.8% | 58 | 1.0% | 1104 | 38 | 1.6% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 7: *Ma'an News*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-08 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | | | | | | 470 | 7 | 1.5% |
| Jan-09 | | | | | | 711 | 14 | 2.0% |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 1181 | 21 | 1.8% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 7: *Ma'an News (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | | | | | | 419 | 4 | 1.0% |
| March | | | | | | 339 | 2 | 0.6% |
| April | | | | | | 307 | 7 | 2.3% |
| May | | | | | | 353 | 3 | 0.8% |
| June | | | | | | 314 | 1 | 0.3% |
| July | | | | | | 333 | 4 | 1.2% |
| August | | | | | | 338 | 3 | 0.9% |
| Sept | | | | | | 321 | 3 | 0.9% |
| October | | | | | | 416 | 1 | 0.2% |
| Nov | | | | | | 341 | 3 | 0.9% |
| Dec | | | | | | 402 | 2 | 0.5% |
| Jan 010 | | | | | | 333 | 6 | 1.8% |
| February | | | | | | 320 | 0 | 0.0% |
| March | | | | | | 359 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | | | | | | 313 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | | | | | | 365 | 1 | 0.3% |
| June | | | | | | 504 | 1 | 0.2% |
| July | | | | | | 383 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | | | | | | 327 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | | | | | | 325 | 2 | 0.6% |
| October | | | | | | 280 | 2 | 0.7% |
| Nov | | | | | | 296 | 2 | 0.7% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 7688 | 47 | 0.6% |
| P1 Sub-T | | | | | | 1181 | 21 | 1.8% |
| Total | | | | | | 8869 | 68 | 0.8% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 8: *Electronic Intifada*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Jan-08 | | | | | | | | |
| February | | | | | | | | |
| March | | | | | | | | |
| April | | | | | | | | |
| May | | | | | | | | |
| June | | | | | | | | |
| July | | | | | | | | |
| August | | | | | | | | |
| Sept | | | | | | | | |
| October | | | | | | | | |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | | | | | | | | |
| Dec | | | | | | 64 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | | | | | | 166 | 17 | 10.2% |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 230 | 17 | 7.4% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 8: *Electronic Intifada (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | | | | | | 83 | 8 | 9.6% |
| March | | | | | | 34 | 2 | 5.9% |
| April | | | | | | 39 | 4 | 10.3% |
| May | | | | | | 48 | 4 | 8.3% |
| June | | | | | | 40 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | | | | | | 37 | 3 | 8.1% |
| August | | | | | | 37 | 3 | 8.1% |
| Sept | | | | | | 34 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | | | | | | 40 | 3 | 7.5% |
| Nov | | | | | | 34 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | 36 | 1 | 2.8% |
| Jan 010 | | | | | | 46 | 0 | 0.0% |
| February | | | | | | 45 | 0 | 0.0% |
| March | | | | | | 46 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | | | | | | 40 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | | | | | | 35 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | | | | | | 43 | 1 | 2.3% |
| July | | | | | | 56 | 2 | 3.6% |
| August | | | | | | 42 | 1 | 2.4% |
| Sept | | | | | | 29 | 1 | 3.4% |
| October | | | | | | 34 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | | | | | | 32 | 1 | 3.1% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | | | | | | 910 | 34 | 3.7% |
| P1 Sub-T | | | | | | 230 | 17 | 7.4% |
| Total | | | | | | 1140 | 51 | 4.5% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 9: *Democracy Now*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 106 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 79 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 78 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 71 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 114 | 3 | 2.6% | | | | | |
| April | 78 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 70 | 5 | 7.1% | | | | | |
| June | 109 | 14 | 12.8% | | | | | |
| July | 81 | 1 | 1.2% | | | | | |
| August | 93 | 1 | 1.1% | | | | | |
| Sept | 86 | 4 | 4.7% | | | | | |
| October | 115 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Nov | 126 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 130 | 2 | 1.5% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 147 | 1 | 0.7% | | | | | |
| February | 71 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 120 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 116 | 1 | 0.9% | | | | | |
| May | 116 | 3 | 2.6% | | | | | |
| June | 89 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 111 | 2 | 1.8% | | | | | |
| August | 93 | 2 | 2.2% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 99 | 3 | 3.0% | 21 | 21.2% | | | |
| October | 123 | 0 | 0.0% | 44 | 35.8% | | | |
| Nov | 80 | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 15.0% | | | |
| Dec | 48 | 0 | 0.0% | 13 | 27.1% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 61 | 1 | 1.6% | 7 | 11.5% | | | |
| February | 70 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 8.6% | | | |
| March | 90 | 3 | 3.3% | 6 | 6.7% | | | |
| April | 82 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 6.1% | | | |
| May | 81 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 8.6% | | | |
| June | 77 | 5 | 6.5% | 5 | 6.5% | | | |
| July | 72 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 5.6% | | | |
| August | 80 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 7.5% | | | |
| Sept | 83 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 7.2% | | | |
| October | 78 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.6% | | | |
| Nov | 50 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 14.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 56 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 10.7% | 30 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 29 | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 10.3% | 115 | 11 | 9.6% |
| Sub-Tot | 3458 | 51 | 1.5% | 160 | 4.6% | 145 | 11 | 7.6% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 9: *Democracy Now (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 43 | 3 | 7.0% | 4 | 9.3% | 45 | 2 | 4.4% |
| Mar-09 | 45 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 11.1% | 33 | 2 | 6.1% |
| April | 39 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 10.3% | 16 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 50 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 12.0% | 12 | 2 | 16.7% |
| June | 45 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.2% | 15 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 44 | 1 | 2.3% | 1 | 2.3% | 13 | 1 | 7.7% |
| August | 48 | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 20.8% | 7 | 1 | 14.3% |
| Sept | 32 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 15.6% | 21 | 1 | 4.8% |
| October | 47 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 8.5% | 17 | 1 | 5.9% |
| Nov | 28 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 14.3% | 6 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | 30 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 13.3% | 14 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan 010 | 28 | 0 | 0.0% | 15 | 53.6% | 17 | 1 | 5.9% |
| February | 40 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 17.5% | 5 | 2 | 40.0% |
| March | 38 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 13.2% | 25 | 2 | 8.0% |
| April | 39 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.6% | 10 | 1 | 10.0% |
| May | 21 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 4.8% | 7 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 32 | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 21.9% | 50 | 1 | 2.0% |
| July | 36 | 1 | 2.8% | 4 | 11.1% | 18 | 1 | 5.6% |
| August | 33 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 15.2% | 13 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 39 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 12.8% | 16 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 35 | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 14.3% | 8 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 30 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 822 | 5 | 0.6% | 103 | 12.5% | 373 | 18 | 4.8% |
| P1 Sub-T | 3458 | 51 | 1.5% | 160 | 4.6% | 145 | 11 | 7.6% |
| Totals | 4280 | 56 | 1.3% | 263 | 6.1% | 518 | 29 | 5.6% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 10: *Global Voices*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 23 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 31 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 32 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 24 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 28 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 30 | 4 | 13.3% | | | | | |
| July | 18 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Sept | 24 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| October | 21 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Nov | 26 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 30 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 38 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 36 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 55 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 53 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 50 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 50 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 48 | 0 | 0.0% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 33 | 1 | 3.0% | 1 | 3.0% | | | |
