UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE

FAKULTA SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD

Institut mezinárodních studií

Kristýna Navrátilová

U. S. media before the Iraq invasion. Quantitative analysis of newspaper articles with respect to balance of sources

Diplomová práce

Praha 2016

Autor práce: **Kristýna Navrátilová**

Vedoucí práce: **PhDr. Mgr. et Mgr. Kryštof Kozák, Ph.D.**

Rok obhajoby: **2016**

Bibliografický záznam

Abstrakt

Role médií před a během války v Iráku v roce 2003 je ve Spojených státech amerických stále důležitým tématem. Novináři jsou často kritizováni za nesplnění svých rolí a nedodržování žurnalistických norem. Tato diplomová práce se zabývá vyvážeností článků ve dvou celostátních denících, The New York Times a The Washington Post, v období před invazí do Iráku, konkrétně od srpna 2002 do invaze, tedy do 19. března 2003. Diplomová práce je kvantitativní obsahovou analýzou článků z předních stran těchto novin. Hlavní tezí práce je, že podle kritiky, které se médiím dostalo, by mělo být více zdrojů podporujících administrativu George W. Bushe a téměř žádné opoziční. Práce zjišťuje, jestli novináři dodrželi vyváženost zdrojů, nebo je kritika oprávněná. Výsledkem je zjištění, že i přes nedostatečnou opozici na domácí politické scéně, žurnalisti našli opoziční zdroje v zahraničí. Zpravodajství těchto dvou deníků bylo z hlediska použitých zdrojů vyvážené.

Abstract

The role of the media before and during the Iraq war in 2003 in the United States still resonates topic. Journalists are often criticized for failing to fulfill their roles and violations of journalistic standards. This thesis deals with the balance of articles in two national newspapers, The New York Times and The Washington Post, in the period before the invasion of Iraq, specifically from the August 2002 until the invasion on March 19, 2003. The thesis is a quantitative content analysis of the articles from the

front pages of these newspapers. The main hypothesis of the research is that, according to criticism that the media received, there should be more sources supportive of the administration of George W. Bush and almost no opposition. The thesis examines, whether journalists followed the norm of balance of sources, or whether is the criticism justified. The result is, that despite the lack of opposition on the domestic political scene, journalist found the opposition sources abroad. Reporting of these two newspapers were, in terms of used sources, balanced.

Klíčová slova

Válka v Iráku, média, zdroje, vyváženost, objektivita

Keywords

Iraq war, mass media, news sources, objectivity

Rozsah práce: 90 819 znaků

Prohlášení

1. Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracoval/a samostatně a použil/a jen uvedené prameny a literaturu.
2. Prohlašuji, že práce nebyla využita k získání jiného titulu.
3. Souhlasím s tím, aby práce byla zpřístupněna pro studijní a výzkumné účely.

V Praze dne 29. 7. 2016   Kristýna Navrátilová

Poděkování

TEZE DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE
Jméno: **Kristýna Navrátilová**
E-mail: k.navratilova@centrum.cz
Semestr: Zimní
Akademický rok: **2014/2015**
Název práce: Americká média před válkou v Iráku
Předpokládaný termín ukončení (semestr, školní rok): Letní semester 2015/2016
Vedoucí diplomového semináře: PhDr. et Mgr. Kryštof Kozák, Ph.D.
Vedoucí práce: PhDr. et Mgr. Kryštof Kozák, Ph.D.
V čem se oproti původními zadání změnil cíl práce? Zaměření práce se změnilo z obecného vymezení na konkrétní média před válkou v Iráku. Práce se posunula od zkoumání vlivu médií k obsahové analýze článků ze dvou deníků. Můj cíl je zjistit, jaké témata se objevovaly nejčastěji an jaké zdroje novináři používali.
Jaké změny nastaly v časovém, teritoriálním a věcném vymezení tématu? Zaměření práce se změnilo z obecného vymezení na konkrétní média před válkou v Iráku. Časové vymezení bylo zúženo na období od srpna 2002 do 19. března 2003. Teritoriální i časové vymezení zůstalo nezměněno, tedy Spojené státy americké.
Jak se proměnila struktura práce (vyjádřete stručným obsahem)? - Úvod -Teorie médií – normativní teorie médií - Analytická část – kvantitativní obsahová analýza - Závěr
Jakým vývojem prošla metodologická koncepce práce? Práce se změnila se na kvantitativní obsahovou analýzu článků z prvních stran dvou deníků.
Které nové prameny a sekundární literatura byly zpracovány a jak tato skutečnost ovlivnila celek práce? Především knihy zabývající se teoriemi médií. Nastudování těchto teorií mi umožnilo upravit téma a zaměření práce a zejména ujasnění teorií, které jsou vhodné pro toto téma.
Charakterizujte základní proměny práce v době od zadání projektu do odevzdání tezí a pokuste se vyhodnotit, jaký pokrok na práci jste během semestru zaznamenali (v bodech): - úprava tématu - zaměření pouze na období před válkou v Iráku – posun od zkoumání společnosti k analýze médií. - zahrnutí normativních teorií médií - upravení struktury
Podpis studenta a datum:

1. 2. 2015		
Schváleno:	**Datum**	**Podpis**
Vedoucí práce		
Vedoucí diplomového semináře		

Obsah

Introduction

Before the invasion to Iraq and during the war, many Americans were misinformed about the Iraq issue. They played a significant role in building and maintaining the support for this military operation. A study called Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War by The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) showed that many people held misperception about three main topics: involvement of the Iraqi government in 9/11 and Al Qaeda, the evidence of the weapons of mass destruction, and favorable views of world public opinion. According to their polls, 57% of people thought that Iraq was directly involved in the 9/11 attacks or gave substantial support to Al Qaeda. Moreover, 22% of respondents believed that weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq after the war and that Iraq actually used weapons of mass destruction during the war, and one-third thought that world public opinion has approved the US going to war with Iraq.[1]

These misperceptions are one of the reasons, why the Iraq war in 2003 became an extensively discussed topic for many reasons and from many perspectives. One of them is performance of the media before and during this military campaign. The criticism did not come only from the opponents of the invasion, but also from the supporters. The supporters accused some of the media of being too sceptic about the Bush administration and for publishing photos of Iraqi casualties. However, the majority of critics blamed the media for abandoning their role in the society and failing to fulfill journalistic norms of conduct. They did not challenge the government about their claims, were actively suppressing dissenting voices and acted as "megaphones" for official views.[2]

Even journalists and editors themselves admitted their errors in reporting on the Iraq issue. From their statements is clear that the mistakes were on the part of journalists as well as, or maybe even more, on editors.

Christiane Amanpour from CNN described the work environment of that time: *"I think the press was muzzled, and I think the press self-muzzled. I'm sorry to say, but certainly television and, perhaps, to a certain extent, my station was intimidated by the administration*

---

[1] Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Levis, "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* 118, no. 4 (2003), accessed July 25, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30035697.

[2] Jim Rutenberg and Robin Toner, "A NATION AT WAR: THE NEWS MEDIA; Critics of Iraq War Say Lack of Scrutiny Helped Administration to Press Its Case," *U.S.* (The New York Times), March 22, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/22/us/nation-war-media-critics-iraq-war-say-lack-scrutiny-helped-administration-press.html.

and its foot soldiers at Fox News. And it did, in fact, put a climate of fear and self-censorship, in my view, in terms of the kind of broadcast work we did."[3] The aspect of self-censorship of the media confirmed also a reporter of *The Washington Post* Walter Pincus. Pincus had written many critical articles about the Bush administration and they all ended up published in the back pages.[4]

Two elite newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* published mea culpa articles more than one year after the invasion to Iraq. The article on May 26, 2004 titled "From the Editors; The Times an Iraq" the editors acknowledged mistakes in the newspaper reporting and named articles that were flawed. However, they refused to name specific journalists and said that *"Editors at several levels who should have been challenging reporters and pressing for more skepticism were perhaps too intent on rushing scoops into the paper."[5] The Washington Post* printed similar reaction even later. On August 12, 2004 Howard Krutz wrote the article The Post on WMDs: An Inside Story about pre-war coverage. He wrote that "*The Washington Post, failed the country by not reporting more skeptically on President Bush's contentions during the run-up to war."[6]* Even Executive Editor Leonard Downie Jr. said that stories opposing the Bush administration view were often hidden on the back pages and admitted his mistake. Both of these articles focused not only on the period before the invasion to Iraq, but conceded also faults in reporting during the war.

The invasion to Iraq in 2003 remains an important topic of discussion not only among scholars, but also in the U.S. society. There are many controversial aspects of this military mission: strategical, political, legal, and also sociological. One of the important issues became the conduct of journalists before and during the war. There are many critics that denounce the media for not fulfilling the journalistic norms and roles in society.

This thesis deals with the period before the Iraq war. The main goal is to analyze the coverage of the Iraq issue in two elite newspapers, The New York Times and The Washington Post, and assess their use of different sources in their reporting. Did these journalists really only report the views of the Bush administration or did they mention other opinions as well?

---

[3] Christiane Amanpour, quoted in Eric Alterman, *What Liberal Media? The Truth about Bias and the News* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2003), 270.
[4] "The Postwar Post," The Nation, June 29, 2015, accessed July 28, 2016, https://www.thenation.com/article/postwar-post/.
[5] "FROM THE EDITORS; The Times and Iraq," *The New York Times* (The New York Times), May 26, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/26/world/from-the-editors-the-times-and-iraq.html?_r=0.
[6] Howard Kurtz, "The Post on WMDs: An Inside Story," *Washington Post*, 2004, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A58127-2004Aug11.html.

How balanced these voices were? These are the main questions which I would like to answer in my research.

The first chapter of my thesis should serve as a general introduction of the debate about the failure of the media. It also includes an overview of the events that preceded the invasion and public opinions, not only in the United States, but also in other countries around the world. The main sources for this chapter were transcripts of speeches, newspaper articles, and public opinion polls from Gallup and other polling organizations.

In the second chapter I describe the main normative theories of mass media today and their origins and the norm of objectivity. For this part, I used several books from the media studies theory. Especially books, "Mass Communication Theory" and "Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest" by Denis McQuail, who is a renowned author in the fields of political communication and communication theory.

The practical part of my research constitutes of quantitative content analysis of newspapers. First, I introduce the methodology using for the most part the approach from "Mass Media Research: An Introduction" by Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R Dominick. I describe, how I chose and analyzed the newspaper articles using the FACTIVA Database. Then I introduce my findings and discuss the results with possible explanations, compare them to the finding about television news programmes and present my conclusion.

Literature

The issue of media performance was discussed extensively. Many books and articles were published on the topic of media and the 2003 Iraq war and during the war itself. They can be divided according to the time they cover – pre-war and war coverage. Many authors wrote about the media during the war itself and so called "embedded journalism". For example, Justin Lewis in his book *Shoot First and Ask Questions Later: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War*[7] about the BBC's war correspondents, or *Embedded: The Media at War in Iraq* by Bill Katovsky and Timothy Carlson.[8]

As examples of books on the reporting prior to the invasion to Iraq, I would mention three of them. *The War in Iraq and why the Media Failed Us* by David Dadge[9], Danny Schechter presents reasons for media failure: bullying of reporters, the maneuvers to isolate

[7] Justin Lewis et al., *Shoot First and Ask Questions Later: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War (media and Culture Series #7), Vol. 7* (New York: Lang, Peter Publishing, 2006).
[8] Bill Katovsky and Timothy Carlson, *Embedded: The Media at War in Iraq - an Oral History* (United States: The Lyons Press, 2005).
[9] David Dadge and Danny Schechter, *The War in Iraq and Why the Media Failed Us* (United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006).

and limit critical reporting, manipulation of the reporting by the administrations and the pressure from the media owners.

In *No Questions Asked: News Coverage Since 9/11,*[10] the author Lisa Finnegan covers media reporting of the 9/11 aftermath, the War on Terror, the build-up to Iraq war, and the war itself. She writes about psychological aspects and motivation of the journalists, such as fear, trauma and patriotism, behind publishing the Bush administration's lies and propaganda without any questions.

Anthony R DiMaggio in his book *Mass Media, Mass Propaganda: Examining American News in the 'War on Terror'*[11] uses political economy analysis and claims that the interests between corporate media owners and political elites are the reason for the U.S. reinforcing the official view and propaganda.

As I mentioned, there are many books and articles criticizing the journalists. However, there are much smaller amount of research papers that actually analyzed the stories in newspapers and television extensively and supported their claims on quantitative data research. I utilized some previous studies about the media performance for the interpretation of the results of my analysis.

Danny Hayes and Matt Guardiano conducted one of the most extensive empirical studies on media before the Iraq war. They published it under the title "Who's views made the news? Media Coverage and the March to War in Iraq"[12]. My own research was inspired by them. They sought the same answers in television news on three different networks and in the last part of my thesis I compare my findings with theirs.

Ingrid A. Lehmann in the article "Exploring the Transatlantic Media Divide over Iraq How and Why U.S. and German Media Differed in Reporting on UN Weapons Inspections in Iraq, 2002-2003"[13] presents results of her comparative study on the difference in reporting between German media and media in the United States. She explores the most important pre-war events and their portrayal by journalists. The conclusion of this study suggests that *"in times of crisis, media are indeed culture-bound and are less likely to voice opposing views*

---

[10] Lisa Finnegan and Norman Solomon, *No Questions Asked: News Coverage Since 9/11* (United States: Praeger Publishers, 2006).

[11] Anthony R. Dimaggio, *Mass Media, Mass Propaganda: Examining American News in the "war on terror"* (United States: Lexington Books, 2008).

[12] Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino, "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 4 (June 13, 2011): 842, accessed July 20, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23025123.

[13] Ingrid A. Lehmann, "Exploring the Transatlantic Media Divide over Iraq: How and Why U.S. And German Media Differed in Reporting on UN Weapons Inspections in Iraq, 2002-2003," *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 83, accessed July 20, 2016, http://hij.sagepub.com/content/10/1/63.short.

than in times of noncrisis."[14]   She further criticizes the U.S. media for not questioning the claims about links between Iraq and 9/11 and other myths and on the other questioned the capability of the weapons inspectors.

Another empirical research offers Srinivas R. Melkote in "News Framing During a Time of Impending War: An Examination of Coverage in The New York Times prior to the 2003 Iraq War". This study investigates the framing in The New York Times one month before the military campaign in Iraq. They found out that President Bush and his administration received bigger share and more positive coverage than other studied objects, thus showing the bias towards the official interpretation of events.

Jacob Groshek in "Coverage of the pre-Iraq War debate as a case study of frame indexing"[15] analyzes the coverage of the debate around the Congressional resolution. He found out that the political debate influenced the reporting of this issue and that after the decision, the domestic debate was not covered in the newspapers anymore.

