

**How Saudi Arabian Newspapers Depicted the September 11
Attacks**

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Abstract

The terrorist attacks of September eleventh two thousand and one, occupied a prominent place in the public media all over the world, and constituted a historical turning point in relations between the Western world and the Arab world. The consequence of this turning point was a change in Saudi-American relations; the mutual trust which had been forged in the past had been jeopardised.

The acute tensions had arisen because many American pundits accused Saudi Arabia of being responsible for the attacks. The Saudi newspapers dealt extensively with the September events and its consequences on the Saudi society.

This study aims to measure the degree of diplomatic and political concern expressed by Saudi journalists and writers concerning the September eleventh event. The Thesis will also examine the influence the newspaper reports had on changes in opinion. These changes will be analysed, and this analysis will identify any changes that may have taken place in attitudes towards the United States of America and American culture.

This study spans the three-month period that followed 9/11, It examines relevant articles that appeared in Saudi newspapers. To explore and analyse the writers'

viewpoints, eight newspapers were selected for content analysis and these yielded four hundred and thirty one relevant articles. The results reported indicate that the findings of this thesis show that many factors can be attributed to the literature of the Saudi Press.

The thesis provides an indication of the importance that the September attacks had on Saudi newspapers, not only the influence on the newspapers themselves but also the journalists and writers of the selected newspapers. It is clear that when the events were published that the events had been reported in a consistent and objective manner, which had direct correlation to the gender and nationality of writers.

This thesis offers an account of a topic which received very little attention over the last decade. The results of this thesis were generated based on objective methods which indicate that they are reliable.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

The terrorist attacks of September eleventh two thousand and one, occupied a prominent place in the public media all over the world, and constituted a historical turning point in relations between the Western world and the Arab world. The consequence of this turning point was a change in Saudi-American relations; the mutual trust which had been forged in the past had been jeopardised.

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This study spans the three-month period that followed 9/11, It examines relevant articles that appeared in Saudi newspapers. To explore and analyse the writers' viewpoints, eight newspapers were selected for content analysis and these yielded four hundred and thirty one relevant articles. The results reported indicate that the findings of this thesis show that many factors can be attributed to the literature of the Saudi Press.

The thesis provides an indication of the importance that the September attacks had on Saudi newspapers, not only the influence on the newspapers themselves but also the journalists and writers of the selected newspapers. It is clear that when the events were published that the events had been reported in a consistent and objective manner, which had direct correlation to the gender and nationality of writers.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows: Part 1-1 states the research questions, part 1-2 outlines the adopted methodologies for addressing research questions, part 1- 3 defines the scope of the study, part 1-4 identifies the originality and importance of the study and part 1-5 is the organization of the thesis.

1-1 Research questions

This study is concerned with addressing the implications of the September 11th events on Saudi journalism. The September attacks had tremendous effects on the newspapers dealing with coverage of the event, the attitudes and judgments of writers from the Saudi newspapers varied in consistency.

Many newspapers adopted policies and attitudes that accused Arabs and Muslims of being anti democratic and against liberalism, whilst other writers classified the suicide bombers as martyrs and blamed the United States itself for the attacks.

Various media campaigns were launched predominantly by Western media companies; these campaigns consisted of an attempt to frame a rough picture of Islam to their public. At the same time, newspapers and media channels owned by Muslim countries and groups attempted to illustrate what they believed to be the true image of Islam. This discrepancy and difference in viewpoints came to be more evident in the war the United States launched against Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 in what it called the 'War on terrorism'. In the light of this argument, this study addresses the following main research question:

How did the writers and journalists in the Saudi newspapers frame the 9/11 terrorist attacks?

Relating to this main question, these sub-questions are raised:

- What are the most frequent topics that dominated the Saudi newspapers during the September 11 events?
- Which position did Saudi journalists and writers hold during the crisis? This question is concerned with identifying the attitudes of the journalists and writers during the September events. More importantly this questions whether they were for or against the attacks. The study investigates whether the accusations of the Saudi newspapers supporting terrorism are true.
- Is there a correlation between gender and the issues covered by journalists? The idea is that the Saudi society is always described as a male-dominated society, where women's views are traditionally seen as shallow and insignificant. Political writing has always been associated with male writers since the initial developments of the Saudi press. It becomes important thus to see whether this is the case in relation to the September attacks.
- Is there any relationship between the nationality of the writer and the political views

he or she holds? Saudi newspapers make it possible for non-Saudi writers to write for them, the question is raised therefore between the relationship of nationality and ideological perceptions.

In order to address these questions, eight Saudi newspapers and their contents have been analysed, this analysis took place during the three months that followed the September attacks.

These dimensions are considered:

The issues that were dealt with by writers

The study classifies the articles according to the issues that were discussed by the writers. These include political, economic, religious, security, social, cultural, and other. The idea is to identify which category was given more attention. The study also investigates whether the discussion of the September attacks were related to any of other issues such as the Arab- Israeli conflict, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, or the conflict in Kashmir.

Gender

Writers are classified in relation to their sex. The idea is to see whether gender has

any correlation with the issues raised by the writers.

Nationality

Writers are classified in relation to nationality , Arab includes writers from other countries other than Saudi Arabia and foreign includes all other nationalities.

The position of the writers

The study identifies the position of each writer in the given period based on his writing. The position of the writer is described as one of the following

No change

Ever changing

Partially changing

Completely changing

Positive

Negative

The attitude of the writers

The study attempts to identify the attitude of the writers towards the attacks.

Needless to say, many writers especially the Saudi ones have been accused of supporting the September attacks. The attitude of the writers is classified under one of these categories:

- Strongly supporting
- Supporting
- Neutral
- Not supporting
- Strongly not supporting

Objectives of the writers

Objectives of the writers are identified as one of the following:

- Religious goals
- Humanitarian goals
- Call for protecting human right
- Call for democracy
- Call for peace and justice
- To condemn the position of international bodies

- To criticize the United States stances towards the Arab issues
- Criticism of the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues
- Criticism of extremism and terrorism
- Clarifying and improving the image of Islam

Discourse tools

The study investigates the kind of discourse writers adopt whether that be objective or subjective discourse. Analysis is concerned with investigating elements of arguments, statistics, figures, quotes, and reports employed by writers; these can be indications of objective discourse.

Analysis is also concerned with whether writers discuss and mention facts which should be relevant. If the writer chooses to ignore important facts or only focuses on one aspect, this too can be an indicator for classifying the content under any of the two categories objective or subjective.

The material location

Given that the material location is an indication of its importance, this thesis is concerned with the material location to see how important was the event to the selected newspapers. The study examines whether the material is on the front page, inside pages, or last pages. The relationship between the writer's nationality and the

material location are investigated, as is the relationship between the material location and the writer's objectives.

Sources of information

The study is concerned with identifying the source of information adopted by the writers. These can be one of the following:

Other writers

News agencies

Government official sources

Other media sources (television, broadcasting stations)

Others

Other issues related / linked to the September attacks

The study investigates whether the selected articles dealt with other issues that can be related to or linked with the September events. These include:

The Palestinian issue

The Iraqi issue

The Afghanistan issue

The Kashmir issue

Other issues

1-2 Methodology

To address the research questions mentioned above, this thesis adopts the quantitative methodology of content analysis. Samples are collected from Saudi newspapers and statistically analysed.

The frequency of the occurrences of key words is measured using SPSS. Chi-square tests are carried out to measure the frequency distribution of the selected variables. Using these methods it will be possible to identify the topics covered by the selected newspapers in the given period.

Furthermore, the contribution of writers based on factors of gender and nationality will be measured. Based on the statistical results obtained, qualitative interpretation of such results is provided; an interpretative framework (using framing theory and critical discourse analysis) is used. Taken together, quantitative and qualitative content analyses provide scholarly answers and arguments that can answer the research questions.

The rationale of adopting these methodologies is justified as follows:

As suggested by Sarantakos (1998), the quantitative approach is objective and thus reliable. In this study, the selected articles are classified into categories according to the definitions adopted in the study, these classifications are then and statistically analysed to determine their frequency in the selected newspapers, as shown in Chapter Six.

The study is an objective evaluation of the writers' attitudes to the events and consequence of 9/11, as well as any changes in attitudes during the timeframe of the study.

This study is based on content analysis, which is a common scientific practice in information research and mass communication studies, as it is based on the planned regular description of what has been published.

The content analysis method depends on two fundamental criteria's. The first is that the analysis must be accurate and well-controlled by applying specific tools according to specific criteria and variables. Furthermore, the tools of sorting, describing, classifying, and the procedures, must be well-arranged to ensure objectivity, and the effect on the conclusions of mistaken interpretation or personal factors must be considered (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002).

The second criterion is that the analysis should tackle the informative material within texts and not the unseen meaning or ambiguous or metaphysical interpretations. Content analysis is concerned with the explicit meanings of utterances without investigating the unseen meanings so that it is objective

(Flourney, 1982; Foote and Rimmer, 1982; Sellers, 1966).

Articles are classified according to the month of publication, which in this case is the three months following the September events. The attitudes, tendencies, impressions and viewpoints were disparate, as might be expected from such a momentous occurrence as 9/11.

The Saudis, upon hearing the news, responded immediately. Their concern extended and proliferated, making this event the core focus of contributions from newspaper writers, columnists and feature writers. These writers varied extremely in their diversified viewpoints and outlooks.

The statistical quantitative analysis of the contributions makes it possible to develop general conclusions and findings related to the publications and writers. It also enables comparisons to be made among the writers, and sometimes to discern changes in a writer's ideas, thoughts and attitudes.

After statistical results are generated from content analysis applications, an interpretative framework is used. This is a framework based on both framing theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA). The idea is that statistical content analyses require some sort of qualitative analysis so that the results obtained are useful.

1-3 Scope and limitation

This study covers the various points concerning the views and attitudes of writers

contributing to the selected newspapers in Saudi Arabia in response to the September events.

The launch of terrorist attacks on the United States was not considered a domestic issue; however the event had and still has had an effect across the entire world. It has particularly had an effect on the Arab and Muslim world. The event and its consequences were extensively reported by the world's media and their analysis tended to reflect the outlooks of the different political and social systems to which they belonged.

The Saudi press dealt with the event in detail due to its obscenity and the gravity of the event. The Saudi press particularly focused on the bearing the attacks had on the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The Press also honed in on the notion that many Saudis were being listed by the United States authorities as suspects.

Although the Saudi media played an important role in depicting, reporting, and analysing the issues associated with the September events, this study is restricted to the newspaper press. The rationale is that the press is the most acceptable to the public; it represents a reliable source of public opinion, analysis of the points of view about the events and issues, and it reflects as well as the audio visual media.

Journalism differs from other media in that it is a long-lasting resource for information about events and the different reflections and attitudes towards them. In this, it is claimed that the Saudi press reflects the thoughts and views of important

sectors and influential groups in the Saudi community. Due to the reflections this investigation shows how public opinion and the silent mass of the society were influenced. It is clear that in relation to 9/11, the press affected the process of political decision making in Saudi Arabia.

This thesis is limited to the three months period that followed the September events. The idea is that this time period includes all the important responses to the events which are required for best classifying the writers' attitudes and consistency.

It begins from the twelfth of September two thousand and one and ends on the twelfth of December two thousand and one. A general survey of articles after the end date showed that they held no significant material which would enrich this study. Viewpoints, attitudes and impressions which were relevant had all been collected during the three month period the study had focused on everything after this was repetitious.

It can be claimed that the given period is sufficient for content analysis. The time span represents a rich resource for the selected data. During this period each newspaper published ninety issues and all were surveyed.

The newspapers surveyed were Riyadh and Aljazeera, both published in Riyadh; Al-Medina and Okaz, published in Jeddah, the Western Region of the Kingdom; Al-Youm, published in Dammam in the Eastern Region; Al-Watan, based in the Southern Region; and Al-Sharq al-Awsat and Al-Hayat, both published in London.

To obtain the required information, the researcher spent two weeks at Al-Medina Information Centre in Jeddah to examine the seven hundred and twenty issues of the eight study newspapers, for which a fee of 1,000 pounds sterling was required.

Procedures of content analysis can be summarized as follows:

The analysis is rational and it is assessed by using specific defined tools, having an assessed rated time classified according to the attitude emerging from the subject matter. Objectivity and topicality can both be achieved, as well as neutrality. Analysis of the subject matter is limited to the 'manifest content' and excludes its 'latent content' (Humbert, 1988).

This limitation makes the analysis stop at the boundaries of the expressions, words and sentences used; it deals in clear and evident meanings only. This style has the advantage of a descriptive research method. It describes the subject matter only and does not go beyond this.

Due to its nature, this method does not attempt to explain the writer's motives, or the reasons behind the appearance of content. However, unit analysis is defined as a unit containing the media subject matter published as articles by the writers, whether they be opinions, attitudes, visions, or even feelings, because the study mainly aims at realizing the feelings of writers towards an event (Babbie, 2010; Ruigrok, 2005).

Based on this, the most important features of unit analysis in this study are:

The unit analysis classifies the published material as an opinion, an attitude, or a vision. This excludes other content, such as news and reports. Newspaper editorial articles were also excluded.

The nationality of the writer, and whether the writer is a regular or irregular contributor, is of no importance provided that the material was published in one of the selected Saudi newspapers within the framework of the study.

The article was published under the true name of the writer and not under an assumed fake name or anonymously.

The article is dealt with as a unit of analysis, which is split up into paragraphs, expressions and words. Then the analysis studies the intensity of power of the text, how that text conveys the writer's thoughts, and the relationship between the text and the writer's culture and his/her ideological and cognitive background.

1-4 Importance and contribution of the study

The September events represented a turning point in the history of Saudi-American relations, where media in general and the press in particular played a crucial role in forming public opinion on both sides.

While many studies have been concerned with investigating the role and performance of the American and Western press during the September events, very little attention has been given to the Saudi press.

The American and Western press accused Saudi Arabia and the Saudi press of supporting violence and terrorism. More specifically, the United States media accused its Saudi counterpart of being tolerant towards terrorists and extremists. Many American writers agreed that Saudi Arabia was the hub of world terror (Fielding and Baxter, 2007).

Numerous reviews reported that both Saudi mosques and newspapers tended to preach hatred of America (Prados and Blanchard, 2004; Reuters, 2004; Farah, 2002). In the face of such accusations the Saudi press, were concerned with investigating both the causes and consequences of the event. It becomes important then to study the attitudes of journalists and writers during the September events and the interests of each of the selected newspapers.

This thesis sets out to make an original contribution to the field by carrying out an integrated analysis of the Saudi press during this important period in contemporary history.

The idea is that numerous media studies have been concerned with the American press, which can be attributed to the dominance and widespread influence of American newspapers and writers. United States newspapers played a crucial and influential role in shaping the minds and responses towards the September attacks.

Some writers were objective in dealing with the attacks, causes, and consequences. Others were very subjective and used the event to accuse Muslims of being terrorists. Many studies have found United States newspapers a rich resource for

analysis and investigation. Scholars have added depth to media analyses of the terrorist attacks.

In contrast, the Saudi press received little attention not because they are less important but because they are less popular and less accessible. Saudi newspapers are usually published in Arabic, which is not digestible to many researchers. However, it is important to study Saudi newspapers during this important period in contemporary global history.

The analysis carried out in this thesis is very useful in order to understand and evaluate United States newspaper coverage of the event. We cannot evaluate accurately or consistently the United States accusations of the Arab and Saudi writers of supporting terrorism and violence unless we have an objective assessment of the Saudi writers' attitudes and political ideologies.

This thesis also suggests that an analysis of Saudi newspapers published during the first three months after 9/11 will reveal the essence of the mainstream Saudi opinion of the event and its aftermath.

No such study exists, though some ideas and thoughts have been put suggested, together with some comments in newspapers and magazines. It is important to stress that there is much ambiguity and confusion about the main responses of people in Saudi Arabia to 9/11 because various ideological points of view were being presented. Confusion was caused by foreign media, more specifically newspapers and many other factors. Adding to this confusion were newspapers in the Kingdom

of Saudi Arabia.

The thesis also wishes to make a contribution to Saudi media literature, as it is aimed to enhance the Saudi press performance in world and global future events. It is not assumed that the American and Western attitudes towards 9/11 match the Saudi responses to that event, though there is a common rejection of violence and terrorism. This study aims to provide a critical research-based account of writers' and journalists' response to 9/11, as evidenced in the newspapers of the period.

1-5 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is in 8 chapters including this introductory chapter. These are organized as follows:

Chapter Two deals with the review of the relevant literature, which discusses the sociology of the media and sociality of the news. There is also a discussion of the literature on geopolitics. Most importantly, the chapter identifies the gap in previous studies in this field of analysis and how this study attempts to fill this gap.

Chapter Three locates the study in its historical context. More specifically the location of Saudi Arabia, its people, culture and education are discussed. The chapter also highlights the emergence of Al-Qaeda and its ideology. Brief information about the mutual relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US is provided. The chapter concludes with a brief history of Saudi newspapers, taking into account their history, development, regulations and censorship.

Chapter Four outlines the theoretical framework and methodology being used in the study. This includes a discussion of the philosophy of language, in addition to a discussion of framing theory and its relation to debates about discourse-versus-content analysis. Furthermore there is an explanation of variable identification and coding used in this study.

Chapter Five provides the background to eight newspapers that are being used in the study. It explains the rationale of selecting only on the print media and excluding other sources, such as online editions or 'new media' such as blogs. The criteria for choosing the sample Was based in accordance with readership, management, production, and location is also in this chapter. An explanation as to why the study focuses only on articles and excludes other types of newspaper is pointed out. The chapter explains any difference between the newspapers issued from abroad, for example, the *Alhayat* and its local counterpart, for example, the *Almadinah*.

Chapter Six classifies and categorizes the samples according to the writers' location, gender, objectives, source of information and time when the articles were published. An explanation of the change in writers' positions and attitudes is discussed.

Chapter Seven provides a critical debate and interpretations of the research findings presented in chapter six. Using an interpretative framework (framing theory and CDA), a qualitative analysis is given.

Chapter Eight is conclusion. It addresses how and why the results offer various conclusions and re-representations of 9/11 in Saudi newspapers. The chapter ends

with outlining the main recommendations for future research and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

In chapter 1 we discussed research questions and the adopted methodologies by which research questions can be addressed. This chapter surveys two bodies of research literature, these are organized as follows:

Part 2-1 reviews the literature concerning the sociology of the media in general and sociality of the news in particular. This part is concerned with the culture of the news, the social role of media and how the Saudi media and newspapers were influenced by the world media and Western news agencies.

Part 2-2 discusses the literature on geopolitics, it outlines the literature on the effect of the September events on the United States and Saudi Arabia. It is concerned with providing the interpretations of September attacks, evaluating the role of the media in relation to the event and the response of the Saudi authorities and institutions to the American accusations.

Part 2-3 is a summary which gives an overall evaluation of the previous work and the gap in the literature that is intended to be addressed in this thesis.

2-1 Sociology of the media

The literature suggests that mass media including television, radio and newspapers have a significant influence on the formation of public images of countries and nations (Lippmann, 1997). Most of what is known about the political events and surroundings of countries and nations is provided by the media, as our experiences are controlled by spatial and temporal restrictions.

News about a certain country or peoples influences and the impression we may have about that country or those people, whether positive or negative. This finding is extended to the influential role newspapers play in the formation of the public opinion of Saudi people. The claim is that the Saudi media in general and newspapers in particular have a significant effect on their audience and readers.

Newspaper coverage of certain issues is central in the national debates and the formation of public opinion in the Saudi community. This part is concerned with investigating the social role of media and newspapers and their effect on the audience and readers, with special reference to the Saudi community.

Because numerous studies have been concerned with the subject, this study only selects some that can provide a certain representation that are relevant to the research questions and study objectives.

This part is organized as follows:

Part 2-1-1 outlines the culture of the news and discusses information dominance and public diplomacy.

Part 0 discusses foreign affairs as reflected in the Saudi-American relations.

Part 0 is an analysis of the world press coverage of the September attacks.

2-1-1 Culture of the news

Allan (2004) suggests that news has three main dimensions, he explains that news had previously been perceived as performing three main roles:

News as an object of policy formation.

News as an object of commodification.

News as an object of public opinion.

In other words, Allan (2004) argues that some news makers give priority to the governmental sphere, in this they treat news as “an agent of representative

democracy” They thus are concerned with issues of “state regulations of the news media, censorship, freedom of information, and essential rights which require protection" (2004: 3).

Allan assumes that news can be viewed from an economic approach: news can be seen as "a commodity to be sold or bought, as audience members are current or potential customers"(2004: 3). However, a range of alternative forms of journalism resist the temptation from a market that attempts to force them to shape themselves into 'mainstream' news organizations. Examples include, but are not limited to websites and publications of social movements, trade unions, political groups, parties and ethnic minority groups.

In terms of public opinion, attention focuses on the "formative influence" of the news media. The implication is that news media are considered crucial elements in advocating or challenging policies, regulations, defending social or political movements and directing people’s attitudes towards adopting certain positions, ideologies and opinions. Based on this argument, governments and institutions employ different tools in order to persuade the audience of their policies and achieve what can be called information dominance and public diplomacy.

The literature suggests that media and news agencies were long used and manipulated by policy , decision makers and government leaders – unfortunately in many cases they were badly used- to manipulate the public to adopt certain positions (Naven, 2002; Cook, 1998; Bennett and Paletz, 1994; Cohen, 1986; Brecher, 1972; Cohen, 1963; Boulding, 1959).

Since information is of paramount importance for governments’ economic, political, military strategies and foreign policy, they use numerous tools by which they can promote their adopted ideologies, strategies and policies. These include information dominance and public diplomacy. The two tools have been extensively investigated in the media literature.

While the two terms are usually discussed together, they are different. The former refers to “the degree of information superiority that allows the media owner to use information systems and capabilities to achieve an operational advantage in a conflict or to control the situation in operations other than war while denying those capabilities to the adversary” (Giffin and Winters, 1997: 1). They add that ID is “a condition that results from the use of offensive and defensive information operations to build a comprehensive knowledge advantage at a time, place, and on

decision issues critical to mission success” (1997”1).

The main argument here is that information dominance is used by media owners during war and conflict times, which directly applies to the present case. Public diplomacy, in turn, is usually referred to in different terms. These include international relations and people’s diplomacy. The phrase public relations was coined by Edmund Gullion in nineteen sixty five this is the phrase we are familiar with today. That is, it “deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies.

It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications” (Cull, 2006:1). The two concepts are further discussed below.

2-1-1-1 Information dominance and public diplomacy

Information dominance includes a range of activities wider than those traditionally linked to propaganda, including but not limited to electronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception to affect or defend information and information systems.

Traditional perceptions of propaganda entail constructing the message and distributing it via government media or independent news media. The idea is that in their pursuit of supporting their policies, government leaders and policy makers try to dominate the scene which is usually achieved by dominating media and information sources.

In its war against terrorism in Afghanistan in two thousand and one for instance, the United States purchased all satellite imagery of the area from the commercial providers, who were mostly United States based corporations, “not only for its own use but to prevent others from using it” (Thussu, 2004: 117).

Miller (2004) supports this claim arguing that since the beginning of the war in Iraq, the US has sought not just to influence but to control all information, from both friend and foe. However, he comments that information dominance may result in negative outcomes as it was the case in the Iraq war. He argues that in spite of all

the dominance practices adopted by the United States, the Iraqi people came to trust both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya news channels more than any other western channel. Miller concludes that information dominance is not always a successful strategy.

Another element for achieving information dominance is the ability to deny, degrade, destroy and effectively blind the enemy or the other capabilities. The idea is that governments or organizations try by all means to destroy competitive news agencies. This is best exemplified by the attack on Al-Jazeera office in Kabul in 2001. The Pentagon justified the attack by claiming that there had been Al-Qaeda activity in the Al-Jazeera office. It turned out that the alleged activity referred to broadcast interviews with Taliban officials (Kamalipour & Snow, 2004, Miller, 2004).