| October | 38 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 5.3% | | | |
| Nov | 35 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Dec | 23 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 31 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| February | 30 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| March | 27 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| April | 26 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| May | 15 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| June | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| July | 13 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| August | 18 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 5.6% | | | |
| Sept | 15 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| October | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Nov | 17 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 51 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 18 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 158 | 5 | 3.2% |
| Sub-Tot | 1069 | 5 | 0.5% | 4 | 0.4% | 209 | 5 | 2.4% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 10: *Global Voices (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 27 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 29 | 0 | 0.0% |
| March | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 33 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 32 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 17 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 16 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 3 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 10 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 16 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 2 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 7 | 1 | 14.3% |
| Dec | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 8 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan 010 | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| February | 1 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| March | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 3 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 5 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 4 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 10 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 42 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 4 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 1 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 3 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 4 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | | 3 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 190 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 260 | 1 | 0.4% |
| P1 Sub-T | 1069 | 5 | 0.5% | 4 | 0.4% | 209 | 5 | 2.4% |
| Total | 1259 | 5 | 0.4% | 4 | 0.3% | 469 | 6 | 1.3% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 11: *Amnesty International*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 5 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 13 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 22 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 23 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 32 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 17 | 2 | 11.8% | | | | | |
| July | 10 | 1 | 10.0% | | | | | |
| August | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Sept | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| October | 4 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Nov | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 13 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 19 | 1 | 5.3% | | | | | |
| April | 24 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 31 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| October | 15 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| Nov | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| Dec | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 4 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| February | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| March | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| April | 17 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| May | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| June | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| July | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| August | 13 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | | | |
| Sept | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 6.3% | | | |
| October | 13 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Nov | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 25.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 25 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 27 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 4 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 71 | 18 | 25.4% |
| Sub-Tot | 536 | 4 | 0.7% | 3 | 0.6% | 98 | 18 | 18.4% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 11: *Amnesty International (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0% | 43 | 7 | 16.3% |
| March | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 36 | 2 | 5.6% |
| April | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 41 | 3 | 7.3% |
| May | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 27 | 2 | 7.4% |
| June | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 48 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 39 | 2 | 5.1% |
| August | 15 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 36 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Sept | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 31 | 2 | 6.5% |
| October | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 36 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 43 | 2 | 4.7% |
| Dec | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 49 | 1 | 2.0% |
| Jan 010 | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 30 | 0 | 0.0% |
| February | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 43 | 3 | 7.0% |
| March | 15 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 49 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 37 | 0 | 0.0% |
| May | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 7.1% | 28 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 48 | 1 | 2.1% |
| July | 5 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1 | 100.0% |
| August | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1 | 50.0% |
| Sept | 9 | 1 | 11.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 9 | 2 | 22.2% |
| October | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 20 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 253 | 1 | 0.4% | 1 | 0.4% | 701 | 29 | 4.1% |
| P1 Sub-T | 536 | 4 | 0.7% | 3 | 0.6% | 98 | 18 | 18.4% |
| Total | 789 | 5 | 0.6% | 4 | 0.5% | 799 | 47 | 5.9% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 12: *Human Rights Watch*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Nov | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 1 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-06 | 17 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 25 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Sept | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| October | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Nov | 35 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Dec | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| Jan-07 | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| February | 33 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| March | 22 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| April | 18 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| May | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| June | 26 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| July | 31 | 0 | 0.0% | | | | | |
| August | 5 | 0 | 0.0% | Bl'water | Per cent | | | |
| Sept | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| October | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 22.2% | | | |
| Nov | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Dec | 23 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 4.3% | | | |
| Jan-08 | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| February | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| March | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| April | 17 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| May | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| June | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| July | 5 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| August | 4 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 25.0% | | | |
| Sept | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| October | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| Nov | 19 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Dec | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Jan-09 | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 24 | 8 | 33.3% |
| Sub-Tot | 545 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 0.7% | 32 | 8 | 25.0% |