1. The road to the invasion to Iraq

This part of my thesis serves as a timeline of the road to the invasion to Iraq. This can be of help to interpret data from my research because journalists reacted to current events with their coverage. This is not a comprehensive overview, but a list of the main events that led to the military campaign and were reflected in the media.

The start of the public campaign advocating regime change in Iraq can be traced back to the State of the Union address on January 29, 2002. President George W. Bush introduced his concept of "Axis of Evil". "Axis of Evil" describes regimes that sponsor terrorists and threaten America with weapons of mass destruction. Among these countries belonged, according to Bush, Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. He said that *"States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the*

---

[14] Ibid., page 83.

[15] Jacob Groshek, "Coverage of the Pre-Iraq War Debate as a Case Study of Frame Indexing," *Media, War & Conflict* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 2008), accessed July 22, 2016,
http://mwc.sagepub.com/content/1/3/315.full.pdf+html.

price of indifference would be catastrophic."[16] He also promised that they will do what is necessary to ensure the security of the United States.

The extensive public campaign for Iraq invasion started in August 2002.[17] The debate among lawmakers in Congress became more intensive and media became much more interested in Iraq and the prospects of war. President Bush also sought support for action against Iraq at the international level. On September 12, 2002 he delivered a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In his remarks, Bush outlined the Iraqi violations of the UN sanctions that were imposed on Hussein's regime after the end of the Gulf War in 1991. He asked the UN Security Council for the necessary resolutions and promised that they will be enforced.[18]

On the domestic scene, the Congress debated the proposed resolution authorizing President Bush to act militarily against Iraq if necessary. There were several members of Congress that expressed disapproval or doubts about the wording of the resolution, mainly from the Democratic party. Among the most vocal opponents of the resolution belonged Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Robert Byrd (D-WV), Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI). After several attempts to modify the text, on October 11, 2002, the Congress adopted Joint Resolution in both the House of Representatives (296 – 133)[19] as well as in the Senate (77 – 23)[20] by a majority of votes. In the "*Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002*" the lawmakers expressed support of diplomatic efforts through the United Nations, but also gave the President broad range mandate *"to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to (1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions regarding Iraq."*[21]

After securing support on the domestic front, the Bush administration wanted to gather enough votes to pass a resolution at the United Nations Security Council. Many members of the Council, especially France and Germany, did not agree with using military force against

---

[16] George W. Bush, *The President's State of the Union Address*, (n.p., 2002), https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html.

[17] Hayes and Guardiano, page 66.

[18] George W. Bush, *Address to the United Nations General Assembly by President George W. Bush*, (n.p.: U.S. Department of State, 2002), http://www.state.gov/p/io/potusunga/207557.htm.

[19] FINAL VOTE RESULTS FOR ROLL CALL 455," October 10, 2002, accessed July 15, 2016, http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll455.xml.

[20]"U.S. Senate: Roll Call Vote," January 27, 2015, accessed July 29, 2016, http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=107&session=2&vote=00237.

Iraq. The final resolution was a compromise between proposition of the United States and countries that would not accept a resolution that authorized military action without the need for another resolution. Resolution 1441 was passed 15 - 0 on November 8, 2002.[22] The document declared that Iraq was in material breach of the Resolution 687 that put limitations on Iraqi missiles and prohibited manufacturing of weapons of mass destruction and ordered cooperation with weapons inspectors. It further announced that weapons inspection, that were suspended in 1998, will recommence. Iraqi leadership shall provide *"immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records, and means of transport"* [23] as well as submit *„a currently accurate, full, and complete declaration of all aspects of its programmes to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles."*[24] A failure to fulfil these conditions would *"constitute a further material breach of Iraq's obligations and will be reported to the Council for assessment."*[25]

The weapons inspections started again on November 25, 2002. They were conducted by two teams – the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) under the leadership of Dr. Hans Blix and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) directed by Mohamed ElBaradei. They visited former and present weapons sites and conducted interviews with Iraqi scientists.

The members of the Bush administration were very skeptical about the cooperation of the Iraqi officials with inspectors. On January 28, 2003 President Bush in his State of the Union Address used very strong language talking about Iraq. He said that *"The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary; he is deceiving. From intelligence sources we know, for instance, that thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the U.N. inspectors, sanitizing inspection sites and monitoring the inspectors themselves. Iraqi officials accompany the inspectors in order to intimidate witnesses,"*[26] and promised that *"If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him."*[27]

---

[21] H.J.Res.114 - 107th congress (2001-2002): Authorization for use of military force against Iraq resolution of 2002, (2002).

[22] Rachel S. Taylor, "The United Nations, International Law, and the War in Iraq," *World Press Review*, n.d., http://www.worldpress.org/specials/iraq/.

[23] Resolution 1441 (2002), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1441(2002).

[24] Ibid.

[25] Resolution 1441, page 3.

[26] George W. Bush, *President Bush Addresses the Nation*, (n.p., 2003), https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html.

[27] Ibid.

To persuade foreign officials that military action in Iraq is necessary, the Secretary of State Colin Powell delivered a speech to the UN Security Council on February 5, 2003. His goal was to provide *"additional information ...[about]... what the United States knows about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, as well as Iraq's involvement in terrorism"* He showed photos of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction laboratories and other evidence obtained by U.S. intelligence agencies.

The speech is often compared to the speech made by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson during the Caribbean Missile Crisis in 1962 when he showed the intelligence evidence of missiles in Cuba.[28] However, unlike Adlai Stevenson, Colin Powell failed to make a persuasive case about the urgency to deal with Iraq by military force. Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. said that "he believed Powell's performance was "more high-tech than Stevenson's," but not as convincing. … the aerial surveillance pictures produced by Stevenson provided "indisputable evidence" of the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba. By contrast, said Schlesinger, Powell had to make do with "a parade of horribles and worst-case interpretations" of Iraqi attempts to confuse and deceive U.N. weapons inspectors."[29] Other members of the Security Council were not persuaded and wanted to continue with the weapons inspections.[30]

Even though Powell's speech did not succeed to show that the invasion to Iraq is unavoidable, the Bush administration sought another resolution. They, together with the United Kingdom and Spain, drafted a resolution that concluded that Iraq has failed to meet the condition specified in the Resolution 1441. However, many foreign officials wanted to grant more time to the weapons inspectors to finish their job and France and Russia said that they will not vote for any resolution that authorizes military force.

The main issue for foreign officials was the fact, that the UNMOVIC and IAEA inspectors did not find any "smoking guns" in Iraq. IAEA Director General Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei reported to the Security Council in an inspections status update that there is no indication *"of nuclear-related prohibited activities at any inspected sites...[or] ...that Iraq*

---

[28] David S Cloud and Marc Champion, "Powell Lays out Evidence of Alleged Iraqi Deception," *The Wall Streat Journal* (The Wall Streat Journal), February 6, 2003, http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1044455044777053053.

[29] Michael Dobbs, "At Council, Political Theater," *The Washington Post*, February 6, 2003, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/washingtonpost/doc/409400883.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS=ABS:FT&date=Feb+6%2C+2003&author=Dobbs%2C+Michael&pub=The+Washington+Post&edition=&startpage=A.01&desc=At+Council%2C+Political+Theater.

[30] Keith B. Richburg, "Key Allies Not Won over by Powell," *The Washington Post*, February 7, 2003, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/washingtonpost/doc/409406870.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS=ABS:FT&date=Feb+7%2C+2003&author=Richburg%2C+Keith+B&pub=The+Washington+Post&edition=&startpage=A.01&desc=Key+Allies+Not+Won+Over+by+Powell.

has attempted to import uranium since 1990 ...[or]... that Iraq has attempted to import aluminium tubes for use in centrifuge enrichment."[31] Report form Hans Blix, the UNMOVIC Chairman, was not that positive. It criticized Iraq for reluctant cooperation with the inspectors, but stated that they did not find any evidence of chemical or biological weapons of mass destruction.[32]

Some U.S. officials expressed opinion that there is no need for another resolution, that the first one gives the United States mandate to use armed forces against Iraq. When they failed to gain support of the majority of the members of the UN Security Council, they withdrew the document. Despite the disapproval of the majority of the Security Council member states, the Bush administration found support in other countries. They built up so called "coalition of the willing" of at least 30 states to participate in military action against Iraq.[33]

The Bush administration, however, had not received clear support from public opinion. The public opinion polls showed that the majority of U.S. public looked favorably at possible military action against Iraq. According to Gallup, from September 2002 until March 2003, more than half of the respondents agreed in every poll. However, the support fell when respondents were asked about unilateral action. In summary of the Brookings institution, 30 percent of Americans firmly opposed the war, another 30 percent considered military action justifiable and necessary and the remaining 40 percent was the "moveable middle". *"Public opinion on the eve of war with Iraq was permissive—it was willing to follow the White House to war but not demanding war."*[34] The opinions started to change in the middle of march 2003, when 64 percent supported the war.

The public opinion in other countries was much stronger opposed to war in Iraq. Europeans did not support military action against Iraq without the approval of the United Nations. According to EOS Gallop poll in 30 European countries, the majority of the public disagreed with the U.S. intervention. In average of the 25 of the European Union 2004 countries, 78 percent opposed the war and just 19 percent agreed. The support risen over 50 percent only if the questions asked about war a) under the United Nations Security Council

---

[31] "The Status of Nuclear Inspections in Iraq: An Update," International Atomic Energy Agency, March 7, 2003, accessed July 10, 2016, https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/statements/status-nuclear-inspections-iraq-update.

[32] The Guardian, "Hans Blix's Briefing to the Security Council," *The Guardian* (The Guardian), February 14, 2003, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/14/iraq.unitednations1.

[33] Steve Schiffers, "US Names 'coalition of the willing,'" *BBC Americas* (BBC News), March 18, 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2862343.stm.

resolution; b) in case of the discovery of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq; or c) if Iraq threatens other countries in the region.[35] People in Arab countries expressed unfavorable position towards the U.S. foreign policy and the Iraq war as well.

Even though the opponents of the invasion to Iraq were a minority in the U.S. society, they managed to make themselves visible through their protests and rallies. The protests against war were happening not only in the United States, but around the world since September 2002. The first protest happened outside the Unites Nations General Assembly on September 12. The anti-war rally on September 27 in London, United Kingdom reached much bigger. According to estimates, there were between 150,000 (police estimate) and 400,000 (organizers' estimate) people demonstrating against the war.[36] On October 26, there were rallies in many countries around the world, for example, in San Francisco, California, Chicago, Illinois, Mexico City, Mexico, Tokyo, Japan, Berlin, Germany, and London, United Kingdom as well as in Spain, South Korea, Belgium, and Australia.[37] Similar protests took place in the following months around the world. However, the protests culminated on the weekend of February 15-16, 2003 when more than six million people in more than 600 cities in 60 countries across the world expressed their opposition against the invasion to Iraq. The biggest rallies were organized in Rome, Italy (up to 3 million people), London, United Kingdom (between 1 and 2 million), Barcelona, Spain (around 1 million people). In the U.S. the protesters gathered in more than 150 cities, the most in New York (100,000 police estimate, 375, 000 organizers' estimate) and San Francisco (200,000). The overall participation estimates ranged from six to ten million people.[38]

Despite the massive protests around the world, on March 19, 2003, President George W. Bush addressed the nation with an important message. He announced that *"coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam*

---

[34] Caroline Smith and James M Lindsay, "Rally 'Round the Flag: Opinion in the United States Before and After the Iraq War," *Brookings* (The Brookings Institution), 2003, http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2003/06/summer-iraq-lindsay.

[35] Gallup Europe, *International Crisis Survey 21st- 27th of January 2003*, (Gallup Europe, 2003), 4–11, http://www.paks.uni-duesseldorf.de/Dokumente/International-Crisis-Survey_Rapport-Final.pdf.

[36] BBC, "Protesters Stage Anti-War Rally," *BBC* (BBC News), September 28, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_politics/2285861.stm.

[37] Fran Lewine, "Global Rallies Protest Possible U.S. War on Iraq," *CNN* (CNN), October 26, 2004, http://edition.cnn.com/2002/US/10/26/us.iraq/.

[38] "Massive Anti-War Outpouring," CBS, February 16, 2003, accessed July 2, 2016, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/massive-anti-war-outpouring/. BBC, "Millions Join Global Anti-War Protests," *BBC Europe* (BBC News), February 17, 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2765215.stm.

Hussein's ability to wage war"[39]. He said: *"Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly -- yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, ... so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities. ... We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail."[40]* The Operation Iraqi Freedom had begun.

2. The Normative Theories of the Mass Media

If we want to discuss the performance of the mass media and their mistakes, we need to look at the norms, how media should be working. The normative theories do not deal with factual state of things, but they try to establish some norms and standards of what is right or wrong, just or unjust. Therefore, all these theories introduced here present ideas of how the media should function, defining expectations about the structure, conduct and performance of the media. For example, what should be their relationship with government or their role in society. *"Of its nature, normative theory is subjective and there is only limited agreement between the different perspectives outlined. ... The media generally do not like to be told what they ought to be doing and are not very sympathetic to this kind of theory."*[41]

There were many theories introduced in the past, some principles can be found much earlier than the Libertarian theory. However, it is not the goal of this thesis to encompass every theory and every criticism. Therefore, I have chosen several of the most influential theories and works that are connected to the topic of my thesis.

2.1 Libertarian theory of the press

The first complex theory of the press was formulated in the 19th century in the connection to liberal views on society. The fundamental idea of libertarian theory (sometimes is also used the term classic liberal theory) is freedom of the press from government regulations. The roots of this approach can be traced to John Milton, Thomas Jefferson and others.

---

[39] George W. Bush, *President Bush Addresses the Nation*, (n.p., 2003), https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Denis McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005), 159.

John Milton introduced an idea that came to be referred to as Milton's self-righting principle. In his essay Areopagitica from 1644, he argues for the freedom of the press and says that there is no need for licensing (censorship) to destroy bad publications, because in public debate only the truthful ideas will be preserved.[42] Thomas Jefferson held similar views about free press. He wrote: *"The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."[43]* The libertarian ideas about the relationship of government and the press has been manifested in drafting of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. *"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."* Today, radical Libertarians, who view freedom of press as absolute, argue for strict interpretation of this amendment, because "No law means no law"[44].

Economic theorists and the theory of capitalism and laissez-faire economic system influenced also the libertarian theory of the free press. The self-righting principle was broadened and became "Market place of ideas". This idea applies elements of these theories to press and argues for absolutely no government control of publishing sector and the press. The notion of "free trade of ideas" was mentioned by Justice Holmes in his dissenting opinion in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States *Abrams v. United States*[45] in 1919. However, the term "Market place of ideas" itself was used for the first time in *United States v. Rumely*[46] in 1953. Justice Douglas wrote: "Like the publishers of newspapers, magazines, or books, this publisher bids for the minds of men in the market place of ideas."

