

The Competition Between Al-Jazeera's Arab News Diversity and US Channels:

Content Analysis of Iraq War

LA CONCURRENCE ENTRE LES ACTUALITÉS DE DIVERSITÉ DE L'AL-JAZEERA ET DES CHÂÎNES AMÉRICAINES:

ANALYSE DU CONTENU DE LA GUERRE EN IRAK

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Abstract: This paper examines Al-Jazeera and CNN channels, as a source of news diversity. Also, to gain a broad and in-depth understanding of how culture affects news reporting, with a particular focus on the Arab culture as compared to American culture using Al-Jazeera as the Arab source of news and CNN as a western news source. One of the key issues will considered is the role of news, diversity of news, organization in society and in international relations. Another key issue is an examination of the variety of CNN and Al-Jazeera's Arab culture news organizations, its methods, reporting style, technologies used, etc. the content analysis of 7 transcripts, related to the beginning of Iraq War, from 2003 to 2005, during President Bush presidency, from both channels used to diminish the differences between them. The research questions are: in what ways does Al-Jazeera compare to a Western news organization like the CNN? In what ways do specific news reports from Al-Jazeera compare to American news reports of the same event? The Literature Review includes different perceptions, concepts, content analysis and transcripts from both channels, Al-Jazeera and CNN. The topic of this research is the competition between Al-Jazeera's Arab news diversity and US channels in the USA. The research, then, is to examine how news influences the way that people make meaning regarding events. The study focus will be on the Arabian Gulf media, power of Al-Jazeera and the comparison between the Western and eastern media specially Iraq war news. The author fined that Al-Jazeera has faster grown market in the west than CNN. In spite of its bias news it broadcasts different news than CNN and western channels. Furthermore, there is a need of further studies about the comparisons between Western and Eastern media.

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Résumé: Cet article examine l'Al-Jazira et CNN, en tant que source des actualités de diversité. En outre, afin d'acquérir une compréhension vaste et en profondeur de la façon dont la culture influe sur le reportage d'actualités, tout en mettant un accent particulier sur la culture arabe en comparaison avec la culture américaine qui utilise l'Al-Jazira comme la source d'actualités arabes et CNN comme la source d'actualités occidentales. Les questions clés qui seront prises en considération sont le rôle d'actualités, la diversité d'actualités, l'organisation dans la société et dans les relations internationales. Une autre question clé est un examen de la variété des organisations d'actualités culturelles arabes de CNN et de l'Al-Jazira, ses méthodes, son style de reportage, les technologies utilisées, etc. L'analyse du contenu consiste en 7 transcriptions, liées au commencement de la guerre en Irak, de 2003 à 2005, pendant la présidence du président Bush, de ces deux canaux utilisés pour réduire les différences entre eux. Les sujets de recherche sont les suivants: De quelle manière on peut comparer l'Al-Jazira avec un organisme d'actualités occidentale comme le CNN? De quelle façon on peut comparer les reportages d'actualités spécifiques d'Al-Jazira avec les reportages américains d'un même événement? Cet examen documentaire comprend des perceptions différentes, des concepts, des analyses de contenu et des transcriptions venant de ces deux canaux, l'Al-Jazira et CNN. Le thème de cette recherche est la concurrence entre les actualités de diversité de l'Al-Jazira et des chaînes américaines aux États-Unis. La recherche est donc d'examiner comment les actualités influencent la façon dont les gens regardent les événements. L'accent sera mis sur l'étude des médias arabes du Golfe, la puissance de l'Al-Jazira et la comparaison entre les médias occidentaux et orientaux et spécialement les actualités de la guerre en Irak. L'auteur a trouvé que par rapport à CNN, l'Al-Jazira avait un marché en plus rapide croissance en Occident. En dépit de sa partialité, il diffuse des actualités différentes de celles de CNN et des chaînes occidentales. De plus, il y a un besoin d'études supplémentaires sur les comparaisons entre les médias occidentaux et orientaux.

Mots-clés: Al-Jazira et CNN; reportage d'actualités; le pouvoir de l'Al-Jazira mondial; théorie sociale des médias

1. INTRODUCTION

A new tone has arisen in international news, an Arab voice, and the voice of the news organization Al-Jazeera. Its purpose is to provide a comprehensive news service by providing a platform for various views, which adds a source of diversity to the news arena. Al-Jazeera has been called "The voice of the Arab world", and described as "the window into the Arab world". The channel has become a credible source of news and a new source of competition to the other major news broadcast organizations, such as BBC, CNN, NBC, and Sky News. Al-Jazeera's full news reports have also been quoted and published by many international newsprint organizations and publications in the West. Although Al-Jazeera is a news organization dedicated to reporting news objectively, it is an Arab organization with obvious differences from Western news organizations.

The topic of this research is the competition between Al-Jazeera's Arab news diversity and US channels in the USA. The research, then, is to examine how news influences the way that people make meaning regarding events. How news reports differ from each other because of the different political and social views and interests of the producer of news. Also, to evaluate the way Al-Jazeera has added a new dimension in world news, both as a source of news, and a new source of diversity.

Considering the ongoing crisis in the Middle East, the complicated relations between the West and the Arab world and the threat of continuing terrorist attacks, evaluating the impact of an Arab news source that has international influence could help reveal the nature of the Arab world, facilitating a greater understanding between a divergent culture as a necessary step to solve the mistrust and conflict that permeates Middle Eastern relationships.

One of the goals of America as a democratic country has been to ensure there is diversity in the sources and content of information and expression. Al-Jazeera is certainly divergent from any news sources found in America at this time. Although Al-Jazeera adds diversity to the international news channels, the station has been met with strong criticism from many sources, including the American government for its alleged bias against American lives and beliefs, mostly related to the war in Iraq. Nevertheless, millions of Americans have accessed the Al-Jazeera news website, and currently Al-Jazeera is developing an English language broadcast station so that its live news can be accessible as well as its print news. I believe Al-Jazeera has already become an important diverse source of information and expression for the global news arena and competitor to US channels like CNN and FoxNews.