Studies suggest that the United States administration used different information techniques in its wars in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, the wars that came to be known as the war on terrorism. The mainstream of American media gave full support to the White House strategies and policies concerning the two wars. For example, they uncritically supported the White House efforts to build a strong case against Iraq and established public support for the war (Zoghby, 2003).

In compliance with their support for the White House policies, the media ignored reporting the challenge by the United Nations weapons inspectors to the United States information regarding Iraq's possession weapons of mass destruction. The media 'seemed more inclined to beat the drums of war than to investigate the White House's claims' (Zoghby, 2003: 9). The same applies to Murdoch's media, as his media played a central role in preparing and maintaining public opinion in favour of the American invasion of Iraq. They promoted the idea that the war would bring about an economic boom in the West (Thussu 2004: 95-96).

The Western media also played a crucial role in supporting the war in Afghanistan. They depicted al-Qaeda as a threat for world peace and stability in general, especially regarding Western interests all over the world (Wright, 2006; Wadham, 2002; Wright, 2001).

The Paris newspaper La Monde, for instance, proclaimed in its top headline on September twelfth two thousand and eleven "We are all Americans". The newspaper expressed its grief and solidarity with the United States following the news of the attacks. They made a parallel between the fears that accompanied the attacks with the threat coming from al-Qaeda (Gendrot, 2002). As a result, the wars

against Afghanistan in two thousand and one and Iraq in two thousand and three received the public support that was required at this stage.

Furthermore, the Bush administration succeeded in framing the conflict as an extension of the war on terror, and President Bush's speeches always linked Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. The media highlighted such arguments and pushed the audience to accept them as non-negotiable facts.

It is worth noting that many reports later revealed that the war on terror was a false excuse for economic reasons-mainly oil-and supremacy (Roberts, 2007; Vance & Johnson, 2001). It is also true that some articles included information of this kind before and during the war in Iraq. Some American and British writers were not in favour of the war on terror, especially the war in Iraq in 2003. Many of them expressed their refusal of the United States justifications of the war in Iraq arguing that there are hidden agendas of this war (Israeli, 2004).

Israeli argues that it was believed by many Americans that that the main reason behind the war in Iraq was oil and that argument was expressed by many writers in the American media. However, studies indicate that the anti-war articles were not favoured during the wartime since it was believed that patriotism requires supporting the state policies and war decision. Articles of this kind were classified

as dissent media (Obajtek-Kirkwood and Hakanen, 2007; D'Arcus, 2005; Iapham, 2005; Robinson et al, 2005; Scraton, 2002).

Accordingly, media coverage of the protests and demonstrations against the war were not given enough space either on television or in newspapers. That was also the case with regards the United Kingdoms media. Although the war in Iraq generated domestic opposition and a widely supported anti-war movement in the United Kingdom, anti-war protests did not secure a positive coverage in the British press either before or during the war in Iraq (Goddard et al, 2008; Murray et al, 2008).

Currently, the term propaganda is interchangeably used with public diplomacy; however a distinction exists between the two. Propaganda employs a variety of communication techniques to hide some aspects from the audience so that the audience feels obliged to accept the message. On the other hand public diplomacy is public open communication in a global public arena, it is a way for a government to inform foreign publics of its policies and request their support.

It could be argued that there are no clear-cut dividing lines between propaganda, public diplomacy, or public relations. It is true that secrecy and deception are highly effective in military operations, but is there any guarantee beyond doubt that public

relations are free of any secret? If this is the case, why is some information (not necessarily war secrets) kept out of the reach of the public? Except after the elapse of a certain period! Britain is a prime example of this.

Whether an action is public relations, public diplomacy or propaganda, the value judgment is decided by the and hence it is value judgment. The implication for this thesis is that the Western governments in general and the United States administration in particular tend to dominate information sources in order to influence Arab people and audiences. The literature suggests that in their coverage of foreign affairs, Arab newspapers were greatly influenced by Western news agencies (Hafez, 2001; Kamalipour, 1994). This is shown below.

2-1-2 Foreign affairs as reflected in Arab and Saudi newspapers

Different studies have been concerned with investigating the influence of the Western media in general and the American media in particular on the content of Arab and Saudi newspapers concerning foreign affairs

. Al-Harithi (1983) examines 16 issues of seven Saudi daily newspapers from October 1981 to February 1982 and concludes that Al-Jazira gave the largest space to international news in comparison with other papers. He further finds that the

space devoted to foreign news was greater than the space devoted to local news.

The justification for emphasis on foreign news and the conservative reporting of domestic news, he says, is due to three main factors:

First, the local laws and regulations restrict the freedom of the press and, as newspapers depend on governmental financing; any deviation from the regulations brings the risk of questioning, and possibly the loss of financial support.

Secondly, newspapers were short of professional and efficient staff and thus found it easier to portray foreign news obtained from other media.

Thirdly, local newspapers lacked formal guidance and this caused uncertainty about what to publish, especially in news stories.

The main implication for this study is that Western and more specifically American media used to follow information dominance procedures that only allow other newspapers to report what they wish them to do.

Al-Magushi (1994) agrees with Al-Harithi in the sense that Saudi newspapers depend widely on international news agencies in their coverage of foreign affairs.

He analysed the foreign news coverage in three Saudi daily newspapers, he indicated that the content is greatly influenced by the patterns followed in world and

American news agencies for their foreign news, which occupied at least 29% of the space.

Within the foreign news coverage, conflict and defence news received most space, while other news such as, social, development, science, technology, cultural and religious news received little attention. Latin America, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union were the least covered. The study suggested that the international news agencies might be partly responsible for this pattern since the Saudi newspapers relied heavily on them for the coverage of these regions.

Nearly 40% of news about developing countries could be classified as reports about conflict and defence, and about disaster and crime. Likewise, Al-Habib's study (1989) of the flow of foreign news into six Arab Gulf newspapers supports the view that conflict and defence news dominate the foreign news coverage as they occupy almost 40% of the foreign news space. The study concludes that there were imbalances in regional coverage and subject matter in foreign news reporting.

2-1-3 Analysis of the world press of the September events

Corman and Dooley (2002) conducted a statistical analysis of six hundred and ninety two articles on 9/11 from the Reuters news agency for the period September eleventh two thousand and one till September thirtieth two thousand and two. They reveal that the word 'terrorist' was used seventy two times per day at the beginning of the period followed by a sharp decrease to an average of seventeen point three mentions per day. Bin Laden was associated with the attacks at an increasing frequency from the eighth day onwards.

The study draws the conclusion that the term 'terrorist' was very influential in Reuters' coverage. Although Reuters was, to some extent, careful not to brand certain individuals or groups as terrorists, the agency's citations of others and its own semantic framing would be likely to lead the reader to the inevitable conclusion that Bin Laden was a terrorist.

Al Sharawi (2002) examines the images of countries and people as reflected in other countries' media, both during conflict and non-conflict periods. His study includes both Arab and Western press and the periods before and after 9/11. Sharawi is deeply concerned about the reflections and attitudes of both the Arab and the

American press media to America's foreign policy both before and after the eleventh of September two thousand and one.

In their study of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* between June and December 2002, Trabishi et al. (2002) highlight that, before the eleventh of September, the American press concentrated on economic and political issues in the Islamic world, however after that date, it changed its attitude by emphasizing the support of Islamic countries for terrorism.

Gumah (2002) conducted a survey of *Le Monde*, and the *Herald Tribune* (12 September 2002 to 13 October 2002) as samples of American and European newspapers to find out if any differences existed between the newspapers of the two countries towards Arab-Muslim countries after 9/11. She concludes that the referenced newspapers associated Islam with terrorism, though *Le Monde* tried to be moderate.

The fifth study is Al-Harbi's (2005) *Comparative Study of Western and Middle Eastern Newspaper Responses to 9/11/ and the 'War on Terror'*. The researcher concludes that both the Middle Eastern and Western press kept to their 'spheres of political and cultural influence'.

The consequence was that the coverage was incomplete by both. Readers of the Western newspapers had a very limited opportunity to access the opinions of Muslim organizations, such as the Organization of Islamic Countries, Arab and Muslim leaders who condemned the September the eleventh attacks and terrorism in general. On the other hand, readers of the Middle Eastern newspapers were faced with theories of conspiracy that diverted their attention from Al-Qaeda and its Middle Eastern supporters.

2-2 International relations and Geopolitics

The term geopolitics came into use by the end of the nineteenth century with the publication of Ratzel's *Politische Geographie* in 1897. Traditionally, it was conceived as a discipline that is concerned with investigating the impact of geography on politics. However, with the emergence of globalization, scholars have tended to include more elements. In other words, geopolitics now has a wider meaning.

Geopolitical thinking is now formally connected with global thinking. Geopolitics is almost an indispensable element in globalization studies (Agnew 2004; Slater, 2004; Toal and Dalby, 1998). Currently, a dominating theme in geopolitics

literature is the view of the world as a single entity (Dalby, 2004). Due to the huge literature on geopolitics, this part will be limited to the investigation the September eleventh attacks and its aftermath in terms of geopolitics.

The rationale is that September eleventh came to be acknowledged as ‘a part of global memory’ (Brunn, 2005: 1) since the events surrounding the day have had a significant impact for the geopolitical restructuring of the world as a whole. It is agreed that the September attacks “have affected not only the soul and heart of America and Americans and Europe and Europeans, Asia and Asians, but also other countries that have been impacted directly and indirectly by the military attacks, military threats, terrorist attacks and retaliation against opposition or suspected-opposition groups. The list could include Afghanistan, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kazakhstan, Russia, China, India, the Philippines and Indonesia” (Brunn, 2004: 12).

This section of the chapter thus outlines the literature concerning the geopolitical implications of September the eleventh.

This part is organized as follows:

2-2-1 defines the meaning of September Eleventh to both Westerners and the Arabs.

Outlines the role of the Arab media in relation to the September events.

2-2-3 discusses the response of Saudi Arabia to the American accusations.

2-2-4 discusses the American understanding of Islam, Islamic movements, and terrorism with the election of Obama President of the United States.

2-2-1 The meaning of 11 September to the Westerners and Arabs

The breaking nature of the attacks deeply influenced media coverage on Tuesday, September eleventh. The hallmark of media coverage on that first day was that writers and analysts were not able to think of anything substantive to write.

Unusually, journalism remained mute in the face of such an event (Nibset, 2001).

Afterwards, news agencies, reporters, analysts, and writers began to think about the reasons which had led to the crisis. The hallmark of the American interpretations of the event was what came to be known as 'Islamism', which is "described as a radical variant of Islamic thought which underlies Al Qaeda and a large number of affiliated groups' ideologies" (Taylor and Jasparo, 2004: 212).

The main argument is that Islamism is the chief explanation of the September

events. Islamism was depicted as a threat to the liberal world, secularism, modernity, and democracy (Smith, 2002; Appleyard, 2001; Fritsch, 2001; Krasner, 2001; raspberry, 2001). Being the motherland of Islam coupled with the fact that Bin Laden had declared his responsibility for the attacks, Saudi Arabia was severely criticized and attacked by American writers.

The Western and American concept of Islamism was challenged by the Arab interpretation of the event, as a consequence of the American imperialism (Hassan, 2001; Johnson, 2000). The advocates of this explanation argue that United States foreign policy and imperialistic practices led to the terrorist attacks: United States imperialism is centred on the acquisition of stable and cheap sources of oil (Berberoglu, 1999). They also believe that United States imperialistic practices are clearly represented in the unconditional United States support for Israel.

Robinson (1973) explains that for Arabs, Israel was created by the Imperialist Britain and is widely supported by the United States. Supporters of the imperialism argument always link the September events with the Israeli aggression and the sufferings of the Palestinians.

Alzawahra (2001) argues that it is not necessarily that the attackers belonged to any

of the Islamic movements or groups. They may be from Timothy Mavic's religious sect or Bin Laden Group, whoever is responsible for the acts, their motivation should be considered. The group saw in the United States a symbol of cruelty and an ugly face of imperialism in its worst form. She explains that the United States has a shameful history of murder and bloodshed in many parts of the world.

Alzawahra also refutes the American interpretation of Islamism, arguing that terrorism is not restricted to a certain people, religion or a geographical location and the causes are numerous and the best way of fighting terrorism is to fight its causes.

In spite of the controversial arguments concerning the interpretations and motivations of the September events, it is generally agreed that the September events remapped global politics. There is no longer a distinction between foreign and domestic policies. They agree that terrorism and violence are global phenomena which need to be addressed globally. It is also agreed that the events led to a shift in public consciousness in the United States. American citizens have become interested in issues of terrorism, security, contemporary global geopolitics, and Islam (Taylor and Jasparo, 2004).

2-2-1-1 The image of Arabs and Muslims as influenced by the September events

This context has stimulated many researchers to investigate the image of Arabs and Muslims as influenced by the September events. Using the descriptive method and frame theory, Al Sharawi (2002) examines the images of countries and peoples as reflected in other countries' media, both during conflict and non-conflict periods. He was deeply concerned with the attitudes of Arab and American press media to America's foreign policy before and after 9/11.

Al Sharawi's study included social issues, Arab-American relationships, the role of the United States in the Peace Process, and economic issues. The general conclusion was that relationships between America and the Arab countries deteriorated in these areas.

Trabishi et al. (2002) made an analytical study of Islamic countries' image in American daily newspapers, as reflected in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* issues between June and December two thousand and one and concludes that the American press changed its content and attitude towards Muslim countries after September 11.

Prior to the September events, the two newspapers had previously concentrated on economic and political issues in the Islamic world, but after 9/11 they tended to focus on the support of Muslim countries for terrorism.

In a study of the Arab-Muslim image as reflected in *Le Monde* and the *Herald Tribune*, within the period of September twelfth two thousand and one until September thirteenth two thousand and two, Gumah (2002) concludes that the selected newspapers associated Islam with terrorism, though *Le Monde* tried to be moderate.

Khashoggi (2002), stated that exploring American attitudes and judgments after 9/11, contends that the American assurances were that they were targeting only Bin Laden and the Taliban government. This came a little late after it had been asserted that America had the right to reach the attackers and counter attack anywhere. He thus criticizes the unconditional support for America's loosely-defined war against terrorism, describing it as irrational.

Abu Khalil (2004) agrees with Khashoggi's argument when considering the American war against terrorism, as defined by America, is not new. Examples of earlier anti-terrorist warfare include, but are not limited to, bombing Libya in

nineteen eighty six, bombarding Lebanon in the nineteen eighties and American support for Israel, allegedly to protect it against terrorism. Furthermore, in nineteen eighty eight, President Clinton ordered the bombing of a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, despite the opposition of his military leaders. The accusation that the plant produced biological weapons and had financial connections with Bin Laden proved to be unfounded (Abu Khalil, 2004: 106-107).

Al-Harbi (2005) discusses the grave consequences of 9/11 on the image of the Arab world and Islam. While the strong response of the United States of America received international coverage, much less attention was given to the Arab viewpoint. He reports striking differences between the Western and Middle Eastern press perspectives. The Western press condemned the attacks without providing any interpretations or analyses concerning its reasons or for investigating who could be responsible for such attacks.

Western newspapers extended their reporting of 9/11 by referring to it as an attack not only on the United States of America but also on the Western world, including Europe. It was deemed as an assault on the free and democratic West and its values and culture. This echoed the viewpoint of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair,

who emphasized that the attacks on the United States were attacks on “our civilization, our democratic values and our way of life.” (Al Harbi, 2005: 201).

Middle Eastern newspapers criticized the hasty accusations and suggested that some parties could be falsely accused, as had occurred after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1993. They published statements by Muslim armed groups in Palestine condemning the 9/11 attacks and comparing them to the daily suffering and terrorism imposed on the Palestinians by the Israeli troops.

As well as condemning 9/11 some Middle Eastern newspapers considered it as an inevitable result of anger and disappointment at the unbalanced policy of the United States in the Middle East. Overall, both Western and Middle Eastern newspapers stayed almost exclusively within their own political and cultural influences when defining the nature and significance of the attacks. The result, in both cases, was incomplete coverage and distortions of other cultures.

2-2-2 The role of the Arab media

In their response to the September events, the Arab media in general expressed their sympathy to the American people. However, they blamed the United States

administration for the events that the American people had to undergo. They particularly criticized the United States unlimited support for Israel at the expense of Arab and Palestine interests.

In its editorial of September twelfth two thousand and one, the Jordanian newspaper, *Al-Rai* (The Opinion) called for the distinction between American policy, which is always in favour of Israel, and the American people who aspire for peace and justice. Nevertheless the Arab world was to blame, because of its failure to attract more American supporters for Palestinian and Arab rights. The September events should remind everyone of what is happening in Palestine, of the Israeli aggression and of the Palestinians' insistence on resistance. It stated that the only way to put an end to violence, counter violence, murder and destruction is through the recognition of international legitimate resolutions and resorting to dialogue.

Most of the Arabian Gulf newspapers criticized the hatred campaign in the United States of America against Arabs and Muslims and warned against confusing terrorism as an international phenomenon with Islam as a religion and the belief of a nation. Nevertheless, some studies did not favour the Arab media justifications of the September attacks. Safar (2004) argues that the American support for Israel and its injustice to Palestine cannot be justifications for the September events. He

indicates that an injustice cannot be remedied by a similar injustice. He also calls on the Arab and Muslim governments to show more care for their young people, and to explore and analyse their expiatory trends, without which 9/11 would not have occurred (2004: 121).

2-2-3 The response of Muslims and Saudi Arabia to the American accusations

Saudi Arabia used to be considered an ally and friend of the United States of America, strategic relations that used to shape the Saudi-American relations are clearly indicated in the letter that was sent by King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia who was then the Saudi Crown Prince. The letter that was sent prior to the September events stressed the close relations between the two states. It also expressed the Kingdom's opinion that the United States should choose friends not according to a past history but according to the current world situation.

The Crown Prince wanted to convey to the United States that Saudi relations with the United States were determined by Saudi interests, similar to relations with other countries. Preference is given to a friend, but the American attitude towards the Palestinian issue did not allow friendship. However, the letter does not display any hostility towards America but it suggests a new Saudi outlook of normalized

relations similar to those with other countries.

These close relations were severely damaged after the September events, which required the United States to reconsider its relations with Saudi Arabia after the American authorities accused the country and people of being the birthplace of terrorism, consequently being an enemy of the United States of America. The rift in Saudi-American relations caused an eighty percent decrease in Saudi visit visas to America, a clear indication that fewer Saudis were interested in visiting the United States than previous to 9/11.

In the decrease of Saudi visits it must also be considered that the United States of America also made it more difficult for Saudi citizens to obtain visit visas by imposing new financial and identity requirements. The researcher of this study was refused a visa because he failed one of these conditions. There were rumours that Saudi deposits of about twenty five billion dollars were withdrawn from American banks.

In the face of the American accusations, Saudi Arabia tended to defend itself and Islam using mass media, believing in the role of media to save the public image of countries and supporting ideologies. The Saudi authorities and institutions worked

in two main directions:

Defending Saudi Arabia and improving the image of Islam.

Rejecting any form of US intervention in the domestic affairs and issues of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Bait Almal and Al Sihli, 2004; Ghorani, 2004).

Bait Almal and Al Sihli (2004) comment that Saudi Arabia spent a lot of money on a public relations campaign in order to improve its international image after the September events. The Saudi actions can be thought of as a response to the United States in an attempt to improve its image internationally, especially in the Arab and Muslim world. These included a broadcasting station, a television channel to address the Arab world and a team to follow up mass media reports and articles in the Arab press.

The Saudi government convened the First Forum of the Saudi Association for Media and Communication in Riyadh in two thousand and three. His Royal Highness Prince Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz, Crown Prince and Deputy Chairman of the Saudi Cabinet conveyed his condolences for 9/11 to the American President and to the American people. He expressed the Kingdom's and Islam's condemnation of any form of terror, and pledged that the Kingdom would fully cooperate in

searching for the attackers. However, Crown Prince Abdullah (who became king in 2005) also expressed his fears about what was happening in the United States to Arabs and Muslims.

Equally important on the seventeenth of September, the Saudi News Agency published the statement of the president of the 'General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta', the supreme authority on religious issues in the Kingdom, in which he clarified that the acts of 9/11 were a major Islamic sin and he asked every Muslim to keep away from such acts. He also asked religious scholars to clarify to their audiences that Islam does not condone such acts, and he advised the Western media to refrain from distorting and defaming Islam.

The efforts to defend Islam and Saudi Arabia continued in the Association's Second Forum that was held in Riyadh in 2004, outcomes were described by commentators as more positive than the first forum. The forum was a good opportunity for Saudi academics to make significant contributions with their political insights that reflected the Saudi public opinion.

Ghorani (2004) reported on the questionnaire he had conducted among the teaching staff and post-graduate students of public media studies at King Saud University

and Imam Mohammed Bin Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, which aimed at discovering the opinions of Saudi citizens about the impact of 9/11 event on the West's image of Saudis, Muslims and Arabs. He revealed that Saudis were the most affected, followed by Muslims then Arabs. His respondents thought that in the American public media campaign against Saudi Arabia, television and newspapers were most responsible; its media that addressed the Middle East, exemplified by the Al-Hurra Channel, 'Voice of America', and 'Hi' magazine, were in second place; American news agencies (Associated Press, United Press International) and the internet occupied the third place; magazines, broadcasting stations, and American publishing houses were at the bottom of the order of responsibility.

Bait Al Mal and Al Sihli (2004) reported Dr. Keith Howe, an Australian theologian who attended the Second Forum, as saying that there would be no lasting peace unless the great religions of our world re-establish themselves as doorways to a new and peaceful society. The image of Saudi Arabia cannot be easily separated from the image of Islam in the West.

In most countries of the West there is an on-going debate over the character and reliability of Islam. There are those who speak of a clash of civilizations and look

forward to the triumph of the so-called Christian West over Islam, while others seek new ways of developing respect and understanding between people from differing religious or political perspectives. Prevailing conflicts are not necessarily religious, but religious language is used by both President Bush and Middle Eastern terrorists to justify their political and economic ambitions (2004: 17-19).

On his part, Prince Mohammed Bin Saud Bin Khalid said that to counter such accusations and attacks, which caused great damage to the image of Saudi Arabia in the world, and especially in the West, Saudi Arabia had to launch an international campaign to restore its image. A number of programs and activities were initiated for that purpose, including an agreement with an American public relations company in March two thousand and two and a similar agreement with a British company at the beginning of two thousand and three.

The program for improving Saudi Arabia's image was intensified by symposia and conferences, and visits to the United States of America and various European countries by friendship delegations and government agencies. Saudi Arabia also sponsored *Saudis and Terrorism, an International Vision* (2005), with contributions from 24 writers and scholars from across the world covering a wide range of

subjects from different points of view.

2-2-3-1 Reflections of Arab and Muslim Leaders and Religious Authorities

Almost all the Arab and Muslim leaders condemned the attacks of 9/11, sympathized with the families of the victims and sent messages of condolence to the American President, but some, like the Syrian President, did not conceal their opposition to American policy.

Al-Azhar University in Cairo, the most outstanding religious authority and institute in the Muslim world, condemned the attacks and all kinds of terrorism. The president of the 'General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta' in Saudi Arabia asserted that such acts resulted in hatred, anger and revenge upon Muslims who never approved of them. All countries should confide in their citizens, especially America, which had become the homeland for many Muslims from different parts of the world.

The home countries of the attackers should not be held accountable for what their citizens had committed. Mohammed Fadlullah, the spiritual leader of the Shiite religious sect in Lebanon, and a traditional political opponent of the United States

policy in conformity with the Shiite political regime in Iran, condemned the attacks, labelled them suicidal attempts without any religious rewards, and called for a distinction between American policy and the American people.

2-2-4 The New Attitude of the US Administration and Mass Media

In two thousand and eight, the Democratic Party's candidate won the presidential election, and President Obama replaced President George Bush of the Republican Party. The election of the Democratic Party candidate was considered by many commentators as a desire of Americans in general for change. It seemed that many Americans became convinced of the limitations of President G. W. Bush's foreign policy.