OUTLET ARCHIVES: THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH

Table 12: *Human Rights Watch (Continued)*

| IRAQ THEATRE AND INCIDENT COVERAGE BY MONTH | | | | | | GAZA AND WP COVERAGE | | |
|---|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|---------|----------|
| Month | Iraq | Haditha | Per cent | Bl'water | Per cent | Gaza | W'Phosp | Per cent |
| Feb-09 | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 1 | 25.0% |
| March | 10 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 18 | 14 | 77.8% |
| April | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 11 | 2 | 18.2% |
| May | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 3 | 42.9% |
| June | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 1 | 10.0% |
| July | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 21 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 15 | 3 | 20.0% |
| Sept | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 7 | 58.3% |
| October | 8 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 2 | 16.7% |
| Nov | 20 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Dec | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 2 | 50.0% |
| Jan 010 | 34 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.9% | 11 | 3 | 27.3% |
| February | 16 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 11 | 3 | 27.3% |
| March | 12 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| April | 14 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 2 | 28.6% |
| May | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 0 | 0.0% |
| June | 25 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 9 | 0 | 0.0% |
| July | 11 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| August | 2 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1 | 50.0% |
| Sept | 6 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 0 | 0.0% |
| October | 7 | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Nov | 9 | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 11.1% | 3 | 3 | 100.0% |
| Dec | | | | | | | | |
| Sub-Tot | 264 | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.8% | 178 | 47 | 26.4% |
| P1 Sub-T | 545 | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 0.7% | 32 | 8 | 25.0% |
| Total | 809 | 0 | 0.0% | 6 | 0.7% | 210 | 55 | 26.2% |

APPENDIX B

OUTLET ARCHIVES - HADITHA ARTICLES BY FRAMING CRITERIA FOR BASELINE MONTHS

| Table 1: <i>New York Times</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | 2 | 11.8 | 3 | 17.6 | - | - | 1 | 5.9 | 4 | 23.5 | 2 | 11.8 | - | - | 5 | 29.4 | 17 |
| June 06 | 9 | 19.6 | 4 | 8.7 | 2 | 4.3 | 6 | 13.0 | 9 | 19.6 | - | - | - | - | 16 | 34.8 | 46 |
| July 06 | 3 | 25.0 | - | - | 2 | 16.7 | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 25.0 | 12 |
| Sub-Tot. | 14 | 18.7 | 7 | 9.3 | 4 | 5.3 | 7 | 9.3 | 17 | 22.7 | 2 | 2.7 | - | - | 24 | 32.0 | 75 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 22.2 | 9 |
| May 07 | 1 | 8.3 | 1 | 8.3 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 58.3 | - | - | 1 | 8.3 | 2 | 16.7 | 12 |
| June 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 77.8 | - | - | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | 9 |
| Sub-Tot. | 4 | 13.3 | 2 | 6.7 | - | - | - | - | 17 | 56.7 | - | - | 2 | 6.7 | 5 | 16.7 | 30 |
| Totals | 18 | 17.1 | 9 | 8.6 | 4 | 3.8 | 7 | 6.7 | 34 | 32.4 | 2 | 1.9 | 2 | 1.9 | 29 | 27.6 | 105 |