Its influence deserves further examination. The rationale of this research, then, is to evaluate the credibility of Al-Jazeera as a legitimate source of news, evaluate its impact on world news, both as a source of news, and a new source of diversity, and analyze the ways in which culture affects its reporting style and message as compared to other news organizations.

This study was significant for several reasons. First, there are limited studies about the competition between Al-Jazeera and US channels such as the CNN. Second, viewers of Al-Jazeera are interested in knowing the truth about the war news during the Iraqi war, which is one of the main news that reported in both channels. Finally, the growing of Al-Jazeera market and its political power in the US make a debate in the US society. Many people are for or against the channel. So, one of the main topics in this research is to examine the perception of the channel and how it becomes a competitor channel in the US.

The research questions are: in what ways does Al-Jazeera compare to a Western news organization like the CNN? In what ways do specific news reports from Al-Jazeera compare to American news reports of the same event? Why do Americans watch Al-Jazeera? What is the future or market of the channel in the US?

The objects of this research are to examine Al-Jazeera as a source of news diversity. Also, to gain a broad and in-depth understanding of how culture affects news reporting, with a particular focus on the Arab culture as compared to American culture using Al-Jazeera as the Arab source of news. One of the key issues considered is the role of news, diversity of news, organization in society and in international relations. Another key issue is an examination of the variety of CNN and Al-Jazeera's Arab culture news organizations, its methods, reporting style, technologies used, etc.

Christian Fuchs (2005) developed a theory that analyzes the way that news reporting is not only biased based on political, economic and social interests; he also shows how the news affects how people making meaning from news reports. He writes,

The mass media are closely structurally coupled with the economic, political, and technological subsystems of society; they can achieve their goals only by making use of technological, economic, political, and cultural media (p. 3).

News is also an economic commodity, and audience appeal is important in the "sale" of news. He examines in depth how news regarding the Iraq war was influenced by economics and politics. Importantly, the competition for the audience of news means that the news wants to appeal to the audience rather than cause the audience to turn away in fear or disgust. So, the news will often sanitize events that might be offensive to an American (or other nation's viewer), but sensationalize events that might appeal to the audience's sense of loyalty or values. Fuchs states,

One can report on events in a manner that tries to invoke positive or negative feelings of the readers; differentiated coverage tries to avoid strongly emotional articles that could influence the reader in one or the other direction (p. 4).

Negative feelings can be invoked by associating events or persons with phenomena or terms that are considered as dangerous, threatening, extreme, and menace. This is especially true when media connote coverage about certain events with images of violence. Many examples for such an unbalanced, emotional coverage could be found in the coverage of U.S. media on the protests and demonstrations against the war in Iraq. So, while images of the destruction and killing of people in the attacks taking place in Iraq will be sanitized, images of anti-American protests may be presented with a focus on the violence and not sanitized, but sensationalized.

The paper is a quantitative and qualitative text analysis of news stories and transcripts. The data will come from three primary sources. The first source will be analyzing and summarizing computerized articles and texts from the Internet. The second will be library research using information from books that have been published on the subject. The third one will be analyzing transcripts from both channels. Seven transcripts were compared, in the beginning of Iraq war in 2003, using two current news events—the coverage of US soldier in 2010, an open critic of the Iraq War, and the current coverage of the recent discovery of prisoner abuse at a secret jail in Baghdad. The reason of choosing transcripts between 2003 and 2005 is related to the topic of this research. It's focused is about Iraq War and what is behind the war, reasons of the war.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Al-Jazeera and its viewers in North America

The appearance of Al-Jazeera was on November 1996, with six hours-a-day broadcasting; currently, it airs twenty four hours a day. That same year Al-Jazeera received its funding from Qatar's progressive Emir (the Arabic equivalent to prince), Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-thani. Shortly thereafter he ousted his father in a bloodless coup (El-Nawaway & Iskandar, 2002). Since Sheikh Hamad has been in power, as part of his move to introduce democratization to his state, Qatar has become increasingly vocal, taking stands unpopular with its neighbors on issues such as normalization with Israel, relations with Iraq, and regarding the various border disputes with countries like Saudi Arabia and Bahrain (Schemm, 2003). He offered an initial pledge of one hundred million dollars to help launch and subsidize Al-Jazeera over a five-year period through November, 2001, after which the network was to become financially self-sufficient through advertising revenues (Witter, 2002).

Al-Jazeera's rise to prominence following its breakthrough broadcasting in Afghanistan and its broadcasts of the Bin Laden tapes have helped to expand its reach far beyond the Arab-speaking world. According to managing director Jasim Al-Ali, the network's list of nearly two hundred thousands weekly subscribers in the United States and Canada is growing by five hundred weekly. These subscribers pay \$22.99 per month to receive Al-Jazeera on the Echostar's DISH Network, the Colorado-based distributor of Al-Jazeera programming in the U.S (El-Nawaway & Iskandar, 2002).

The number of Al-Jazeera's viewers had increased because of the unique coverage. For example, the network's web-site traffic jumped after the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attack in the U.S. from about 700,000 page views a day to about 1.2 million page views. Then it jumped to about two million page views a day in the first week after the U.S. strike on Afghanistan, and it reached about three million page views a day in the second week. More than 40% of Al-Jazeera visitors are from the U.S. The highest traffic comes first from the U.S, second from Europe as a whole and third from the Arabic countries. Jasim Al-Ali said "it's not unusual that the U.S. is the source of so much traffic because Internet technology started in the U.S. ... and is spread widely" (Curie, 2001, p1).

Sarah Sullivan (2003) reports that Al-Jazeera's anchorwoman Muntaha Al-Ramahi described that

During the Iraqi crisis in 1998 and Intifada, we were established as the number-one Arabic channel in the world. Nowadays, with this crisis, because this crisis is global, Al-Jazeera is starting to be of importance everywhere in the world (Sullivan, 2001, p. 1).

This article was written before the current war with Iraq, Iraqi Freedom, and so if most did not believe Al-Jazeera was the most important Arabic news Channel in the world, they most likely do now because of

the growing recognition of Al-Jazeera's importance is not only as a primary news source, but one that is often being used by others (Sullivan, 2003).