When President Obama came to office, he expressed his respect to Islam as a heavenly religion and asked Americans to distinguish between Islam and the Muslim world, in Cairo University in Egypt on June fourth two thousand and nine. This marked a historic change in the United States' attitude towards Muslim countries. The speech received wide international coverage because of its importance. *Ash-Sharq Al-Awsat* on the sixth of June two thousand and nine reported on the responses of the Arab, Israeli, American and other media, as

summarized below.

In Egypt, *Dream Satellite Channel* wondered if Obama's address represented hopes or mere illusions. Government-sponsored newspapers concentrated on Obama's meeting with President Mubarak more than on the address to the Islamic world. The Egyptian daily newspaper *Al-Masri Al-Youm* (The Egyptian Today) saw the American President's address as an attempt of reconciliation with all parties. On the other hand, the press of the opposition, represented by the *Al-Wafd* Party newspaper, considered Obama's address to the Muslims as a kind of "courting" with all.

The Palestinian Authority's television service broadcasted Obama's address in full. While Hamas' *Al-Aqsa* television refused to broadcast the speech, its websites selected extracts they considered to be supporting them.

Filisteen Ala'n (Palestine Now) published the President's acknowledgement of the Palestinian people's support for Hamas, but commented that Hamas had obligations towards the Palestinian people, without giving details. In its editorial, the *Al-Quds* newspaper highlighted Obama's statement that "America does not recognise the legitimacy of the settlements, and will not turn down the aspirations of the

Palestinian people" and added that the reconciliation speech was welcomed by the Muslim world.

Al-Ayyam (The Days) newspaper, close to the Palestinian Authority, described Obama's address as historic, adding that the Palestinians' conditions were unbearable and that the two states solution to the problem would serve the interests of Palestine, Israel, America and the world. It said that Palestinians and Arabs welcomed the Muslim reconciliation address.

The Israeli press, *Haaretz* considered the address to be the beginning of a strategic change in American-Israeli relationships. During the administration of President Bush, Israel was a full ally in the war against terrorism and Washington had granted Israel full freedom of action against the Palestinians, Syria and Hezbollah in return for its evacuation of settlements in the Gaza strip. Prime Minister Netanyahu, it said, should recognize his misunderstanding of Obama's policy.

Yediot Aharonot divided the address into positive and negative characteristics:

- The positive features were his recognition of the Jewish state of Israel and opposition of the threat of its destruction, his rejection of pre-

judgments about the Jews, his pledge on continuing the American-Israeli relationship, not giving a definite date for the establishment of a Palestinian state, his insistence on implementing the Road Map, his demand that Palestinians refrain from terror, and his call for the Arab states to recognize the legitimacy of Israel.

- The negative features were his claim that the emergence of two states was the only possible settlement of the conflict, his views on the illegitimacy of Israeli settlements on Palestinian land and Jerusalem as a city for Jews, Christians and Muslims, his recognition of Arab allegations that America turns a blind eye to Israeli nuclear weapons with a call for a regional agreement on nuclear disarmament, his comparison of the Palestinian struggle and that of black Americans, and his suggestion about dealing with Hamas and not describing it as a terrorist organization.

Sever Flotsker considered the address a call to everyone to recognize the facts and the truth. Arabs should realize that terrorism had failed and that Israel would not be wiped off the map, and Israel should realize that a Palestine state would emerge.

Obama's address, it said, was not only a reconciliation with Islam but also a reconciliation with truth.

In Jordan, the *Al-Rai* (The Opinion) was optimistic, and described the address as frank and clear, especially its call for a Palestinian state as the optimum solution to end wars and crises in the region. The *Al-Dustoor* (The Constitution) observed a new American attitude to addressing Muslims and it believed that the address was serious. The *Al-Arab Al-Youm* (The Arabs Today) thought the address was an attempt to penetrate the "wall of hatred" and hostility towards American policy in the Middle East, though failure was possible because enemies of peace had power in Israel.

The American press pointed out that President Obama had used "a new language" in addressing Muslims, and had dropped 'terror' and 'terrorism' from his political vocabulary. *US Today* wrote that Muslims in the Arab world and the United States of America were grateful for Obama's speech but some were disappointed that it was not more comprehensive, especially about the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The *Washington Post* pointed to the President's confession of historical mistakes in the name of culture and religion and his call to the Muslim world for make a fresh

beginning in its relationships with the United States. The *Los Angeles Times* highlighted the fact that Muslims considered the address to be a reconciliation approach, that doubts should be put aside and everyone should proceed to resolve outstanding problems, including the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In Pakistan, most of the newspapers judged that Obama had extended his hand for friendship with the Muslim world. The main Pakistani English newspapers highlighted President Obama's plea that the United States and Islam should not compete with each other, but they should form a common front against terrorism. The majority of the Pakistani papers published in Urdu referred to the President's statement that the war in Afghanistan was not easy, and his 'desire' to withdraw American troops from Iraq and Afghanistan.

Most papers suggested that a single address would not end years of mistrust but at least the United States had "left behind" the years of tension of the Bush administration. In India, the *Hindustan Times* acknowledged that the American President had extended his hand to Muslims. In a similar manner, *The Times of India* described the initiative as a pleasant change from Bush's "hostile policies and disintegration between Muslims and the rest of the world". President Obama, it

said, had sent a positive message to the world and to America but we should wait and see how his words would be 'interpreted' into deeds.

President Obama's speech in Egypt is discussed at length because it is the most recent development in American policy towards Muslims the world over, including Arab Muslims. Furthermore, it openly admitted mistakes committed by America, influenced by unfounded religious and cultural concepts. Perhaps the most significant point is that President Obama was not accused of bias by any of the parties to any of the conflicts to which he referred (*Asharq Al-Awsat* of 6 June 2009).

2-3 Summary

This chapter discussed the existing literature concerning both sociology of the media and the world press coverage of the September events. The main points can be summarized as follows.

Information dominance is usually employed by press and media agencies in order to promote certain ideologies and to achieve strategic goals.

The September attacks had a wide influence on the content of both the world and

Saudi press. Immediately after the attacks, the hallmark of the American interpretations of the event was what came to be known as 'Islamism'. The main argument is that Islamism is the chief explanation of the September events.

The blame has been put at Bin Laden and his people without real evidence. Almost all American and Western newspapers adopted and promoted for this hypothesis as an established fact. This was supported by assertions made by senior members of al-Qaeda who declared responsibility for the hijackings in a number of audio, video, and printed statements. In their attempts to find out and understand the reasons behind the attacks, many Western writers indicated that lack of democracy in the Arab world; mainly in Saudi Arabia is one of the most important reasons behind the September attacks.

The view seemed to be that Saudi political and social systems which are neither liberal nor democratic, prompted terrorists in one way or another to launch the terrorist attacks being unable to express themselves through open and legitimate channels.

In turn, different Arab newspaper writers expressed their belief that the September events came as a result from The United States unfair policies towards Arab and

Muslim issues especially the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is believed that the September attacks came as a reaction to the feelings of anger and antagonism towards the United States. The writers link the September attacks to revenge motivation for the killing of many Muslims in different Muslim countries such as Sudan, Somalia, and Iraq by the American forces.

This study will focus on the claim of the existence of this motivation through the attitude and stand of writers in Saudi newspaper. It investigates whether Saudi newspapers link between the American undivided support for Israel and the September events, regardless long and strong alliance between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

Some writers proposed the idea that the September event is a conspiracy from the United States with the purpose of attacking Islam and distorting the image of Muslims all over the world. The hypothesis is adopted by writers with religious orientations who framed the September attacks in what came to be known as the conspiracy theory. In other words, some Arab writers are more concerned with religious interpretations the September events than issues of humanity, human rights, and the call for peace and justice. Needless to say, many of the common

people still believe in the theory and link it to many different issues in their life.

Likewise, some American writers proposed the hypothesis that the Bush administration was in one way or another responsible for the attacks in the sense that they did not pay attention to warnings concerning very close terrorist attacks.

The coming of President Barack Obama to power in Two thousand and eight has been thought of as a beginning of a new stage in the Arab-American relations.

Observers and analysts thought that Obama's address to the Muslim world which was delivered at Cairo University reflected a new attitude in the United States foreign policy towards Arab and Muslim worlds.

Chapter 3 : Historical Context

This chapter locates the study in its historical context. It provides a background about the location of Saudi Arabia, its people, culture and education. The chapter also highlights the emergence of the Al-Qaeda and its ideology. Brief information about the mutual relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States is provided.

The chapter concludes with providing a brief review of the development of Saudi journalism, its history, development, regulations and censorship. The rationale of inserting this chapter is that many social and political events had an obvious implication on the research questions and the study's objectives. Understanding the background thus provides a better basis for understanding and interpreting research results.

3-1 The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

This study is concerned with selected Saudi newspapers so it is important to understand the surrounding social and political context. This part gives a brief account of the social and political structure of Saudi Arabia in terms of historic development, geography, system of government, population, education, and social

structure.

Saudi Arabia is a conservative monarchy governed by Sharia (the Islamic law). It is the motherland of Islam, a monotheistic religion that is embraced by around twenty two percent of the world population. It constitutes the bulk of the Arabian Peninsula and it is the third-largest country in the Middle East by land area.



Figure 3-1: Map of Saudi Arabia (Source Gritzner, 2009)

Saudi Arabia covers the historic kingdom of Al-Hejaz, which was the motherland of Islam and comprised the two holy mosques of Mecca and Medina, which has given the kingdom its significance in the Muslim world for the last fourteen centuries.

Today, Saudi Arabia receives much of its importance for being the world's largest

oil exporter besides having the world’s largest oil reserves: “Since the early 1970s, it has been transformed from a backward and isolated desert kingdom to the largest economy in the region with massive oil income, investment projects, and financial reserves” (Rivlin, 2009: 218).

3-1-1 Population

According to the World Bank, the population of Saudi Arabia were estimated at 25,391,100 (The World Bank, The World Development Indicators, 2009). However, a recent population census shows that Saudi Arabia has an estimated population of 27,136,977, comprised of 18,707,576 Saudi nationals and 8,429,401 non-nationals with population growth rate of 1.536 %, birth-rate of 19.34/ births/1000 population and death rate of 3.33 deaths/1,000 population (Saudi Gazette: Nov. 24, 2010). The age structure of the Saudi population is shown in the table below.

Age Group	Percentage	Male	Female
1-14	29.4%	3,939,377	3,754,020
15-64	67.6%	9,980,253	7,685,328
65-and over	3%	404,269	368.456

Over the last three decades, the population in Saudi Arabia has grown rapidly. This is attributed to economic, cultural, and religious factors. The country has witnessed

the moving of thousands of families and individuals from rural areas to urban cities and centres.

3-1-2 Education

With the emergence of Islam in Saudi Arabia in the seventh century, education took place in mosques for the teaching of Islam and basic Arabic grammar by religious volunteers. This kind of informal education was mostly to be found in settled or urban areas in the Kingdom- known at this period as Hejaz and Nagd and attended by young children (Al-Zaid, 1981).

3-1-3 Social Structure

The extended family is the basis of the Saudi social structure, with the tribe being the main unit of social organization. In a system of the like, the head of the tribe and some other families have special power over others. Following this concept some authorities in government agencies consider themselves as tribal leaders and by virtue of their tribal position, claim ultimate power over others (Al-Awwad, 1991).

According to the values and normalities of the tribes, members should help each other. Mirroring this, employees often help their relatives and friends even though

this sometimes breaks the rules.

3-2 The Al-Qaeda Organization

As indicated in the outset of this chapter, understanding the development of al-Qaeda and its ideology is useful in studying the research questions and interpreting the results. So this part is concerned with giving some background about al-Qaeda and its ideology, as to understand the statistical findings that will be generated in this thesis.

Al-Qaeda came to prominence after 9/11 as a fundamentalist Islamic organization and as an unprecedented enemy to the United States in the Islamic world. Its activities occupied a prominent place in the news media, and its membership and allies extended to include Muslim minorities outside the Muslim world (Blanchard, 2009; Plotz, 2001).

This section depicts the founding of the organization, its ideology and activities, and the war waged by the United States to destroy Al-Qaeda and its allies. Understanding the development and ideologies of al-Qaeda can be useful in analysing the writers' beliefs, perceptions and ideologies. The results will indicate

whether writers in Saudi newspapers were influenced in any way by the al-Qaeda imams and thinkers.

3-2-1 Development Stages

In his book, *The Road to al-Qaeda: The Story of Bin Laden's Right-hand Man*, Zayyat (2004) argues that Al-Qaeda as a world organization as it is perceived today passed through three main stages:

- The first stage was characterized by antagonism towards governments in the Muslim world. The governors and rulers of Muslim countries were considered by the members of this group to be unbelievers and much of the violence was addressed to them. Al-Zawahri thought such rulers and governors to be the near enemy because of collaborating with Western institutions and adopting Western cultural forms. The assassination of President Sadat, former President of Egypt in 1981 is an obvious example of the historic and ideological development of the Jihadi thinking.
- With the Soviet Union's launch of war in Afghanistan, many of the extremist Muslims were urged by Jihad scholars to join volunteers in

Afghanistan to fight against the Soviets who were depicted enemies of Allah. Hereupon, Bin Laden travelled to Pakistan, where he met with the leaders of the Arab fighters and then he returned to Saudi Arabia to collect funds for the fighters.

This represents the second stage in the development of al-Qaeda: members of Islamic fundamentalist movements willingly tended to leave their own countries for a noble cause which was jihad for the sake of Allah. In Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda developed a number of training camps and its membership shot up from a few hundred people to perhaps more than fifty thousand.

After the end of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda formed the International Islamic Front to struggle against America for its clear injustice to the Islamic world, especially the Palestinians, the American presence in the Gulf States, and what Bin Laden termed as the imposition of tyrannical governments by America.

The new organization was an international coalition of Islamic movements and Bin Laden made it very clear that all American citizens whether in the army or civilians are targets for his war on the United States. The main reason for the formation of such a coalition was the American military in Iraq, after the Iraqi invasion of

Kuwait in 1990. It was also the reason that Bin Laden broke with the Saudi royal family. He was displeased with the Saudi's decision to allow US-led coalition troops into the Saudi lands and attack Iraq (Bergen, 2006).

- That third stage has been characterized by the organization's involvement in violence acts on a global scale. In nineteen ninety two, Al-Qaeda was accused of murdering American soldiers in Yemen while they were on their way to Somalia.

A year later, it was accused of operations against American troops in Somalia. In that same year, the explosion of a bomb in the World Trade Centre garage in New York, which resulted in six deaths, was attributed to Al-Qaeda. However, Al-Qaeda was active not only against Americans and American interests as Al-Qaeda its close ally, the Egyptian Jihad, were accused of the attempt to murder Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak when he travelled to Addis Ababa in nineteen ninety five, when he attended the African Union Organization summit meeting.

Also in 1995, Jihad was held to be responsible for bombing the Egyptian embassy in Pakistan that resulted in more than twenty deaths, Al-Qaeda followers were suspected of the explosion at the American Military Mission in Riyadh, which

caused five American and two Indian deaths, in addition to hundred injuries.

In nineteen ninety six, an explosion in Al Khobar, in the Eastern region of Saudi Arabia, resulted in nineteen American deaths and injuries to three hundred and eighty six people of different nationalities, including one hundred and nine Americans. This was considered to be the most serious military attack against the United States after the Beirut explosion in nineteen eighty three, which killed two hundred and forty one American soldiers.

The American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed in nineteen ninety eight, resulting in twenty two deaths and four thousand injuries. Two years later, in October two thousand, the American warship, *KOAL*, was exploded in Yemen, resulting in the deaths of seventeen American sailors and injuries to thirty nine. Al-Qaeda and its affiliates never failed to assert that they would attack America and its allies anywhere and at any time.

In February nineteen ninety eight, the International Islamic Front for the Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders declared its intention of attacking the Americans and their allies anywhere in the world, including civilians (Bevy, 2006). This declaration was confirmed by Bin Laden himself in a press conference in

Afghanistan in May nineteen ninety eight.

3-2-2 Al-Qaeda's Ideology

Much of the al-Qaeda's ideological concepts are derived from the writings and teachings of Imam Sayed Kutb, who is thought to be the godfather of Islamic fundamentalist groups and al-Qaeda. Zayyat (2004) argues that Kutb had a significant influence on Doctor. Zawahri However, Zawahiri's ideology changed drastically after he met Bin Laden. There has been a shift of directing the focus of verbal and military attacks from local regimes to the international system, and more specifically its main power centre in Washington.

Apart from the changing attitudes of al-Qaeda members, their ideology is rested upon some principles that can be summarized as follows:

- Islam is a belief, a rule and a system of life, irrespective of time, place, environment and conditions. Loyalty thus should be to the Islamic faith, and not to other Muslims, one's country, to human ideas such as socialism, nationalism or liberalism. Accordingly, acquittal disowns the prevailing systems in the West and the Islamic world

since neither is guided by Islam and its principles. It is imperative, then, to overthrow such systems and their supporters by armed struggle (Jihad) anywhere and at any time (Bergen, 2006; Zayyat, 2004).

- The rule is for Allah; the declaration to oneness, (only one God) requires revolution against people's rule and its replacement by the Kingdom of Allah, the sovereignty of Islamic legislation and cancellation of the people's laws). Sayed Kutb borrowed his perceptions from the Islamic Pakistani preacher Abul-Ala'a Al-Mawdoodi (Ammarah, 2005), who used this concept as a political and social tool in his refusal of the social and political conditions in India, and later in Pakistan after its independence.

Al-Mawdoodi rejected Western philosophies and ideologies and emphasized those values and ethics are only corrected through Islam because Islam is the only means revealed by God.

- By virtue of the belief in one God and rejection of secular laws and political systems that do not apply Islamic laws, Islamic

fundamentalism considers it imperative to fight those rulers who are infidels, who are loyal to the Christians and the Jews, and who replace the divine rule with their invention of democracy. These deviating rulers must be resisted until they return to the rule of Allah and his messenger.

The rule of Allah and identifying the pre-Islamic paganism of contemporary societies, constitute the principles on which to judge the infidelity of the rulers and the necessity of overthrowing them and changing their systems by armed struggle. It is the duty of every Muslim in any country not ruled by Islam to fight for the removal of the tyrant and to fight his police, armed forces and security guards even if they are Muslims.

Jihad, or "armed struggle", is the means for change and it is supported by Qura'nic texts and the collective approval of religious scholars. Any peaceful means, such as parliamentary representation or education, should be rejected since the re-establishment of the Islamic Caliphate is the main aim.

- Allah is the source of every evaluation. However, to achieve this, together with the purity of religion, holiness of the text and idealism

of the past, other values have emerged. The most prominent of these is the "Jihad", or the armed struggle. The "Jihad" puts little value on life, and even recommends killing, relying on some extremist religious scholars (Ammarah, 2005: 89).

- Defending Islam against the alleged distortion by others and refuting their arguments are a prime aim. Furthermore, anyone who disagrees with this ideology or practice is an enemy and an unbeliever. Such enemies include the Muslim and non-Muslim, the Sunni and the Shiite, the liberal and the leftist, the nationalist and the broad-minded Muslim (Al-Mubarak, 2006). It is worth noting that for some fundamentalists, a believer is a member of their group, and anyone else is an unbeliever.

According to Al-Zawahri, the Al-Qaeda theologian, democracy means that the people have a right to legislate, whereas that right belongs to Allah alone.

Legislators for the people place themselves as Allah's equals, and whoever recognizes their legislation considers the legislator to be God-like. Democracy, then, is a new religion which should be resisted (Al-Zawahri, 2001).

Applying these concepts, Islamic fundamentalism have divided the world into two conflicting and opposing camps where co-existence is impossible because they are represented by the right and the wrong, Allah and the tyrant, the good and the evil, belief and disbelief, the Kingdom of Allah and the Kingdom of Land, Allah's rule and people's rule, and the land of peace and the land of war.

As indicated above, political and social criteria intrude on religious and ethical beliefs for Islamic fundamentalists. It might be said that they use religion as an ideological tool for circumstantial political goals and other objectives and that labelling of opponents as unbelievers is the objective cause of violence, extremism and ideological differentiation (Al-Mubarak, 2006: 112).

It is not surprising that some fundamentalist groups have disowned others, not because of any difference of faith and ideology but simply because they disagree about methods and practice. For example, the Emir of the Egyptian Jihad disowned the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood because, in the nineteen eighties, they condemned violence, accepted constitutional legitimacy and called for democracy as a legitimate means for change.

Jihad preachers no longer instruct people in goodness and justice or to deny evil by

peaceful means, logic and proof, but instead they use violence and terror in their way of preventing what they think to be sins people commit (Abdul-Azim, 2004).

They think that sins need to be prohibited by all means including violence. For fundamentalists, national ties are nothing more than racism , pre-Islamic tribalism and paganism as national bonds are simply loyalty to land.

Ammarah (2005) states, the Jihadists and their extremist religious guides ignore the explicit verses in the Qura'n that prohibit the killing of people, and that call for wisdom in preaching for Islam.

The doctrine of Jihad is deeply rooted in the ideas of the religious scholar Ibn Teimeih, who disagreed with Sunni scholars in many areas of the Islamic religion. The most important disagreement pertains to the qualities of Islamic rulers. He believed that a Muslim ruler should be powerful and honest, with power being the more important and necessary, though honesty complements power as it gives it idealism. This notion of the importance of power pushed into the background many other idealistic qualities specified by earlier scholars, such as piety, justice and efficiency (Abdul Hamid, 1997).

Sheikh Mohammed Bin Abdul Wahab, the Saudi religious scholar and an ally of the

founder of the First Saudi State, followed the path of Ibn Teimieh, as he presented a theoretical base for using force to assume power. In his judgment the nation was acting as unbelievers and his approaches would put the nation on the right path laid out by the pious predecessors (Al- Milliji, 2006).

3-2-2-1 Al-Qaeda's Political Ideology

Al-Qaeda has not confined its ideology to religious reformation but related it also to a political ideology and practice, as indicated in Al-Zawahri's book *Knights under the Banner of the Prophet*. Al-Zawahri (2001) believes that Al-Qaeda has been established to be an anti-Western fundamentalist alliance.

Al-Zawahri went further by saying that the Western powers use many tools to fight Islam, including the United Nations Organization, loyal rulers, international communication systems, news agencies, space channels. They also use international relief organizations as a cover for spying and Christian missions for political aims, coups and the transport of arms.

Al-Qaeda members believe in a tradition of Islamic fundamentalism in that they are trying to promote abidance by the Islamic legitimate proof and the tenets of the

Prophet Mohammed, his Caliphs and their successors (Ali, 2005; Ammarah, 1994). However, Al-Qaeda's beliefs differ from previous types of fundamentalism in taking a step forward from theory to practice.

Current Islamic fundamentalists consider that contemporary society is nothing more than pre-Islamic paganism, that governments are illegitimate because of their infidelity and that they should be overthrown by force and replaced by the Islamic Caliphate System as the ideal form of government.

3-2-3 Threat Assessment

In spite of declaring its responsibility for many of the international terrorist acts that have shaken the stability and peace of the world, there is no agreement among experts in the United States government or elsewhere about the extent of the threat to U.S. international interests posed by the Al-Qaeda organization. However, all experts agree that Al-Qaeda and its sympathizers maintain the intention to mount major attacks in the United States, against United States interests abroad and against Western countries.

Many believe that Al-Qaeda are no longer as capable of the kind of attack

witnessed on September the eleventh two thousand and one. Others believe that the United States and its allies have weakened Al-Qaeda's central leadership structure and capabilities to the point where it "serves more as inspiration than as an actual terrorism planning and execution hub" (Bergen, 2007: 150).

According to the above view, the threat from Al-Qaeda has been replaced by threats from a number of cells and groups that adhere to Al-Qaeda's ideology but have little contact with remaining Al-Qaeda leaders. Therefore, attacks on the 9/11 scale are unlikely because such operations require a high degree of co-ordination.