Total unrelated entries 7; brief references 25.

| Table 2: <i>Guardian</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | 2 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | 4 | 40.0 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 10 |
| June 06 | 13 | 40.6 | 2 | 6.25 | 1 | 3.1 | 3 | 9.4 | 6 | 18.7 | - | - | 3 | 9.4 | 4 | 12.5 | 32 |
| July 06 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 60.0 | 5 |
| Sub-Tot. | 16 | 34 | 4 | 8.5 | 1 | 2.1 | 4 | 8.5 | 11 | 23.4 | - | - | 4 | 8.5 | 7 | 14.9 | 47 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 2 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 4 |
| June 07 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 25 | 3 | 37.5 | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 8 |
| Totals | 16 | 29.1 | 4 | 7.3 | 2 | 3.7 | 5 | 9.1 | 13 | 23.6 | 3 | 5.4 | 4 | 7.3 | 8 | 14.6 | 55 |

| Table 3: <i>Al Jazeera</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| June 06 | 7 | 50.0 | 2 | 14.3 | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 2 | 14.3 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 7.1 | 14 |
| July 06 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | 5 |
| Sub-Tot. | 9 | 37.5 | 4 | 16.7 | 3 | 12.5 | 3 | 12.5 | 3 | 12.5 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 8.3 | 24 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 40.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 40.0 | 5 |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 4 |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 | 60.0 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 30.0 | 10 |
| Totals | 10 | 29.4 | 4 | 11.8 | 3 | 8.8 | 3 | 8.8 | 9 | 26.5 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 14.7 | 34 |

Total unrelated entries 5, brief references 13.

| Table 4: Press TV – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|---|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| June 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| July 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| *Data unavailable for first period, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| May 07 | 1 | 12.5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 37.5 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 50.0 | 8 |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 7.7 | 1 | 7.7 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 53.8 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 30.8 | 13 |
| Totals | 1 | 7.7 | 1 | 7.7 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 53.8 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 30.8 | 13 |

Total unrelated entries 4.

| Table 5: <i>Arab News</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|-----|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|-----|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| June 06 | 6 | 28.6 | 3 | 14.3 | 2 | 9.5 | - | - | 3 | 14.3 | 1 | 4.8 | 3 | 14.3 | 3 | 14.3 | 21 |
| July 06 | 2 | 33.3 | 2 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 33.3 | 6 |
| Sub-Tot. | 8 | 27.6 | 6 | 20.7 | 2 | 6.9 | - | - | 4 | 13.8 | 1 | 3.4 | 3 | 10.3 | 5 | 17.2 | 29 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | 2 |
| Totals | 8 | 25.8 | 6 | 19.3 | 2 | 6.4 | - | - | 4 | 12.9 | 1 | 3.2 | 3 | 9.7 | 7 | 22.6 | 31 |

Total brief references 10.

| Table 6: <i>Democracy Now</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|-------|------------|-----|---------|------|----------|---|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | 3 | 60.0 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| June 06 | 6 | 42.9 | 2 | 14.3 | 2 | 14.3 | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | - | - | 14 |
| July 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 6 | 30.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 2 | 10.0 | 4 | 20.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 1 | 5.0 | 1 | 5.0 | - | - | 20 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 3 |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | 4 |
| Totals | 6 | 25.0 | 3 | 12.5 | 2 | 8.3 | 4 | 16.7 | 6 | 25.0 | 1 | 4.2 | 2 | 8.3 | - | - | 24 |

Total brief references 6.

| Table 7: <i>Global Voices</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|---|----------|------|------------|---|-----------|---|-------|---|------------|---|---------|------|----------|---|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| June 06 | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | 4 |
| July 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | 4 |
| *Articles here comprise blog post by internationally-based regional editors reviewing the local blog scene. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Totals | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | 4 |

Total brief reference 1.

| Table 8: <i>Amnesty International</i> – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|---|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|---|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| May 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| June 06 | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| July 06 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| *Articles here comprise news stories, report and press releases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| April 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| May 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| June | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Totals | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |

Table 9: *Human Rights Watch* – Haditha articles by framing criteria for baseline months[illegible]