Sullivan says that Al-Jazeera became regionally recognized during Desert Fox and the Intifada. However, even before September 11, the station was being watched by Arabic speakers all over the world. After September 11, non-Arabic speakers continue to turn to the news station for reports about this part of the world. The channel had already established 35 bureaus and offices around the world. When there is a crisis, many become involved in this coverage, including in the cities of New York, Washington, Cairo, London, Moscow, Islamabad, Kabul and Kandahar. During the crisis, the station may either use field reporting, live broadcasts, hosting talk shows, or recruiting officials and experts for on-air appearances. Sullivan writes that the network is becoming more and more admired for its style and quality of reporting, saying,

Al-Jazeera had long been praised by the West for breaking new ground in Middle East media and reporting what many Arab governments don't want it to report. Its exclusives—and the criticism have drawn—are on a global scale (Sullivan, 2003, p. 1).

Al-Jazeera established an agreement in 2002 with the CNN channel. Mr. Al-Ali says:

Three or four months ago we had a meeting with them to agree on cooperation, so that in areas where they are strong we would join in, and in the places that we're strong they'd have our support. It became formal around two and a half months ago and more so after Sept. 11. It's a long-term agreement, not just for this crisis (Sullivan, 2003, p. 1).

At the end of March, 2003, the Associated Press reported that the website was one of the most widely sought after during that time. The top search term for the last week of March on the Web Portal Lycos was for the Al-Jazeera network. It drew this kind of intense interest after it showed pictures of dead and captured U.S soldiers in Iraq. The news shows in America decided not to show these images. Google also said that Al-Jazeera was its leading search term for the last week of March (Al-Jazeera Gets Flak, 2003).

2.2 Al-Jazeera Compete CNN

Dimitri Litvinovich (2001) describes the impact that Al-Jazeera has had in the world of news broadcasting. He describes the recent developments the "information war." Al-Jazeera rose up to challenge "monsters" like CNN and BBC, the companies that Al-Jazeera itself listed as its major competitors. Al-Jazeera replaced CNN in the Arab world as the most watched channel. Litvinovich states "Al-Jazeera is like a window for the vast majority of the planet's population to watch the events happening in Afghanistan. Al-Jazeera is gaining a lot of profit from the conflict in Afghanistan, just like CNN did during the war in the Persian" (p. 1). Awad explains that after September 11, Al-Jazeera has the same type of monopoly on images that CNN had during the First and Second Gulf Wars. The channel had the sole rights to communication from AlQaeda. To compete with the West and its major competitors, "Its executives put forward the information market rules—taking a high added value product, selling it to other networks and promoting it to advertisers through the ever-climbing audience share" (2005, p. 83). Al-Jazeera received \$20 thousand per minute for Bin Laden's speech. CNN, which had sole footage on the bombing of Baghdad in 1991, was forced to enter a contract with its competitor in order to be able to show what was happening in the region (Litvinovich, 2001, p. 1).

CNN took other steps to try and counteract the growing competitive threat made by Al-Jazeera. For example, in 2002, when Al-Jazeera decided to begin broadcasting with English subtitles 12 hours a day in the U.S., CNN announced that it was entering into the Arab market by launching its Arabic-language website, based in Dubai. Tiare Rath (2002) argues that

The strategies of the news organizations reflect the realities of modern-day media, which with the internet and satellite television are fast making single-language content - unless it's in English - a thing of the past. Other news outlets have recognized the importance of multiple-language reports in the Middle East, such as the BBC, which has radio broadcasts in Arabic and Hebrew (Rath, 2002, p. 1).

Mahmoud Tarabay, a journalism professor at the Lebanese University and the Lebanese American University, said the actions taken by CNN and Al-Jazeera show that they are considering the "other." CNN already has websites in Italian, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Danish. Its Arabic online operation will no doubt compete with Al-Jazeera's site and other online Arabic news services. A spokeswoman for CNN denied that competition with Al-Jazeera was the motivating factor in its decision to air in Arabic. Instead, it was described that the Arab market was a great one for CNN. This was coming at the same time Al-Jazeera was announcing its English website. According to media analyst Ali Abunimah, the internet is a more appropriate step for Al-Jazeera's operations, while CNN is right to focus on getting its information out in Arabic through television. This is because, "In the Arab world the internet remains for the most part the preserve of the middle and upper classes, while broadcast by TV, satellite and radio reaches even very poor households. This is an important difference. On the other hand, in the US, probably very few non-Arab-Americans will receive Al-Jazeera by satellite." Abunimah, a critic of anti-Arab bias in the US news media, said even if Al-Jazeera does only reach a few Americans through satellite television, the perspective offered will be significant" (Rath, 2002, p. 1)

CNN has been a major competitor and at times the dominant leader in world news. In 1980, Ted Turner introduced the world to his Cable News Network (CNN). In one generation, the station became a "powerhouse that would soon overshadow the big three networks" (Goddard, 2005, p. 1). CNN came to prominence due to its coverage of the first Gulf war. Fuchs (2005) describes that the images of the war were dominated by CNN because of its live coverage in Baghdad. Fuchs argues that this was the first "hyperreal" (p.1) war, and the images were a simulated virtual reality. He also argues that this coverage changed the image of war from one of fear to one of entertainment.

Although CNN was the top-rated news show in the late 1990s, the ratings have slipped in recent years. According to Nielsen Media Research numbers, more than twice as many viewers are currently watching Fox News Channel as CNN. On average, in a 24-hour period 1.4 million people tuned into Fox while 610,000 watched CNN. The reasons given are that Fox News has more popular news talk's shows, such as the O'Reilly Factor. However, FNC said it "continued its dominance" over CNN, its chief rival, and said its numbers were up 11 percent compared to May 2004. Nevertheless, Time Warner, the owner of CNN, reported revenues at just over \$1 billion in 2004 and its earnings at close to \$220 million, making CNN a continuing "powerhouse" (p.1) in the news world. Wall Street is happy with these numbers, even though the ratings have dropped. Harry Jaffe (2005).