An alternative view is that the remaining Al-Qaeda leadership is still in contact with numerous Islamic militant cells and groups that continue to commit acts of terrorism, such as the July seventh two thousand and five and the bombing of the London underground. Thus, according to Kenneth Katzman, a specialist in Middle East affairs for the United States Congressional Research Service, Al-Qaeda may not have been weakened to the degree that some United States Administration officials assert, that a co-ordinated attack like 9/11 should not be ruled out (Katzman, August 17, 2005). There is no doubt that the United States of America and its allies have greatly weakened Al-Qaeda's capabilities, and it rarely now

occupies the news headlines, either in the Middle East or in the West.

It is not certain or at least established that Al-Qaeda have accepted this reality, or is re-organizing its forces for a major attack, or perhaps smaller attacks at different locations.

3-3 The Saudi-American Relationship

This part is concerned with discussing the development of the Saudi American relations and the implication of the September attacks on their bilateral relation. Numerous articles and studies both in the United States and Saudi Arabia have been concerned with the shift in the Saudi-American relations after the September events in two thousand and one (Blanchard, 2009; Pollack, 2002; Plotz, 2001; Brown, 1999; Hart, 1998; Rubin, 1981).

It is thus useful to reflect on the state of the relationship between the two countries in order to frame the views and perceptions of the selected writers.

The mutual relations between the two countries were drastically affected by the events, this was due to the fact that fifteen out of the nineteen hijackers, involved in the attacks were from Saudi Arabia. However, the issue of the Saudi-American

relations is an old one.

Hamza (1968) argues that there has been an extensive discussion in the American media and political circles about the Saudi–American friendship, this relationship goes back to the nineteen thirties and has continued to develop. Saudi Arabia in particular, and the Gulf region in general, are internationally important because of their geographically strategic position and the locus of the world’s largest oil reserves.

Because of this, the United States has given great attention to the region, especially after the Second World War with the oil discoveries in the region and the concessions given to the American companies. Since then, the ties between the two countries have developed and deepened (Brown, 1999; Nowaiser, 1987; Grayson, 1982).

The United States depended on Saudi oil and Saudi Arabia needed American technology and military protection. The Cold War and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August nineteen ninety were major factors in strengthening the alliance between most of the Gulf countries, headed by Saudi Arabia, and the USA. This became the opportunity for America to achieve a permanent military presence in the Gulf

region with the consent of its governments.

3-3-1 The impact of September 11 Events on the Saudi- American relations

Like most other countries, Saudi Arabia strongly condemned the 9/11 events that shocked the United States, but the involvement of fifteen Saudis out of the nineteen Al-Qaeda suspects, for this terrorist act cast its shadow on the Saudi-American relationship. The Saudis could argue that it had always co-operated with the international campaign led by the United States of America against terrorism and had, for instance, withdrawn Osama Bin Laden's Saudi nationality before 9/11.

The Saudis could also argue that they too were victims of Al-Qaeda activities because they targeted the Kingdom's security and damaged its international relationships, especially with the United States. However, there was the belief among some American administration, personnel, politicians and the media that Saudi Arabia was responsible in some way for Islamic terrorism and hatred of the West, particularly the United States of America.

The media played an important role in this. For instance, *News Week* considered that Afghanistan was not the origin of terrorism and after destroying Bin Laden's power there, the battle should confront terrorism in its real base in the Arab lands (*News Week*, 25 December 2001: 35). This was a clear reference to Saudi Arabia.

“The direct participation of 15 Saudi nationals in the September 11, 2001, terrorist

attacks kindled strong criticism in the United States of Saudi involvement in terrorism or of Saudi laxity in acting against terrorist groups. The attacks constituted the most serious challenge to United States-Saudi relations since the nineteen seventy three till nineteen seventy four oil embargo, and some analysts have since contended that Al Qaeda planners may have chosen a large number of Saudi participants for the attacks in an attempt to damage United States Saudi relations. Saudi officials have acknowledged the deeply negative effect the attacks had on Saudi Arabia's relations with the United States. Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden is a Saudi national, although Saudi authorities revoked his citizenship in 1994. Some critical commentators have gone as far as to accuse Saudi government officials of responsibility for the September 11 attacks through design or negligence" (Blanchard, 2009:6).

Many commentators believe that the United States media's distortion of the image of Saudi Arabia and Islam corresponded with the objectives of some Jewish movements in the United States (Olmsted, 2009; Fetzer, 2007; Broeckers, 2006; Barkun, 2003). The campaigns continued for twenty consecutive months and represented the climax of the Saudi-American relationship crisis. Nevertheless, both countries continued to assert that their relationships remained strong and strategic and would not be influenced by such campaigns (Al-Johmani, 2003).

In all formal statements the Saudi government and officials asserted that Saudi Arabia is a partner in combating violence and terrorism. The anti-Saudi campaign accelerated, when Saudi Arabia refused permission for the use of Saudi land for

military operations against Afghanistan in Two thousand and one and in Iraq in two thousand and three.

The anti-Saudi campaign grew fiercer on Twenty seventh of July when the *New York Times* revealed that, for national security reasons, President Bush had ordered twenty three pages about the involvement of Saudi Arabia in 9/11 to be deleted from the nine hundred page report on those events by the American security organizations, published in August two thousand and three.

This angered Saudi Arabia because the unpublished pages contained accusations against the Kingdom against which it could not defend itself. As the Saudi Ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, said, they could respond to published documents but not to blank pages. This statement by Prince Bandar was published by all Saudi newspapers as an official release.

The United States continued to attack Saudi Arabia and the United States administration began to reconsider its relations with Saudi Arabia. Firstly, it was claimed that the danger of Saudi Islamic radical movements had increased after the end of the Gulf War in nineteen ninety one, it also claimed that the school religion syllabus helped the development of radicalism (Kamil, 2003).

Secondly, they pointed to Saudi policies which might cause inconvenience for the American administration, such as supporting Hamas in Palestine (Henderson, 2002).

Thirdly, they recalled that the Saudi government had expressed the intention of possessing nuclear power and this could not be ignored since Iran, its neighbour and Shiite competitor, also wanted to develop nuclear power (Levi, 2003).

In the light of the United States fears and accusations, Saudi Arabia tried hard to maintain good relations with the United States and to prevent further deteriorations. On the other hand, as the cradle of Islam, Saudi Arabia had to defend the Islamic religion and civilization against the severe attacks upon it after 9/11 (Ghusaibi, 2002).

3-4 An Account of the History of Saudi press

It is thought that it is important to give a brief account of the historical development of the Saudi press, its role in the Saudi community and the range and limits of the government interventions.

The printing press was first introduced into Egypt with the French expedition of seventeen eighty eight and eighteen hundred and one and from there it spread to other parts of the Middle East. The Ottoman Government founded a printing press in Sanaa in eighteen hundred and seventy seven and another in Makkah in eighteen eighty three (Trazi, 1913). The Vali of Hijaz, Othman Pasha, founded the first government printing press in Hijaz which printed Hijaz Vilayeti Salnamesi (The Calendar of Hijaz), the books of the Holy Mosque at Makkah and the works of scholars who have previously printed their books in Egypt (Tashkandi, 1999).

Fakhri Pasha, Commandant of the Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah Garrison during the Ottoman regime, founded the Al-Hijaz Printing Press during the First World War (Mohammed Al-Ghashmi, 2004). In addition to the government printing presses, there were three private presses, including one owned by a partnership in Jeddah from nineteen hundred and nine, and an individually-owned one in Al Madinah from nineteen hundred and eleven (Hussein Nassif, 1930).

The first appearance of printed media in Hijaz during the Ottoman rule was a result of the growing political, economic and social awareness of the people.

3-4-1 Press Stages

The initial beginnings of the Saudi press came at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the years, the development of the Saudi press underwent three main stages that can be summarized as follows:

3-4-1-1 First Stage (1908-1924)

The paper, Hijaz Vilayeti Salnamah (The Calendar of Hijaz), was published in Turkish by the government printing press, (Tashkandi, 1999). It was not printed regularly, as two years elapsed between the first two issues. The contents included important historical events and information about the population and financial and administrative status of Hijaz (Al- Shamilh, 1981). After the issue of the Ottoman Constitution in nineteen hundred and eight, *Al-Hijaz* was published in Makkah Al

Mukaramah as the first official paper of the region.

The first issue was published on third of November nineteen hundred and eight, although it was a weekly edition, it was not printed on a fixed day of the week.

Whilst the publication was four pages, the first and fourth were in Arabic, while the second and third were in Turkish. The contents comprised formal news and laws, informal news and editorials, and government and non-government advertising. In nineteen hundred and fifteen, it was the only newspaper to continue under the Hashemite regime.

In nineteen hundred and nine, *Al-Hijaz* was followed by six other newspapers:

Shams Al-Hahaquiqa (Sun of the Truth) was published in both Arabic and Turkish by the Turkish Movement for Union and Progress. It was first published in Makkah on 16 February nineteen hundred and nine and printed at the State Printing Office.

Its editors were young Turks born in Al-Hijaz.

Though the paper was Turkish-biased, it was balanced in its treatment of issues relating to Arabs and their relationships with the Turks. It tried to avoid any discussion of Arab-Turkish conflicts and problems and tried hard to encourage

mutual co-operation (Ezzat, 1990). However, due to circulation problems it ceased after only three weeks.

Al-Islah Al-Hijazi (The Hijazi Reformation) appeared in Jeddah for the first time on the seventeenth of May nineteen hundred and nine and was distinguished for its good Arabic style, compared to *Hijaz* and *Shams Al-Hahaqiqa*, probably because its editors were Arabic-born speakers. However, it lasted for only six months (Al-Shamikh, 1981).

Safa Al-Hijaz (Purity of Al-Hijaz) was probably published by an Egyptian national named Ahmed Rifa'at Eskandrani, but only two issues appeared, the first on the twenty fourth of August, nineteen hundred and nine and the second on sixth of September, nineteen hundred and nine (Al-Amoodi, 1967: 191; Abdal Jabar, 1959: 155; Zarkaly, 1969: 1025).

Al-Rakeeb (The Controller or Watch Eye) was the first paper to be published in Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah in the state of Al-Hijaz and appeared in January, nineteen hundred and nine. It was hand written because of the lack of printing facilities in Al-Madinah (Al-Shamikh, 1981).

Al-Ghiblah appeared in Makkah in nineteen thousand and sixteen as a religious, political and social newspaper it represented the gazette of the new Hashemite regime (Al-Shamikh, 1971). It was a bi-weekly printed at the government printing press as a propaganda tool of the regime but, at a later stage, it announced its independence of the government.

Al-Falah (The Success) was published in Makkah in 1920 by the Syrian journalist escapee Omar Shakri, who had been sentenced to death in Damascus by the French authorities. The newspaper was originally published twice weekly and then once a week. It called for independence for the Arab countries and it supported Sharif Hussein in his pro-Arab calls and aspirations.

Its declared policy was to serve the Arabs and the Arabic language (Ezzat, 1990).

All these papers, except *Al-Ghiblah*, disappeared before Sharif Hussein took control of Hijaz after driving the Ottomans out of the region. As pointed out by Shamikh (1981) and Ezzat (1990), the papers were poorly written, mainly because the editors and owners were nonnative speakers of Arabic, and chosen for their expected loyalty to the Ottoman rulers on the assumption that they were more educated than the citizens of Hijaz (Shamikh, 1981).

According to Al-Shobaili (1971), the economic reasons behind the discontinuation of these papers were the low number of readers, lack of government financial funding, shortage of qualified staff and in some cases, shortage of printing facilities.

Politically, the Hijaz region was not stable in the first decades of the twentieth century as it witnessed a struggle between the Ottomans, the Hashemites, Saudis, and sometimes the Egyptians for control.

Each regime founded papers for political support but they disappeared with the fall of the regime. It was assumed that Hejaz people were more educated than citizens of the neighbouring regions because of their communication with other Muslims during the pilgrimage season every year.

The numbers of readers were not high enough for six newspapers (Al-Shbaili, 1971). This was reflected by *Shams Al-Haquiqa's (Sun of the Truth)* apology in its twenty first issue for its second non-appearance because of the low number of readers and the high cost of printing (Al-Shamikh 1981).

Some negative aspects characterized the press during the Ottoman regime. The first was that the newspapers were poorly written. The second was that their Turkish and Arab editors from outside Hejaz and they were not familiar with the culture of the

region.

The majority of papers were biased towards the Ottoman rulers, because they finance the papers. However, there were also some positive features. They helped to educate the people, in a broad sense, by encouraging them to read and they played an important role in the creation and advance of literature in Hejaz. Furthermore, the circulation of newspapers in Hejaz paved the way for the circulation in the region of newspapers and periodicals from other Arab countries. Journalists were able to raise certain social problems and to generate discussion and debate about them.

After all, commentators agree that the direct effect of the Saudi press during this initial stage was very limited because of illiteracy high rates and the inability of readers to deal with the complexity of the language of the press (Boyd, 2001; Kazan, 1993; Azzat, 1983; Lipsky et al, 1959).

3-4-1-2 Second Stage (1924-1963)

Barid Al-Hijaz (Hijaz Mail) was published in Jeddah in November, nineteen thousand and twenty four and was completely concerned with politics (Omar Al-

Tayeb Al-Sasi, 1986). It supported the Hashemite rule against King Abdul Aziz (Al-Shobaili, 1971), but this relationship weakened because it began to criticize the government. The paper covered international news , as a supporter of Sharif Hussein of Hijaz, it published a number of articles about the "Caliphate", as adopted by the Sharif (Ezzat, 1990). It contributed greatly to press development and progress and continued publication until King Abdul Aziz conquered Jeddah in 1924.

Umm Al-Qura (The Mother of All Villages) was the only official newspaper established during this period (December 1924) in Makkah and it is still published as the government's official newspaper. (Al-Sobaili, 1971)

Sawt Al-Hijaz (Voice of Hijaz) was the second newspaper to appear in Makkah Al-Mukarramah, and it was published from nineteen thirty two as a semi-weekly. The paper was important in the literary developments that began in the nineteen thirties , as indicated by its first chief editor it aimed to be a literary vehicle that unified the ideas, attitudes and cultures of the citizens. Indeed, its owner and manager described it as “the Hijaz literary renaissance” (Zuhair M. Jameel Kutbi, 1990). However, some of the chief editors tried to concentrate on news more than on literature

because they thought literature was for magazines (Mohammed S. Al-Amoudi, 1967).

Al-Sabben (1963) reports about one chief editor wished more than anything else for the paper to be published twice a week or daily, and to carry deep political, economic and social affairs articles, leaving literature and fine arts for specialized magazines).

Al-Madina Al-Munawarra was a weekly, and then semi-weekly, of four pages published by its founder and owner, Othman Hafiz, at Al-Madina Al-Munawarrah from the eighth of April, nineteen thirty seven. The editorial responsibilities were shared by a number of Saudi journalists, including its founder and his brother (Othman Hafiz, 1938).

The paper encouraged and supported the literary movement so that the city of Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah became an intellectual centre similar to Jeddah and Makkah (Ahmed Saeed, 1993). Like other newspapers, it suffered from financial difficulties and the scarcity of printing paper during the Second World War, which caused its disappearance for six years from fourteenth of July nineteen forty one. Since its re-appearance on fifteenth of July nineteen forty seven, it has been

published daily at Jeddah by the Al-Madina Press Establishment, one of the largest press corporations in the Kingdom.

Akhbar Al-Dhahran (Dhahran News), initially called *Dahran* when it was founded in Dammam in January nineteen fifty four was the first newspaper in the Eastern region. It ceased publication in April nineteen fifty seven but restarted in nineteen sixty one, only to close again in nineteen sixty three with the passing of the Press Establishments Act (Abdul Karim Al- Zaid, 1992; Tounsi, 1985).

Al-Nadwah (The Panel) was a popular semi-weekly issued in nineteen sixty by the Al-Nadwah Printing and Publishing House with Ahmed Al-Siba'ai as its publisher. After eleven months, it merged with *Hera*, first published in nineteen fifty six (Ezzat, 1990) and it has continued to appear under its original name.

Al-Qasim was published in Bureidah from nineteen fifty nine. It ceased publication after the enactment of Press Establishment Act in nineteen sixty four (Al-Ghashami, 2005).

Al-Jazirah (The Peninsula) was founded by Abdullah Bin Khamis in Riyadh in April nineteen sixty as a monthly magazine that became a weekly and, now, a

daily. (Al- Shobaili, 2002).

Okaz was a weekly issued in Taif in nineteen sixty and printed in Jeddah. It ceased publication with the enforcement of the Press Establishments Act in nineteen sixty three, but then resumed publication in conformity with the Act. Currently, the *Okaz* Press Corporation is one of the largest press organisations in the Kingdom, and *Okaz* is the largest selling newspaper in the Kingdom (Sameeh Abdul Bagi, 1987).

3-4-1-3 Third Stage (1963-now)

This period is known as the 'press establishment period' because it witnessed the change from individual ownership, to press establishments in order to break the monopoly of the press. By virtue of a royal decree in nineteen sixty three, new press establishments were created, whereby the establishments that owned and published newspapers, as shown in Table 3-1 . Two significant events characterize this stage in the development of the Saudi press. These are the Gulf War and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in nineteen ninety and the September attacks in two thousand and one. Observers argue that the two events encouraged the Saudi newspapers to be more involved in international and world affairs.

Table 3-1: A list of the Saudi papers and publishers created based on the royal decree in 1963

Owner and publisher	Location	Name	Type
Al-Bilad Establishment	Jeddah	Al-Bilad	Daily newspaper

		(amalgamation of <i>Al-Bilad Al-Saudia</i> and <i>Arafat</i>) (Al-Shamikh, 1981)	
Al-Jazeera Establishment	Riyadh	Al-Jazeera	Daily newspaper
Okaz Establishment	Jeddah	Okaz Saudi Gazette	Daily newspaper
Al-Madinah Establishment	Jeddah	Al-Madinah	Daily newspaper
Makkah Printing and Publishing House	Macca	Al-Nadwah	Daily newspaper
Al-Yamamh Press Establishment	Riyadh	Al-Riyadh	Daily in Arabic and English editions
Dar-Alyoum	Damman	Al-Youm	Daily newspaper
Al-Shargiyah Company	Damman	Al-Sharq	Weekly magazine
Al-Dawah Al-Islamiya	Riyadh	Al-Dawah	Weekly magazine
Asir Establishment	Southern Region	Al-Watan	Daily newspaper

The royal decree gives the government the right to dissolve a press establishment if the Ministry of Information concludes that is in the public interest, and it holds the editor-in-chief responsible to the Ministry of Information (Al-Harthi, 1983). Purely scientific, cultural and economic magazines are exempted from the decree.

Today, more newspapers are published in Saudi Arabia than in the previous stages. However, as argued by Al-Sobaili (1971), the main problem facing the Saudi press is the lack of freedom. Likewise, Kabha (2007) comments:

“Although the 1982 Royal Decree on Press Publications guarantees freedom of expression, this has to be within the ethos of Islamic values and national political aims..... all criticism of the royal family and religious authorities is forbidden. The government can dismiss editors and censor material, and the religious establishment also has a powerful influence on the news agenda. Sources of news from other countries are censored, as well as the internet” (2007: 125).

As a result, most newspapers lose their identities, and they are all similar in their political orientation. The same applies to the papers' websites, as they also have to abide by the government rules and to keep to and convey the government's policies. Any deviation exposes the newspaper/website editor to questioning, and possibly punishment.

It is worth mentioning that, after 9/11, the Saudi government changed the name of the ‘Ministry of Information’ to ‘Ministry of Culture and Information’ in the hope that the media would provide a greater coverage of culture, at the expense of news,

and that this might help to diminish extremism and promote openness and dialogue between different cultures.

Obviously, all the newspapers included in this research have websites. The study does not collect articles from websites for four main reasons.

Firstly, in two thousand and one, not all newspapers had websites, for example, *Al-Hayat* did not establish a website until two thousand and two.

Secondly, printed articles are more trustworthy because website entries can be changed or removed.

Thirdly, sometimes there are differences between what is published in the website and what is printed in the newspapers.

Finally, this study started looking in two thousand and seven at articles published in two thousand and one; during this period, some articles had disappeared from websites, and some papers, such as *Al-Madinah*, had established a new website and discarded the old one.

3-4-2 Evaluation

The hallmark of the Saudi press now, is the monarchy's totally pervasive control over whatever is published in the newspapers. Newspaper editors have to obey the restrictions imposed by the Saudi government, simply because newspapers need royal decrees to be created and the newspapers editors themselves are appointed by the Saudi Minister of Information. Furthermore, the Ministry of Interior plays a crucial role in determining the content and news coverage of the Saudi newspapers.

Editors-in-chief generally receive written guidelines restricting their coverage of local and domestic news and their attitudes towards foreign policy issues (Arab Press Freedom Watch, May 27, 2002). The Saudi authorities often argue that they have to control the content of the media in general to protect the society from any material that may violate Islam, or the Saudi established traditions and culture.

These explanations indicate that the Saudi authorities have made no secret of their determination to control the content of the newspapers, and believe that editors-in-chief need to share the responsibility in delivering the information to readers and protecting the society from any dangers that can shake its stability.

There are numerous reports that point to the intervention of the Saudi authorities in framing the news coverage of the Saudi newspapers (The State of Arab Media 2001, Arab Press Freedom Watch, http://www.apfwatch.org/en/annual_report/2001/4). These and others indicate clearly that newspapers are not totally free to publish whatever they believe to be right. They have an upper authority they need to refer to and obey.

3-5 Summary

This chapter was designed to give a general background about Saudi Arabia, its relations with the United States, the development of al-Qaeda organization and its implications to the Saudi-American relations, and finally the development of Saudi press. The link between these issues is that some basic knowledge is required for better understanding the analyses and results of the study.

It has been indicated that though the Saudi-American relations are based on mutual interests and these are used to be good and friendly, the September events in two thousand and one had its negative impact on the strategic relations between the two countries.

The chapter also referred to the three stages in the development of al-Qaeda organization. At the first stage, the members of Jihadist groups directed their attention to domestic issues and targets in their own Muslim countries. At the second stage, the Soviet Union was the target with its invasion of Afghanistan. At the third stage, Al-Qaeda with its modern sense was established with the perception that the United States is the greater enemy that should be challenged everywhere in the world.

Finally, the chapter listed the three stages in the development of the Saudi press. At the very beginning, the Ottoman Government, in control of most of Hijaz before and during the First World War, and also the founded the first government printing press in Makkah in 1883; there were also some privately-owned newspapers though these usually did not last long because of financial problems. Currently, newspapers in Saudi Arabia are owned by establishments set up in response to the requirements of the Royal Decree of nineteen sixty three, which required individually-owned papers to merge into press establishments. The editors-in-chief are appointed by the government, and they have to abide by the government policy.

Chapter 4 : Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This chapter addresses the issue of using content analysis in the investigation of the selected articles with the purpose of identifying and measuring the degree of diplomatic and political concern, which was expressed by Saudi journalists in relation to the September eleventh attacks and analysing any changes in their attitudes towards the United States and the American culture.

The rationale is that content analysis can be usefully used in addressing research questions, since it is a scholarly methodology that is concerned with the investigation of texts in terms of authorship, authenticity and meaning (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002, Rosengren, 1981; Holsti, 1969; Berelson, 1952).

Over the last sixty years content analysis has been widely used in communication studies, examining content ranging from White House coverage in world leading newspapers to environmental issues in local newspapers (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 2005). Here, content analysis is used to identify and count the occurrences of specific characteristics within the selected articles, enabling the writers' attitudes and ideologies to be analysed. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows:

Part 4-1 defines content analysis, its requirements, applications, classifications and advantages. Part 4-2 discusses the applications of content analysis in media and

communication studies. This includes a discussion of the philosophy of language , framing theory and its relation to debates about discourse-versus-content analysis.