APPENDIX C

OUTLET ARCHIVES – BLACKWATER ARTICLES BY FRAMING CRITERIA FOR BASELINE MONTHS

| Table 1: <i>New York Times</i> – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|-----|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 8 | 24.2 | - | - | 3 | 9.1 | 3 | 9.1 | 3 | 9.1 | - | - | - | - | 16 | 48.5 | 33 |
| Oct 07 | 13 | 16.2 | 4 | 5.0 | 2 | 2.5 | 12 | 15.0 | 8 | 10.0 | - | - | - | - | 41 | 51.2 | 80 |
| Nov 07 | 2 | 6.9 | 1 | 3.4 | 2 | 6.9 | 1 | 3.4 | 4 | 13.8 | - | - | - | - | 19 | 65.5 | 29 |
| Sub-Tot. | 23 | 16.2 | 5 | 3.5 | 7 | 4.9 | 16 | 11.3 | 15 | 10.6 | - | - | - | - | 76 | 53.5 | 142 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 70.0 | 10 |
| Dec 08 | - | - | 2 | 12.5 | 3 | 18.7 | - | - | 5 | 31.2 | - | - | - | - | 6 | 37.5 | 16 |
| Jan 10 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4.5 | 1 | 4.5 | 7 | 31.8 | 1 | 4.5 | - | - | 12 | 54.5 | 22 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 2.1 | 2 | 4.2 | 5 | 10.2 | 1 | 2.1 | 13 | 27.1 | 1 | 2.1 | - | - | 25 | 53.1 | 48 |
| Totals | 24 | 12.6 | 7 | 3.7 | 12 | 6.3 | 17 | 8.9 | 28 | 14.7 | 1 | 0.5 | - | - | 101 | 53.2 | 190 |

Total unrelated entries 24, brief references 57.

| Table 2: <i>Guardian</i> – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|-----|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 3 | 16.7 | - | - | 8 | 44.4 | 1 | 5.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 | 33.3 | 18 |
| Oct 07 | 7 | 23.3 | 3 | 10.0 | 3 | 10.0 | 3 | 10.0 | 5 | 16.7 | - | - | 2 | 6.7 | 7 | 23.3 | 30 |
| Nov 07 | 5 | 35.7 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 7.1 | 2 | 14.3 | 2 | 14.3 | - | - | 4 | 28.6 | 14 |
| Sub-Tot. | 15 | 24.2 | 3 | 4.8 | 11 | 17.7 | 5 | 8.1 | 7 | 11.3 | 2 | 3.2 | 2 | 3.2 | 17 | 27.4 | 62 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Dec 08 | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 7 | 70.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 10 |
| Jan 10 | 4 | 33.3 | 1 | 8.3 | - | - | 2 | 16.7 | - | - | 1 | 8.3 | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | 12 |
| Sub-Tot. | 5 | 20.8 | 1 | 4.2 | 2 | 8.3 | 3 | 12.5 | 8 | 33.3 | 1 | 4.2 | - | - | 4 | 16.7 | 24 |
| Totals | 20 | 23.3 | 4 | 4.6 | 13 | 15.1 | 8 | 9.3 | 15 | 17.4 | 3 | 3.5 | 2 | 2.3 | 21 | 24.4 | 86 |

Total unrelated entries 8, brief references 28, duplications 2.

Table 3: *Al Jazeera* – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months

| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
|----------|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|-----|----------|------|-------|
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 2 | 20.0 | - | - | 4 | 40.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 3 | 30.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 10 |
| Oct 07 | 8 | 34.8 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 30.4 | - | - | 1 | 4.3 | 7 | 30.4 | 23 |
| Nov 07 | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Sub-Tot. | 11 | 30.6 | 1 | 2.8 | 4 | 11.1 | 1 | 2.8 | 11 | 30.6 | - | - | 1 | 2.8 | 7 | 19.4 | 36 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dec 08 | 1 | 9.1 | - | - | 2 | 18.2 | 2 | 18.2 | 6 | 54.5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 11 |
| Jan 10 | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 5 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 20.0 | 10 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 4.8 | 1 | 4.8 | 3 | 14.3 | 2 | 9.5 | 11 | 52.4 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 9.5 | 21 |
| Totals | 12 | 21.0 | 2 | 3.5 | 7 | 12.3 | 3 | 5.3 | 22 | 38.6 | - | - | 1 | 1.7 | 9 | 15.8 | 57 |

Total unrelated entries 1, brief references 12.

| Table 4: <i>Press TV</i> – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 3 | 18.75 | 1 | 6.25 | 10 | 62.5 | 1 | 6.25 | 1 | 6.25 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 16 |
| Oct 07 | 10 | 22.7 | 3 | 6.8 | 15 | 34.1 | 4 | 9.1 | 7 | 15.1 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 11.4 | 44 |
| Nov 07 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | 3 | 60.0 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| Sub-Tot. | 13 | 20.0 | 5 | 7.7 | 28 | 43.1 | 5 | 7.7 | 9 | 13.8 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 7.7 | 65 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dec 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Jan 10 | 1 | 4.5 | - | - | 4 | 18.2 | - | - | 5 | 22.7 | - | - | - | - | 12 | 54.5 | 22 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 4.0 | - | - | 4 | 16.0 | - | - | 8 | 32.0 | - | - | - | - | 12 | 48.0 | 25 |
| Totals | 14 | 15.6 | 5 | 5.6 | 32 | 36.4 | 5 | 5.6 | 17 | 18.9 | - | - | - | - | 17 | 18.9 | 90 |

Total unrelated entries 11, brief references 16.