Harry Jaffe (2005) attributes this ratings slip to the differences in news style of the two stations. He writes:

The ratings war pits FNC's unrepentant right-wing media boss Roger Ailes against CNN's Jonathan Klein, a veteran from CBS and a devotee of straight news over the talking heads that populate many cable channels. Klein is CNN's fifth chief of US programming since 2000. CNN says Klein's steering of the network away from acerbic shows like *Crossfire* toward hard news is working. Carving out the 25- to 54-year-old demographic, CNN says it has cut into Fox's lead by 50 percent (p. 1).

In more recent months, CNN ratings have continued to climb. For example, in September 2005, Fox finished the quarter averaging 1.2 million daily viewers, up 31% from last year, followed by CNN with 693,000 viewers (a 39% increase) and MSNBC with "300,000 viewers (up 11%)" (Rating Floods, 2005, p. 1)

2.3 Al-Jazeera's Power

While CNN and Fox News are battling for ratings, Al-Jazeera has captured a giant international audience. Exact ratings numbers on a daily basis are not available from the Arab world regarding Al-Jazeera, but Al-Jazeera's website is listed as one of the 50 most popular in the world, with 161 million visits in 2004. Al-Jazeera's American audience is increasing—it is listed at the fastest growing satellite network in America (Al-Jazeera, 2005). According to Imad Musa, a news producer for Al-Jazeera, around 45 million Arabic speakers watch it every day, according to the best information available. However, although

audience ratings are not entirely accurate, Al-Jazeera is able to measure numbers in North America, where Al-Jazeera has about half a million viewers who subscribe to the station through Dish Network.

Hugh Miles (2005) describes the phenomenon of the Al-Jazeera news channel and its major impact on world news broadcasting. The Al-Jazeera logo has not only become well-known by its regular viewers, it is seen regularly on such stations as CNN and Fox News whenever they are an Al-Jazeera report. In viewing the station, it has a similar appearance to other global news shows, with anchors that look like they do in the West, a ticker tape that appears along the bottom of the screen and live images from current events. However, the language is Arabic, moving from right to left in Arabic fashion, along with high-tech graphics. "In other words, Al-Jazeera's news looks and feels like any Western news station" (p. 1). In a style similar to the BBC, Al-Jazeera reports from all over the world, twenty-four hours a day, all year round. One difference becomes evident early on, however, and that is the lack of advertisements. News is the central focus, but there are talk's shows and educational programs aired, as well as sports news.

The region has not been without sources of news. In the 1970s and 1980s, several regional newspapers developed, and news broadcast stations began to emerge as part of daily life. However, the media was controlled by either the Ministers of Information in a particular country or by the citizens who financed them. The main interest of these news sources was to serve the interests of the respective governments. The Arab audience neither trusted nor respected most of what they viewed on local news stations because they perceived these news sources as being nothing more than "appendages" of the national governments. Consequently, Arabs looked to international news sources such as the BBC; however, these sources were still not satisfying because they did not reflect an Arab perspective (Mills, 2005)

2.4 Al-Jazeera's Bias

Al-Jazeera's notoriety in the West increased immediately after September 11 when Osama bin Laden faxed a statement to the station declaring that he was not responsible for the attacks, but was used to being accused when an enemy of the U.S. struck. However, this was not the first time bin Laden had appeared on Al-Jazeera. In September, 2000, a tape was aired on the station where bin Laden threatened to strike against the American forces in the Persian Gulf, and continued by presenting a list of grievances against the U.S. Other controversial events were aired, including the Taliban blowing up sacred Buddhist statues. The destruction occurred even after scholars and some members of Al-Jazeera traveled to Afghanistan to try and persuade the Taliban to change their mind, reminding them that the statues had been tolerated for centuries, and that non-Muslims are free to worship as they please under Islam. Shortly after the attacks on 9/11, Al-Jazeera replayed interviews of Osama bin Laden, and later an interview filmed in Afghanistan where bin Laden explained why it was the duty of every Muslim to fight this jihad against Israel and America. Al-Jazeera believed it was important to present Osama bin Laden and his ideology for greater understanding; however, the station has been harshly criticized for allegedly supporting bin Laden's views (Suellentrop, 2003)

It is clear that Al-Jazeera has bias in the way it reports, especially when compared to the reports of similar events from a station such as CNN. For example, in the beginning of the current war, Al-Jazeera presented Iraqi civilians as invaded rather than liberated. The station showed footage of wounded children with patches over their eyes and blood on their faces next to a separate image of a woman standing in front of rubble. These images are consistent with its war coverage. El-Nawawy states, "They focus on the casualties. They show very gruesome images of civilian casualties that "we don't see on America media" (Suellentrop, 2003, p. 2).

Al-Jazeera is certainly biased in the way that many news organizations are. For example, when reporting about Palestinian suicide bombers, Al-Jazeera uses the term "martyrs" Many consider this a violation of objectivity, and they are correct to be sensitive to the rhetoric used. However, this rhetoric is one of the reasons that Arabs prefer Al-Jazeera to Western news because in the Western context, the Palestinians are often referred to as assassins or terrorists, but the Israelis seldom are described with the same negative adjectives, feeding the belief that America assuredly supports Israel over Arabs. This acceptance of the Arab martyr, however, began to change after the September 11th attacks, and this shift even applied to attacks against the Israelis. Al-Jazeera has aired the debate and the varying interpretations of resistance of Israeli occupation, again in an unprecedented manner.

2.5 Al-Jazeera, Ratings and Controversy

Although Al-Jazeera is by far the preferred news and program channel in the Arab world, this does not mean that the audience believes Al-Jazeera is completely objective. Eighty-five percent of those surveyed believe that Al-Jazeera is not entirely independent from the Qatar government, and that it still needs to establish more independence. However, it is still seen as the best broadcast organization to present live events, a pro-Arab perspective, controversial events and content, which is all revolutionary to an Arab audience (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2003)

Al-Jazeera's managing director explains that the staff of the broadcast station all has professional backgrounds, many with Western media; however, the purpose was to transform that experience into an Arabic presence. He states, "We know the mentality of the Arabs—but we also want the expatriate Arab audience, who are used to Western media" (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2003, p. 54). Another criticism of Al-Jazeera is that in its desire for audience ratings, (just like Western media outlets), the station is being led by the masses; it doesn't lead the masses. The question becomes, say the authors, should the media lead the masses? Is this the role of the media? Ideally, the news media is completely objective; however, in its role on commercialized television, it would be hard to find any media that is completely objective, being also driven to respond to local sensibilities. Others criticize Al-Jazeera for being sensationalistic to win ratings and being nothing more than a tabloid. The authors point to an old Arabic saying, *khalif to raf*, which means "oppose and be known." Al-Jazeera has established itself by creating and driving controversy, and it appears that Arab audiences are ready for such controversy (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2003).