Part 4-3 explains the process of designing a content analysis. This includes variable identification and the adopted coding mechanism used in this study.

Part 4-4 is a summary.

4-1 Content analysis

Content analysis is an established scholarly methodology in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business studies (Neuendorf, 2002). It dates back to the nineteen thirties when it was first developed by Alfred Lidesmith to refute existing hypotheses. Then it greatly flourished in the nineteen sixties when it came to be widely used by researchers in different disciplines, who thought it was useful in dealing with large amounts of textual information.

Now content analysis is widely used in almost all disciplines ranging from social sciences, humanities, law and healthcare. However, the use of content analysis in communication and journalism studies remains one of the most important research techniques in the two disciplines.

4-1-1 Definition

Content analysis has been given numerous definitions. One of the earlier definitions given to the term is Kaplan's (1943), who defines the term as "the statistical semantics of political discourse" (1943: 230). However, the first theoretically consistent definition can be attributed to Berelson (1952). He defines the term as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication" (1952: 118).

According to Berelson, content analysis is based on the assumption that inferences about the relationship between intent and content, or between content and effect are correctly made, or that the actual relationship can be established; the study of the manifest text is meaningful; and the quantitative description of communication content is expressive. These assumptions indicate that the frequency of various features of the content is an important factor in the communication process. This definition has stimulated a growing volume of output and increasing recognition.

Lasswell, Lerner and Pool (1954) defined it as a technique that aims to describe, with optimum objectivity, precision and generality, what is said on a particular subject in a particular place at a particular time. Similarly, Cartwright (1953) uses

the two terms ‘content analysis’ and ‘coding’ interchangeably to refer to “the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of any symbolic behavior” (1953: 24).

Later, Kelinger (1973) supported Berelson’s argument in the sense that content analysis is best perceived as a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.

Berelson’s definition has been subjected to criticism. The main argument against Berelson’s approach is that it is only concerned with the statistical quantitative aspects of content analysis. Gerbner (1958), a prominent professor of communication and the founder of cultivation theory, claims that Berelson’s definition is very limited since it makes content analysis restricted to purely quantitative analysis. He explains that Berelson’s definition does not match the role and purpose of content analysis since it is only concerned with the formal characteristics and processes of design and coding with no mention of consequential meaning-oriented content analysis.

In the same way, Holsti (1969) argues that content analysis is a broad term that is

best described as "any technique for making inferences by objectivity and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (1969:14). This is also in agreement with Budd, Thorp and Donohue's (1967) view that content analysis is a systematic technique for analysing messages, message handling and content, as a tool for observing and analyzing overt communication behavior.

Walizer and Wienir (1978) defined the concept as any orderly procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information.

In his assessment of content analysis as a technique and method in social sciences and communication studies, Krippendorff (2004) argues that until the nineteen eighties, content analysis was narrowly perceived. It was just used as:

"a shallow counting game, motivated by a journalistic fascination with numbers and a narrow conception of science in which quantitative measurement provides the only evidence that counts" (2004: XIII),

which placed content analysis at a crossroads, as he describes it. He maintains that recently, content analysis has undergone radical changes and transformations:

"Today, content analysis has become an efficient alternative to public opinion

research, a method of tracking markets, political leanings, and emerging ideas; it is used as a way to settle legal disputes and as an approach to the exploration of individual human minds-not to dwell on the many improvements that content analysts have made in traditional content analytic inquiries of the mass media” (2004: XIV).

In the light of the above argument, it can be claimed that content analysis can be productively used in this thesis. This can be justified as follows:

- First, content analysis is now involved in different disciplines and theories (such as text analysis, critical discourse analysis, cognitive sciences, and artificial intelligence). This interdisciplinary feature of content analysis has become imperative in communication studies, especially after the shift in interest from small collections of printed messages to electronic systems with its availability in very large volumes, and this makes the use of content analysis in this study encouraging.
- Second, this thesis is based on numerous samples collected from a number of newspapers which makes it difficult for non-numeric methods to process the data efficiently (Hostli, 1969). In the face of this, content

analysis is adopted because of its numeric and quantitative potentials.

- Thirdly, content analysis is based on numeric facts; therefore, the results obtained are both objective and replicable. Thus, they are reliable. Krippendorff (2004) supports this claim arguing that content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”...and “as a research technique; content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data” (2004:18).

Like all research techniques, its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of 'facts', and a practical guide to action. He stresses the importance of reliability by saying that

"any instrument of science is expected to be reliable. When other researchers, at different points in time, and perhaps under different circumstances, apply the same technique to the same data, the results must be the same. This is the requirement of a content analysis to be replicable".

- Fourth, the literature suggests that content analysis is appropriate in cases of investigating decision-makers' attitudes during international conflicts and crises, or in dealing with enemy propaganda (Holsti, 1969).

- Fifth, content analysis makes it possible to conduct comparisons between the contents of the selected data without investigating the intentions of writers which can be based on subjectivity. In other words, content analysis enables its users to arrive at quantitative conclusions for contents which are naturally qualitative.

This makes it useful for this study which is concerned not only with variable frequencies and occurrences, but also with measuring the consistencies and changes in the attitudes of journalists involved in the study.

4-1-2 Uses and applications

In addition to being particularly well suited for investigating discourse elements within the selected data, content analysis has further advantages. Most importantly it is a systematic tool for data collection, answering research questions and validating research hypotheses in communication studies (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 2005; Abdulhamid, 1983; Rosengren, 1981). More uses of content analysis can be summarized as follows:

Berelson (1952: 33-34) maintains that content analysis helps in describing trends in communication content, tracing the development of scholarship, disclosing

international differences in communication content, comparing media or levels of communication, examining communication content against objectives, constructing and applying communication standards, aiding technical research operations (for example, to code open-ended questions in survey interviews), measuring the readability of communication materials, exposing propaganda techniques, discovering stylistic measures, identifying the intentions and other characteristics of communicators, determining the psychological status of persons or groups, detecting the existence of propaganda (primarily for legal purposes), securing political and military intelligence, selecting attitudes, interests, and values (cultural patterns) of population groups; and describing attitudes and behavioural responses to communications.

Hsia (1988: 320) adds that content analysis can be systematically used for detecting policy emphasis, shifts and differences, authenticating authorship of novels, articles, poems, or music, exploring propaganda techniques and methods, study of personality, style, and behavioural patterns, detecting the achievement or orientation of the society, asserting trends, patterns, and underlying meanings of communication, comparing different forms, modes, and kinds of communications;

and measuring reliability.

4-1-3 Classification of Content Analysis

Numerous classifications have been given to content analysis. It is often classified into two broad categories: conceptual and relational. The former is thought of as establishing the existence and frequency of concepts, and most often represented by words and phrases in a text. On the other hand, relational analysis goes one step further by examining the relationships among concepts in a text. Janis (1965) also classifies content analysis into the following categories:

- Pragmatic content analysis: procedures that classify signs as to their probable causes or effects. For example, counting the number of times something is repeated and if it is likely to produce a favourable effect on a given audience. While it is true that repetition keeps the issue alive in the mind of the recipient, this researcher doubts that it is a tool for gaining support.
- Semantic content analysis: procedures which classify signs according to their meaning, irrespective of the particular words that may be used to make the reference. This is of particular significance in speech as

body language and facial expressions, for example, may convey more than the words themselves convey.

- Designation analysis: the frequency with which certain objects (people, things, groups, or concepts) are referred to. This includes:

(1) Assertion analysis: the frequency with which certain objects are characterized in a particular way.

4-2 Content analysis in media and communication studies

Over the last six decades content analysis has been widely used in media and communication studies, where different sources such as newspapers, magazines, broadcast media, and World Wide Web sites have been involved (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 2005). Being a simple, workable, and scientifically sound method has encouraged communication researchers to use it as a quantitative medium for enquiry and investigation.

Hassan (2000) holds the opinion that content analysis is a reliable approach that can be usefully used in different disciplines, especially media and communication studies where it can be used for describing the apparent and explicit content of the

media material. For instance, it can be used in order to examine the intellectual, cultural, political or religious background or ideologies as reflected in the messages conveyed by writers or speakers.

Although content analysis has been used in media and communication studies for different purposes, the main motivation for adopting it in such studies can be summed up in the word objectivity. In their pursuit of objective assessment and analyses of media and newspapers content, researchers have been fascinated by the numerical potentials of content analysis. With the availability of electronic text in big volumes, content analysis can be applied on a larger scale.

The idea is that many reviews have been accused of lacking objectivity. That is why researchers found in content analysis a tool by which they can achieve objectivity. Furthermore, it is a reliable technique for measuring the amount of something, violence, racism and many others in a sample collection (Berger, 1982). It is thus a consistent tool in the investigation or analysis of messages and communications. giving insight into the people who receive these messages.

Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2004) support this argument as indicating that content analysis is systematic and replicable, it can be usefully used in the examination of

symbols of communication. The latter are assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption.

Although the issue of objectivity is highlighted in media and communication studies, Holsti (1969) argues that purely descriptive information about content, unrelated to other attributes of documents or to the characteristics of the sender or recipient of the message, is of little value. Accordingly, he suggests that content analysis should use both quantitative and qualitative techniques so that they supplement each other. He explains that the qualitative approach tries to reveal the latent dimensions of the text through interpretation, as exemplified by personality characteristics of the text, the authors and their attitudes towards other people, leading to attribution of the meaning of their actions.

The above is in agreement with Berelson's (1952) view of the importance of including the context. He suggests that content analysis of printed text should include, , the newspaper where the text is printed, the page number, the sources

referred to in the text, and the country where the paper is printed. Obviously this depends on the context of the study.

In this content analysis, applications have come to include other theoretical qualitative frameworks in the study and analysis of newspaper articles and media collections. These included textual analysis, critical linguistics, sentence structure, social roles and power. For convenience reasons this thesis is only concerned with the framing theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA). These are quite suitable for the selected data and study objectives.

The rationale is that the study is concerned with the speakers' ideologies, and the investigation and knowledge of context are important elements, in providing sound interpretations of the results generated by the quantitative methods of content analysis.

These make CDA convenient for the study's objectives. Furthermore, framing theory is suitable to the nature of the data, which are selections of newspapers articles. The framing theory and CDA are used for supplementing the quantitative numerical values generated by content analysis statistical methods.

4-2-1 Framing theory

News Frame Analysis Theory is one of the widely used current approaches in measuring the inherent content of information messages contained in media forms.

It enables researchers to get a well-organized interpretation of the role of the media, in forming thoughts and opinions about important current issues and public responses, and interaction with these issues, whether emotionally or paradigmatically (D'Angelo and Kuypers, 2009; Archetti, 2007; Kent, 2006; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Norris, Kern, and Just, 2003).

The term 'frame' was introduced by the sociologist Bateson (1955) and developed by Berger and Luckmann (1966). It refers to the means employed by different groups to classify their collective experience in certain categories, and to recall these categories to develop new information and experience and give them an essence.

In other words, it is a method for understanding phenomena and recognizing their dimensions. In this, the terms frame, framing, and framework were interchangeably used as they have very close meanings. They have been used to identify trends for language and vocabulary usage, and suggest their comprehensive and accurate

understanding (Goffman, 1974; Kaplan, 1964). The term has been usually associated with different theoretical concepts that are used in academic disciplines.

Goffman (1974) argues that frames are the basic mechanisms of understanding what is going on in our society and making sense of out of our events. As such, they have the potential to be used in order to engage in activities such as play. Goffman coined the term 'key' to refer to the way in which speakers or writers can use and exploit the frame, for the purpose of communicating play activities, jokes, irony, half-serious issues, and so forth.

In a bi-lingual community speakers may employ the language not typically related to their group, this is done in order to detach them from what they are saying. The same result can be accomplished “in a monolingual context by strategic use of speech genres, styles, etc. stereotypically associated with other groups” (1974: 178).

Entman (1993) developed Goffman's theory further, and argues that media framing is to;

"select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem

definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993: 52).

The development of framing concept as a unique term in communication studies has come with the revival of conceiving the media as an important element in forming public opinion, and determining individuals' trends and ideologies (Mattelart & Matteleart, 1998). The theory was thus developed essentially in order to deal with different issues and public trends and public policy, making particular reference to issues of increasing public sensitivity or common interest.

The main assumption of framing theory is that media forms draw attention of the audience to certain events; thus, framing can have a significant influence on the recipients' perceptions. The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition, but it expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand, rather than on a particular topic.

4-2-1-1 News

The term news has been given numerous yet different definitions, and there is no agreement among scholars concerning its meaning (Hester, 1971). Westley (1963)

defines it as;

"anything timely that is interesting and significant to readers in respect to their personal affairs or their relation to society, and the best news is that which possesses the greatest interest and significance for the greatest number" (1963: 333).

In this definition the main constituents of news are timeliness, readers' interests, importance and its effect on people. On the other hand, Friedlander, March, and Materson (1987) define news as "what has happened recently that is important to you in your daily life" (1987: 4). It may be argued that some news may not be important to one's daily life, yet should still be considered as newsworthy.

According to Ferguson and Pattern (1986) news is simply what newspapers print. The obvious deficiency in this definition is that not everything printed in a newspaper is news. Martin and Chaudhary (1983) define news as what satisfies one's curiosity. In this sense, news is a universal notion because every individual has curiosity.

For Metz (1977) the qualities of news include timeliness, immediacy, distinction,

final results and human interests, and these are the components which an experienced reporter or editor should consider in deciding what to include in a story or a newspaper.

Desmond (1937) considers news to be the material of civilisation, the substance of today, the "echo" of yesterday, and the "shadow" of tomorrow. This definition relates news to the past, the present and possible future events. Government authorities as exemplified by the First Royal Commission on the British Press (The Ross Commission, 1947-49, cited in Hetherington, 1987, p.2), consider that the two components common to news are, that the event must be interesting to the public, that is the newspaper's readers, and also the event must be fresh, freshness is measured in a newspaper office in terms of minutes. Others give more importance to a news report than to other media products.

Thussu (2009) states that "News is not merely a media product but a vehicle for engagement in the democratic process, feeding off and into domestic politics and international relations" (2009: 2).

The term news was differently perceived over the period of the Cold War. For Marxist scholars, it was an ideological tool that served the interests of the state and

the Communist Party. In the former Soviet Union, events were considered newsworthy if they served the advancement of the communist society (Lendvai, 1981). To achieve the propaganda objectives, Lendvai quoted Pravda's statement that "the press should not provide a simple photography of facts, an account of what happened, but a target-oriented description of events, phenomena and novelties" (1981: 13).

News is perceived in the West as "factual", "complete" and "reasonably balanced", while in the former Soviet Union it was one of the methods of propaganda" (Markham, 1967:142). According to the UNESCO (1980), news emphasis should be on the need to place events and issues in a broader context, this would create awareness and ensure a presentation that is as accurate and as objective as possible.

Information can be used as a national resource and as an educational tool, even when the message can never be neutral, but the criteria for the definition of news may differ according to the needs of different countries and societies. UNESCO's definition differs from others in considering news as an educational tool and a national resource. This study perceives news as information about recent events and happenings as reported by newspapers.

4-2-1-2 News Frames

A news frame is a concept that brings together a number of theoretical inputs with the aim of considering the role of the news media and their impacts. It is also the main component of the theory of news frame analysis, which is one of the most important tools for contemporary communication studies. News frames are conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information.

The increasing dependence of audience and readers on communication forms over recent decades has had an increasingly significant role of communicating media in forming public opinion. The press in particular has played a very effective role in forming public opinion, and the press and the news have become a social necessity, leading to organized and scientific press activity (Gamson, 1996; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Gasmon and Lasch, 1983).

It is argued that "Journalists operate within a set of assumptions or frames, which provide a way of organizing and filtering the information that they receive and which they subsequently transmit as news" (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007: 94).

Goffman (1974) suggests that news framing allows media audiences to locate, perceive, identify and label information about any region in the world. Choi (2004) agrees that “the general principle of the theory is that journalists highlight some features of reality and bar other features in the news production process” (2004:5).

Gitlin (1980) suggests that framing components “are repetition forms for recognition of knowledge, selection, salience, explanation and giving away routine symbols in addressing” (1980:6). This enables pressmen to handle a large quantity of data with speed and organization. It is also useful for the recognition of data and categorization to give the public the appropriate answer pertaining to different issues. This indicates that frames are indicators that distinguish the news text, as well as strategies for interpretation and data assimilation by the public.

Frames enable journalists to possess large amounts of information, to assign it to cognitive categories and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences. Thus, Gitlin focuses on forms of cognition, understanding and arrangement of news events.

The implication of the above argument for this thesis is that media framing is perceived as "central organizing ideas or storyline that provides meaning to an

unfolding strip of events” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143). It is the process in which the media create the images that reflect and filter reality. Accordingly, journalists do strive to report news objectively, but in an effort to quickly comprehend and organize news material in a systematic and efficient manner, they tend to engage in a process of framing. In constructing frames, journalists simplify, highlight, and make more salient certain aspects of reality, while obscuring others.

Recent studies have introduced the idea of the ‘news pattern’, which looks at the textual, ideological and indicative frames. This visualizes a frame as a map composed of pieces arranged within a specific image and which contribute to forming patterns out of the main opinions (Kitzinger, 1995). Nonetheless, as news patterns are associated with important events, news frame analysis is appropriate for the study of the press handling of the different public issues.

This analysis enables a more scrutinising examination of the inherent text and its dimensions, which compliment visualization of the different issues with different degrees of importance (Lieber and Bendix, 1996). Five theoretical frames are proposed: the conflict frame, the human impact frame, the economic consequence frame, the morality frame and the responsibility frame (Shen, 2004; Hakansson,

2000; Semekto & Valkenburg, 2000).

Entman (2004: 130) argues that frames perform four main functions:

- Define problems, the causing factor, and profits and losses measured for the most part through cultural values
- Diagnose the causes and determine what or who caused the problem, identify the ethical values for the causes and their effects
- Suggest and identify how to treat the problem and to anticipate the probable effects.

In their portrayal of frame-alignment, Snow and Benford (1988: 127) argue that it is an important element in social mobilization. When individual frames become linked in matching and reflections, "frame alignment" occurs, producing "frame resonance". The frame resonance is a medium in the process of a group making the transition from one frame to another. Nevertheless, not all framing efforts prove successful. The four conditions that affect or strain framing efforts are:

The robustness, completeness, and thoroughness of the framing effort: Snow and Benford (1988) categorize three main framing-tasks, and state that the degree to which frame designers attend to these tasks will determine participant mobilization.

These are diagnostic framing, which identifies a problem and assigns blame for it; prognostic framing, which suggests solutions to a problem, including strategies, and tactics; and motivational framing, which is a call to arms or a rationale for action.

The relationship between the proposed frame and the larger belief-system. If the frame designer links the frame to only one core belief or value that has a limited range within the larger belief system, the frame is likely to be discounted.

Relevance of the frame to the realities of the participants. A frame must seem appropriate and informative to participants. Empirical reliability or testability can restrict appropriateness. Since the frame relates to the participant's experience, the frame must fit in with the existing cultural illusions and narrations.

Cycles of protest (Tarrow 1983) In essence this represents the point at which the frame emerges on the timeline of the current era and existing pre-occupations with social change. Previous frames may affect efforts to enforce a new frame.

Frame-alignment may be frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extensions, or frame transformation. Frame bridging involves the "linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular

issue or problem" (Snow and Benford, 1986: 467).

It also involves the linkage of a movement to "un-mobilized sentiment pools or public opinion preference clusters" (1986: 467) of people who share similar views or grievances but who lack an organizational base. Frame amplification refers to "the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem, or set of events" (Snow and Benford, 1986: 469) and usually involves the strengthening of values or beliefs.

Frame extensions represent an effort to incorporate participants by extending the boundaries of the proposed frame to include the views, interests, or sentiments of targeted groups. Frame transformation becomes necessary when the proposed frames "may not resonate with, and on occasion may even appear antithetical to conventional lifestyles or rituals and extant interpretive frames" (Snow and Benford, 1986: 473).

In such a case, obtaining participants' support requires new values, new meanings and understandings. Goffman (1974) calls this "keying", whereby "activities, events, and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework, in terms of another framework" (Snow and Benford, 1986:

474) are seen differently.

Two types of frame transformation exist:

- Domain-specific transformations, such as the attempt to change the status of groups of people
- Global interpretive frame-transformation, where the scope of change seems quite radical, such as a change in world-views, total conversions of thought, or uprooting of everything familiar. Moving from communism to market capitalism, religious conversion, would be examples of such radical changes.

4-2-1-3 Features of news frames

Kitzinger (1995: 70) lists the main features of news frames as follows:

- News frames are important events of a continuous life cycle that extend beyond the current events.
- They are used to clarify current events through comparison, and most usually used to point out important issues and social problems.
- They are characterized by simplicity in transmitting the main event,

overlooking some details and facts and focusing on others.

- They are characterized by strength, and most probably unseen influences.

News media present a special 'reading' of the event or the issue for the recipient.

The recipient will be influenced and his/her understanding will be associated with what is presented by the media. The impact is not confined to the news but extends to other content, because editorial policy, largely determines the type of material to be published in the media as well as its style.

Sociologists tend to concentrate on the main heading and look at signs and patterns used by the media, where the shared responsibility has two dimensions. The first is the causal dimension, where the focus is on the origin of the issue and its important causes. The second is the treatment dimension that concentrates on reducing the problem and seeking a solution for it. For example, when handling the problem of poverty, the causal dimension investigates the reasons for poverty while the treatment dimension investigates ways in which the problem can be reduced.

Framing is a wide concept and, therefore, some researchers use synonyms. Most prominent among these are schemas, social narratives, social meanings, tone of coverage and media package. Furthermore, the concept of frame has influenced

media studies and there are numerous examples of its application in studies of the means of communication. For example, frame dominates issues of terrorism, both for the culprit, the victim and election campaigns, for the loser and the winner.

Various communication studies have focused on both the quantity and nature of the data received by the public from the media. Recently, increasing attention has also been given to the style of writing in a news item. This includes the ideological construction, the narrative style and the relationship with the public's interpretation, values and judgment for a particular issue (Taha, 2001).

4-2-1-4 Framing Variables

Lynegar (1993) defines the effect of framing as variables in judgments, generated by variables in defining the issue or its selection. He maintains that framing the news narrative can be comprehended as an effect, liable to happen through the characteristics of the news narrative, its organization, also how its general content is specified and how certain ideas are extracted. These characteristics activate the frame and influence the evaluation of the news by the public.

Framing depends on two principles that structure the full image about a crisis, visualize the effectual elements of a crisis or present glimpses of the participants in a crisis. The two principles are:

Firstly, the frame that the media use in handling a crisis and the aspects to which they give prominence.

Secondly, the way in which the media builds an image of an issue, and the developments of that issue, in order to influence public support.

Tuchman (1978) says that media personnel may redesign the events in the form of words or meanings and images, that represent a window through which people can see the world. Lippmann (1922) agrees, saying that the world we imagine through

the media's presentation of the news affects what people do, and the nature of what they adopt.

4-2-1-5 Communication Process Elements

Since a media frame influences the public and since it contains a sentence or sentences that cause influence, some researchers have identified four elements in the communication process (Pearson and Nelson, 1994; Martin, Leben and Martin, 1988):

- Communicators, who set down the governing frames, determine what is to be said. They are governed by their knowledge and professional pressures, such as the pattern of authority, ownership and financing. These factors and others determine editorial policy, in addition, there are professional factors, such as the space or column inches available and the speed with which the job needs to be done.
- The text that contains frames that focus on certain words, routine patterns, information sources and expressions, which introduce a collection of facts and judgments about the subject to be handled. The text should be meaningful and easily retrieved by the public.

- The recipient who receives the frames that govern his or her perception, as desired by the text frame and the intentions of the communicator.
- Culture, which in this context may be defined as a system of frames, which is evident in the thinking of most people of a particular social stratum (Ismail, 2001). Abu Rasheed (2005) points out that communicators decide what the public has to say, as governed by their frames, which includes their ideological beliefs, deliberately or otherwise.