One of the ideas in libertarian theory was that the partisan press advocate diverse, often contradictory ideas and opinions. Only the good and truthful ideas will be selected on the "market place of ideas". Therefore, many newspapers were associated with a single

---

[42] John Milton, *AREOPAGITICA*, (n.p., 1644), accessed July 12, 2016, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/608/608-h/608-h.htm.

[43] Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Colonel Edward Carrington (16 January 1787) Lipscomb & Bergh ed. 6:57. available at http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl52.php

[44] This quote is attributed to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, but it was shortened. He originally wrote in *Smith v. California 361 U.S. 147 (1959):* "I read "no law . . . abridging" to mean no law abridging." David M. O'Brien, *Congress Shall Make No Law: The First Amendment, Unprotected Expression, and the U.S. Supreme Court* (United States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 25, ProQuest ebrary.

[45] *Abrams v. United States*, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919)

[46] United States v. Rumely 345 U.S. 41 (1953)

political party until 1870's when economic changes enabled development of non-partisan reporting in the United States.[47] Some newspaper are still supporters of one political party or one ideology.

2.2 Responses to the Libertarian Theory

Many scholars did not find the libertarian theory sufficient and from the beginning of the 20th century liberal theories that considered the needs of society and a deeper defined relationship between government and the press started to appear.

One of those theories was the theory of journalistic objectivity. According to this model, that the best role journalists could play in the "marketplace of ideas" was an impartial reporter and report just the facts.[48] Many press associations introduced codes of ethics for journalist that should achieve objectivity, independence on private businesses and government and clear division of facts and opinions. There are two types of principles in professional codes of ethics: "proactive" and "restraining". The example of proactive principle is truthfulness, accuracy and objectivity in reporting. The purpose of restraining principles, such as protection of privacy of victims, is to limit harm.[49]

Role of the Watchdog

One of the roles that media should play in society is to check on the operation of the government. There is not one clear definition of this principle. I will mention one from Daniel Hallin. He wrote that journalist perceive themselves as *"champions of truth and openness, checking the tendency of the powerful to conceal and dissemble"*[50]

The watchdog principle emerged in the 19th century, however, its exact origins are not known.[51] James Reston offered one of the views on the origins when he said: *"The watchdog role has always been there. All you have to do is go back and read Thomas Paine at the beginning of the Republic. This country had a press before we had a government."[52]* The idea of the watchdog role of the press entered the mainstream discourse during the Progressive era with its muckraking journalism.

---

[47] James T. Hamilton, *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News* (United States: Princeton University Press, 2004), 3.

[48] Robert S. Fortner and Mark P. Fackler, eds., *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory, 2 Volume Set* (United States: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 9–10, Proquest ebrary.

[49] Stephen J A Ward, *Global Journalism Ethics* (United States: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 50, Proquest ebrary.

[50] Daniel C. Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5, Proquest ebrary.

[51] *Elisabeth M. Koehler, "Watchdog Concept," in History of the mass media in the United States: An encyclopedia, ed. Margaret A. Blanchard (United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis, 2013).*

Among the best examples of the watchdog principle in practice belong the work of journalists from The Washington Post that covered the Watergate scandal in 1970 and the affair of so called Pentagon Papers covered in The New York Times.

Another theory, addressing the shortcomings of the libertarian theory, is based on this principle – theory of social responsibility. In 1943 as a reaction to increasingly imbalanced and sensationalist press was convened a special commission. The Commission on Freedom of the Press, also known as the Hutchins commission after its chairman, was deliberating for four years. They produced a report called *A Free and Responsible Press* that contained recommendation about the function of media in society.

The document criticizes the press for failures in several areas, especially in limited space it provides to opinions outside of the privileged minority and builds *"a philosophical and moral foundation for the idea that the press owed a responsibility to society"*.[53] The members of the commission identified five needs of the society at that time and formulated five requirements for the media. They should offer: 1) truthful and comprehensive account of the events; 2) space for the exchange of comment and criticism; 3) communication of the opinions and attitudes of the different groups in the society; 4) presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society; 5) a way for information to reach every person in the society.[54]

This report became the fundamental document for the Social responsibility theory. The main idea of this theory is that the media have obligations to society. News media should be truthful, accurate, fair, objective and relevant. They should achieve this by self-regulation and by following codes of ethics and professional conduct. The freedom of the media should be guaranteed, however, this theory does not preclude government interventions in cases when it may benefit to the public interest.[55]

2.3 Normative Framework - Four Theories of the Press and beyond

One of the most famous theories of press came from Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in their book called Four Theories of the Press in 1956. The foundations for their book consisted of a theory that *"the press always takes on the form and*

---

[52] Hallin, page 5.

[53] Clifford G Christians, Theodore L Glasser, and Dennis McQuail, *The History of Communication:Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies* (United States: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 5, ProQuest ebrary.

[54] *Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1947), 19–20, https://archive.org/details/freeandresponsib029216mbp.*

[55] McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication,* page 147.

coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates"[56] that the relationship between the press and government is depended on the social and political system of the country and that press reflects the *"basic beliefs and assumptions that the society holds"[57]*. Their goal was to describe and structure different types of media systems according to the nature of the press-government relations. They distinguished four types, or as they called them theories, of media systems: a) Authoritarian Theory; b) Soviet or Communist Theory c) Libertarian Theory d) Social Responsibility Theory.

The Authoritarian Theory applies to societies with authoritarian governments or dictators. All media are subjected to the supervision of the government. The role of the press is to serve the government, not to the public sphere. The press is not allowed to question any government policies and publish opinions which might undermine the established social and political order. The authors use a quote from a British writer, Dr. Samuel Jackson to summarize the basis of this theory: *"Every society has a right to preserve public peace and order, and therefore has a good right to prohibit the propagation of opinions which have a dangerous tendency. To say the magistrate has this right is using an inadequate word; it is the society for which the magistrate is the agent. He may be morally or theologically wrong in restraining the propagation of opinions which he thinks dangerous, but he is politically right."[58]*

The Soviet or Communist theory resembles the authoritarian theory. The main difference is even deeper control over published or broadcasted information. Instead of exercising oversight, the government actually owns and runs the media. The main role of the media is to act as a tool for government propaganda. Among the countries with this media system belonged the Soviet Union and its satellites, China, Yugoslavia. The main aspects of the principles of the last two theories were discussed already in this chapter. Libertarian theory referred to the press system in Anglo-American environment that has roots in the thought of Milton, John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and John Stuart Mill. In the Social Responsibility theory, the authors adopted the findings of the Commission on Freedom of the Press.

This book was extensively reviewed and criticized, especially in 1990's, as one of the four theories, the Soviet or communist theory, has disappeared. Among the praised aspects of

---

[56] Fredrick Seaton S Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do*, 13th ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, c1956, 1978 printing, 1963), 1–2.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Dr. Samuel Jackson, quoted in Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, page 36.

this work belonged that it filled the gap in the mass media theoretical thinking. It is also credited for the consolidation of thought regarding the media's responsibility to society. One of the main points of the criticisms is political and cultural bias from the Cold War era. Among the most extensive critical assessments of the Four Theories of the Press belongs the book *Last Rights* edited by John C. Nerone. He pointed out that *"Four Theories does not offer four theories: it offers one theory with four examples"*[59]. What more, he criticizes level of historical correctness and oversimplification as well as other methodological flaws.[60]

Many authors have tried to improve Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's work. They offered different additions. For example, Denis McQuail in his book Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction in 1983 offered two amendments of the Four Theories: development media theory and democratic-participant media theory.[61] Another author, Herbert Altschull chose a different approach in his work Agents of Power. He was inspired by the traditional division of the world to First, Second, and Third World. On the basis of the economic and political power he came up with three models of media systems: media system of Western nations, Marxist or communitarian nations, and advancing or developing nations.[62]

Several other authors have attempted to remedy Four Theories of the Press, but none of them were as successful and influential as the original. Even though scholars still try to offer new typologies, many of them consider this typology outdated and think that *"it is time to give it a decent burial and move on to the development of more sophisticated models based on real comparative analysis"*.[63]

The Four Theories of the Press was discredited, however, nobody came with a new normative theory or model encompassing different normative principles that would be widely accepted. Denis McQuial in his book Mass Communication Theory proposes four models of normative media theory. Each model is based on one or more common normative principles.

Firstly, a liberal-pluralist or market model that emphasizes the libertarian principle of the free press. It rejects any government interference and promotes the idea of a 'free marketplace of ideas'. Second, a social responsibility or public interest model views the right to freedom of publication in connection with "obligations to the wider society that go beyond self-interest". Third, a professional model highlights the *"institutional and professional*

---

[59] Thomas G. Guback, William E. Berry, and Robert W. McChesney, *Last Rights: Revisiting "Four theories of the press,"* ed. John Nerone (United States: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 18.

[60] Guback, Berry, and McChesney, page 18-22.

[61] Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 1983).

[62] Herbert J. Altschull and J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power* (New York: Longman, 1984).

[63] Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10, ProQuest ebrary.

autonomy of journalism"⁶⁴. Journalist's primary concern is serving the public's need for information and comment and providing the platforms for expression of diverse views. The media also provide control over on those in power. Fourth and last model, an alternative media model encompasses whole scale of small, non-mainstream media with different goals. Among their common values belong

"the emphasis on smallness of scale and grass-roots organization, participation and community ... opposition (in some cases) to the powers of state and industry ... the rights of subcultures."⁶⁵

2.4 Objectivity

In the previous part, I discussed the origins of the objectivity in media practice. The norm of objectivity is closely related to the freedom of the press. Without freedom, objectivity of reporting could not exist. The notion is based on public (consumers of the news) expectations that news can be *"believed, trusted, taken at face value, readily understood."⁶⁶* From these expectations, originated the guidelines for the quality of media performance – whether the news fulfill these criteria and are objective or are biased (bias is the opposite of objectivity).

There is no definition of objectivity, because this notion can encompass many aspects of news reporting and every journalist or scholar offers a different view. The definitions range from a simple understanding of the norm of objectivity, as a duty of journalists to report "both sides" of every issue⁶⁷ to more complex theories.

Denis McQuail offers several criteria for objective news reporting. According to him *"an objective report is highly factual, in the sense of offering as much detailed and checkable information as possible. A clear division ... is usually observed between fact and opinion or interpretation. Wherever possible, reliable sources for information are cited. ... It is neutral in tone and form of presentation. It seeks to take up an independent and disinterested position in matters of conflict. ... Objective news-giving presupposes an absence of personal bias, self-interest, ulterior motive or service to an advertiser or third party."⁶⁸*

---

⁶⁴ McQuail, Mc*Quail's Mass Communication Theory,* page 158.

⁶⁵ McQuail, Mc*Quail's Mass Communication Theory,* page 159.

⁶⁶ Denis McQuail, *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest* (London: Sage Publications UK, 1992), 187.

⁶⁷ Regina G. Lawrence, "Indexing," *Oxford Bibliographies Online Datasets* April 24, 2012, accessed July 24, 2016, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0090.xml.

⁶⁸ McQuail, *Media Performance*, page 185-186.

Swedish scholar Jörgen Westerståhl developed a model of the main components of objectivity. His model offers a framework for research on media objectivity. He differentiates between the 'cognitive' aspects of empirical research and the evaluative aspects, or in other terms, the Factuality and the Impartiality. These two components are independent and even mutually inconsistent.

The Factuality can be further divided into two parts: Truth and Relevance. Truth means the degree of: Factualness – separating fact from opinion or comment, referring to named sources, and avoid ambiguity; Accuracy – consistency with reality of factual information (names, places, numbers); and Completeness – all of the facts about significant events of the day.[69] The second component of factuality is 'Relevance'. This term refers to the process of selection of news that should be reported, which stories are 'newsworthy'. *"In general, what affects most people most immediately and most strongly is likely to be considered most relevant (though there may be a gap between what the public perceives as of interest and what experts say is significant)."*[70]

Impartiality encompasses different aspects, for example fairness, non-partisanship, neutrality. In the Westerståhl schema, it is 'Balance' between opposing interpretations, points of view or versions of events, and 'Neutrality' in presentation. Balance means equal space given to all involved. However, when the participants are not equally active in a debate, *"the other receives a quantitative predominance in the news reporting."*[71] In other words, coverage could be balanced proportionally, according to their significance and involvement. Neutrality refers to the use of different language tools and writing styles, as well as images and frames of reference. *"Neutral presentation implies that the report not be composed in such a way that the reporter is shown to identify with, or repudiate, the subject of the report."*[72] That means that Neutrality is applicable only in case of news reporting and not in commentaries.

Many scholars of media studies voiced objection towards the norm of objectivity. There is continuing debate, whether objectivity should be the norm for journalists. Two main arguments against objectivity are: full objectivity is impossible to achieve and objectivity is not desirable in news reporting. According to some authors, there will always be some kind of bias because reporting could not be done without subjective input of journalists and it will

---

[69] Ibid., page 197

[70] McQuail, Mc*Quail's Mass Communication Theory* , page 171.

[71] Jörgen Westerståhl, "Objective News Reporting: General Premises," *Communication Research* 10, no. 3 (July 1, 1983): 418, accessed July 22, 2016, http://crx.sagepub.com/content/10/3/403.full.pdf+html.

[72] Westerstahl, page 420.

never be absolutely correct and complete. That is the reason, why objectivity is sometimes viewed as an ideal of journalistic work. Another issue against objectivity in reporting is that it has a tendency to support the status quo and the established elites.[73]

Even though the norm of objectivity is criticized and sometimes even disregarded, journalists and scholars still use at least some so the aspects of objectivity included in the Westerståhl model in their work and also in their codes of ethics. For example, Standards and Ethics of The New York Times as well as The Washington Post contain principles of fairness and truth.[74]

Sources of News

One of the options, how to assess impartiality, is source bias analysis. The term news source is usually used for people or organization that in some ways influence news reporting. However, for empirical research is this definition modified on quoted or attributed people or institution.[75] To adhere to the balance norm, news reporting should refer to or cite sources from different sides of the issue.