2.6 Media Theories

There will be three primary theories of mass communication used to evaluate this situation. The first will deal specifically with mass media and its influence on society. Marshall McLuhan developed one of the early theories about mass media. According to this Canadian author, ". . . the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1964, p.1). McLuhan's theory is very simple. The nature of the mass media shapes the messages that the media conveys. The theory separates mediums such as television from printed books. McLuhan presented the concept that with mass media, the message becomes ". . . electronic, visual, and composed of fluid images" (Giddens, 2000). McLuhan believed that the mass media has created a global village where people worldwide see major news stories unfold and should be able to participate in the same events throughout the world. As long as mass media presents the event, it should be uniformly seen in any area where mass media is available.

The second influential theory dealing with mass media comes from Jean Baudrillard. He believes that the impact of mass media is more profound than the impact of any other technology. The evolution of the mass media has transformed the very nature of living throughout the world. Baudrillard presented the concept that television "does not just represent the world to us, it increasingly defines what the world in which we live actually is" (Giddens, 2000. p.3).

According to this theory, the mass media is a hyper reality. Mass media presents information in a way that there is no longer a reality to an event. The reality of the event is actually the string of images on television screens throughout the world.

The third theory to be used is John Thompson's model based on the interaction between the media and the development of industrial societies (Thompson, 1990). The theory states that the media has played a major role in the development of modern social institutions. Thompson believes that sociologists such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim did not pay enough attention to the media as a way of influencing the development of modern society. The theory is based on social interaction. It focuses on social relations created by the mass media. Interaction goes across time and space but does not link individuals directly. Each television presentation of an event such as what happened in Afghanistan is a one-way form of communication. The people can watch what is presented on the television. They can discuss it. They can sometimes address some subjective remarks to the television (Thompson, 1990).

3. AL-JAZEERA—CONTENT ANALYSIS

One of the most obvious areas where different rhetoric, images, and content are used revealing bias in news reporting is related to war. The current war in Iraq continues to cause worldwide controversy, but the way that criticism against the war is reported will differ depending on the source of news. However, as President Bush loses support for the war, it appears that the American news organizations are also becoming more critical in their reporting and rhetoric.

In addition, one of the most recent criticisms has to do with why the Americans entered the war in the first place. Because there was no evidence of nuclear weapons development, the Bush Administration has come under attack once again on this issue. Although it appeared settled last year, because of falling approval ratings, the issue has intensified, with Democrats calling for a full investigation. Part of the intensity comes from the recent accusation that a top white house official leaked information about the identity of a CIA agent. The outcome of that investigation leads back to the alleged lies or misinformation about whether Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. The following are examples of interviews of the same critic of President Bush and the American invasion. One was aired on CNN, and the other aired on Al-Jazeera. They both involve George Galloway, a British Parliament Member, who is an outspoken critic of the war.

The report "British MP denies oil-for-food charges, Called the probe the 'mother of all smokescreens'" (May 17, 2005), describes that George Galloway was investigated by the United States Congressional Panel regarding the misuse of Iraq's food-for oil program. Galloway said the charges were a pack of lies and the "mother of all smokescreens" to divert attention from lies told about the 2003 invasion. He stated:

I told the world that Iraq...did not have weapons of mass destruction. I told the world...that Iraq had no connection to al Qaeda... Iraq had no connection to the atrocity on 9/11, 2001...I turned out to be right and you turned out to be wrong. And 100,000 people have paid with their lives -- 1,600 of them American soldiers sent to their deaths on a pack of lies, 15,000 of them wounded, many of them disabled forever, on a pack of lies.

Galloway appeared before the Congressional panel because he supposedly was granted vouchers for 20 million barrels of oil from Saddam Hussein between 2000 and 2003. The CNN Report said that Galloway strongly denied those charges. He said, "I am not now or ever been an oil trader and neither has anyone on my behalf. I have never seen a barrel of oil, owned one, bought one, sold one, and neither has anybody on my behalf" He said he did not own a company that traded in oil. Galloway said,

If you had any evidence of that I had ever engaged in any actual oil transaction, if you had any evidence that anybody ever gave me any money, it would be before the public and before this" committee today" (p.2).

According to one of the persons involved in the hearing, top official Iraqis said they confirmed that Galloway had received oil allocations, and there are documents that identify Galloway as a recipient. Galloway once again "challenged that accusation" as described by CNN. He is quoted as saying to the attorney that made these statements, "Now, I know that standards have slipped over the last few years in Washington, but for a lawyer, you're remarkably cavalier with any idea of justice."

Galloway says he met with Saddam Hussein twice, in 1994 and 2002, as many times as Donald Rumsfeld met with him, according to Galloway. Galloway is quoted as saying, "The difference is Donald Rumsfeld met him to sell him guns and give him maps. I met him to try and bring about an end to sanctions, suffering and war, and on the second occasion, I met him to try and persuade him to allow Hans Blix and U.N. inspectors back into country." About the accusations, which CNN reports came from documents from the Iraqi Oil Ministry, Galloway stated,

You have my name on lists provided to you... by the convicted bank robber and fraudster and con man Ahmed Chalabi, who many people, to their credit, in your country now realize played a decisive role in leading your country into the disaster in Iraq. In these circumstances, knowing what

the world knows about how you treat prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison, in Bagram Air Base [Afghanistan], in Guantanamo Bay -- including, if I may say, British citizens being held in those places -- I'm not sure how much credibility anyone would put on anything you manage to get from a prisoner in those circumstances.