Some researchers have questioned the possibility of objectivity by communicators, since they are influenced by frame references for their own culture, environment, beliefs, ideological trends, social organizations and also their upbringing and personal characteristics. In addition, there are controls such as media rules and policies, the political environment of the country in which they operate. All this may well cause the communicator to confuse the public, when the latter wants to make a balanced evaluation of the news.

As cited by Abu Rasheed (2005), this led Alice Hall to suggest that it is difficult for the public to accept data or proofs for an issue, which has been set down in a specific frame not acceptable to his or her frame of thinking (Abu Rasheed, 2005).

Moreover, some researchers contend that, even if equal space or time were allotted to two opposing views, it is unlikely that this would lead to balanced or neutral data, since the essence of bias is in the text (Salah ed Din, 2001).

4-2-1-6 Mechanism of the Frame and Tools for Framing

The essence of framing is either concentrating on or giving little attention to certain elements of a narrative. Repetition and linking are also key devices in frames (Abu Rasheed, 2005). A frame directs the attention of the recipient, not only by providing data, but also by offering clues about how to interpret the data. Some studies of frame analysis consider that the frank content of the media message represents the top of the iceberg that floats on water, but the body or implicit content is hidden beneath the water.

These studies have become a direct reason why frame analysis research, is studied more closely at the inherent meaning of the media message. Entman (2004) concludes that news frames are embodied in specified tools, such as keywords that influence the perception of the recipient, metaphors to make the description more powerful and visual images that impact on the recipient's memory.

Pan and Kosicki (1993: 55) suggested the following four tools for structuring the frame:

- The syntactic narrative or the way in which words are put together to form sentences. In other words, the editor's strategy for organising the data of the narrative.
- The thematic structure of the text, that is, the main dimensions that give value to the event or the issue so that the public is more conscious of this value and more understanding of the central idea.
- Objective structuring of the text, as reflected by the editors' inclination to impose reasons for the new narrative in the form of speeches or reports, and associating remarks with direct quotation from the news source.
- Inherent conclusions that embody the editor's selection of the stylistic eloquence to support the central idea of the news narrative.
- In summary, news frames shape issues according to political and economic interests and the prevailing cultural values. A frame diagnoses of the problem, identifies the powers that have created the issue, ethically evaluates those powers and their effects and suggests solutions, together

with the justifications for them and their expected effects (Ismail 2001).

4-2-1-7 Patterns of news frames

Researchers distinguish between two patterns of news frames. These are the episodic frame and thematic one. The former concentrates on explaining concrete events, such as an assassination or an explosion in a building. The latter handles an issue in an abstract way or which is characterized by generalization, as in dealing with the causes of prevailing political and economic conditions, or social changes or international variables (Al-Sayed and Hassan, 1998).

It is argued that the press, as a reading material, differs from audio-visual media in that the reader can select the time and place to consume it, it is easily carried from place to place, and it can be kept for future reference. The press also has the potential of discussing long and complicated subjects which need ample space for data, proofs and statistics. The press medium targets educated people who can read but the reader can decide which editors and writers he or she prefers, and select a newspaper that suites his or her interests, tendencies and needs (Abdul Hamied, 1997).

Although there are different and numerous news medias available, this study has chosen to examine only newspapers, because their articles are characterized by explanation, interpretation and clarification of the issues, this is crucial to any analysis of views and attitudes and recognition of tendencies. This thesis examines articles about 9/11 in Saudi newspapers and how their writers relate 9/11 to other political and economic issues.

The study analyses frames in sample newspapers, it also examines how the writers utilize framing concepts, to promote their own agendas and direct readers towards a certain conclusion, how these writers themselves were driven by framing and how they reacted to the official guidelines and agenda. It also looks at the role that framing played in influencing the writers; for example, in the Western media, frames focused on the 9/11 attack, its impact and consequences, whereas the media in the Middle East focused on its causes, motives and roots, we will see this in the analysis and discussion chapters. Therefore framing theory is thought to be useful in the undertaken analysis.

4-2-2 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as an approach to the study of language use was

developed by Norman Fairclough in 1992. He points out that CDA was developed as a response to the traditional disciplinary divide between linguistics and other anthropological disciplines such, as sociology. Today, "CDA refers to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication" (Wodak, 2001:2).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that discourse analysis should be done with reference to the discursive practices and the social practices of the communities in which the discourse is produced and consumed. Analysis of discourse should not be limited to the text only. In other words, discourse analysis should investigate many aspects beyond the textual and linguistic constituents.

Fairclough (1992) offers a three-dimensional approach to the study of discourse. The model suggests that a text or discourse should be investigated at three levels. The three dimensions are the textual features, discursive practices and the social practices. He assumes that discourse analysis cannot be done in isolation; it must be overshadowed by contextual analysis:

"the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macro sociological tradition of analyzing social practice in relation to social

structures, and the interpretivist or micro sociological tradition as seeing social practice as something people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared common sense procedures" (1992: 72).

To put it simply, he tries to unite three different levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practices and the larger social context. In this way, CDA aims to show how these levels are all related to each other.

- The investigation of the textual features means that a text should be analysed in terms of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure, speech acts, intersexuality and coherence. The investigation of the discursive features means a consideration of the production, distribution, and consumption factors.
- The investigation of the social practices means a consideration of elements, such as the social statues, religion and gender. Accordingly, the analysis of discourse which is done in this way is critical, as it attempts to display the implicit ways in which language is involved in social life; that is, it attempts to discover the power relations between speakers and Listeners, the ideology of the speaker, and to what extent

the speaker can influence his addressees and change their minds.

Van Dijk (2001) supports this argument as he focuses on the relationship between power, discourse and ideology. In his article *Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Van Dijk (1993) argues that CDA is "primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis" (1993: 252). In this sense, critical discourse analysts should be social and political scientists; they should be social critics and activists:

“In other words, CDA is unabashedly normative: any critique by definition presupposes an applied ethics. However, unlike politicians and activists, critical discourse analysts go beyond the immediate, serious or pressing issues of the day. Their structural understanding presupposes more general insights, and sometimes indirect and long - term analyses of fundamental causes, conditions and consequences of such issues. And unlike most social and political scientists, critical discourse scholars want to make a more specific contribution, namely to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality” (1993: 253).

Van Dijk asserts that the overall aim of discourse analysis is to understand the

relationship between discourse structures and the local and global social contexts.

4-2-2-1 CDA and Societal Problems

Recent years have witnessed an increasing interest in discourse studies, as discourse analysts have become more aware of their role in society. Van Dijk (2001) assumes that discourse analysts have come to "argue that science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of, and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction" (2001: 352). They have come to study social interaction and power relations via means of discourse analysis.

Discourse analysts have begun to address a number of social problems and phenomena such as racism, feminism, gender, globalization, American domination and stereotypical images. They also have paid attention to power relations, since they believe that discourse constitutes society and culture. In this connection, discourse analysis has taken new dimensions that have not been trodden on by traditional linguistics.

Discourse analysts have come to realize that they must play a role in social and political life. Starting from the belief that understanding social problems begins

with understanding the language of the social groups involved. Discourse analysts have come to study the discourse of different social groups in what came to be known as the study of professional discourse. The term 'professional discourse' has no specific or ultimate definition.

Geluykens and Pelsmaekers (1999: 1) perceives the term as "shorthand for discourse in professional settings, including the objectives the members of professions and institutions might have, their tasks and inferential frames" (1999:4).

Discourse analysis is now dealing with a number of professional settings including business, government, education, health care, jurisprudence, media and politics. This has given the legitimacy of the emergence of technical terms such as business discourse, medical discourse, legal discourse, political discourse and media discourse. This study is only concerned with the applications of CDA to media forms.

The rationale of adopting CDA in this study, is that discourse is a serious treatment or discussion of an important subject in speech or writing by two or more people. The writer or speaker conveys to the reader or recipient a message, which represents his ideas and thoughts. To achieve this goal, the writer or speaker links his words

and phrases in a certain way.

The receiver is bound to examine carefully how the sentences are structured in order not to miss or misunderstand the intended meaning. It is thus necessary to understand the concept and role of discourse in the Saudi newspapers, the extent of the idealism and materialism of the writers, how the discourse can affect power, social relations, ideology and how writers and speakers can achieve hegemony through discourse.

4-2-2-2 Discourse, idealism and materialism

Foucault (1972) considers idealism a movement from ideas to material reality. Materialists hold the opposite point of view and, as portrayed by Jones (2001), material reality exists independently of human beings. This is a central tenet of Marxism. According to Richardson (2007: 290), materialists argue that language use, such as in journalism, cannot change the course of society “as social change is only possible through people acting on the word”. It could be argued that though language cannot change society, “journalistic discourse, in particular, is one active element in bringing about such change through shaping understandings, influencing audience attitudes and beliefs ... and transforming the consciousness of those who read and consume it” (2007: 290). Related to this, is understanding power and social relations in power, as discussed below.

4-2-2-3 Power and social relations in discourse

As portrayed in Richardson (2007: 30), Steven Lukes (1974: 4) suggests three approaches to the study of power:

- As suggested by Dahl (1961), power is imposing one's influence over others to the extent that they are forced to do something that they would not otherwise do. This kind of approach to the concept of power focuses on outcomes, and on making decisions on which there is an apparent conflict.
- Power can lead to no-decision making "on potential issues, over which there is an observable conflict of interests" (Lukes, 1974: 20). Bachrach and Barata (1970: 44) argue that the power to make no-decisions is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community, these can be smothered before they are even expressed.

An example would be the decisions of the press to give particular importance to certain policy decisions over others, and the suppression of a latent challenge to the values or interests of the decision maker.

- Lukes' (1974: 34) own model which maintains that the concept of power is that "a group or an individual exercises power over others when the individual or group affects others in a manner contrary to their interests". This often happens through discourse particularly, in the ideological capability of language, as discussed in the following section.

4-2-2-4 Ideology and ideological work

The term 'ideology' was first introduced by Antoine Destutt de Tracey, in the years after the French Revolution to refer to, "a new science of ideas, which would be the ground of other sciences" (McLellan, 1986). De Tracey argues that, "a rational investigation of the origins of ideas, free from religious or metaphysical prejudice would be the foundation of a just and happy society" (1986: 6).

Marxists hold that our beliefs and ideas are not the product of 'experience' as such, but rather they change according to economic circumstances. More specifically, they stand as a reflection of the ruling class and its desire to uphold its class privilege. Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony, however, has been the most lasting of all the developments of the Marxist theory of ideology.

4-2-2-5 Hegemony

Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony is the most prominent, arguing that the ruling class persuades all other classes to accept its rule, and their subordination without the need for the application of force. Cox (2004) comments that though "force was always latent in the background; hegemony was looked upon as leadership rather than domination." To gain the support of other classes, a hegemonic ruling class preserves its hegemony by asserting that its values and ideas are those of the general public, and this especially includes its claim to political legitimacy.

Gramsci (1971) explains that a revolutionary movement by the working class has failed to develop in the West's exploitive capitalist system because the working class has been coached and influenced by propaganda tools not to adopt revolutionary ideas.

As for the role of journalism, mainstream journalists reconcile the ruling class ideology with news content (Murdock, 2000: 7), and accept "the frames imposed on events by officials and marginalize the voices that fall outside the dominant elite circles" (Reese, 1990: 420). In this way, the current practices of journalism play a major role in retaining the authority of the ruling class within the political system.

4-3 Designing content analysis

Numerous models have been developed for designing content analysis; however, this study adopts Krippendorff's approach (2004), since it is the most suitable for this study. Details of which will be given in Chapter five. However, a brief discussion of the main requirements of using content analysis seems necessary in this context.

In order for content analysis to be properly used, some requirements need to be achieved. Firstly, there should be sufficient texts or samples within the period of interest, in order to obtain quantitative indicators about the content of the selected samples. Secondly, samples need to be statistically processed. This is technically called the coding process which is considered imperative in content analysis applications. Herein, content analysis users need to select only and all the variables that can answer adequately research questions.

Selected variables must be related to research questions; otherwise results will be misleading. Finally, an interpretative framework (such as framing theory and or critical discourse analysis) is required so that statistical results can be interpreted. In the case of validity and reliability, it is always suggested that a pilot study is

conducted by selecting a sub-sample and requesting independent coders to categorize them (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

4-4 Summary

This chapter outlined the theory and practice of content analysis, and the adopted methodology for addressing the research questions. It discussed the numerous definitions given to the term, which can be suggested that they revolve around the idea that it is an objective, descriptive method of analysing communication material by specifying and categorizing its characteristics, in order to make a subject-related and accurate interpretation of its content.

The chapter then discussed the theoretical conceptions that are usually associated with content analysis, and which are adopted for data analysis in this thesis. These are the framing theory and critical discourse analysis. Finally, the chapter showed how content analysis is designed using a pilot study scheme.

Chapter 5 : Articles Selection and Sampling

The previous chapters identified the research problem and established the theoretical aspects of the thesis. The following three chapters are concerned with carrying out content analysis in order to address the research questions that were raised at the outset of the thesis. This chapter is concerned with the first stage of doing content analysis; it addresses the issues of article selection and sampling. In other words, it describes the stages undergone in order to make the article amenable for content analysis.

The rationale is that it is not possible to carry out content analysis with articles as they appear in newspapers. It is required thus for articles to be processed prior to doing content analysis. This chapter describes the subsequent stages that were undertaken for this purpose. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows:

- Part 5-1 is the rationale. It explains the reasons for focusing only on print media and the eight newspapers.
- Part 5-2 provides a short description of the selected newspapers (the participants) and the analysis units.

- Part 5-3 outlines the process of variable definition.
- Part 0 describes the process of defining analysis categories.
- Part 5-5 is the summary.

5-1 Rationale

The domain of this study is only newspaper articles. The study thus excludes website articles and other sources such as bloggers and individual webpages. This can be explained as follows:

- Firstly, the study is about the depiction of Saudi Arabian newspaper writers of the September eleventh two thousand and one attacks. As such, it is likely that the newspapers constitute the source of information.
- **Secondly, in two thousand and one, not all newspapers had websites, for example, *Al-Hayat* did not establish a website until two thousand and two.**
- Thirdly, printed articles are more authentic and trustworthy Website entries, , can be changed or removed.
- Fourthly, sometimes there are differences between what is published in the website and what is printed in the newspapers.

- Finally, this study started looking in two thousand and seven at articles published in two thousand and one; during this period, some articles had disappeared from websites, and some papers such as *Al-Madinah*, had established a new website and discarded the old one. However, sources other than Saudi prints are cited in different chapters as appropriate.

As for the exclusion of editorials, it is justified by the following reasons:

Firstly, a criterion for the selection of an article for analysis is that it should be under the real name of the writer, not a fake name or an anonymous writer. In all cases, editorials represent the official attitude of the editorial board, not the writer, towards a certain issue. Furthermore, editorials reflect the official viewpoint of the government, especially political issues.

Secondly, some papers have deleted editorials from their published material, for example *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, and as such the study measures cannot be applied to all the sample newspapers, as some will be lacking editorials.

Thirdly, for convenience purposes, editorials should be an independent study.

5-2 Society of the Study

A central issue in any content analysis design is the selection and definition of ‘Society of the research’. This is a methodological term that refers to whatever the

research results can be generalized for, whether that be a group of people, books, newspapers, etc. (Hague, Hague, and Morgan, 2004).

The Saudi daily newspapers published under the Saudi press regulations during the selected period comprise the society of this study. Because this is a media and social study, it is descriptive in that it is mainly concerned with the study of a human and social phenomenon, represented by the attitudes of writers in Saudi newspapers towards the attacks on the United States of America on the eleventh of September two thousand and one.

The study is associated with the descriptive research group, that pertains to the study of events and phenomena, and that aims to analyse and interpret them with the objective of attaining useful conclusions and reasonable results.

Since the method is a style, plan or organization that depends on a number of principles, procedures and steps for attaining the objective of the research (Jabir et al., 1998), this study uses the survey method, as this is ideal for data collection and displaying it in a way that makes use of the data (Abdul Hamid, 2000).

The survey is a comprehensive one of the sample newspapers during the specified

period, together with a case study, and it aims to facilitate comprehension through deep analysis and classification of the mass of relevant material in the sample newspapers. A requirement of such a quantitative study, as determined by its objective, is to be thorough in recording and following up the trends and their objective variables.

A case study is a research strategy that aims to examine or interpret the inherent reasons behind the salience of a certain situation or phenomenon, within the practical context that gives it prominence. This will contribute to achieving the objective of the study, which is to identify the attitudes of writers in the Saudi newspapers towards the events of the eleventh of September two thousand and one, and writers' treatment of these events in the sample newspapers.

The remainder of the chapter discusses the stages of data creation. These include identifying participants, sample selection, variable definition and coding.

5-2-1 Participants

The initial step in doing a content analysis is identifying the participants. These are the selected sources for deriving and henceforth creating data. The participants of

this study are eight different Saudi newspapers published in both the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia. The idea is that each of these newspapers is highly reputable and has an established credibility in the Arab and Saudi domains. They also represent different viewpoints and orientations.

The aim was to collect different samples that may represent different viewpoints and attitudes that will address the research questions. In other words, the study is concerned with selecting the newspapers that include all attitudes and the different editorial policies as structured by Saudi journalism conventions and regulations.

The researcher was also concerned with choosing newspapers that represent different geographical areas to see whether the location has any correlation with the writer's attitudes and political views.

Finally, the researcher was concerned with choosing newspapers that are owned by different institutions (government-owned and non-government owned newspapers).

The idea is to see whether writer's willingness to express his or her views freely is linked with newspaper ownership. The process of identifying participants is usually referred to in the literature as sample selection. This is discussed below.

5-2-2 Sample selection

Labovitz and Hagedorn (1971: 69) explain that the purpose of sampling is to have a basis for making accurate statements about a population. So it can be assumed that the hallmark of this stage is selectivity. This is different from the first stage where the main concern was to collect all the material that may be relevant to the study research questions. Sampling can be done in different ways. These can be explained as follows:

5-2-2-1 Types of Sampling

Krippendorff (2004) suggests six types of sampling:

1- Random sample

This kind of sample is used when there is no prior knowledge about the phenomena.

The random sample involves a listing of all relevant units for which generalizations are intended. To decide which units should to be included in the sample,

Krippendorff suggested using a dice, a roulette wheel, a random number table, or any other device that assures an equal chance for any unit to be selected.

2- Stratified Sample

This kind of sampling recognizes several distinct sub-populations, or strata, within a

population. Each sampling unit belongs to one stratum. Random sampling is then applied to each stratum so that the resulting sampling reflects *a priori* distinction known to exist within the population. As an example, newspapers could be stratified by circulation rate, geographical area or audience composition.

3- Systematic Sampling

This kind of sampling is appropriate when the data stem from regular personal columns, such as births, deaths and marriages, which appear regularly in publications. The main problem with this kind of sampling is that the interval of the length of K is constant and will create biased samples if it coincides with natural rhythms, like seasonal variations and other cyclical variations.

An example of natural rhythms that may cause biased sampling is the study of marriage announcements in the New York Times Sunday, which concluded that during nineteen thirty two and nineteen thirty four there were no announcements of marriages to take place in Jewish synagogues. A later study of all June issues during the same period indicated that that month coincided with a period during which traditions prohibit Jewish marriages. To avoid the problem, Krippendorff suggested the use of short interval of length K .

4- Cluster Sampling

This type of sampling employs groups of elements as sampling units. According to Krippendorff, the selection of one group brings all its elements into the sample, and because groups contain an unknown number of elements, the probability that a unit will be included in a sample depends on the group size. However, this type of sampling is favourable to individual selection of elements, if the saving in effort per element, due to the clustering is greater than the increase in variance per element.

5- Varying Probability Sampling

This kind of sampling assigns probabilities of inclusion in a sample for each unit according to some *a priori* criteria. The sample is important for content analysis because of its commitment to making inferences about phenomena not included in the sample.

6- Multistage Sampling

This type of sampling refers to the fairly common practice of drawing samples using one or more sampling procedure. For example, newspapers may be sampled by geographical areas or by circulation rate. Issues dealt with by newspapers may

be sampled systematically, and articles or news stories may be selected according to their length or type.

This study chose to utilize a combination of stratified and multistage sampling because they are the most applicable to the nature of this study. Stratified sampling allowed the researcher to consider the newspapers' circulation rate, to choose the eight newspapers with the highest circulation rates and ignore two newspapers, namely Al-Bilad and Al-Nadwa that have a very small circulation.

Stratified sampling also allowed consideration of the fact that Saudi Arabia is a very large country and that newspapers from the southern, eastern and western regions needed to be included in the sample. Thus, of the eight newspapers chosen, two are from Riyadh, two are from Jeddah, one is from Abha, one is from Dammam, and two are published from London and printed simultaneously in Jeddah, Riyadh and Dammam. A short description of the selected newspapers is given in the table below.

Table 5-1: A description of the selected Saudi newspapers (the participants)

Newspaper title	Location	year	Remarks
<i>Al-Hayat</i>	London	1946	Originally it was owned by a Lebanese journalist then Prince

			Khalid bought some of its shares.
<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	London	1978	Originally it was owned by two Saudi journalists. Then Prince Salman of the Saudi Royal family bought some of its shares. It is transmitted by satellite and faxed for printing in Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Frankfurt, Madrid, Marseilles, New York, Jeddah (Western region), Riyadh (Central Region), and Dammam (Eastern Region). Prince Salman of the Saudi Royal family owns some of its shares. It publishes the English daily Arab News. Not included in the study because of its very limited circulation.
<i>Al-Madinah</i>	Jeddah	1937	This is a daily newspaper issued by the Madina Corporation for Journalism and Publication. It was first issued in 1937 as a weekly newspaper. So it is considered one of the oldest Saudi newspapers. It was first owned by Ali and Othman Hafez. Then in 1963, the ownership came into the Madina Corporation for Journalism and Publication.
<i>Al-Jazira</i>	Riyadh	1960	This is a fairly new newspaper issued by the Al-Jazira Corporation and published from Riyadh.
<i>Al-Riyadh</i>	Riyadh	1965	This is a daily newspaper issued by the Al-Yamama Corporation. This is the first Saudi daily newspaper in Arabic. The first issue came out on May 11, 1965. It also publishes an English edition of the newspaper but it is not included in the study because of its very limited distribution.
<i>Al-Youm</i>	Dammam	1965	This is a daily newspaper published by Dar Al-Youm. It was first released as a weekly newspaper. From June 4, 1978, it has come to be issued daily.
<i>Al-Watan</i>	Abha	2000	This is a private owned newspaper published by the Aseer Corporation for Press and Publication from Abha. It was first released in 2000. It is characterized by its liberal orientations.
<i>Okaz</i>	Jeddah	1958	This is a daily newspaper published by the Okaz Corporation for Press and Publication. First it was released as a weekly newspaper and was owned by Ahmad Attar who was also the editor-in-chief. In 1964, the ownership transferred to the Okaz Corporation based on the decree that ended individual ownership of newspapers. In that same year and on October 11, it became a daily newspaper.

5-2-3 Analysis units

This study uses newspaper articles as a basis for analysis because of their comprehensiveness and variation and because they include the expression of all the kinds of perceptions, concepts and ideological trends that will help to answer the research questions. Not included in this study are factual news reports, editorials etc. Articles were chosen for a variety of reasons.

A study of people's responses to 9/11, with all its immense impacts and consequences, requires some sort of material that has an analytical content; and a wide variety of opinions about those events, their possible causes, their impacts and the consequential measures imposed by United States of America. The trends and strength of public opinion is very important information for newspapers, and they try to reflect and represent it.

Newspapers acquire information about public opinion through data collection, analysis and scrutiny, this allows a print journalist more opportunity to deal with a subject in depth than is usually the case in other media (Saleh, 2001). Therefore the newspaper articles have been chosen because, through their writers, they explain and interpret the event more comprehensively than other forms of media.