Indexing

One of the most referenced theories about balance of sources and views in news reporting is called "Indexing". This theory deals with press-state relations, specifically with government sources in news reporting. W. Lance Bennett formulated the "indexing hypothesis" in his article "*Toward a theory of press-state relations*" in 1990. He wrote that "*Mass media news professionals ... tend to "index" the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate about a given topic.*"[76]

Journalists, according to this theory inform about political issues according to the debate among political elites (i.e. members of Congress and White House). The issue causing disagreement receives more coverage and different opinions are reported. On the other hand,

---

[73] For more debate on objections see: McQuail, *Media Performance*, page 187-188.
[74] "Standards and Ethics," The New York Times, 2016, accessed July 25, 2016, http://www.nytco.com/who-we-are/culture/standards-and-ethics/.
"The Washington Post Standards and Ethics," ASNE, accessed July 29, 2016,
http://asne.org/content.asp?contentid=335.
[75] Ciaran McCullagh and Jo Campling, *Media Power: A Sociological Introduction* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 66.
[76] W. Lance Bennett, "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States," *Journal of Communication* 40, no. 2 (June 1990): 106, accessed July 16, 2016,

when there is consensus on a given topic, the coverage and the amount of dissenting voices will be much smaller. Indexing thus offers not only an empirical theory of how daily news is constructed, but also a normative framework for analyzing press performance in democracy. When the democratic process is functioning well, news that is indexed to elite debate probably offers a reasonably good representation of public opinion. But when elites do not act in good faith or when political pressures hamper elite debate, a press that merely indexes that debate may not be operating in ways that support a healthy democracy.[77] Indexing seems most likely to occur in the context of national security, foreign policy, and military decisions, international trade, and macroeconomic policy.[78]

3. Methodology

In my research, I utilized the quantitative content analysis method. There are many definitions of this research method from different authors. Most of the definitions include similar principles. The research should be systematical, objective, quantitative and replicable. Daniel Riff introduced in his book the major definition and compiled their aspects into his own. He says: *"Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption."[79]*

To use this method in research, Roger Wimmer and Joseph Dominick have compiled 10 stages of conducting content analysis. The order does not have to be always followed, however, and some of the steps can be compiled together.

1. Formulate the research question or hypothesis.

2. Define the universe in question.

3. Select an appropriate sample from the population.

4. Select and define a unit of analysis.

5. Construct the categories of content to be analyzed.

6. Establish a quantification system.

---

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228018538_Toward_a_Theory_of_Press-State_Relations_in_the_US.

[77] Regina G. Lawrence, "Indexing," *Oxford Bibliographies Online Datasets* April 24, 2012, accessed July 24, 2016, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0090.xml.

[78] Bennett, page 122.

7. Train coders and conduct a pilot study.

8. Code the content according to established definitions.

9. Analyze the collected data.

10. Draw conclusions and search for indications.[80]

3.1 The research questions and hypothesis

According to the debate about the role of the media before the Iraq war and the normative theories of mass media, I have formulated my research questions and hypotheses. Research question no. 1: What were the most written about topic in articles related to the invasion to Iraq? Research question no. 2: What type of sources the journalists used? Hypothesis no. 1: The journalists were accused of marginalizing voices against the war. Therefore, my hypothesis is that there will be significantly more sources advocating the opinions of the Bush administration than criticizing it. Similarly, most of the articles will be biased towards the Bush administration.

3.2 The universe in question and selection of an appropriate sample from the population.

For my quantitative analysis I have chosen two major newspapers: *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post.* These two titles are considered as so called prestigious or elite newspaper.[81] This type mass media is often held to higher standards of journalism because they can utilize more resources. Noam Chomsky also uses term agenda-setting media. "*The elite media set a framework within which others operate.*"[82] Other non-elite media take over their topics, or often whole stories and articles. Most of their readership consists of "*people who are wealthy or part of what is sometimes called the political class… political managers, business managers (like corporate executives or that sort of thing),*

---

[79] Daniel Riff, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico, *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2014), 19, ProQuest Ebrary.

[80] Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, 9th ed. (Boston, MA: Cengage- Wadsworth, 2010), 160.

[81] Stephan Lacy, Frederick Fico, and Todd F. Simon, "Fairness and Balance in the Prestige Press," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 363-370, accessed July 20, 2016, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds.http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds..

[82] "What Makes Mainstream Media Mainstream," Chomsky.info, October 1997, accessed July 29, 2016, https://chomsky.info/199710__/.

doctoral managers (like university professors), or other journalists who are involved in organizing the way people think and look at things.''[83]

The status of a newspaper can influence how an event or an issue is covered. It is presumed that elite newspaper journalists should work to achieve higher quality journalism and therefore uphold their reputation. Some research found out that because of these conditions, elite newspapers are more likely to produce more balanced stories about controversial issues.[84]

3.3 The basic unit of the analysis

The basic unit of my analysis was an article in these two newspapers. The research sample had to be further defined by time, key word and placement of the article in the newspapers.

I have chosen articles from August 1, 2002 until March 19, 2003. Reports on a possible war with Iraq appeared in the media before August 2002, however, this date can be determined as roughly the start of the strategic communications campaign promoting the war by George W. Bush's administration for an invasion to Iraq by claims about biological, chemical and nuclear weapons as well as about connection of the Iraqi leadership and terrorists from Al Qaeda. March 19,2003, the end date was chosen because it is one day before the start of the military campaign in Iraq.

Further, I selected every story that appeared on the first page and contained the keyword "Iraq" in the headline or the leading paragraph. This simple keyword was used so that the search would not omit some important stories. For example, using the keywords *"Iraq war"* would not return the articles that refer to the military action against Iraq as *"invasion to Iraq"*. The research was restricted only on the first page articles not only because of the resources and time limitations, but also because the articles on the front page show prioritization of editors. The restriction for keyword placement limited the research sample to stories more relevant to my topic. However, I am aware that during this search were left out also several articles about Iraq that did not mention the word "Iraq" itself – an article about Sadam Hussein or Baghdad does not necessarily need to have Iraq in the first paragraph. I also discarded any articles whose main focus was not obviously the Iraq War - for example, stories about national economic conditions or North Korea - during the coding process.

---

[83] Ibid.

[84] Lacy, Fico, and Simon, page 366.

3.4 The categories of content for analysis

I had to define categories for the content I needed to track in each article. I was inspired by similar research of the U.S. television news I mentioned in the introduction. The categories of the content analysis included characteristics of the articles (e.g. date of publication) and four variables. Each article was coded according to four major elements: a) topical focus, b) directional thrust of the story as a whole, c) source category and d) directional thrust of each source's statement in relation to the Bush administration's position on Iraq.

I defined sixteen categories of the topical focus. The study on television news used more categories. However, some of them were very similar and the amount of articles in each would be too small. Therefore, I decided to reduce the number of the categories and create more general ones. That means, for example, that I combined all stories about military planning or strategy; all stories about the current situation in Iraq (life of ordinary people, opposition, airstrikes and sanctions); all articles about foreign country or views of foreigners composed another category. All the categories are listed below:

1 = Debate over invasion

2 = Military planning / strategy

3 = Speech by official (American or Iraqi) or prominent citizen

4 = Domestic politics

5 = International views / Impact on allies

6 = UN resolution / meeting

7 = Situation in Iraq

8 = Weapons inspections

9 = Prospects for war

10 = Reconstruction plans / Post-war Iraq

11 = Terrorism / Al-Qaeda

12 = First Gulf war / History

13 = Protests / Rallies

14= Public Opinion

15= Costs of war

16 = Other

The sixteen source category codes are divided according to professional position or society status. There was again a need for some changes and simplification. All sources from the Bush administration were combined with the White House officials as well as sources identified as an American (U.S.) official. The reason behind combining these sources together was the fact, that authors often did not identify their source enough to make the distinction. The most common names in this category would be the Vice-President Dick Chaney, the Secretary of State Colin Powell, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, National

Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and White House press secretary Ari Fleischer. Iraqi source was marked everyone identified by the Iraqi nationality, that means even the opposition in exile belonged to this category. I also decided to make a distinction between Iraqi source and Kurdish, because they are two different types of source. I should also mention the category number 8, Prominent citizen. This category contains mainly former officials, for example, former Presidents of the United States, former Secretaries of State. Another change was merging the categories of United Nation Official and International Atomic Agency Official (IAEA). The IAEA has a close working relationship with the United Nations and they collaborated on the weapons inspections conducted in Iraq.[85] All the source category codes are listed below:

 1 = Republican Party

 2 = Bush administration / White House
     official / American official

 3 = Foreign source

 4 = Military source

 5 = Retired military

 6 = Not aligned/Independent source/Expert

 7 = Democratic party

 8 = Prominent citizen

 9 = United Nation official / International
     Atomic Energy Agency official

10 = Iraqi source

11 = Anti-war group

12 = Intelligence agency official

13 = NATO source

14 = Kurds

15 = Ordinary citizen

16 = Other source

The sources were also divided into three groups according to the directional thrust of their statements: supportive of the Bush administration's policy, or opposed to the Bush administration's policy or neutral. If a source expressed a position or perspective, or communicated a piece of information, that favored the Bush administration's Iraq policy, it was categorized as "supportive". A statement was coded "opposed" if it expressed some skepticism, criticism, or opposition to administration policy. A statement was coded "neutral" if I was not able to identify either positive or negative directional thrust.

---

[85] "Relationship with the United Nations," International Atomic Energy Agency, April 7, 2016, accessed July 22, 2016, https://www.iaea.org/technicalcooperation/Partnerships/Relation-UN/index.html.

The last variable in my analysis was the directional thrust of each story, the codes were similar as in the previous category "favorable", "balanced" and "unfavorable". If a report contained more statements positive toward Bush administration policy than statements that were negative, this would tend to push the story's directional thrust in the favorable direction. The stories with approximately the same number of favorable and unfavorable sources were coded as balanced. In addition to the number of sources of each category, I considered the space devoted to them. That means source for half of the article played a bigger role in assigning the directional thrust than a source mentioned just in one sentence.

Also, the likely effects of essentially neutral information contained in the news report was taken into account. In other words, aside from the direction of statements from sources, I considered in what direction the information or events contained in the report would likely push the opinion toward a possible war. If a story was based largely on intelligence reports alleging Iraqi nuclear weapons capabilities, this would push the story's directional thrust in the favorable direction.

To filter and access the articles, I used the FACTIVA database. I searched for the word "Iraq" in the headline and the leading paragraph and "page-one stories" in The New York Tims and The Washington Post.

The reading and coding of the articles took the most amount of time from my research. During the process also emerged some complications that had to be addressed. Firstly, the filter in the FACTIVA database can filter the "page-one" stories, but it included page one from different sections of The New York Times, not only Section A. Therefore, I had to manually remove these articles from my research sample. Secondly, articles often incorporated more than one of the topic categories. Many of the articles were therefore coded under two categories.

4. Results

All the articles were divided into groups and categories according to time, content, sources and tone of the coverage. I recorded all the data needed for answering my research questions. I coded 531 stories altogether, 293 from The Washington Post and 238 from The New York Times. In all of the stories, I counted 3,492 cases of quoting a source or attributing a statement to somebody.

4.1 Volume of Coverage

At first, I counted the distribution of the front page stories about Iraq over the selected coding period, from August 1, 2002 until March 19, 2003. The Figure 1 displays the number of stories each month for each of the analyzed newspapers separately. We can see the increasing trend over the 8 months, especially in March, which is understandable, because the Iraq war became the current issue on the U.S. and international political scene.
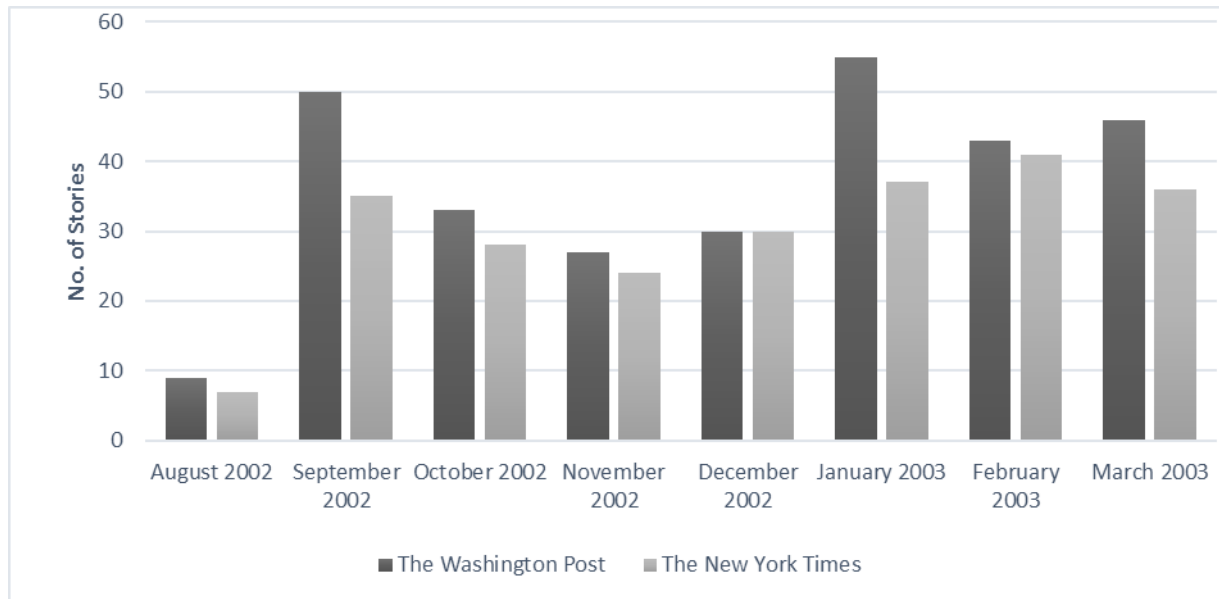

Figure 1: The amount of coverage about Iraq. Figure displays the number of stories each month about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