On June 8, 2005, George Galloway was interviewed by Al-Jazeera regarding the appearance before the American Congress. Like the interviews that follow, he does not really address the issues of why he was called before the Congress. He just attacks the leaders of England and America. He states that he is speaking for tens of millions, and maybe more, around the world, who know the truth about Iraq. Who know that the real criminals are in Washington? Not in the United Nations. The real criminals are in the White House, not in the Elysee Palace. The real criminals are in the Congress, not in the anti-war movement. So I have no respect for this

By this, we may assume he means that he has been accused by the American Congress. He says in the interview that because of the crimes of America and England that is why Al-Jazeera needs to be broadcast in English so that ordinary people can be reached. He says,

The American people are not bad or evil people. But they are ruled by bad people. Bush, and Blair, and the prime minister of Japan, and Berlusconi, these people are criminals, and they are responsible for mass murder in the world, for the war, and for the occupation, through their support for Israel, and through their support for a globalize capitalist economic system, which is the biggest killer the world has ever known. It has killed far more people than Adolph Hitler. It has killed far more people than George Bush. The economic system which these people support...which leaves most of the people in the world hungry, and without clean water to drink. So we're going to put them on trial, the leaders, when they come. They think they're coming for a holiday in a beautiful country called Scotland; in fact, they're coming to their trial.

Galloway wonders where the Arab leader is that will stand up to the West.

A few months later, Al-Jazeera aired an interview with George Galloway (July 31, 2005) on some of the same issues. In a transcript of the interview, George Galloway makes some of the following statements about America's intervention in Iraq and President Bush; He says that the Iraq war started out as a wish to terrorize the world with American power. But in fact it ended demonstrating the exact opposite. They can control the skies, but only if they don't come within range of an RPG, but they can't control one single street in any part of occupied Iraq.

Not one street. Not one street anywhere. These poor Iraqis - ragged people, with their sandals, with their Kalashnikovs, with the lightest and most basic of weapons - are writing the names of their cities and towns in the stars, with 145 military operations every day, which has made the country ungovernable by the people who occupy it...They are the base of this society. They are the young men and the young women who decided, whatever their feelings about the former regime - some are with, some are against. But they decided...to defend their country...America is losing the war in Iraq, and even the Americans now admit it. Even the puppet ministers and regime in Baghdad know it.

The former puppet minister (Iyad) Allawi admitted it three times in the last month. America is losing the war in Iraq. And this will not change. The resistance is getting stronger every day, and the will to remain as an occupier by Britain and America is getting weaker everyday. Therefore, it can be said, truly said, that the Iraqi resistance is not just defending Iraq. They are defending all the Arabs, and they are defending all the people of the world from American hegemony. It's not the Muslims who are the terrorists. Allawi believed that

The biggest terrorists are Bush, and Blair, and Berlusconi, and Aznar, but it is definitely not a clash of civilizations. George Bush doesn't have any civilization, he doesn't represent any civilization. We believe in the Prophets, peace is upon them. He believes in the profits, and how to get a piece of them. That's his god. That's his god. George Bush worships money. That's his god - Mammon.

The interview in the CNN focuses on Galloway's, his anger about Iraq war and Iraq is not in charge with al Qaeda and weapons. Also, he starts talking about him self when he said I do not own an oil company. He denies oil-for-food which is the title of the transcript that was published in CNN website. The interview title in the CNN was "British MP denies oil-for-food charges, called the probe the 'mother of all smokescreens'".

Al-Jazeera's interview is different than the CNN. First the title in Al-Jazeera was "British MP George Galloway on Al-Jazeera: Calls for Bush, Blair, Koizumi, and Berlusconi to Stand Trial". So, the interview focuses on Galloway's critique. He critiques Bush and Blair; he is against their invasion in Iraq. He called them real terrorist. But he is for American and UK nation because most of them against the war. Also he encourages broadcasting news in English language in Al-Jazeera channel because it have different coverage of news. The content of the second interview that aired in Al-Jazeera focuses on the losing of America in Iraq war. Galloway's with Iraqi because they protect their country, religion and families. Second, there is a difference between the interview times. Al-Jazeera interviewed Galloway one month after the CNN, but it aired two interviews consequently. Third, the content in the CNN is different than Al-Jazeera; of course the interview questions are different than each other. A CNN question considerate on Iraq and it is free of weapon, so there are no reasons for U.S occupation in Iraq. Al-Jazeera's questions focuses on Iraqi nations, Bush and Blair's invasion in Iraq and American nations. So, there are many topics that discussed in Al-Jazeera than CNN. One of the reasons is that CNN has more interviews with Galloway than CNN.

Similarities between the channels appear when each channel interviewed the same source of news. Also, the interviews talked about Iraq war which is the main issue. Both channels have English transcripts that are available online. During this interview, Galloway again does not mention that he was called before a Congressional hearing about his involvement with Saddam Hussein. This interview is not the first covered by Al-Jazeera. Two years earlier, Al-Jazeera aired an interview with and entitled it, "George Galloway's historic speech, which could change the face of British politics for ever" (10, Oct., 2003). In that interview, Galloway stated that he opposed all forms of imperialism, and that he had been fighting against the horrific effect of the sanctions on Iraq. But he also called Saddam Hussein's dictatorship "vile." Galloway says his fight against imperialism comes from his deep loyalty to England. He says, "Caring about the Middle East is merely a reflection of my deep sense of moral responsibility as a Briton for the dabbling in the region by irresponsible, greedy and incompetent officials over many years" (Transcript, 2003, p. 1). He attacked Tony Blair by saying,

Harold Wilson did his best and kept us out of Vietnam whereas Tony Blair reflected on thirty years of slow absorption into North American culture, society and economics and responded with his slavish political obeisance to the White House (p. 1).

This interview took place not long after Galloway was expelled from the Labour Party.

Tim Butcher, (8 May, 2005) writing as a Middle East Correspondent for News.Telegraph, a British publication, describes the attacks made by George Galloway. The quotes published here are almost identical to quotes aired by Al-Jazeera in its July 31, 2005 interview with Galloway. Almost all of the quotes of Galloway's against Blair and Bush were included, but there were other viewpoints included as well. For example, Eric Joyce's response is presented. Joyce is a Labour MP who served as a major in the Army, and he led criticism of Mr Galloway. He said, "Passing comments like these puts the lives of British soldiers at risk and devalues the lives of British soldiers" (p. 1). Eric Moonman, a former Labour MP and ex-serviceman, said the comments ought to be investigated by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Michael Martin. Moonman stated, "Galloway's remarks border on the unstable. He is throwing petrol on the flames and putting at risk the soldiers who serve the country he is supposed to represent." According to Butcher, when talking with experts in the Arab world, they stated that Galloway was,

consciously or unconsciously, aping the rhetoric of extremists. No ordinary Arab politician or even journalist would use such heightened language. To say your daughter is being raped is, for an Arab, completely over the top (Butcher, 2005, p. 1).