Table 5: *Arab News* – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months

| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
|----------|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 6 | 50.0 | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 16.7 | 12 |
| Oct 07 | 2 | 16.7 | 2 | 16.7 | 6 | 50.0 | 2 | 16.7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| Nov 07 | - | - | 2 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 25.0 | 4 |
| Sub-Tot. | 8 | 28.6 | 4 | 14.3 | 10 | 35.7 | 2 | 7.4 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3.6 | 3 | 10.7 | 28 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dec 08 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Jan 10 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | - | - | 6 | 75.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 8 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 3 | 30.0 | - | - | 6 | 60.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 10.0 | 10 |
| Totals | 8 | 21.0 | 4 | 10.5 | 13 | 34.2 | 2 | 5.3 | 6 | 15.8 | - | - | 1 | 2.6 | 4 | 10.5 | 38 |

Total unrelated entries 1, brief references 9.

| Table 6: <i>Democracy Now</i> – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|-----|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | 4 | 19.0 | 2 | 9.5 | 8 | 38.0 | 4 | 19.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4.8 | 2 | 9.5 | 21 |
| Oct 07 | 12 | 27.3 | 4 | 9.1 | 4 | 9.1 | 8 | 18.2 | 8 | 18.2 | 1 | 2.3 | 1 | 2.3 | 6 | 13.6 | 44 |
| Nov 07 | - | - | 2 | 16.7 | 1 | 8.3 | 2 | 16.7 | 3 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | 12 |
| Sub-Tot. | 16 | 20.8 | 8 | 10.4 | 13 | 16.9 | 14 | 18.2 | 11 | 14.3 | 1 | 1.3 | 2 | 2.6 | 12 | 15.6 | 77 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | 2 | 28.6 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | 1 | 14.3 | - | - | 3 | 42.9 | 7 |
| Dec 08 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 16.7 | - | - | 4 | 66.7 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 16.7 | 6 |
| Jan 10 | 2 | 13.3 | 1 | 6.7 | - | - | - | - | 6 | 40.0 | - | - | - | - | 6 | 40.0 | 15 |
| Sub-Tot. | 2 | 7.1 | 3 | 10.7 | 1 | 3.6 | - | - | 11 | 39.3 | 1 | 3.6 | - | - | 10 | 35.7 | 28 |
| Totals | 18 | 17.1 | 11 | 10.6 | 14 | 13.3 | 14 | 13.3 | 22 | 20.9 | 2 | 1.9 | 2 | 1.7 | 22 | 20.9 | 105 |

Total unrelated entries 14, brief references 19.

| Table 7: <i>Global Voices</i> – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|---|----------|---|------------|---|-----------|---|-------|---|------------|------|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Oct 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | 2 |
| Nov 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | 3 |
| *Articles here comprise blog posts by internationally based regional editors reviewing the local blog scene. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dec 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jan 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Totals | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | 3 |

Total unrelated entries 2.

Table 8: *Amnesty International* – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months[illegible]

Table 9: *Human Rights Watch* – Blackwater articles by framing criteria for baseline months

| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
|----------|----------|---|----------|---|------------|---|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Sept 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Oct 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Nov 07 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dec 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jan 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| Totals | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 3 |

Total unrelated entries 1.

APPENDIX D

OUTLET ARCHIVES - WHITE PHOSPHOROUS ARTICLES BY FRAMING CRITERIA FOR BASELINE MONTHS

| Table 1: <i>New York Times</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|---|---------|------|----------|------|-------|--|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total | |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 12.5 | 4 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 25.0 | 8 | |
| Feb 09 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 40.0 | 5 | |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 2 | |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 6.7 | 5 | 33.3 | 1 | 6.7 | - | - | 2 | 13.3 | - | - | 1 | 6.7 | 5 | 33.3 | 15 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | 3 | |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | 2 | |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 80.0 | 5 | |
| Totals | 1 | 5.0 | 5 | 25.0 | 1 | 5.0 | - | - | 3 | 15.0 | - | - | 1 | 5.0 | 9 | 45.0 | 20 | |

Total unrelated entries 4, brief references 5.