Furthermore, newspaper articles enable writers and editors to present problems and express opinions, or points of view, and this provides the cornerstone for framing the public's opinion about those problems through the newspaper's interpretation, explanation and analysis (Awadullah, 1985). A newspaper article is also defined as;

“a piece of prose in which the writer treats and relates an experience the writer has practiced, an event that happened to him/her, or a thought that has occurred to him/her about a certain subject” (Haddad, 2002: 12).

The newspaper article is always described as an applied and not an abstract art, as it performs the functions of information, interpretation, explanation and guidance.

Consequently an article is required to convey information to the public with the required simplicity, free of complicated details, to be well-defined in its aims and to be well expressed and written in a good style.

If an article is to explain, interpret or analyse, the writer needs to give more explanation than a correspondent can offer in a news column. The modern art of newspapers is characterized by extreme simplicity to the extent that they can convey the most complicated political, economic and cultural issues in terms that the ordinary person will understand (Ibrahim, 2001).

As the newspaper article is of such importance, the study sample and its analysis are associated with the functions of the article, most prominent of which are (Ibrahim. 2001):

- The media and communication of events and issues that occupy the attention of the public.
- Interpretation, explanation and commentary on the daily news.
- Political awareness i.e. explaining the policy of the party or the government.
- Gaining the support of the public for a political or social system.
- Forming public opinion and influencing the attitudes of the public.
- Spreading philosophies and ideas and defending them against opponents.

Since the study is only on paper-based newspaper issues, articles were collected from archives. The researcher thus had to travel to the cities where these are published to access their archives. Since there was no electronic format that permits a computer-based search for the relevant articles, the researcher had to use manual

tools of research in order to identify the relevant articles about the September events.

The initial stage was to select all the items that may be related to the September attacks within the given period and that can be useful to the study's objectives. The researcher was concerned with collecting all the material that covered the events over the three months period and that can be used to observe the writers' responses and attitudes. In other words, the hallmark of this initial stage is comprehensiveness.

Finally, the selected articles were transformed into a digital format which is a requirement for the application of quantitative content analysis. This is described in chapter 6.

5-2-3-1 Classification of Articles

Since the article is the central component of this study, it necessary to discuss its definition, types and functions. It needs to be stated that the majority of definitions of an article discussed here are provided by Arabic writers. There are two main reasons for this;

- Firstly, most of the writers of articles in Saudi newspapers are influenced

by these authors.

- Secondly, these writers are influenced and always imitate the Egyptian or Lebanese school of writing. In any analysis of written material, the writer's background is obviously pertinent and he or she should be judged accordingly.

The press is a western art introduced into the Arab world with the French Expedition to Egypt (1778-1801) and the publication of the first newspaper 'Corie de le Egypt'. This was followed by the spread of newspapers in the Arab world, which was facilitated by the use of the printing press and communication with Europe.

However, press studies in the Arab world have been influenced by European and American studies since prominent Arab scholars have studied this art in the West, and were pioneers in this field in the Arab world.

The objective of this section is to define the three phenomena used in this study, namely the newspaper article and its frame, the column, and readers' messages or readers' mail. Editorial articles are not included because they represent the newspaper itself and do not provide the writer's name.

5-2-3-2 Definitions

A newspaper article can be seen as an essay, experience, a premier application or premiere tentative. In depicting this general concept, the English language portrays such an article as notes, in that it is not comprehensive and the reader has to complement what is missing or lacking. However, Encyclopaedia Britannica defines an article as "an essay of a medium length to be published in newspapers, whereby the writer treats a certain subject with simplicity and summarization within the limits of the article" (Haddad, 2002: 19).

The above definitions may have applied to the newspaper article in the first stage of its development, but they do not do so currently because, with time, writers have mastered this art. Nevertheless, a newspaper article does not represent in-depth research.

5-2-3-3 Classification of Articles

Scholars have classified newspaper articles into three categories (Suciu and Vossen, 2001; Nishio, 1999; Jucker, 1992):

1. The Literary Article

In this kind of writing, writers express their own experiences and human experience towards a special or general issue. The literary article is divided into various sub-categories, such as descriptive, critical, caricature, narrative, diary and confession.

2. The Scientific Article

A scientific article expresses scientific facts objectively. The language is characterized by clarity and the use of terms agreed upon by scientists from different branches of disciplines. Because of this terminology, an editor would normally have to simplify this type of article if it is to be published in a newspaper. Since this study is a piece of social research, it is not concerned with this type of article. However, one element of scientific writing that also applies to writing on social subjects is that both have the common objective of aiding the reader's comprehension of the subject matter.

3. The Newspaper Article

A newspaper article lies somewhere between the literary article and the scientific article, as it partly reflects the literary author's subjectivity and the scientist's objectivity. Carril (1965) states that, in a newspaper article the journalist interprets for the readers the news of their environment, or news of other environments. In

doing this, the journalist uses a language understandable to the readers, and it is not necessarily characterized by the accuracy of scientific language or the beauty and imagination of literary language.

Some press researchers have compared newspaper articles to the human mind in the way that the human mind is able to infer relations between events to judge authenticity. The journalist's article should make general judgments that guide the reader and the public to a good understanding of the subject matter (Lester, 2005; Zhou and Wang, 1993).

In conclusion, the newspaper article may be defined as a tool or a medium through which writers can express and convey their opinions and the newspaper's policy and attitude towards daily events and issues of concern to the public. The newspaper performs this function through interpretation of the current events and comments that explore their dimensions and indications. In some cases, the writer may present a new idea or vision about a public issue, particularly if such an issue arouses the interests of readers.

In general, as Berry (1964) notes, the modern press has become encyclopaedic as it covers many fields, including politics, economics, sociology, literature, culture and

sports.

5-2-3-4 Functions of the Newspaper Article

A newspaper article has a variety of possible functions and, because no single article embodies all of them, the writer has to decide in advance the aim of his or her article. Different sources describe the various functions of the newspaper article, as follows:

- Abdo (1951), a newspaper article is an information tool because it provides the public with information about issues of concern. However, this should not be the first aim of a newspaper article.
- Fahmi (1964), a newspaper article comments on and clarifies the essence, the different dimensions and aspects of the news, especially for the ‘common reader’ who lacks time and capability to comprehend details of the daily events. He adds that the writer should be knowledgeable and should provide proofs, especially when writing in leading newspapers, since it may influence the policy to be pursued by his or her government.
- Berry (1964) considers that a newspaper article may have an educational value in that it publishes different aspects of human knowledge.

- In the field of politics, Hamza (1968) observes the propaganda role of a newspaper when it publishes the government's or parties' policies towards communal issues.
- In a similar manner, Sabat (1982) suggests that a newspaper article may help to mobilize public support for a certain political or social systems, or encourage people to contribute to national development.

This mobilization of attitudes could be either negative or positive towards the issues under discussion. Since the interests of readers vary, and since not all readers are interested in 'serious' subjects, some articles attract their attention by being sarcastic, critical, or joyful (Ibrahim, 1997). For example, the Egyptian journalist Anees Mansoor is famous for his sarcastic daily column in *Asharq Al-Awsat*.

It could be concluded that a newspaper should try to satisfy the interests of all its readers in order to gain a wide distribution.

5-2-4 Types of Newspaper Articles

There are many types of newspaper article, but in this study the researcher focused on the types that are relevant to the topic, which are:

5-2-4-1 The Column

The column consists of three parts, introduction, body and conclusion, in the form of a pyramid. The introduction may include a news item or information about an important current event in which the writer concentrates on a certain aspect that attracted his or her attention and which he or she considers to be of importance for the readers; an impression or an opinion where the writer considers the importance of his or her interpretation, explanation or comments; an issue or a problem of interest to the readers, about which the writer has a point of view he or she wants to portray from his or her own experience; or a piece of wisdom, a popular saying or a quotation from a philosopher and thinker, or a statement by a distinguished figure who has an important role in making the news.

The body of the column may contain proof and evidence, details of the event, the live image, or the issue or story the writer relates to the readers. When the column is in the form of a question from a reader and an answer from the columnist, the answer constitutes the body of the column.

5-2-4-2 Types of the newspaper column

The newspaper column is classified into five types according to its content. The first four types are cited by Adham (1984):

- Common issues of prominence in politics or economics, or more personal issues such as marriage, divorce and day-to-day problems.
- Social criticism based on sarcasm about the passive characteristics of the society.
- Questions or letters received by the columnist. The columnist may publish the letter or the question as well as giving his or her comments or answer. On the other hand, he or she might indicate his or her approval of the correspondent's views by publishing the letter without comments.
- Discourse, which may take the form of a dialogue or a monologue.
- Presentation of funny aspects of the society or life (Izzat, 1993)

5-2-4-3 Readers' Mail

Khalil (1997) maintains that newspaper institutions in the Arab world are aware of the psychological need for some of their readers not to be simply recipients of

newspaper output; they want to express their points of view on what they read. To respond to such needs, most newspapers have allotted space for the readers' mail, which reflects the readers' reaction to what is published in the newspaper.

Technically, this is known as 'the echo' or 'feedback'.

Some Arab press scholars look upon the readers' mail as a watchful eye on the newspaper, as well as a measure of the reader's reaction towards it (Khalil, 1997).

Strangely enough, as reported by the *Asharq Al-Awsat* newspaper dated ninth of the tenth two thousand and eight, some newspapers have been known to fabricate readers' letters in their first issues, and publish them as though they were real, even though it is obvious that messages from readers were not feasible at that early stage of publication.

The famous Egyptian journalist, Mohsin Mohammed, ex-chief editor of the Egyptian daily *Al Jamhooriya*, relates his visit to *Pravda* in nineteen sixty five before the fall of the Soviet Union. To his surprise, he discovered that the department which was dealing with readers' mail was the largest of all the departments and it occupied two storeys of the paper's building. The reason was that the readers' mail was organized, classified and then dispatched daily to the

Communist Party and the government leadership. That caused Mohsin Mohammed to be more attentive to the readers' mail, as it represented the readers' reaction towards the paper (Mohammed, *Al Jamhooriya* , 29/5/2009).

The famous Arabic newspaper, *Asharq Al-Awsat* (4/6/2009), was greatly fascinated by the *New York Times* readers' mail, and it conducted an interview with Andrew Rosental, editor-in-charge of the 'Opinion' section in the newspaper .The gist of the report on the interview was that the *Times* regarded readers' mail as the breathing space in which its readers could express their opinions about the paper, and its contents.

Editors discard repeated messages and messages not suitable for publication, and choose for publication only those with the most interesting message written in clear language and in the minimum possible number of words.

This study covers all the article types detailed above, namely the column, the article and readers' mail, whether they deal with politics, religion, culture, economics, or tackling corruption, and whether they are critical or not, as long as they relate to 9/11. Articles were classified according to their frequency, that is, daily, weekly or irregular. The attitudes, tendencies, impressions and viewpoints were disparate, as

might be expected from such a momentous occurrence as 9/11.

The Saudis, upon hearing the news, responded immediately. Their concern extended and spread, making this event the core of the contributions of newspaper writers, columnists and feature writers from extremely diversified viewpoints and outlooks.

The statistical quantitative analysis of those contributions makes it possible to develop general conclusions and findings related to the publications and writers. It also enables comparisons to be made among the writers, and sometimes to discern changes in the writer's ideas, thoughts and attitudes.

After preparing the articles, the following classification was used;

(a) The unit analysis classifies the published material as an opinion, an attitude, or a vision. This excludes other contents, such as news and reports. Newspaper editorial articles were also excluded.

(b) The nationality of the writer, and whether the writer is a regular or irregular contributor, is of no importance provided that the material was published in one of the selected Saudi newspapers within the framework of the study.

(c) The article was published under the true name of the writer and not under an assumed fake name or anonymously.

The article is dealt with as a unit of analysis, which is split up into paragraphs, expressions and words. Then the analysis studies the intensity of the power of the text, how that text conveys the writer's thoughts, and the relationship between the text and the writer's culture and his/her ideological and cognitive background.

5-3 Variable definition

The main assumption in content analysis is that large data sets can be reduced to a manageable size where data sets can be effectively analysed (Krippendorff, 2004).

The idea is that it is not necessary that all collected documents have useful information that can address one's research questions. Some writers, for instance, discuss different topics in just one article. Some of these issues can be irrelevant to the study purposes and objectives.

Other articles cannot be classified as analytic. These may be just reporting events. It is the task of a researcher then to select only and all the variables or data sets that serve the study's objectives. In order to identify the most important elements within

articles, analysis categories were developed. In content analysis and media discourse or forms, analysis is usually confined to specific key words that are relevant to the study's objectives.

Some important factors were considered when defining variables. These include:

- Variables must fit the study's objectives, and research questions.
- Variables must be exclusive and representative of the samples.
- Variables must be exhaustive. That is, all relevant variables in the sample collection must be capable of being placed to answer the research questions.

This study analysed the use of the key words Islam, Islamist/s, Muslim/s, religion, religious, terror, terrorism, terrorist/s, violence, violent, justice, human rights, radical, fundamentalist/s, Jihad, Jihadist/s, extremist/s, Bin Laden, al-Qaeda, liberal, liberalism, democracy, democratic, United States, Afghanistan, the West, the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Israel, Arab/s, accountable, accountability, position, stance, foreign policy, opposition, hate, hatred, undivided, support, haven, and military group/s.

The use of these words makes it possible to compare the frequency of usage for each of these words and the frequency of positive, negative, or suggestive statements surrounding these words in articles.

5-4 Analysis Categories

Analysis categories are defined as a group of classifications prepared by the researcher, as determined by the content and the aim of the analysis. The classification of the content should be based on the highest possible objectivity and comprehensiveness to allow for analysis and extracting results in a consistent manner.

Determining content analysis categories is the most important step to which the researcher must give his or her utmost attention (Hassan, 2000). In this study, seven hundred and twenty issues of the sample newspapers for the specified period (11/9/2001 - 11/12/2001) were surveyed in order to extract the appropriate articles.

The analysis categories are shown in the following table.

Table 5-2: Analysis categories

1.Saudi newspapers	Al- Hayat	Al-Jazirah
	Al-Madinah	Al- Riyadh

	Al-Watan	Al-Youm
	Asharq Al- Awsat	Okaz
2.Months of Publication	The first month	The second month
	The third month.	
3. Writers	Any writer during the period of study.	
4. Subjects	1. Politics	2. Economics
	3. Religion	4. Security
	5. Cultural subjects	6. Social subjects
	7. Others	
5. Location of the subject	1. Last Page	2. Inside Page
	3. Inside Page	
6. The writer's stand	1. Consistent	2. Partial change
	3. Complete change.	4. Passive
	5. Absolutely passive	
7. Tendency	1. Strong supporter	2. Supporter
	3. Neutral	4. Not a supporter
	5 Not a strong supporter	
8. Information track	1. Supported by evidence	
	2. Figures and statistics	
	3. Displayed part of the issue	
	4. Ignored some information	
	5. Others	
9.Attitude of the address	1. Logical	2.Emotional
	3. Logical and emotional	4. Illogical
	5. Unemotional	6. Other
10.Sources of Information	1. The writer	
	2. News agencies	

	<p>3. Government official sources</p> <p>4. The media (television, broadcasting stations)</p> <p>5. Others</p>
11. Has the event been linked to	<p>1. Palestinian issue?</p> <p>2. Iraqi issue?</p> <p>3. Afghanistan issue?</p> <p>4. Kashmir issue?</p> <p>5. Other issues?</p>
12. Writer's nationality	<p>1. Saudi</p> <p>2. Arab</p> <p>3. Foreigner (non-Arab)</p>
13. Writer's gender	<p>1. Male 2. Female</p>
14. The Writer's objectives	<p>1. Religious goals</p> <p>2. Humanitarian goals</p> <p>3. Call for protecting human rights</p> <p>4. Call for democracy</p> <p>5. Call for peace and justice</p> <p>6. Criticism of the position of international bodies towards Arab and Muslim issues</p> <p>7. Criticism of America's attitude towards Arab and Muslim issues.</p> <p>8. Criticism of the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues</p> <p>9. Criticism of extremism and terrorism</p> <p>10. Clarifying and improving the image of Islam</p>

The analysis categories are drawn from the classification of the material published in these newspapers. These categories include the month of publication, professional journalists and other writers, the topic (s) journalists handled, the location of the subject matter in the newspaper, the journalist's stand, the journalist or writer's tendency, information sources and their dependability, the writer's objectives in the article, and the journalist's nationality.

5-4-1 Validation of the categories

After the list of categories were generated, two methods were used to ascertain their validity and consistency. Using the formula of (Holsti, 1969), experienced journalists were asked to test a random sample of newspaper material. The result showed the categories are ninety eight percent compatible.

In Addition to the above formula the Jury Method (Berelson, 1952) was used for the same purpose. In this method experienced journalists and analysts were asked to give their opinion about the approach used; ninety six percent of the judgments regarded the categories to be appropriate to the study's objectives.

5-5 Summary

The chapter introduced the procedures used to select samples and prepare the data for the analysis. Data creation and preparation went through two main stages:

- Sample selection and article classification. At the first stage, eight newspapers were targeted. Then articles that were relevant to the September events were identified and selected. That was done in a manual way. Then abstracted articles were transformed into a digital format in order to be amenable for computer-based quantitative content analysis.
- At the second stage, articles were sorted and variables were defined. The result is a set of article categories, which are the basis for subsequent analysis.

Chapter 6 : Content Analysis

This chapter presents a statistical content analysis of the analysis categories constructed in the previous chapter. These include month of publication, material location, newspaper trends and attitudes towards September eleventh, newspaper information track of September eleventh, events and information sources, newspaper address direction, issues related to the events, consistency or change of the newspaper stand, the writers' nationality, gender and issues of their concern, and writers of most presence. This chapter is in 3 main parts:

Part 6-1 outlines procedures, which describes how the analysis is carried out.

Part 6-2 provides the quantitative content analysis results.

Part 6-3 is a summary.

6-1 Procedures

This part is based on the discussion of content analysis in Chapter 4 and data creation in Chapter 5. To perform quantitative content analysis, four things are considered. These are

- Selection of software

There are many commercial packages that can be used for generating content analysis statistical results; all of them are convenient for present purposes. SPSS, one of the most widely used packages was selected because it was locally available.

- o Estimation

A point estimate is a specific numerical value estimate of a parameter. This is carried out using confidence intervals. An interval estimate of a parameter is an interval or a range of values used to estimate the parameter. A confidence interval is a specific interval estimate of a parameter, determined by using data obtained from a sample and the specific confidence level of the estimate.

The confidence level of an interval estimate of a parameter is the probability that the interval estimate will contain the parameter. The Confidence Interval for the population parameter can be obtained through using the equation:

$$\hat{p} - (z_{\alpha/2})\sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}\hat{q}}{n}} < p < \hat{p} + (z_{\alpha/2})\sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}\hat{q}}{n}}$$

Where:

p is the population proportion

\hat{P} is the sample proportion

$$\hat{q} = 1 - \hat{P}$$

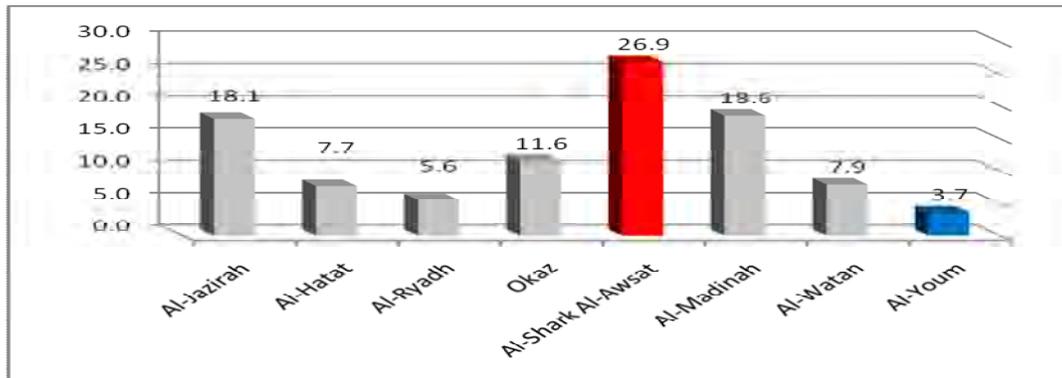
$Z_{\alpha/2} = 1.96$ when we use the value of $\alpha = 0.05$ which gives us 95% confidence interval for the population parameter. Applying this function, we get the results shown below.

Figure 6-1: The percentage of the September attacks in the Saudi Newspapers

Newspaper	Frequency	Per cent	95% Confidence for proportion	
			Lower bound	Upper bound
Al-Jazirah	78	18.1	14.5	21.7
Al-Hatat	33	7.7	5.1	10.2
Al-Ryadh	24	5.6	3.4	7.7
Okaz	50	11.6	8.6	14.6
Al-Shark Al-Awsat	116	26.9	22.7	31.1
Al-Madinah	80	18.6	14.9	22.2
Al-Watan	34	7.9	5.3	10.4
Al-Youm	16	3.7	1.9	5.5
Total	431	100.0		

As indicated above, the highest per cent for articles towards September eleventh events appears at the newspaper *Al-Shark Al-Awsat*, with 26.9%. The estimated lower bound is 22.7% and the upper bound is 31.1%. The smallest per cent for articles towards September eleventh events appears at the newspaper *Al-Youm*, with 3.7%. The estimated lower bound is 1.5% and the upper bound is 5.5%. The following figure reflects the introduced percentages.

Figure 6-2 An illustration of the Saudi newspaper coverage of the September attacks



Frequency measure

The analysis is based on measuring the frequency or defining the number of occurrences of repeating variables. There are different ways for measuring frequency. These include counting, stroboscope, frequency counter, and heterodyne methods. This study is based on using the counting method, where the function 'Count' in SPSS is used to measure the frequency of the analysis categories and variables defined in the previous chapter.

Chi square test

The Chi-Square Test procedure, tabulates two variables into categories and computes a chi-square statistic as a test for independence. If The P-value is less than 0.05, the test will be considered as "significant", that is there is a significant relation between the two variables. If The P-value is greater than 0.05, the test will be

considered as "Not significant", that is there is no significant relation between the two variables. In the case of the existence of a significant relation, we include a clustered bar chart to reflect the nature of the relation.

6-2 Results of quantitative content analysis

This part is concerned with generating quantitative content analysis of the analysis categories, as designed in the previous chapter. The frequency of cases and features is measured using SPSS, in the selected articles in order to make objective generalizations about the data.

6-2-1 Types of Articles Linked to September Events

As can be concluded from table 6.1, political articles out numbered all other sorts of articles, accounting for three hundred and fifty three out of a total of four hundred and thirty one relevant articles. A political article handles the attitude of any system or government towards other systems or governments.

After the September eleventh events, the United States adopted certain attitudes towards other systems and governments. Different writers had various opinions towards these attitudes. This is not surprising since the attacks were of major

concern to Saudi Arabia, in particular, and to the Arab and Muslim world in general. Perhaps this explains why political articles constituted 81.9% of the total articles published by the eight newspapers.

Table 6-1: classification of articles by division

COUNT								
Newspaper	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Al-Jazirah	64	0	3	1	0	10	0	78
Al-Hayat	32	1	0	0	0	0	0	33
Al-Riyadh	15	7	0	0	0	1	1	24
Okaz	44	2	1	1	0	2	0	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	92	5	5	9	0	5	0	116
Al-Madinah	67	7	0	3	1	2	0	80
Al-Watan	27	1	4	0	0	2	0	34
Al-Youm	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	16
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

6-2-2 Material Location

Table 6-2 shows the location of the selected four hundred and thirty one articles in the newspapers. In media studies, it is given that the material location can be an indication of its importance. It is almost agreed that articles on the back or last page receive more attention from readers.

The figures below indicate that only *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Madinah* were

interested in publishing articles related to the September events on the back pages. No articles were published on the front page, where four hundred and twenty three articles, or 98% of these articles were published on inside pages. The claim is that the policy of the Saudi newspapers is to keep the front page for government and international news, where the back pages are dominated by light news and advertisements.