4.2 Focus of Coverage

Another category that was the subject of my analysis was the main topic of each article. Because many articles were not focusing solely on one topic, some of them were included in two categories. If there was another topic mentioned, it was only in a small passage of the article and not the focus of the whole story. The coverage of various topics was approximately equal on The Washington Post and The New York Times. However, there were some differences in the amount of articles about each topic. For example, The Washington Post covered domestic politics more often as well as military strategy, costs of war, protests, public opinion or weapons inspections. On the other hand, The New York Times had a bigger share of stories about the United Nations resolutions and meetings, international views, and the debate over the invasion. The differences are not extremely significant, never more than five percentage points.
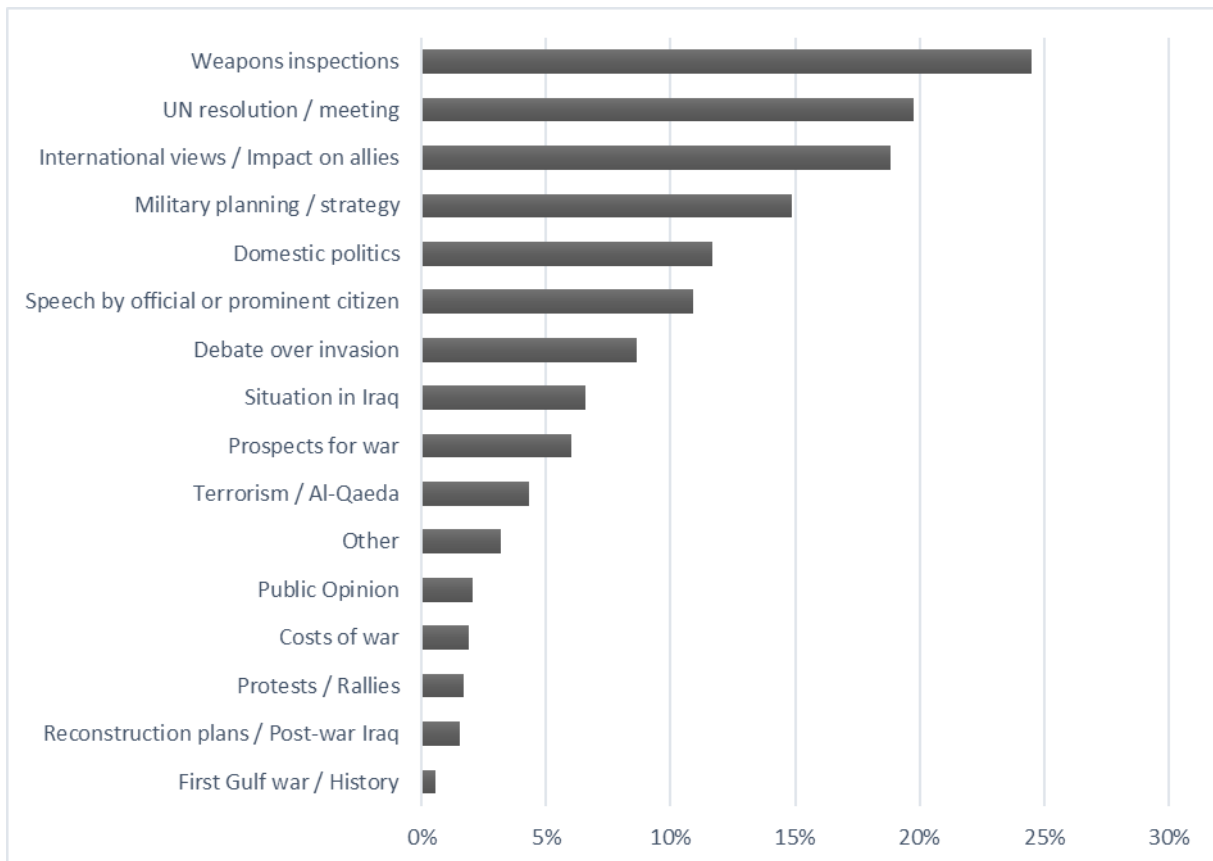
Figure 2. Main topic of stories. The graph shows the percentage of stories about each topic category on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

The Figure 2 presents the share of the front page coverage about Iraq on those topics in both The Washington Post as well as The New York Times. Over the period of my focus, the most covered topic was Weapons inspections. Almost one quarter (24.5% to be precise) of the stories covered the arms inspections in Iraq conducted by specialists from the United Nations or the International Atomic Energy Agency. The second most used topics were the UN resolutions (19.8%) or meetings of the Security council. International views and Impact of possible military conflict on foreign countries (18.8%) ended as the third most used theme.

There were 9 articles about protests. However, reports about the smaller protests could be inside of the newspaper. In case of The New York Times, only the massive protests in February 2003 made it on the front page. On the other hand, in The Washington Post, every month from September 2002 until February 2003 (except November 2002) there was a first page article about the opposition.

An interesting view on the coverage offers also the timeline of stories printed about different topics. We can follow the changes in focus of the journalists on different topics over

time. The most noticeable difference can be seen on three topics: domestic politics, the debate over the invasion, military planning. Domestic politics in relation to invasion to Iraq got coverage mainly between August and November 2002. The articles about this topic made up major part of Iraq front page coverage: in August, 25%, in September 35.3% and in November even 36.1%. On October 11, 2002 the Congress passed a resolution that granted to the President Bush a broad mandate for action against Iraq, the articles about this topic stopped. A similar trend is noticeable also on the topic of the debate over the invasion. The interest of journalists switched to another topic: the weapons inspections. The share of stories about this issue was rising from August through December when it culminated. In December 2002, 51.7% of articles about Iraq dealt with the weapons inspections. The percentage then started to decline and in March was only at 13.1%. The newspapers turned their focus on military matters. After December 2002, articles about military strategy, planning, and movement of army units took more space on the front pages, which is logical. Closer to the invasion, as the preparation of armed forces began, journalists were writing about the maneuvers. However, the difference in coverage is not as drastic as in the previous two cases. Even in August 2002, military focused articles made 12.5% of the articles, the coverage culminated in March 2003, when 21.4% of stories about Iraq dealt with military matters.
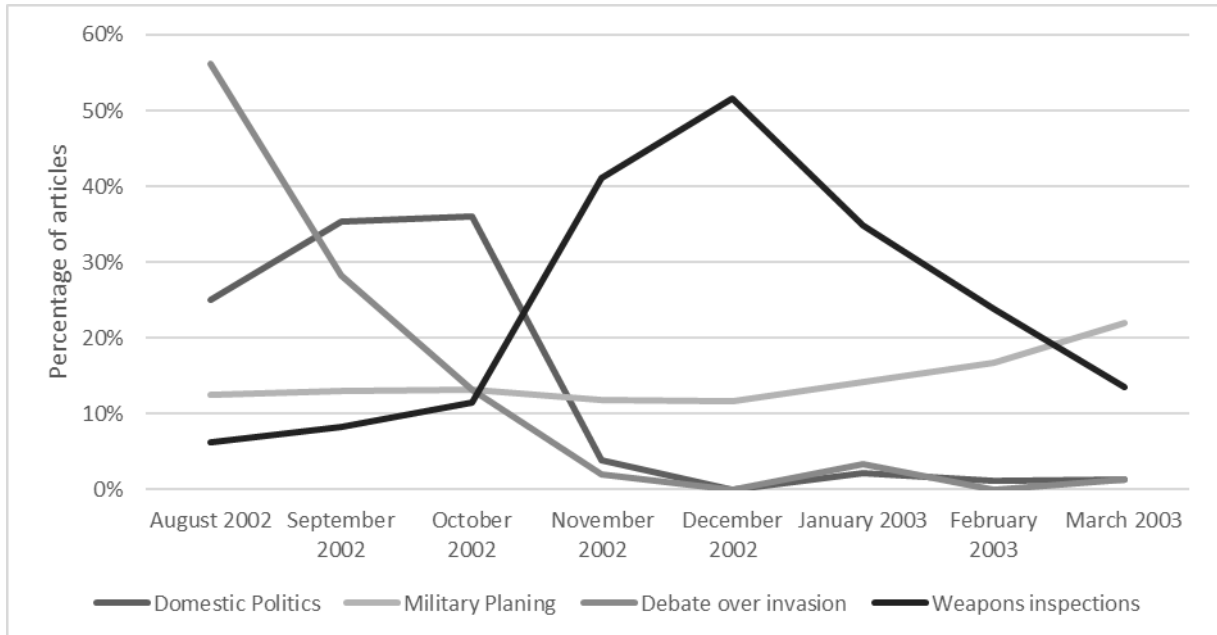

Figure 3. Focus topics of news coverage. Figure presents the percentage of stories each month about each topic on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

4.3 Sources in the stories

In the next step, I analyzed the sources the journalists used for their stories. The sources were divided according to their presented opinion into three categories and according to their professional status into sixteen categories, as explained in the chapter about methodology. My goal was to find out, what sources were supporting the position of George W. Bush and who was on the other side of the debate. The hypothesis was that major part of the sources used in these articles would support the Bush's administration point of view.

There were 3,492 contributions from sources analyzed and encoded in the 531 chosen articles. Just one article did not contain any cited sources. The percentages of source statements of each of three directional group were almost equal. Unfavorable sources accounted for 34.7% of all sources, neutral statements from sources represented 29.5% and favorable sources were the most frequent but only by a small margin (35.8% of all sources). That means, that the analyzed articles included approximately the same number of favorable, neutral and unfavorable statements.

The results show that our hypothesis was not entirely correct. As the Figure 4 illustrates, the distribution of sources among categories proved to be much more complex. The most often used source category was the Bush's administration with 28.2% of all source statements. President Bush was cited as a source in 13.2% of these cases. Overall, his opinions made up only 3.7% of all attributed statements. Close second in my analysis ended Foreign sources with 20.7%.
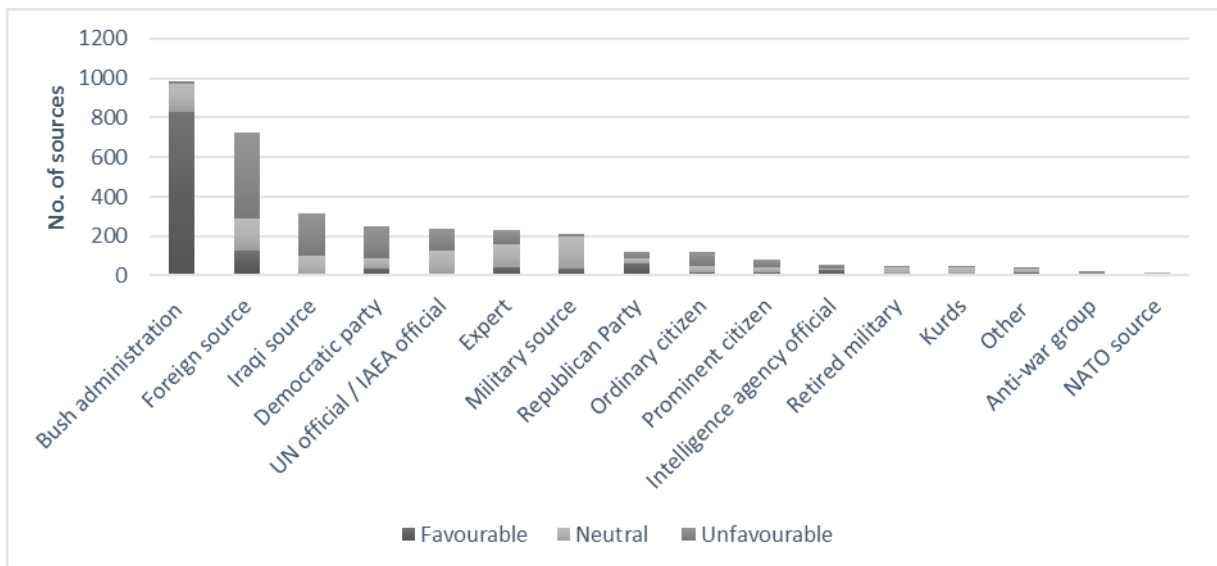

Figure 4. Distribution of sources in news stories. The figure presents the number of sources from each source category in Iraq related stories on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

Who was supportive of the President Bush stand? There were 1,249 favorable statements. President George W. Bush himself represented 10.4% of them. The Bush's administration as a whole made up almost two thirds (66.4% exactly) of all favorable statements. The most cited United States officials were Vice-President Dick Chaney, the Secretary of State Colin Powell, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and White House press secretary Ari Fleischer. On the second place was, with a great margin of more than 50 percentage points, Foreign sources category. Favorable statements in this category consisted mainly of quotes by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair and occasionally by other official from the "coalition of the willing" such as José María Aznar, the Prime Minister of Spain. Voices of support for President Bush's opinion on confronting Iraq within the United States came also from the Republican Party, usually the members of the House of Representatives or Senators. However, these statements made only 5.3% of the favorable sources.
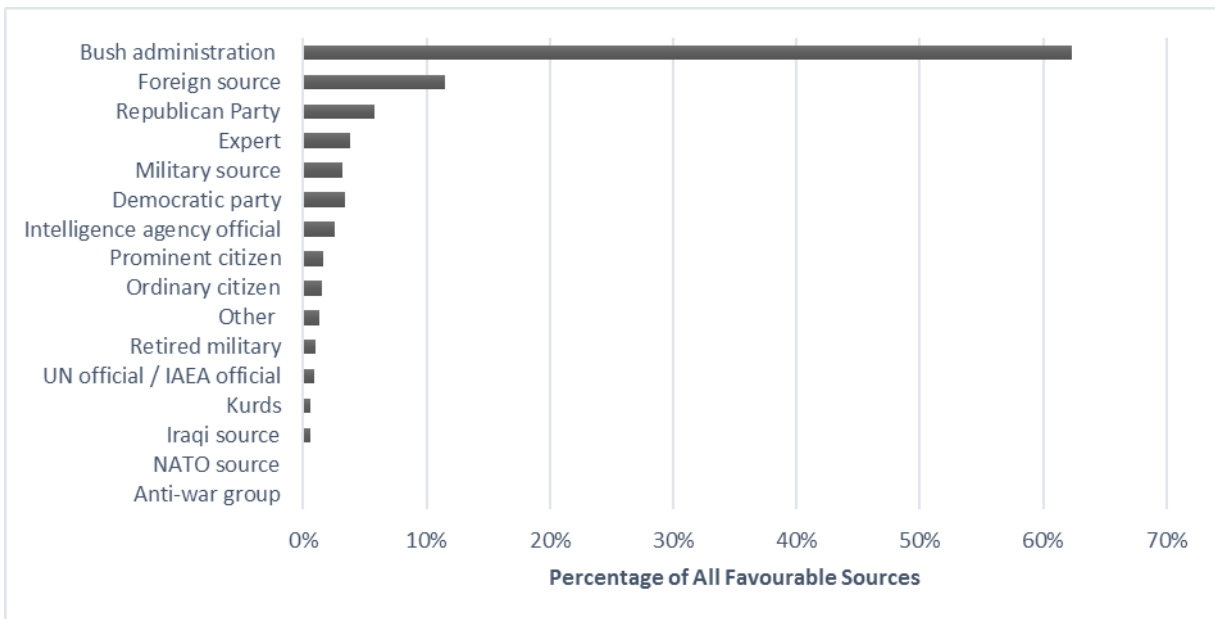

Figure 5. Sources supportive of the Bush administration's policy in news stories. The figure presents the percentage of all sources supportive of the views of the Bush administration from each source category in stories about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

Whole one third of the recorded quotes spoke doubtfully or even critically about the Bush's administration and their plans for Iraq invasion. The majority of them were sources from abroad, foreign officials or ordinary citizens. The first two categories, Foreign sources

and Iraqi sources, made up almost two thirds (62.8%, to be exact) of all critical voices. Foreign sources in the first place accounted for 35.5% of unfavorable statements, Iraqi sources for 17.7%, and officials from the United Nations or the International Atomic Energy Agency made up 9.1% of them.