On October 25, 2005, CNN described again that George Galloway denied any charges of taking oil vouchers from Iraq, but the report included the conclusions of the Congressional investigation and report:

The report alleges:

Galloway sought and received vouchers to sell Iraqi oil on eight occasions between 1999 and 2003 for a total of 23 million barrels...Galloway's now estranged wife, Dr. Amineh Abu-Zayyad, received roughly \$150,000 in oil money...Galloway's political campaign, the Mariam Appeal, received at least \$446,000...Hussein's regime got kickbacks of more than \$1.6 million from the oil allotted to Galloway and the Mariam Appeal for sale in violation of U.N. sanctions...Galloway knowingly made false or misleading statements under oath before the subcommittee ("Galloway Challenges," 2005, p. 1).

There are several very important factors to notice about the differences in the reports presented by CNN, Al-Jazeera and News Telegraph. First, the titles of each report clearly show a difference. The CNN Reports were titled "Galloway challenges U.S. Senators," and "British MP denies oil-for-food charges, Called the probe the 'mother of all smokescreens,'" Whereas the Al-Jazeera reports were entitled "British MP George Galloway on Al-Jazeera: Calls for Bush, Blair, Koizumi, and Berlusconi to Stand Trial," and "George Galloway's historic speech, which could change the face of British politics for ever." "Galloway pours petrol on the flames," is the title of the News Telegraph piece. Clearly the most biased headline is Al-Jazeera's, which implies that Galloway is historic and has the power to change British politics. All three reports present quotes of Galloway that attack America and England, but CNN does not have some of the more inflammatory comments, perhaps because Galloway did not state this in those interviews; however, I could not find the more intense criticisms reported on the major American news networks. The British publication News, Telegraph did include many of the most critical statements against England and America. Another difference that most probably shows bias is that Al-Jazeera does not include some of the information or comments that counteract Galloway's views, at least not in the same commentary (they may in another place). In contrast, both CNN and News and Telegraph presents both Galloway's statements and denial of any wrongdoing, his criticisms of American and British government, but also information and responses to Galloway that offer a different viewpoint. CNN presents information regarding why Galloway was investigated, which Al-Jazeera mostly ignores. News Telegraph presents statements that call Galloway's credibility into question, but not before publishing the very intense criticism made by Galloway. Of the three, the most balanced seems to be News Telegraph because it offers strong points on both sides. CNN did report Galloway's response to charges and his attacks against America, and so it did present two perspectives, especially in its first article. In the October article where it described the charges against Galloway, it seemed to lean toward the Congressional report and its contents rather than the statements made by Galloway to defend himself, although some of these were included. Al-Jazeera, at the time of the interview, did not offer any other viewpoints. And as is clearly obvious, Galloway's comments were clearly meant to sympathize with Arab issues, and attack the West. No real mention is made that Galloway was expelled from the Labor Party of England, which could be one reason he has such anger.

Another important issue in current news regarding the Iraq war has to do with prisoner abuse. According to the report Media in the Middle East (Whitsitt, 2002), beginning November 9, 2005 and through February 21, 2005 there have been a total of 39 prisoner abuse stories across three major media outlets: AlJazeera, BBC, and CNN. AlJazeera was the leader in stories having a total of 16 of the 39 stories. BBC came in second with 13 total stories and CNN trailed behind with 10 stories. The most influential month of prisoner abuse coverage was January 2005; it held 28 stories total across the three media outlets. Each media organization handled story headlines differently. For instance AlJazeera was much more hostile toward the U.S. One example of a hostile article title is on January 12, 2005 AlJazeera headlined " Horror tales in Abu Ghraib abuse trial"; while BBC was slightly more mild with a headline reading "Abu Ghraib inmates recall torture". CNN was the least hostile media outlet, with headlines that were straight to the point such as a January 11, 2005 title reading " UK soldier faces Iraq abuse trial".

In recent months, the issue of prisoner abuse has reappeared in the news. On November 16, 2005, Al-Jazeera made the following report:

Iraq's government is calling for an investigation into abuse of prisoners at a secret prison in Baghdad, where the inmates were supposedly tortured, starved and beaten. Most of the prisoners were Sunnis, 170 of them. The center was run by the Shia dominated Interior Ministry. The Islamic Party spokesman Alaa Makki said there have been investigations in the past, but it led to nothing, so

they want to have an international and objective inquiry. Makki blamed U.S. led forces for the abuse, saying it could not happen without their green light. Hussein Kamal, Iraq's deputy interior minister, told CNN television he saw evidence of torture.

I saw signs of physical abuse by brutal beating. One or two detainees were paralysed. And some had their skin peeled off various parts of their body ("Iraqi Group," 2005, p. 1).

In this report, Al-Jazeera is citing a CNN report on a Middle East issue, which is an interesting turnabout. The end of the report describes that the American government welcomes an investigation and that the Prime Minister of England, Tony Blair was "outraged" (p.1) at the discovery.

On November 15, 2005, CNN reported the situation of the more than 160 detainees who were held at an Iraqi Interior Ministry building. CNN described that the prisoners were physically abused, at least according to Iraq's deputy interior minister. Hussein Kamal is quoted as saying in the report, "I saw signs of physical abuse by brutal beating—one or two cases were paralyzed, and some cases of skin peeled off various parts of their body (p.1). He confirmed that, he has never seen such a situation like this during the past two years in Baghdad. This is the worst and cannot be denied. The report goes on to describe that it was the U.S. military who found the detainees Sunday when they entered a building controlled by the ministry while looking for a missing 15-year-old boy. Brig. Gen. Karl Horst of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division said Monday the prisoners were found "in need of medical care—so I brought medics in." (p.2) Kamal said the facility housed 161 detainees. There were other registered names in that facility, who was interrogated by the Special Investigation Unit, then sent to court. Kamal also said that "the ministry cannot deny" (p.1) knowledge of previous abuse cases where human rights were broken during the past two years. The U.S. military has taken charge of the building and the detainees.