| Table 2: <i>Guardian</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|-----|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|-------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 5 | 20.0 | 8 | 32.0 | 1 | 4.0 | 3 | 12.0 | 3 | 12.0 | 3 | 12.0 | 1 | 4.0 | 1 | 4.0 | 25 |
| Feb 09 | 2 | 11.7 | 1 | 5.9 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 17.6 | 2 | 11.7 | 5 | 29.4 | 4 | 23.5 | 17 |
| Mar 09 | - | - | 1 | 16.7 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 83.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 |
| Sub-Tot. | 7 | 14.6 | 10 | 20.8 | 1 | 2.1 | 3 | 6.25 | 11 | 22.9 | 5 | 10.4 | 6 | 12.5 | 5 | 10.4 | 48 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 75.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 4 |
| Oct 09 | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 100.0 | 3 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 37.5 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 50.0 | 8 |
| Totals | 7 | 12.5 | 11 | 19.6 | 1 | 1.8 | 3 | 5.4 | 14 | 25.0 | 5 | 8.9 | 6 | 10.7 | 9 | 16.1 | 56 |

Total unrelated entries 2, brief references 25.

| Table 3: <i>Jerusalem Post</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 33.3 | 1 | 11.1 | - | - | 1 | 11.1 | 9 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 3 | 30.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 10.0 | - | - | 3 | 30.0 | 2 | 20.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 12 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Oct 09 | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Totals | 4 | 26.7 | 1 | 6.7 | 2 | 13.3 | - | - | 4 | 26.7 | 2 | 13.3 | 1 | 6.7 | 1 | 6.7 | 15 |

| Table 4: <i>Al Jazeera</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 5.0 | 9 | 45.0 | 1 | 5.0 | - | - | 9 | 45.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Mar 09 | 2 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 37.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 8 |
| Sub-Tot. | 3 | 10.0 | 9 | 30.0 | 1 | 3.3 | - | - | 14 | 46.7 | 1 | 3.3 | 1 | 3.3 | 1 | 3.3 | 30 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Totals | 3 | 9.4 | 9 | 28.1 | 2 | 6.25 | - | - | 15 | 46.9 | 1 | 3.1 | 1 | 3.1 | 1 | 3.1 | 32 |

Total brief references 1.

Table 5: *Press TV* – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months

| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
|--|----------|------|----------|-------|------------|------|-----------|-----|-------|------|------------|------|---------|-----|----------|------|-------|
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 9 | 14.3 | 9 | 14.3 | 5 | 7.9 | - | - | 14 | 22.2 | 2 | 3.2 | 3 | 4.8 | 21 | 33.3 | 63 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 15.4 | 1 | 7.7 | 3 | 23.1 | 4 | 30.8 | - | - | 3 | 23.1 | 13 |
| Mar 09 | 3 | 16.7 | 2 | 11.1 | 4 | 22.2 | - | - | 5 | 27.8 | 2 | 11.1 | - | - | 2 | 11.1 | 18 |
| Sub-Tot. | 12 | 12.7 | 11 | 11.7 | 11 | 11.7 | 1 | 1.1 | 22 | 23.4 | 8 | 8.5 | 3 | 3.2 | 26 | 27.6 | 94 |
| *Data available from January 9, 2009 onwards only. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Oct 09 | - | - | 1 | 100.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 100 | 4 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 2 | 28.6 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | - | - | - | - | 4 | 57.1 | 7 |
| Totals | 12 | 11.9 | 13 | 12.9 | 11 | 10.9 | 1 | 1.0 | 23 | 22.8 | 8 | 7.9 | 3 | 3.0 | 30 | 29.7 | 101 |

Total unrelated entries 9, brief references 13, duplications 23.

| Table 6: <i>Arab News</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|---|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|---|---------|-----|----------|---|-------|--|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total | |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | | |
| Jan 09 | - | - | 5 | 45.4 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 45.4 | - | - | 1 | 9.1 | - | - | 11 | |
| Feb 09 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | |
| Mar 09 | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | 3 | 60.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 7 | 36.8 | 2 | 10.5 | - | - | 9 | 47.4 | - | - | 1 | 5.3 | - | - | 19 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 20.0 | - | - | 4 | 80.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | |
| Totals | - | - | 7 | 29.2 | 3 | 12.5 | - | - | 13 | 54.2 | - | - | 1 | 4.2 | - | - | 24 | |

Total brief references 5.

| Table 7: <i>Ma'an News Agency</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|--|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total | |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 7.1 | 11 | 78.6 | - | - | 1 | 7.1 | 1 | 7.1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 14 | |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 4 | |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 5.0 | 11 | 55.0 | 1 | 5.0 | 2 | 10.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 1 | 5.0 | - | - | 1 | 5.0 | 20 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 3 | |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | 4 | 57.1 | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | - | - | 7 | |
| Totals | 1 | 3.7 | 12 | 44.4 | 5 | 18.5 | 2 | 7.4 | 4 | 14.8 | 1 | 3.7 | 1 | 3.7 | 1 | 3.7 | 27 | |