The most quoted people from the Foreign sources category included the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, the President Jacques Chirac of France, the Russian President Vladimir Putin, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Dominique de Villepin, and the Russian Ambassador to the United Nations Sergey Lavrov. The opposition voices from within the United States were not nearly as frequent. In total, domestic opposition accounted for 30.3% of unfavorable statements. The most quoted category was the members of the Democratic Party with 13.2%. The other categories of domestic opposition formed only 5.6% (ordinary citizens) or less.
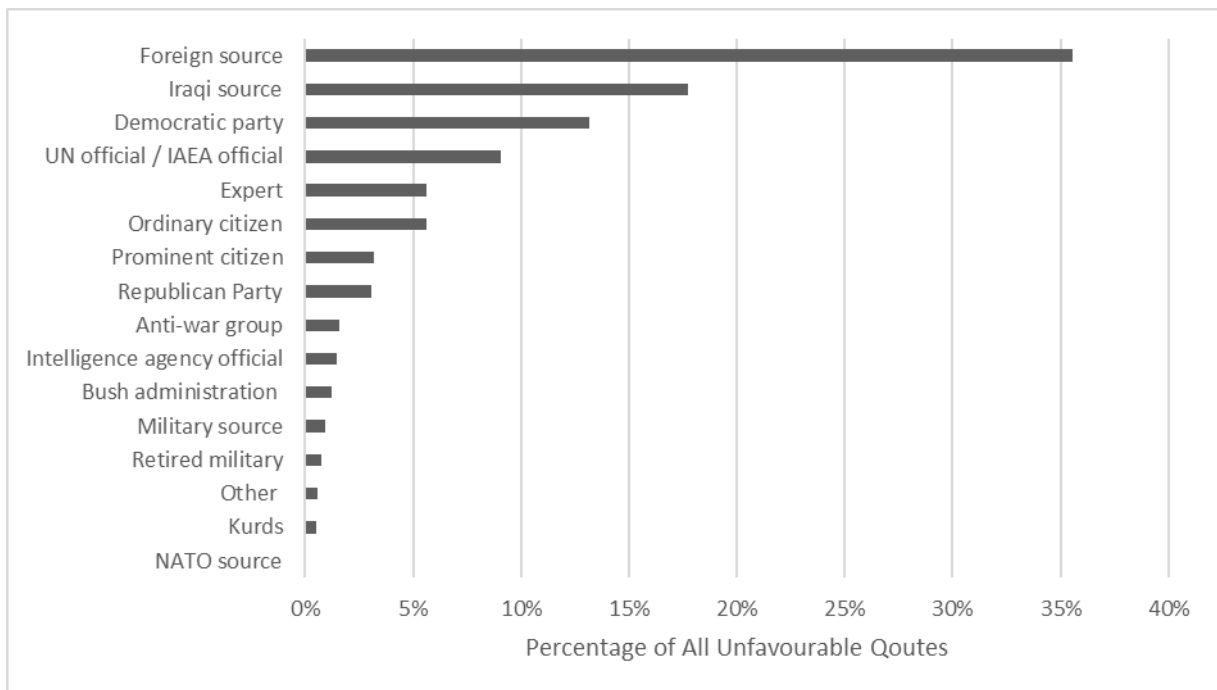

Figure 6. Sources opposed to the Bush administration's policy in news stories. The figure presents the percentage of all sources opposed to the views of the Bush administration from each source category in stories about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

Another third of all sources was made up from the statements that expressed no opinion about the Bush administration, possible military action towards Iraq or their statement did not contradict nor affirm the proclamation by President Bush and his officials. The

categories are much more even than in the other two groups. The two top categories, the Foreign sources and the Military sources received approximately the same amount of quotes. The difference between them was just one statement. The Foreign source category had 164 statements and Military source 163, that means 15.9% and 15.8%, respectively. Neutral quotes from foreign sources dealt mainly with the situation in their country or the speakers did not express any opinion. The military sources usually just stated facts about the United States armed forces and did not express an opinion for or against. The military sources stated neutral or no opinion in 77.6% of all cases they were used. We can find similar phenomenon, although not to such an extent, with the categories Retired military and Experts.
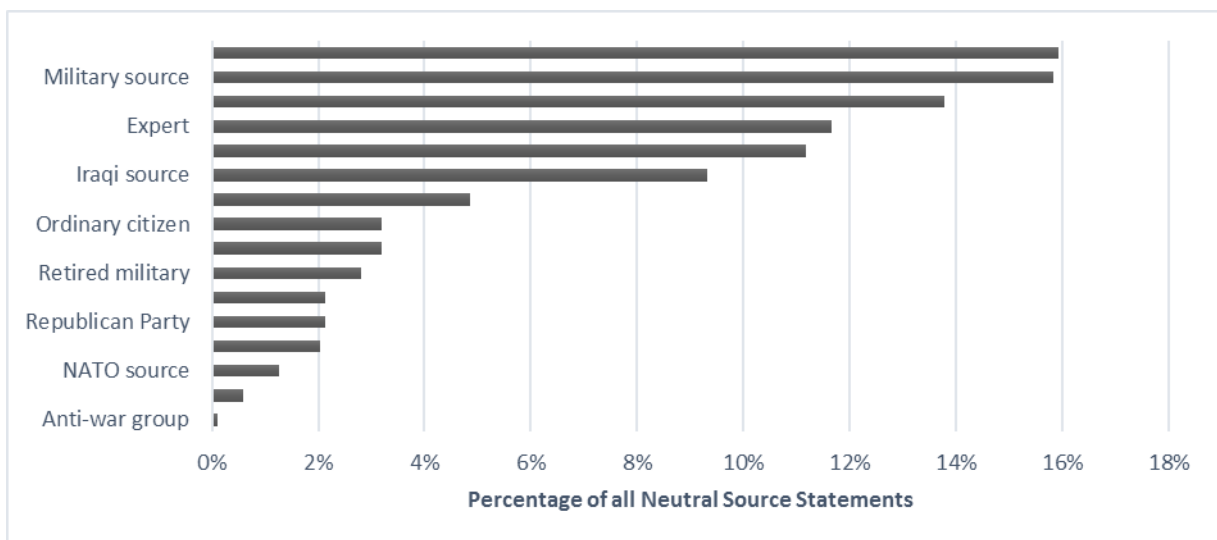

Figure 7. Sources neutral to the Bush administration's policy in news stories. The figure presents the percentage of all sources expressing no opinion about Iraq policy from each source category in stories about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

4.4 Domestic voices vs. International voices

I divided the source categories further into two groups: International voices and Domestic voices so that I could compare the usage of them among the favorable, neutral and unfavorable categories. In the first group, the International voices, I combined categories Foreign source, UN official / IAEA official, Iraqi source, Kurds and NATO source. The second group included sources from the categories Republican Party, the Bush administration, Military Source, Retired Military, Democratic Party, Prominent citizen, Ordinary citizen, and Intelligence Agency Official. In the remaining three categories - Expert/Independent Source,

Anti-war group, and Other – consisted of people of different nationalities, including citizens of the United States.

The total number of source statements in those two groups was 3,199. The Domestic sources accounted for 58.3% (1,866) of them and International sources for 41.7% (1,333). Figure 8 illustrates the difference between the distribution of Domestic and International favorable and unfavorable statements. There were more than one half (55.8%) of domestic sources supportive of Bush's administration and only 19.1% unfavorable. On the other hand, sources from outside of the United States were exactly the opposite. More than one half (57.2%) quotes expressed opposite or doubtful opinion towards the stand of Bush officials, while only 11.3% supported it.
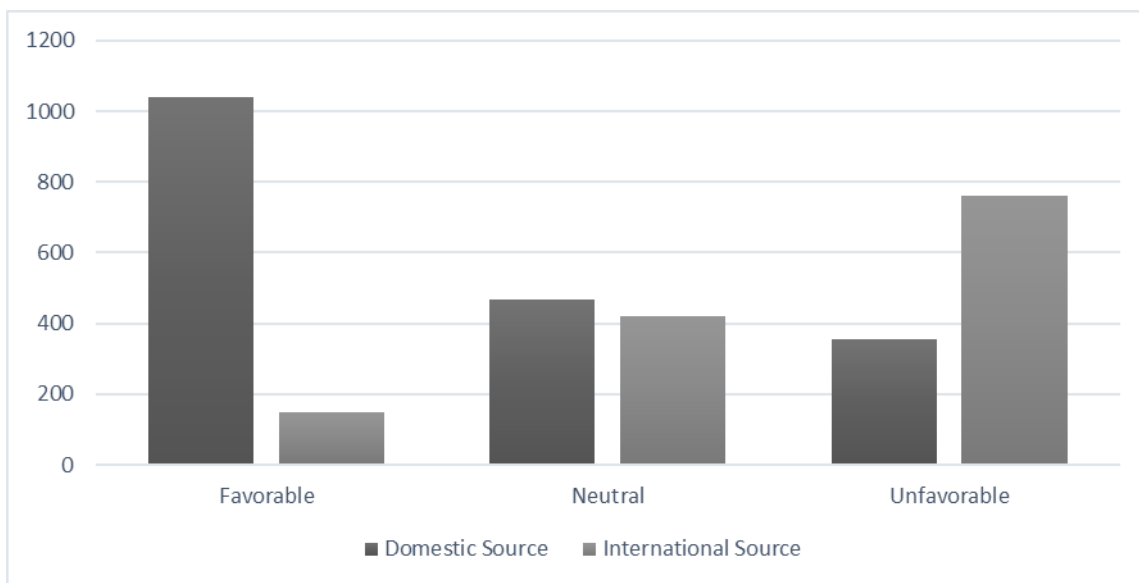

Figure 8. Domestic and International sources and their stance on the Bush administration's policy in news stories. The figure presents a number of Domestic and International sources and their stance about Iraq policy from each source category in stories about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

Another study offers data on media sources in the month before my research starts. Media research organization the Center for Media and Public Affairs found out that between July 1, 2002 and August 25, 2002, 73% of sources quoted on ABC, CBS, and NBC news programs were critical towards the Bush administration's plans in Iraq. Similarly, 71% of the

sources quoted in the New York Times voiced opposition. Even 53% even of members of the Republican Party quoted were critical.[86]

4.5 Directional Thrust of the Stories

The last part of the research was to analyze the "directional thrust" of the articles for each newspaper title separately as well as for both of them together.

As is shown in the Figure 9, in both of the analyzed newspaper titles more than one third of the articles on the front pages about Iraq were neutral. In case of The Washington Post, the neutral articles accounted for 38.6%, in The New York Times even 39.9%. Favorably oriented stories in both cases prevailed over the unfavorable ones. In The Washington Post 31.4% over 30.0% and in The New York Times 34.5% over 25.6%. The margin is higher in the case of the New York Times. However, it still is not enough to declare them as favorable towards the Bush administration. The difference was only 20 articles in real numbers and most of the stories were coded as neutral.
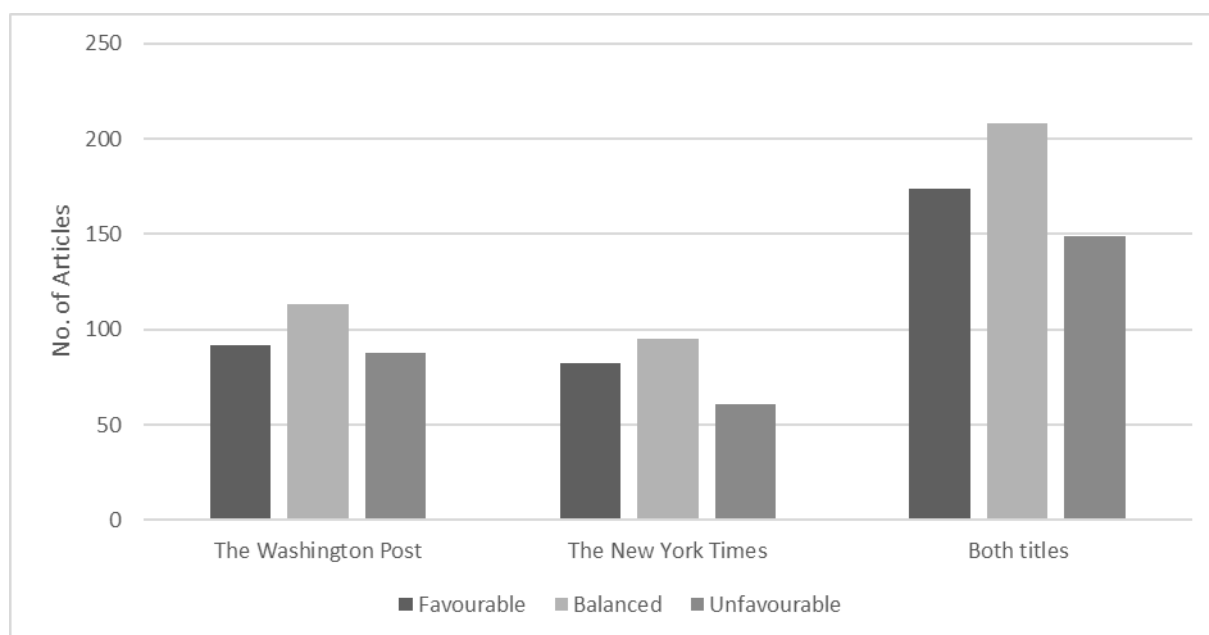

Figure 9. Directional thrust of the articles towards the Bush administration's policy in news stories. The figure presents a number of Favorable, Balanced and Unfavorable stories towards the Iraq policy of the Bush administration of about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

---

[86] Entman, page 428.

If we look at the favorable and unfavorable stories over time (Figure 10), we see a rising trend in both. However, in case of favorable group the change in time showed to be more significant. Noticeable is also the rise in favorable stories and the fall in number of unfavorable ones in November 2002. Almost half (47.1%) of them were favorable and only 15.7% unfavorable.
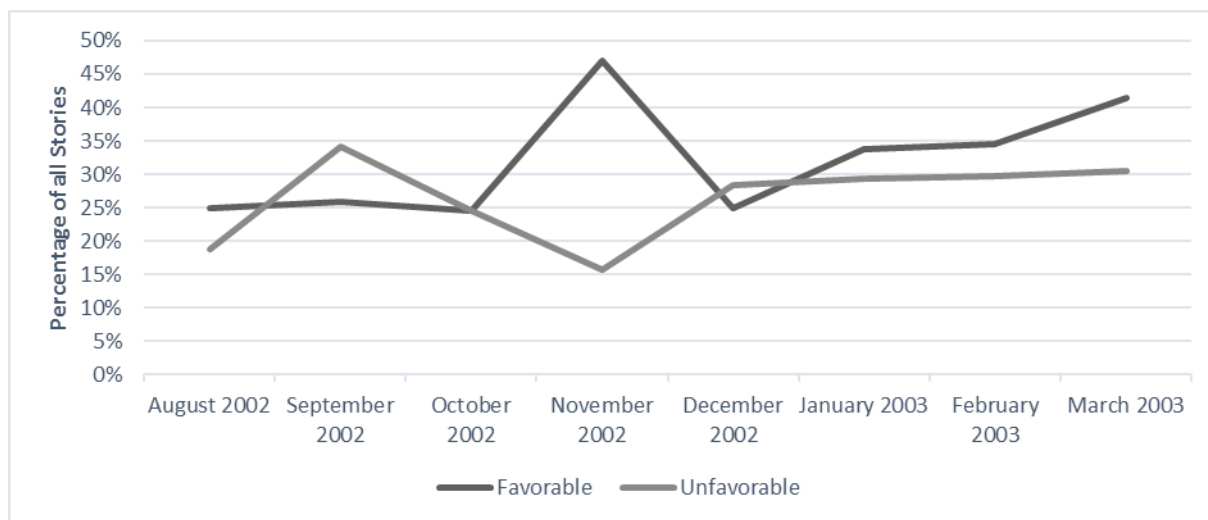

Figure 10. Directional thrust of the articles towards the Bush administration's policy in news stories over time. The figure presents a number of Favorable and Unfavorable stories towards the Iraq policy of the Bush administration of about Iraq on the front pages of The Washington Times and The New York Times from August 1, 2002, until March 19, 2003.