There is a very important difference in this report and the one presented by Al-Jazeera. First of all, Al-Jazeera's report has a bolded subheading that says, "U.S. FORCES BLAMED" The report then goes on to refer back to the abuses of Abu Ghraib prison at length. The Al-Jazeera report uses the same quotes of Hussein Kamal that were presented by CNN, but the report by Al-Jazeera fails to mention that it was the U.S. soldiers that discovered the secret jail, and took the prisoners out of the jail because they needed medical assistance. It was the U.S. soldiers that sent the prisoners to Kamal, and that the U.S. military took control of the building, taking it away from the Iraqis. Al-Jazeera, instead, focuses on the blaming of the U.S. and reminding its audience that American soldiers were involved in Abu Ghraib, a situation that caused a lot of controversy with Arabs.

On the surface, the Al-Jazeera report appeared to be relatively objective. It did not use a lot of inflammatory rhetoric at least that is how it appeared at first. Still, when you realize that some of the facts are left out, you know that bias is involved in the selection of facts presented.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

It is clear that the viewpoints of the Iraq war are presented in different ways depending on the source of news. Although all sources appear to have some bias, it seems, at least based on the transcripts used for the two events described, that Al-Jazeera has the most bias. In this point, I agree with Fuchs theory when he stated that the way that news reporting is not only biased based on political, economic and social interests. One report, hailed his speech as "historic" with the ability to change the face of "British government." Both CNN and News Telegraph showed George Galloway's criticism of government, but also showed the reasons that Galloway was accused of taking oil money from Iraq, which he strongly denies. CNN does not report some of the more inflammatory statements made by Galloway that Al-Jazeera broadcasted. Regarding the initial reports of the prisoner abuse in Baghdad, Al-Jazeera was bias because it clearly failed to add details to the report that might present American troops in a more favorable way. It emphasized that American troops would have to give the "greenlight" for such abuses, even though it was the American military that uncovered the prisoners, and actually rescued them from the Shia Ministry of the Interior, taking control of the building. Al-Jazeera does not report these facts, and also refers the audience back to Abu Ghraib, and the incidents there that clearly caused bad feelings against American soldiers.

In spite of Al-Jazeera's biases news, it presents different sources and news coverage than CNN. That was clear when Al-Jazeera's used quotes from international channels like CNN to encourage Galloway to add more information about many topics that he presented in the CNN. So, Al-Jazeera has more news analysis than the CNN. Also, Al-Jazeera interviewed Galloway more than CNN. As a result it becomes a main competitor that threat western channels.

Going through this process, it helped researchers to understand the ways in which politics and cultural bias affect the news. It clearly shows the importance of adding diversity to news information and why this is so critical for gaining a more clear understanding of world events. Relying on news sources from one type of source will clearly distort the ability to uncover truth. Perhaps by examining a variety of sources, the audience can have a more clear and objective view of news. Without this diversity, an audience can easily be manipulated by its news sources. That is why it is so important for both Arab audiences and American audiences to have access to the sources of news from each perspective. Without such diversity, misunderstanding and conflict will surely continue. With more easy access, such as will occur when Al-Jazeera begins to broadcast in English, Western audiences can have another viewpoint with which to compare the news as reported. Without Al-Jazeera, the anti-war rhetoric of people like George Galloway would not be heard as clearly and loudly. Without CNN, the bias of Al-Jazeera would not be as clear. Both sources of news leave out details of events, and so a combination is required for intelligent and reasonable views of news events.

5. IMPLICATION OF THEORIES

Marshall McLuhan agreed in his theories that mass media are delivering different local and global messages. "... the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1964, p.1). The mass media environment creates the messages that the media conveys such as Al-Jazeera and CNN transcripts which are available online for publics. The theory distinguished mediums such as television, internet and newspapers from written mediums. Al-Jazeera and other west channels like CNN played international role during Iraq war. McLuhan believed that the mass media has created a global village where people worldwide see major news stories unfold and should be able to participate in the same events throughout the world. As long as mass media presents the event, it should be uniformly seen in any area where mass media is available. Jean Baudrillard theory is related McLuhan theory; both authors believe that the impact of mass media is more profound than the impact of any other technology. The evolution of the mass media has transformed the very nature of living throughout the world. It's like the evolution of the new Al-Jazeera satellite and its unique news, as the researcher describe in the literature review that Al-Jazeera views jumped after the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attack in the U.S. from about 700,000 page views a day to about 1.2 million page views. Then it jumped to about two million page views a day in the first week after the U.S. strike on Afghanistan, and it reached about three million page views a day in the second week. More than 40% of Al-Jazeera visitors are from the U.S. The highest traffic comes first from the U.S, second from Europe as a whole and third from the Arabic countries (Curie, 2001). The researcher agreed with Baudrillard who presented the concept that television TV channels like Al-Jazeera and CNN "... does not just represent the world to us, it increasingly defines what the world in which we live actually is" (Giddens, 2000).

John Thompson's model is based on the interaction between the media and the development of industrial societies (Thompson, 1990). The theory is based on social interaction. It focuses on social relations created by the mass media like Iraq war and media content that spread between viewers. Interaction goes across time and space but does not link individuals directly. Each television presentation of an event such as what happened in Afghanistan or Iraq is a one-way form of communication. The people can watch what is presented on the television. They can discuss it. They can sometimes address some subjective remarks to the television (Thompson, 1990).

The researcher suggests that future researches must focus on the role and power of the media during wars. There is a need of further studies about the comparisons between Western and Eastern media. Few sources are available for researchers. To increase the amount of these studies, researchers can focus on different topics like Arab new channels like Al-Arabiya, Al-Manar and Abu-Dhabi T.V stations. Scanning and

analyzing the media content can clear the misunderstanding between both viewers Western and Eastern viewers.

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