Total brief references 14.

| Table 8: <i>Democracy Now</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----|----------|------|------------|---|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 9.1 | 5 | 45.4 | - | - | 1 | 9.1 | 4 | 36.4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 11 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Mar 09 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 6.7 | 6 | 40.0 | - | - | 1 | 6.7 | 7 | 46.7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Totals | 1 | 5.9 | 6 | 35.3 | - | - | 2 | 11.8 | 7 | 41.2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 5.9 | 17 |

Total unrelated entries 1, brief references 3.

| Table 9: <i>Global Voices</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|---|----------|------|------------|---|-----------|---|-------|---|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | - | - | 5 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | 5 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| *Articles here comprise blog posts by internationally-based regional editors reviewing the local blog scene. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | 1 |
| Totals | - | - | 5 | 83.3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 16.7 | 6 |

Total unrelated entries 1.

| Table 10: <i>Electronic Intifada</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|-----|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|------------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 5.9 | 9 | 52.9 | 1 | 5.9 | - | - | 4 | 23.5 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 11.8 | 17 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 25.0 | 2 | 25.0 | - | - | 8 |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 3.7 | 10 | 37.0 | 2 | 7.4 | 1 | 3.7 | 7 | 25.9 | 2 | 7.4 | 2 | 7.4 | 2 | 7.4 | 27 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 33.3 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Totals | 1 | 3.3 | 10 | 33.3 | 3 | 10.0 | 1 | 3.3 | 8 | 26.7 | 3 | 10.0 | 2 | 6.7 | 2 | 6.7 | 30 |

Total brief entries 12.

| Table 11: <i>Amnesty International</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|---|---------|---|----------|------|-------|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | |
| Jan 09 | 2 | 11.1 | 11 | 61.1 | 1 | 5.6 | - | - | 2 | 11.1 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 11.1 | 18 |
| Feb 09 | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 25.0 | 4 |
| Mar 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sub-Tot. | 2 | 8.7 | 12 | 52.2 | 1 | 4.3 | - | - | 5 | 21.7 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 13.0 | 23 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 2 | 50.0 | - | - | 2 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| Totals | 2 | 7.4 | 12 | 44.4 | 3 | 11.1 | - | - | 7 | 25.9 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 11.1 | 27 |

Total brief references 7.

| Table 12: <i>Human Rights Watch</i> – White phosphorous articles by framing criteria for baseline months | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-----------|---|-------|------|------------|-----|---------|------|----------|------|-------|--|
| Criteria | Military | | Civilian | | Diplomatic | | Political | | Legal | | Public Act | | N Media | | Discount | | Total | |
| Month | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | | |
| Jan 09 | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 25.0 | 1 | 12.5 | - | - | 3 | 37.5 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | 8 | |
| Feb 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | |
| Mar 09 | - | - | 5 | 35.7 | 2 | 14.3 | - | - | 3 | 21.4 | 1 | 7.1 | - | - | 3 | 21.4 | 14 | |
| Sub-Tot. | 1 | 4.3 | 7 | 30.4 | 3 | 13.0 | - | - | 7 | 30.4 | 1 | 4.3 | - | - | 4 | 17.4 | 23 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sep 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 42.8 | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | 3 | 42.8 | 7 | |
| Oct 09 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | 1 | 50.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | |
| Nov 09 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Sub-Tot. | - | - | - | - | 1 | 11.1 | - | - | 4 | 44.4 | - | - | 1 | 11.1 | 3 | 33.3 | 9 | |
| Totals | 1 | 3.1 | 7 | 21.9 | 4 | 12.5 | - | - | 11 | 34.4 | 1 | 3.1 | 1 | 3.1 | 7 | 21.9 | 32 | |

Total brief references 2, duplications 7.

APPENDIX E

MAIN OUTLET DIGITAL ARCHIVES ACCESSED

New York Times archive - via www.nytimes.com/

Guardian archive – via <http://www.guardian.co.uk/>

Al Jazeera archive – via <http://english.aljazeera.net/>

Amnesty International archive– via <http://www.amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch archive – via <http://www.hrw.org/en/home>

Democracy Now archive – via <http://www.democracynow.org/>

Global Voices archive– via <http://globalvoicesonline.org/>

Ma'an News Agency archive – via <http://www.maannews.net/eng/Default.aspx>

Electronic Intifada archive – via <http://www.electronicintifada.net/>

Arab News archive – via <http://www.arabnews.com/>

Press TV archive – via <http://www.presstv.ir/>

Jerusalem Post archive – via <http://www.jpost.com/>