4.6 Discussion

The New York Times and The Washington Post coverage of the possible Iraq invasion corresponded with major political events. The domestic debate in Congress over resolution finished in October, at the beginning of November, the Bush administration managed to gain support of the Security Council for Resolution 1441, after that the resumption of weapons inspections, and in 2003 the military preparations became the hot topic. The topics mainly followed the debate on the domestic political scene and then on the international scene. The journalists usually turn to more "newsworthy" events.

The research results show that the official sources were used more often than other sources. This can be explained by the need of the reporting to follow the development of the story over time. Journalists prefer governmental sources because of their influence and

power.[87] These people are able to change the outcome of the situation. That was probably the reason for quoting the Bush administration much more than, for example, anti-war groups.

Another possible explanation of using dominantly official sources is that they are viewed as reliable and significant. Stories based on information from powerful organizations or individuals are perceived as legitimate and newsworthy. Also, by reporting the opinions of elected officials, the media appears to fulfil their role of making officials accountable to public.[88]

The indexing hypothesis offers an explanation of the coverage of the official U.S. sources. The data from my research support this hypothesis. The coverage of different viewpoints among the U.S. elites was higher before the congressional resolution than after. When consensus in Congress was reached, the media did not offer the opposing voices of the defeated Congressman in any significant amount.[89] However, that is true only in case of the domestic debate, not the international political scene.

The spike in international dissent is a sign that the journalists just didn´t act as propaganda of the Bush administration. They needed to fill the void left from the consensus on the domestic scene. The opposite voices in the U.S. Congress were probably not strong and loud enough and the resolution was passed already. The journalists tried to balance the pro-war narrative of the domestic elites with the international opposition. I can therefore argue that the media did not fail in the aspect of balance reporting of the debate. They still reported both sides of the story. However, after the congressional resolution, they saw the current debate shift towards the international scene. As Groshek put it *"once Congressional consensus increased with the passage of the resolution, journalists sought out elite voices in the international community where consensus was not reached and to where the debate ostensibly moved."*[90]

The difference between domestic and foreign sources that opposed the Iraq policy of the Bush administration is significant. Scholars do not agree on whether using sources from abroad has positive, negative or none impact on public opinion about U.S. foreign policy. For example, Jonathan Mermin claims that *"foreign critics of U.S. foreign policy do not have much credibility to an American audience. Foreign critics, as a rule, do not phrase arguments in terms that speak to American interests or concerns and often argue in ways that are bound*

---

[87] Danny Hayes, "'The News Anew? Political Coverage in a Transformed Media Age.'" in *New directions in media and politics*, ed. Travis N. Ridout (New York: Routledge, 2013), 197.
[88] McCullagh and Campling, page 67.
[89] For more about coverage before and after the Congressional resolution see: Groshek
[90] Groshek, page 333.

to strike Americans as outrageous, irrational, or simply bizarre. ... Offered the choice of an American position and a foreign position, most Americans prefer to be on the American side."[91] Similar view offers also Robert M. Entman in his book *"Projections of power"*. According to him, foreign sources are *"people whom Americans Might well discount, mistrust, or ignore entirely. ... The political culture encourages Americans to disregard foreign criticism of the United States"*[92]

On the other hand, Hayes and Guardiano argued that even though foreign sources would not be perceived in line with American interests, *"the citizens who were most likely to be exposed to and to comprehend foreign dissent"*[93] could be influenced by foreign opinions especially in foreign policy debates. They tested this hypothesis on coverage of the Iraq war debate on television news. They found out that *"a substantial group responded to non-U.S. dissent about the wisdom of a U.S. foreign policy proposal."*[94] However, that does not mean that domestic opposition can be replaced by international dissent. Foreign officials are not seen as credible as U.S. politicians and therefore have not enough power to play significant role in policy responsiveness.[95] Benjamin Page also shares this view. He points out that statements and actions from foreign countries "seldom speak directly and unambiguously to the public; rather they affect public opinion mostly through the interpretations and reactions of U.S. elites."[96]

According to my research, that the journalists did not write articles only supportive of the Bush administration. In majority of the stories they mentioned the dissent and used opposing sources, therefore pushing the overall ranking of the story towards neutral. I therefore cannot agree with the accusations towards journalists that the opposition voices were silenced.

Some authors asked the What if …? Hayes and Guardino speculate that antiwar opinions from foreign leaders would have more credibility, if they were supported by some U.S. elites. If the media outlets gave more space to domestic anti-war voices, it would lead to

---

[91] Jonathan Mermin, *Debating War and Peace: Media Coverage of U.S. Intervention in the Post-Vietnam Era* (United States: Princeton University Press, 1999), 13–14, ProQuest ebrary.

[92] Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 55.

[93] Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino, "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 4 (June 13, 2011): 842, accessed July 20, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23025123.

[94] Hayes and Guardiano, "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion," page 842.

[95] Ibid., page 847.

[96] Benjamin I. Page, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Glenn R. Dempsey, "What Moves Public Opinion?," *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 1 (March 1987): 38, accessed July 18, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1960777.

more Americans opposing the war in public opinion polls and this *"could have imposed significant political pressures on the White House that at least may have delayed the attack, or helped to trigger swifter action by members of Congress to hold the administration accountable for alleged mistakes"*[97] On the other hand, others claim that the press is not so powerful and no amount of critical coverage would avert this war.

4.7 Comparison of the results to the study of Iraq coverage by television networks

The printed and broadcast media are strongly connected. Newspapers or print journalists remain a frequent reference point for rival news media. Broadcast news programmes cover stories from the newspapers and often use journalists as source of the comments. Scholars and other interested groups studied the issue of difference of political coverage between various media outlets - electronic (TV and radio) and print news outlets (newspapers and magazines).

According to some researchers, newspaper coverage is quantitatively and qualitatively superior in political issues than television news. In other words, newspapers produce "relatively expansive and superior information that leads to a more informed electorate." [98] Also, because television and radio have limited time for each story, the source diversity is reduced and the journalists rely more on official sources.[99] Quite widespread opinion *"sees television as a bane and newspapers as a boon for democratic functioning."*[100]

In this part of my thesis, I compare my research results with theirs and find out, whether there were any major differences between the reporting of newspaper journalists and television news and whether the results support these claims. The study was conducted on the coverage of the possible Iraq invasion on television networks by Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino in 2010. They studied evening news on three television channels, ABC, CBS, and NBC between August 1, 2002 and March 19, 2003. They coded every evening news story, 1,434 in total, by similar codes as I did in my research.[101]

---

[97] Hayes and Guardiano, "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion," page 847

[98] James N. Druckman, "Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters," *Political Communication* 22, no. 4 (October 2005): 463, accessed July 20, 2016, http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/~jnd260/pub/Druckman%20PolComm%202005a.pdf.

[99] Richard Watts and Jonathan Maddison, "Print News Uses More Source Diversity Than Does Broadcast," *Newspaper Research Journal* 35, no. 3 (2014): 109, accessed July 22, 2016, http://nrj.sagepub.com/content/35/3/107.full.pdf..

[100] Druckman, page 476.

[101] As I already mentioned, I was inspired by their research and their system of coding the stories.

The main focus categories were slightly different from my research. They divided topics into more specified categories. The percentages could not be compared because of this fact, but we can assess the ranking of each topic. Despite this fact, the ranking of topics ended very similarly. The main topic of television news, more than one fifth (22%), was UN weapons inspections. As second ended International support and third Military planning with less than 15%. Noticeable difference could be seen in the topic Debate over invasion. In my research it ranked much lower.

In the change in topics over time, they identified the same topics and the change in coverage as my research. That was expected, because the explanation has to be the same - changes in the debate and new statements by officials.

The results about the sources of the quotes were more complex. Hayes and Guardiano used more categories of sources. However, many of them did not appear in my articles at all or just once and were included in my research under the category Other. Overall, they reported that of all the 6,089 sources 34% of the statements were supportive, 37% were neutral and 29% opposed. Even though the highest percentage of the quotes belonged to the supportive group, the margin is not extremely significant. In the newspapers the differences between the favorable, neutral and unfavorable were minimal.

The various source categories showed significant differences. In both cases, the members Bush administration was the most used sources of information. However, in television news, the second most common category turned out to be Iraqi sources and only the third ended the Foreign sources.

The results of the Directional Thrust are harder to compare because of different methods used in coding of the analyzed stories. They used five categories distinguishing the directional thrust of each story - "very unfavorable", "somewhat unfavorable", "neutral", "somewhat favorable, and "very favorable".

Their results show differences in coverage by ABC and the other two networks, CBS and NBC. Two-thirds of Iraq coverage on ABC was neutral, and just 5% represented "very favorable" or "very unfavorable" stories. On the other hand, CBS and NBC did not adhere to adhere to the norms of journalistic objectivity. Less than 50% of stories on these channels could be classified as neutral. *"CBS coverage, in particular, frequently exhibited a "march to war" tone, in which the invasion was portrayed as inevitable or even necessary."*[102] Compared to the newspapers, the ABC network was even more balanced. Even though the

---

[102] Hayes and Guardiano, "Who views made the news", page 76.

CBS and NBC approximately the same percentage of neutral stories, the share of the favorable stories was much higher. If we compare both newspaper and all three television networks, they had a higher percentage of balanced stories, but also a higher percentage of favorable stories and much lower percentage of unfavorable stories.

From comparing all of the categories, I could argue that newspapers were more balanced than the television networks. However, comparing two content analysis is difficult and unreliable. Each research had different categories and standards of coding. Therefore, we need to take this conclusion only as tentative.

After analyzing the results, I can argue that the journalists of these two elite newspapers adhered to the notion of balanced reporting, mainly thanks to using foreign sources. The difference between favorable and unfavorable articles was not significant. Moreover, most of the stories referred to both sides of the debate, therefore balancing the coverage. This gives more ground to people that see the failure more in U.S. political elites.

So did the media fail if they produced quite balanced reports about the events prior to the war? From the results of my research is clear that the coverage was balanced and not only pro-administration sources were quoted. It can be said that the media coverage in my two cases was objective in the simple definition of objectivity, as fair, balanced, and neutral reporting. However, I cannot disregard the qualitative studies and evidence for the media failure from other authors. The media fulfilled the norm of balance, but not the norm of objectivity more complex definition that encompasses other rules for objective reporting. The journalists were not committed to fulfill the qualitative part of the objectivity approach – the accuracy, factuality and completeness.[103] Balanced news reporting is not enough to fulfill the norms of the journalistic conduct. The journalists should aim towards truthful, accurate and sincere coverage. This cannot be substituted for balance and fairness. *"The mantra of balanced and fair reporting is most definitely subordinate to the principle of truthful reporting no matter how one-sided that is."*[104]

---

[103] Michael Ryan, "Mainstream News Media, an Objective Approach, and the March to War in Iraq," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 21, no. 1 (2006), accessed July 23, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327728jmme2101_2.
[104] Jackie Harrison, *News* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005), 148.

Conclusion

The mass media coverage of the debate about the invasion to Iraq in 2003 and the military action itself remains an important topic of discussion not only among scholars, but also in the U.S. society. Many people criticize the media for not fulfilling the journalistic norms and roles in society. Some of the journalists and editors talked about their work during that time and admitted their wrongdoings. Two of the biggest national newspapers published mea culpa articles and apologized. There are many arguments the critics are using in pointing out, where the media made mistakes. For example, they blamed the media for abandoning their role in the society and failing to fulfill journalistic norms of conduct. They claim that the reporters did not challenge the government about their claims, were actively suppressing dissenting voices.

In this thesis, I examine the balance and fairness of two national newspapers, The New York Times and The Washington Post. This thesis uses the normative theories of mass media. Especially the concept of objectivity and its model that encompasses several criteria of journalistic conduct, such as factualness, truth, neutrality and also balance, which is the main object of my research. I utilize the quantitative content analysis of the front page articles of these two newspapers and try to answer my research questions and hypothesis.

My first research question was, what were the most written about topic in articles related to the invasion to Iraq. The results showed that most articles dealt with weapons inspections, the United Nations or the international views. However, there were differences during the examined period. This can be explained by the fact, that the journalists followed the most recent events.

Next, I assessed the type of sources the journalists used. The most cited sources were the members of the Bush administration and also sources from foreign countries. I also measured, how many of these sources were favorable, unfavorable or neutral towards the Bush administration. My hypothesis was that according to the accusations, there should be significantly more sources advocating the opinions of the Bush administration than criticizing it. This hypothesis was not confirmed, because even though most of the sources were favorable, the margins between the percentage of favorable, neutral and unfavorable sources was minimal. Similarly, the second part of my hypothesis, that most of the articles would be favorable towards the Bush administration was not correct. Most of the articles were balanced, i.e. used either

neutral sources or sources from both sides of the debate. Also, the difference between favorable and unfavorable articles was not significant.

I also compared my results with similar research on television news programmes. The results were only indicative, but showed that The New York Times and The Washington Post newspapers were more balanced than NBS and CBS, but not more than ABC.

The comparison of domestic and international sources showed, that after the Congressional resolution passed in October, the debate on the domestic political scene ceased to exist. The journalists found the opposite voices in the international debate.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the journalists adhered to the norm of balanced reporting. The accusation, that there were no voices opposite of the Bush administration are therefore false. The foreign leaders fulfilled this role. Other question is, what influence have the foreign voices over the U.S. public opinion. According to many scholars, the effect is not significant, if it is not supported by domestic political elites.

The conclusion of my research can be summed up as follows. The newspapers' coverage was balanced from the sources point of view. However, the concept of objectivity encompasses other aspects which were not fulfilled. Reporting both sides of the story cannot surpass the norms of truthfulness and accuracy. Fair and balanced reporting is not enough.

Shrnutí

Informování o možné invazi do Iráku i samotné vojenské akci v roce 2003 zůstává ve Spojených Státech Amerických důležitým tématem diskusí nejen mezi akademiky, ale také ve společnosti. Mnozí lidé kritizují média, protože podle nich nesplnila novinářské normy a role ve společnosti. Někteří novináři a editoři hovořili o své práci v té době a přiznali svá provinění. Dvoje z největších celostátních novin publikovaly články přiznávající jejich chyby a omluvily se. Existuje mnoho argumentů, které používají kritici při poukazování na chyby médií. Například obviňují novináře, že reportéři nebyli dostatečně skeptičtí vůči vládním prohlášením a dokonce že aktivně potlačovali nesouhlasné názory vůči vládě.

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá rovnováhou reportáží ve dvou celostátních denících, The New York Times a The Washington Post. Tato práce využívá normativní

teorie masových médií. Obzvláště koncept objektivity a jejího modelu, který zahrnuje několik kritérií novinářské práce, jako je například věcné zpravodajství, pravda, neutralita a právě vyváženost, která je hlavním předmětem mého výzkumu. Práce je založena na kvantitativní obsahové analýze článků z titulních stran těchto dvou novin a snaží se odpovědět na předem stanovené výzkumné otázky a hypotézy.

Moje první výzkumná otázka byla, o jakých tématech nejvíce psaly noviny ve článcích souvisejících s invazí do Iráku. Výsledky ukázaly, že většina článků se zabývala kontrolami zbrojení, Organizací spojených národů nebo mezinárodními názory. Ve zkoumaném období se objevily rozdíly v množství zpráv na tato témata. To lze vysvětlit skutečností, že novináři sledovali a psali o nejnovějších událostech.

Dále byly hodnoceny typy zdrojů použitých novináři. Nejvíce citovanými zdroji byly členové Bushovy administrativy a také zdroje ze zahraničí. Také jsem měřila, kolik z těchto zdrojů bylo příznivých, nepříznivých nebo neutrálních vůči Bushově administrativě. Má hypotéza byla, že v souladu s obviněními by mělo být výrazně více zdrojů hájících stanoviska Bushovy administrativy než těch kritických. Tato hypotéza se nepotvrdila, protože i když většina z těchto zdrojů byla příznivých, rozdíl mezi procentem příznivých, neutrálních a nepříznivých zdrojů byl minimální. Podobně, druhá část mé hypotézy, která tvrdila, že většina článků by měla být příznivá vůči Bushově administrativě, nebyla správná. Většina článků byla vyvážená, tj. citovala buď neutrální zdroje, nebo zdroje z obou stran debaty. Také rozdíl mezi příznivými a nepříznivými články nebyl významný.

Také jsem porovnávala své výsledky s podobným výzkumem o programech televizních zpráv. Výsledky mohou být brány pouze jako orientační, ale srovnání ukázalo, že The New York Times a Washington Post byly vyrovnanější než NBS a CBS, ale ne více než ABC.

Ze srovnání domácích a mezinárodních zdrojů vyplynulo, že po rezoluci Kongresu v říjnu 2002 debata na domácí politické scéně přestala existovat. Novináři zjistili, že nesouhlasné názory mohou najít na mezinárodní scéně.

Proto lze dojít k závěru, že novináři dodrželi normu vyváženého zpravodajství. Obvinění, že informovali pouze o názorech Bushovy administrativy a žádných opozičních, jsou proto nepravdivá. Zahraniční představitelé splnili tuto úlohu. Další otázkou je, jaký vliv mají cizí hlasy na veřejné mínění v USA. Podle mnoha vědců efekt není významný, pokud není podporován ze strany domácích politických elit.

Závěr mého výzkumu lze shrnout následovně. Zpravodajství v novinách bylo vyvážené z hlediska použitých zdrojů. Nicméně pojetí objektivity zahrnuje další aspekty, které nebyly splněny. Dát prostor oběma stranám problému nemůže překonat normy pravdivosti a přesnosti. Spravedlivé a vyvážené zpravodajství nestačí.

Sources

Alterman, Eric. *What Liberal Media? The Truth about Bias and the News*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2003.

Althaus, Scott L, Jill A Edy, and Patricia F Phalen. "Using Substitutes for Full-Text News Stories in Content Analysis: Which Text Is Best?" *American Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 3 (July 2001): 707–23. Accessed July 5, 2016. doi:10.2307/2669247. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2669247.

Altschull, Herbert J. and J. Herbert Altschull. *Agents of Power*. New York: Longman, 1984.

BBC. "Millions Join Global Anti-War Protests." *BBC Europe* (BBC News), February 17, 2003. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2765215.stm.

BBC. "Protesters Stage Anti-War Rally." *BBC* (BBC News), September 28, 2002. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_politics/2285861.stm.

Bennett, W. Lance. "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communication* 40, no. 2 (June 1990): 103–27. Accessed July 16, 2016. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228018538_Toward_a_Theory_of_Press-State_Relations_in_the_US.

Berman, Ari. "The Postwar Post." June 29, 2015. Accessed July 28, 2016. https://www.thenation.com/article/postwar-post/.

Bush, George W. *Address to the United Nations General Assembly by President George W. Bush*. n.p.: U.S. Department of State, 2002. http://www.state.gov/p/io/potusunga/207557.htm.

Bush, George W. *President Bush Addresses the Nation*. n.p., 2003. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html.

Bush, George W. *President Delivers "state of the union."* n.p., 2003. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html.

Bush, George W. *The President's State of the Union Address*. n.p., 2002. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html.

Chan, Sue. "Massive Anti-War Outpouring." February 16, 2003. Accessed July 2, 2016. http://www.cbsnews.com/news/massive-anti-war-outpouring/.

Chomsky, Noam. "What Makes Mainstream Media Mainstream." October 1997. Accessed July 29, 2016. https://chomsky.info/199710__/.

Christians, Clifford G, Theodore L Glasser, and Dennis McQuail. *The History of Communication: Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies*. United States: University of Illinois Press, 2014. ProQuest ebrary.

Cloud, David S and Marc Champion. "Powell Lays out Evidence of Alleged Iraqi Deception." *The Wall Streat Journal* (The Wall Streat Journal), February 6, 2003. http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1044455044777053053.

Commission on Freedom of the Press. *A Free and Responsible Press*. Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1947. https://archive.org/details/freeandresponsib029216mbp.

Dadge, David and Danny Schechter. *The War in Iraq and Why the Media Failed Us*. United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.

Dimaggio, Anthony R. *Mass Media, Mass Propaganda: Examining American News in the "war on terror."* United States: Lexington Books, 2008.

Dobbs, Michael. "At Council, Political Theater." *The Washington Post*, February 6, 2003. http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/washingtonpost/doc/409400883.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS= ABS:FT&date=Feb+6%2C+2003&author=Dobbs%2C+Michael&pub=The+Washingto n+Post&edition=&startpage=A.01&desc=At+Council%2C+Political+Theater.

Druckman, James N. "Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters." *Political Communication* 22, no. 4 (October 2005): 463–81. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/~jnd260/pub/Druckman%20PolComm%202005a.p df.

ElBaradei, Mohamed. "The Status of Nuclear Inspections in Iraq: An Update." March 7, 2003. Accessed July 10, 2016. https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/statements/status-nuclear-inspections-iraq-update.

Entman, Robert M. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Finnegan, Lisa and Norman Solomon. *No Questions Asked: News Coverage Since 9/11*. United States: Praeger Publishers, 2006.

Fortner, Robert S. and Mark P. Fackler, eds. *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory, 2 Volume Set*. United States: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014. Proquest ebrary.

Gallup Europe. *International Crisis Survey 21st- 27th of January 2003*. n.p.: Gallup Europe, 2003. http://www.paks.uni-duesseldorf.de/Dokumente/International-Crisis-Survey_Rapport-Final.pdf.

Groshek, Jacob. "Coverage of the Pre-Iraq War Debate as a Case Study of Frame Indexing." *Media, War & Conflict* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 2008): 315–38. Accessed July 22, 2016. http://mwc.sagepub.com/content/1/3/315.full.pdf+html.

The Guardian. "Hans Blix's Briefing to the Security Council." *The Guardian* (The Guardian), February 14, 2003. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/14/iraq.unitednations1.

Guback, Thomas G., William E. Berry, and Robert W. McChesney. *Last Rights: Revisiting "Four theories of the press."* Edited by John Nerone. United States: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Hallin, Daniel C. *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Proquest ebrary.

Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. ProQuest ebrary.

Hamilton, James T. *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*. United States: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Harrison, Jackie. *News*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005.

H.J.Res.114 - 107th congress (2001-2002): Authorization for use of military force against Iraq resolution of 2002, 2002.

Hayes, Danny. "'The News Anew? Political Coverage in a Transformed Media Age.'" In *New directions in media and politics*, edited by Travis N. Ridout, 193–209. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Hayes, Danny and Matt Guardino. "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 4 (June 13, 2011): 831–51. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23025123.

Hayes, Danny and Matt Guardino. "Whose Views Made the News? Media Coverage and the March to War in Iraq." *Political Communication* 27, no. 1 (January 29, 2010): 59–87. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10584600903502615.

IAEA. "Relationship with the United Nations." April 7, 2016. Accessed July 22, 2016. https://www.iaea.org/technicalcooperation/Partnerships/Relation-UN/index.html.

Jefferson, Thomas. *To Edward Carrington Paris, Jan. 16, 1787.*, January 16, 1787. Letter. http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl52.php.

Katovsky, Bill and Timothy Carlson. *Embedded: The Media at War in Iraq - an Oral History*. United States: The Lyons Press, 2005.

Koehler, Elisabeth M. "Watchdog Concept." In *History of the mass media in the United States: An encyclopedia*, edited by Margaret A. Blanchard, 691–92. United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis, 2013.

Kull, Steven, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Levis. "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War." *Political Science Quarterly* 118, no. 4 (2003): 569–98. Accessed July 25, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30035697.

Kurtz, Howard. "The Post on WMDs: An Inside Story." *Washington Post*, 2004. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A58127-2004Aug11.html.

Lacy, Stephan, Frederick Fico, and Todd F. Simon. "Fairness and Balance in the Prestige Press." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 1, 1991): 363–70. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds.

Lawrence, Regina G. "Indexing." *Oxford Bibliographies Online Datasets* April 24, 2012,. Accessed July 24, 2016. http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0090.xml.

Lehmann, Ingrid A. "Exploring the Transatlantic Media Divide over Iraq: How and Why U.S. And German Media Differed in Reporting on UN Weapons Inspections in Iraq, 2002-2003." *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 63–89. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://hij.sagepub.com/content/10/1/63.short.

Lewine, Fran. "Global Rallies Protest Possible U.S. War on Iraq." *CNN* (CNN), October 26, 2004. http://edition.cnn.com/2002/US/10/26/us.iraq/.

Lewis, Justin, Rod Brookes, Nick Mosdell, and Terry Threadgold. *Shoot First and Ask Questions Later: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War (media and Culture Series #7), Vol. 7*. New York: Lang, Peter Publishing, 2006.

McCullagh, Ciaran and Jo Campling. *Media Power: A Sociological Introduction*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

McQuail, Denis. *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications, 1983.

McQuail, Denis. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 5th ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005.

McQuail, Denis. *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. London: Sage Publications UK, 1992.

Mermin, Jonathan. *Debating War and Peace: Media Coverage of U.S. Intervention in the Post-Vietnam Era*. United States: Princeton University Press, 1999. ProQuest ebrary.

Milton, John. *AREOPAGITICA*. n.p., 1644. Accessed July 12, 2016. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/608/608-h/608-h.htm.

O'Brien, David M. *Congress Shall Make No Law: The First Amendment, Unprotected Expression, and the U.S. Supreme Court*. United States: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. ProQuest ebrary.

Page, Benjamin I., Robert Y. Shapiro, and Glenn R. Dempsey. "What Moves Public Opinion?" *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 1 (March 1987): 23–44. Accessed July 18, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1960777.

Richburg, Keith B. "Key Allies Not Won over by Powell." *The Washington Post*, February 7, 2003. http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/washingtonpost/doc/409406870.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS= ABS:FT&date=Feb+7%2C+2003&author=Richburg%2C+Keith+B&pub=The+Washin gton+Post&edition=&startpage=A.01&desc=Key+Allies+Not+Won+Over+by+Powell.

Riff, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2014. ProQuest Ebrary.

Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick Fico. *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013. ProQuest ebrary.

Rutenberg, Jim and Robin Toner. "A NATION AT WAR: THE NEWS MEDIA; Critics of Iraq War Say Lack of Scrutiny Helped Administration to Press Its Case." *U.S.* (The New York Times), March 22, 2003. http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/22/us/nation-war-media-critics-iraq-war-say-lack-scrutiny-helped-administration-press.html.

Ryan, Michael. "Mainstream News Media, an Objective Approach, and the March to War in Iraq." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 21, no. 1 (2006): 4–29. Accessed July 23, 2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327728jmme2101_2.

Schiffers, Steve. "US Names 'coalition of the willing.'" *BBC Americas* (BBC News), March 18, 2003. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2862343.stm.

Siebert, Fredrick Seaton S, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do*. 13th ed. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, c1956, 1978 printing, 1963.

Smith, Caroline and James M Lindsay. "Rally 'Round the Flag: Opinion in the United States Before and After the Iraq War." *Brookings* (The Brookings Institution), 2003. http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2003/06/summer-iraq-lindsay.

Taylor, Rachel S. "The United Nations, International Law, and the War in Iraq." *World Press Review*, n.d. http://www.worldpress.org/specials/iraq/.

The New York Times. *FROM THE EDITORS; The Times and Iraq*. (The New York Times), May 26, 2004. http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/26/world/from-the-editors-the-times-and-iraq.html?_r=0.

Resolution 1441 (2002), 2002. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1441(2002).

United States Senate. "U.S. Senate: Roll Call Vote." January 27, 2015. Accessed July 29, 2016. http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress= 107&session=2&vote=00237.

Ward, Stephen J A. *Global Journalism Ethics*. United States: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014. Proquest ebrary.

Watts, Richard and Jonathan Maddison. "Print News Uses More Source Diversity Than Does Broadcast." *Newspaper Research Journal* 35, no. 3 (2014): 107–18. Accessed July 22, 2016. http://nrj.sagepub.com/content/35/3/107.full.pdf.

Westerståhl, Jörgen. "Objective News Reporting: General Premises." *Communication Research* 10, no. 3 (July 1, 1983): 403–24. Accessed July 22, 2016. http://crx.sagepub.com/content/10/3/403.full.pdf+html.

Wimmer, Roger D. and Joseph R Dominick. *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. 9th ed. Boston, MA: Cengage- Wadsworth, 2010.

"FINAL VOTE RESULTS FOR ROLL CALL 455." October 10, 2002. Accessed July 15, 2016. http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2002/roll455.xml.

"Standards and Ethics." 2016. Accessed July 25, 2016. http://www.nytco.com/who-we-are/culture/standards-and-ethics/.

"The Washington Post Standards and Ethics." Accessed July 29, 2016. http://asne.org/content.asp?contentid=335.

"Abrams v. United States 250 U.S. 616 (1919)," n.d.

"United States v. Rumely 345 U.S. 41 (1953)," n.d.

List of Figures