Table 6-2 Articles by location in Saudi newspapers

Count			
Newspaper	Material location		Total
	Last Page	Inside Pages	
Al-Jazirah	0	78	78
Al-Hayat	0	33	33
Al-Riyadh	0	24	24
Okaz	0	50	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	6	110	116
Al-Madinah	2	78	80
Al-Watan	0	34	34
Al-Youm	0	16	16
Total	8	423	431

6-2-3 Newspapers' Stands towards September 11

Table 6-3 demonstrates that the partial change in the stand of the selected newspapers was insignificant. In other words, it is difficult to judge whether the

newspapers were satisfied with the stand they had adopted from the beginning, or whether they had to comply with the national political aims, as decided and formulated by the Saudi authorities. It can be said that there is no significant change in the attitudes of the newspapers over the given period (the three month following the attacks). The position they initially adopted from the very beginning remained with no significant changes.

Table 6-3: Newspapers stand toward 9/11 event

Count			
Newspaper	Stand		Total
	Unchanging	Partial Change	
Al-Jazirah	77	1	78
Al-Hayat	29	4	33
Al-Riyadh	24	0	24
Okaz	50	0	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	103	13	116
Al-Madinah	77	3	80
Al-Watan	31	3	34
Al-Youm	16	0	16
Total	407	24	431

6-2-4 Newspapers' Attitudes towards September 11

Trends of the specimen newspapers are classified in complete agreement with the aims of those who attacked the United States of America on September eleventh

two thousand.

This classification is adhered to throughout this study, as and when applicable. By complete agreement, we mean that the writers welcomed the attacks on the United States and found justifications for the attackers. This parameter is the opposite of complete disagreement.

By neutrality, we mean there was no condemnation or approval of the attacks. That is, writers did neither blame the attackers nor did they justify their acts or favor them. However, neutrality is a rather ambiguous term and this issue will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Interestingly, as in table 6.4, out of the four hundred and thirty one articles about September eleventh published by the specimen newspapers, only one published by *Al-Jazirah*, was in full agreement with the objectives of the attackers; this represents 0.23% of the total articles. 12.99% of the articles were neutral towards the attacks, 65.89% were in disagreement, and 20.88% were in complete disagreement.

If disagreement and complete disagreement are combined, the percentage was

86.77%, a clear indication that most writers considered that the motives of the 9/11 attackers were irrational. This can be correlated with the unchanging attitude of the newspapers, as demonstrated in figure 4.5, an indication that the majority of the newspapers held nearly the same points of view.

The initial impression of these findings is that Saudi newspapers, contrary to the United States accusations, were against the September attacks. The attacks were strongly opposed by the writers who did not justify the attacks in any way. As shown in Chapter 2, the United States and Western press tended to promote the idea that the September attacks were widely favored by large sectors of scholars, educated, and extremists in the Arab and Muslim world.

Articles published by privately owned newspapers, *Al-Hayat* represented the highest percentage of neutrality in articles (24.24%), and *Okaz* the lowest percentage (8%). As to disagreement, *Al-Youm* accounted for the highest percentage (87.5%) and *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* the lowest percentage (50.86%). For complete disagreement, *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* represented the highest percentage (42.24%), and *Al-Riyadh* the lowest percentage (0%).

Table 6-4: Attitudes of the specimen newspapers

Count					
Newspaper	Attitudes				Total
	Complete agreement	Neutral	Disagreement	Complete disagreement	
Al-Jazirah	1	10	50	17	78
Al-Hayat	0	8	20	5	33
Al-Riyadh	0	4	20	0	24
Okaz	0	4	42	4	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	0	8	59	49	116
Al-Madinah	0	16	56	8	80
Al-Watan	0	4	23	7	34
Al-Youm	0	2	14	0	16
Total	1	56	284	90	431

An examination of the stand of the selected newspapers during each month in the given period can be seen in the tables below. The figures indicate that there was an overall slight change of 5.5% in the related subjects published in the specimen newspapers. The partial change decreased from 7.73% in the first month to 3.45% in the third month, and the unchanging stand increased from 92.27% in the first month to 96.55% in the third month.

This suggests that writers had reached certain definite conclusions during the first two months, and that they then adhered to those conclusions.

Table 6-5: change from month to another

Month	Unchanging	Partial Change
12 th September - 11 th October	92.27 %	7.73%
12 th October - 11 th November	95.71%	4.29%
12 th November - 11 th December	96.55%	3.45%

Table 6-6: Month of Publication and Newspaper Attitudes

Count					
Date of publication	Attitudes				Total
	Complete Agreement	Neutral	Disagree	Complete Disagreement	
	From 12 th Sep. to 11 th Oct.	0	22	108	
From 12 th Oct. to 11 th Nov.	1	19	111	32	163
From 12 th Nov. to 11 th Dec.	0	15	65	7	87
Total	1	56	284	90	431

By computing the data in table 6.6 for each month, the following can be concluded about disagreement with the aims of the 9/11 attacks, these were always higher than the other attitudes, shooting up from 59.67% in the first month to 74.71% in the third month.

Complete disagreement was negligible and of no significance. Both the neutral and complete disagreement stands fluctuated without a decrease or a steady increase,

but both were low and neither reached a significant percentage. The above tables provide a clear indication that public opinion did not support the attacks, despite the widespread criticism from America. Attitudes towards Arab and Muslim countries are discussed later in this study.

6-2-5 Newspaper Information Track of September 11 Events

Since the beginning of the reports and commentaries on 9/11, readers were interested in identifying sources of the writer's information, in order to be able to judge and evaluate the authenticity of the articles and the credibility of the writer. Needless to say, in an open age like the one we have today, readers have access to numerous sources of information including the internet, satellites television channels and radio stations.

The availability of sources has provided readers with a basis by which he can evaluate the material and content of the newspapers. Accordingly, writers were keen to address the needs of their readers and to build a channel of mutual trust with them. By analysing the data shown in Tables 6.7a and 6.7b, it can be seen that, out of four hundred and thirty one articles in the specimen newspapers, only a low percentage of 1.86% neglected some information.

Table 6-7a : Information Track of the Specimen Newspapers

Count						
Newspaper	Information Track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Al-Jazirah	58	9	8	2	1	78
Al-Hayat	27	4	2	0	0	33
Al-Riyadh	19	5	0	0	0	24
Okaz	34	15	1	0	0	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	63	17	26	6	4	116
Al-Madinah	67	9	3	0	1	80
Al-Watan	29	1	4	0	0	34
Al-Youm	9	7	0	0	0	16
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

One way to make readers believe in what is written is providing evidence. Writers were greatly concerned with making readers believe in what was published and written as shown in the above table.

Since numbers and statistics are usually considered effective tools of persuasion, these came first to aide manipulation by the writers. This finding points to a significant point as well, writers were very concerned with objectivity and credibility. They tended to support their writings with different sorts of evidence.

This is again a refutation of the claims made by the United States media that Arabs passionately favoured the terrorist attacks without reasoning. As to providing proof for the published material, the percentages for each of the specimen newspapers, were as follows, in descending order:

Table 6-7b: The percentages of proof provided of the Specimen Newspapers

Newspaper	Percentage
Al-Watan	85.29%
Al-Madinah	83.75%
Al-Hayat	81.81%
Al-Riyadh	79.16%
Al-Jazirah	74.36%
Okaz	68.00%
Al – Youm	56.25%
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	54.31%

As to the column of ‘Numbers and Statistics’, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat scored the highest percentage (25%), and Al-Watan the lowest percentage (1.49%) of the sixty seven articles. For the ‘Side case show’, which means taking just one side of the issue and ignoring the other sides, *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* had the highest percentage (60.47%), and *Al-Youm* and *Al-Riyadh* the lowest (0% for each).

For ‘Ignoring some information’ and other information tracks, the highest was *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, at 75%, for the former in eight articles and 66.67% for the latter in

the six articles. Each of *Al-Hayat*, *Al-Riyadh*, *Okaz*, *Al-Watan* and *Al-Youm* scored 0% for the 'Other' criteria.

6-2-6 Subject-Related Issues

Statistics indicate that the articles about the September attacks published in the selected newspapers, in the given period were more or less interested in world issues, most notable the Arab-Israeli conflict, the sufferings of the Palestinians, and the war in Afghanistan.

As illustrated in table 6-8, out of the four hundred and thirty one articles for the period under study, one hundred and twenty three articles (28.53%) were concerned about the Palestinian issue, and forty articles (9.28%) talked about the Afghanistan issue, while fifty four articles (12.52%) were about more than one issue and two hundred and fourteen articles (49.65%) about different issues.

Kashmir and Iraq did not constitute issues for the specimen newspapers during the period of the study. The implication is that the war in Afghanistan and the inability of the world community to enforce a peaceful settlement of the Israel-Palestine long conflict were thought to be issues associated with the September attacks.

Table 6-8: Subject-Related Materials

Count					
Newspaper	Subject-related issues				Total
	Palestine issue	Afghanistan issue	More than one issue	Other	
Al-Jazirah	24	4	8	42	78
Al-Hayat	11	1	9	12	33
Al-Riyadh	2	4	7	11	24
Okaz	14	7	3	26	50
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	31	9	16	60	116
Al-Madinah	23	8	4	45	80
Al-Watan	12	3	6	13	34
Al-Youm	6	4	1	5	16
Total	123	40	54	214	431

As shown in the above statistics, the Palestinian issue comprised 37.5% of the articles published by *Al-Youm*, 35.29% by *Al-Watan*, 33.33% by *Al-Hayat*, 30.77% by *Al-Jazirah*, 28.75% by *Al-Madinah*, 28% by *Okaz*, 26.72% by *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* and only 8.33% of the articles published by *Al-Riyadh*. The Afghanistan issue did not have such a great prominence in the specimen newspapers. The highest percentage was in *Al-Youm* (25%), followed by *Okaz* (14%), *Al-Madinah* (10%), *Al-Watan* (8.82%), *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (7.76%), *Al-Riyadh* (4.17%), *Al-Jazirah* (5.13%) and finally *Al-Hayat* (3.03%).

The Kashmir issue (that usually represents an important issue to many Muslims) and the war in Iraq did not appear as important issues in the selected newspapers

during the period of the study. The high presence of the Palestine issue in Saudi newspaper is not surprising where majority of Saudis are concerned with this issue and pay it special attention for religious and ethnic considerations. It is an issue that is greatly stressed in Jummah (Friday) prayers and TV Programs, as well as in the daily news bulletins. This presence is less in the Afghanistan issue which is far away from Saudi geographically and has less media coverage. This might extend to Kashmir issue for the same reasons. The Iraq issue, the embargo after the Iraq invasion to Kuwait in 1990, influenced the presence of Iraqi news in Saudi media. Furthermore, Saudi people were prohibited from visiting Iraq under the Saddam Hussein regime. Nevertheless, the published materials were not confined to political issues. This is natural as the interests of writers vary, and each newspaper tries its best to satisfy the interests and needs of its different writers and readers. *Al-Madinah* was at the top of the list, with 56.25% of its published material dealing with other issues, followed by *Al-Jazirah* in second place (53.58%), followed by *Okaz* (51.74%), *Al-Riyadh* (45.83%), *Al-Watan* (38.24%), *Al-Hayat* (36.36%), and last came *Al-Youm* (35.25%).

It is noticeable that during the three month period, the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues continued to be the most outstanding issue of concern in connection with the events of 9/11 for the newspapers, as illustrated in Table 6-9. Perhaps this could be attributed to the support that Saudi Arabia had given to the United States in the war against Russia, but the final result in Afghanistan was the overthrow of the Taliban government. As for Palestine, it remained a central issue for the Arab and Islamic

world.

Table 6-9: Month of Publication and Subject-Related Issues

Count					
Date of publication	Subject-Related Issues				Total
	Palestine issue	Afghanistan issue	More than one issue	Other	
From 12 th Sep. to 11 th Oct.	47	15	24	95	181
From 12 th Oct. to 11 th Nov.	50	14	17	82	163
From 12 th Nov. to 11 th Dec.	26	11	13	37	87
Total	123	40	54	214	431

6-2-7 Month of Publication and Subject Matter Correlation

This section deals with the related subjects during each month of the given period. It is noticeable that the political, economic and cultural-related subjects constituted the most prominent materials during the specified three-month period of the study, as demonstrated in table 6-10.

It is most likely that writers began to realize the negative consequences of the September events on these aspects with the progress of time. For example, it might be appropriate to mention that Saudi students did not proceed to the United States for their studies with the same ease as they did before the attacks. Visa procedures became very complicated and many student visa applications were refused. In the light of such a context, writers tended to shed light on the political, economic, cultural, religious, and security surroundings that affected widely the Saudi community.

Table 6-10: Month of Publication and Subject Material Correlation

Count								
Date of publication	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
From 12 th of Sept. to 11 th of Oct.	153	9	4	8	1	5	1	181
From 12 th of Oct. to 11 th of Nov.	127	12	8	5	0	11	0	163
From 12 th of Nov. to 11 th of Dec.	73	6	1	1	0	6	0	87
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

The period of publishing the material is divided into three parts: the first month after 9/11 from 12th September to 11th October 2001, the second month from 12th October to 11th November 2001, and the third month from 12th November to 11th December 2001.

Over the three-month period, political articles constituted 81.9% of the published material, while economic material constituted 6.26%, cultural material 5.1%, security issues 3.25%, religious material 3.01% , and 0.23% for each of the social

and other materials. The published materials for each month in isolation were as follows:

First, the total number of articles published during the first period (from September 12 to October 11) was 181. Political articles numbered 153 (84.53%), economic articles numbered 9 (4.97%), and there were 8 articles (4.42%) on security issues, 5 articles (2.76%) on cultural matters, 4 articles (2.21%) on religious issues, and 2 articles (0.55%) on each of social and other matters. Second, the total number of articles published during the period October 12 to November 11 was 163. There were 127 political articles (77.9%), 12 economic articles (7.36%), 11 on cultural matters (6.74%), 8 on religious issues (4.91%), and 5 on security issues (3.06%). No articles were published on social and other matters.

And finally, the number of total articles published during the period November 12 to December 11 was 87. Political material numbered 73 (83.91%), economic material 6 articles (6.9%), cultural material 6 articles (6.9%), religious material one article (1.5%), and security issues one article (1.5%). There were no articles published on social or other matters.

It can be seen that political material made up the highest percentage of published

material (84.53%) during the first month of the study period, as writers at that time focused more on the political aspects of the crisis.

During the second month, the percentage of political articles decreased to 77.9% while articles on economic-related issues increased from 4.97% in the first month to 7.36% in the second month.

The percentage of articles on cultural issues rose markedly from 2.76% in the first month to 6.74% in the second month, and to 6.9% in the third month. This is because, with the elapse of time, writers began to give greater consideration to the economic, cultural and other consequences of the events. The number of political articles dropped from 181 articles in the first month to 163 in the second month and to 87 articles in the third month.

The figures also indicate that there is an obvious relationship between the month of publication and the material location. The importance of the eleventh of September events, together with their increasing or declining influence, determined the location in the newspapers of related articles. As shown in Table 6-11, during the three-month period, 1.86% of the subject material was published on the back page, and 98.14% on the inside pages. For each month, the material location was as follows:

Table 6-11: Month of Publication and Material Location

Month	Last Page	Inside Pages
12 th September - 11 th October	2.21%	97.79%
12 th October - 11 th November	1.84%	98.16%
12 th November - 11 th December	1.14%	98.86%

It can be seen that the percentage of relevant materials published on the back page dropped from 2.21% in the first month to 1.14% in the third month; nearly all of the relevant material was published on the inside pages and this increased from 97.79% in the first month to 98.86% in the third month; and no material was published on the last page.

As can be seen from Table 6-12, the number of articles and subject material related to 9/11 decreased from 181 in the first month to 163 in the second month and then to 87 in the third month. However, the percentage of articles that provided proof and supporting evidence increased in the third month.

Table 6-12: Month of Publication and Newspaper Information Track

Count						
Date of publication	Information Track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
12 th Sept. to 11 th Oct.	133	25	16	3	4	181
12 th Oct. to 11 th Nov.	111	23	23	4	2	163

12 th Nov. to 11 th Dec.	62	19	5	1	0	87
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

6-2-8 Writers' Gender

As portrayed in table 6-13, female writers or journalists constituted a negligible minority of contributors in the Saudi press, and the areas about which they wrote was limited.

Table 6-13: Writers' Gender Contribution

Writers' Gender * Cases Cross tabulation								
Count								
Writers' Gender	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Male	332	25	13	14	1	20	1	406
Female	21	2	0	0	0	2	0	25
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

As for the relationship between gender and material location, Table 6-14 below shows that there was no discrimination in the location of the material for either gender, as both are treated equally.

Table 6-14: Writers' Gender and Material Location

Count			
Writer's gender	Material location		Total
	Last page	Inside Pages	
Male	7	399	406
Female	1	24	25
Total	8	423	431

Similarly, there was no significant change in attitudes for either gender, which indicates stability and consistency as shown in the figures below

Table 6-15: Writers' Gender Trend

Count			
Writers' Gender	Stands		Total
	Unchanging	Partial Change	
Male	383	23	406
Female	24	1	25
Total	407	24	431

It is also clear that concerning the attitudes of both male and female writers towards 9/11, disagreement with the aims of the attackers constituted the highest percentage for both genders in terms of attitude. This is an indication that, both for men and women, the 9/11 attacks were not the appropriate tool to settle the issues of concern to Arab and Muslim countries.

Table 6-16: Writers' Gender and their Attitudes

Count					
Writers' Gender	Attitudes				Total
	Full Agreement	Neutral	Disagreement	Complete Disagreement	
Male	1	52	268	85	406
Female	0	4	16	5	25
Total	1	56	284	90	431

The statistics also indicate that there are no gender differences in providing

evidence and tracing facts in writing. The writings of both male and female writers contained proof and supporting statistics. It is evident that Saudi women writers have begun to display their competence in dealing with public affairs on an equal footing with Saudi male writers, though it might take some time for this to be fully recognized by the conservative society in Saudi Arabia.

Table 6-17: Writers' Gender and Information Track

Count						
Writer's gender	Information track					Total
	Proof Provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Male	288	64	41	8	5	406
Female	18	3	3	0	1	25
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

Concerning the relationship between gender and subject-related issues, Table 6.18 shows that articles which showed concern for the Palestinian issue constituted 29.06% of the male writers' articles, while the percentage was only 20% for female writers. It seems that female writers were more concerned than male writers with other issues, as the percentage of articles by women that dealt with more than one related issue comprised of 20% of their output, while the corresponding percentage for male writers was 12%.

Table 6-18: Writers' Gender and Subject-Related Issues

Count					
Writer's gender	Subject-Related Issues				Total
	Palestine issue	Afghanistan issue	More than one issue	Other	
Male	118	39	49	200	406
Female	5	1	5	14	25
Total	123	40	54	214	431

6-2-9 Writers' Objectives

Table 6-19 illustrates that, out of the four hundred and thirty one articles, the objectives of the writers are 81.90% political, including criticism of terrorism and extremism (25.52%), also criticism of the American attitude towards Arab and Muslim world issues. It could be argued that the 9/11 events and their aftermath were considered to be mainly political, and that other issues were consequences

Table 6-19: Writers' Objectives

Writer's Objective * Cases Cross tabulation								
Count								
Writers' Objectives	Issues							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Religious objectives	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	7
Humanitarian objectives	9	4	1	2	0	2	0	18
Call for protecting human rights	32	3	0	3	1	2	0	41
Call for democracy	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Call for peace and justice	72	2	2	0	0	4	0	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	9
Criticism of American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	76	1	0	3	0	1	0	81

Criticism of the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	17	0	1	0	0	2	0	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	94	2	5	3	0	6	0	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	41	14	0	2	0	5	1	63
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

The figures point to the idea that there is a significant relationship between the writer's objectives and the material location. As can be seen from table 6-20, 98.14% of the material was published on the inside pages and the low percentage of 1.86% appeared on the back page. No articles were printed on the last page.

Table 6-20: Writers' Objectives and Material Location

Writers' Objectives and Material Location crosstabulation			
Count			
Writers' Objectives	Material location		Total
	Last Page	Inside Pages	
Religious objectives	0	7	7
Humanitarian objectives	0	18	18
Calling to protecting human rights	1	40	41
Call for democracy	0	2	2
Calling for peace and justice	0	80	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	0	9	9
Criticism of the American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	2	79	81
Criticism of Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	0	20	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	3	107	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	2	61	63
Total	8	423	431

Once again, the measurement of objectives parameters supports the idea that the

stance of the majority of the writers remained unchanged. As illustrated in table 6-21, the great majority of writers whose articles had religious objectives, or who called for democracy or who criticized the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim causes, remain unchanged in their objectives.

Table 6-21: Changes in Objectives

Writers' Objective Stands Cross tabulation			
Count			
Writers' Objectives	Stands		Total
	Unchanging	Partial change	
Religious objectives	7	0	7
Humanitarian objectives	17	1	18
Call for protecting human rights	38	3	41
Call for democracy	2	0	2
Call for peace and justice	79	1	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	8	1	9
Criticism of American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	75	6	81
Criticism of Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	20	0	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	107	3	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	54	9	63
Total	407	24	431

As for the writers' attitudes, the analysis of the data in table 6-22 shows that only 0.23% of writers were in complete agreement with the objectives of the eleventh of September attackers.

This is an indication that the political ideology of Al-Qaeda had no support among journalists in Saudi Arabia and that the organization could not expect to be

defended by any newspaper, or to have its political concepts relayed favourably to the public. This finding serves in two directions. First, it indicates that the al-Qaeda did not find in Saudi press a safe haven that could promote their acts. Second, it refutes many accusations against the Saudi press for supporting terrorism.

Table 6-22: Writers' Attitude

Writers' Attitude					
Count					
Writers' objectives	Attitudes				Total
	Complete agreement	Neutral	Disagree	Complete disagreement	
Religious objectives	0	0	4	3	7
Humanitarian objectives	0	2	13	3	18
Call for protecting human rights	0	8	26	7	41
Call for democracy	0	0	2	0	2
Call for peace and justice	0	6	65	9	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	0	4	5	0	9
Criticism of American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	1	14	65	1	81
Criticism of Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	0	5	15	0	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	0	0	45	65	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	0	17	44	2	63
Total	1	56	284	90	431

Table 6-23 shows that criticism of extremism and terrorism accounted for 25.52% of all the articles, while religious articles represented only 1.62%.

Table 6-23: Writers' Objectives and Information Track

Writers' Objectives and Information Track						
Count						
Writers' Objective	Information Track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Religious objectives	7	0	0	0	0	7
Humanitarian objectives	10	5	2	0	1	18
Call for protecting human rights	31	4	4	1	1	41
Call for democracy	1	0	1	0	0	2
Call for peace and justice	60	11	9	0	0	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	6	1	1	1	0	9
Criticism of the American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	62	14	4	1	0	81
Criticism of Western stands towards Arab and Muslim issues	13	4	2	1	0	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	79	13	12	3	3	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	37	15	9	1	1	63
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

Table 6-24 shows that criticism of the criticism of the American attitude toward the Palestinians and their issue continued to occupy the highest percentage of the articles in which related issues were also considered. The same applies to the

Afghanistan case. However, criticism of extremism and terrorism was easily the most common related issue addressed by the writers.

Table 6-24: Writers' subject Related Objectives

Count					
Writer's Objective	Subject-Related Issues				Total
	Palestine issue	Afghanistan issue	More than one issue	Other	
Religious objectives	1	0	0	6	7
Humanitarian objectives	2	1	1	14	18
Call for protecting human rights	8	5	3	25	41
Call for democracy	1	0	0	1	2
Call for peace and justice	32	9	13	26	80
To condemn the position of international bodies	1	0	4	4	9
Criticism of the American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	34	10	12	25	81
Criticism of the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	7	3	1	9	20
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	26	7	13	64	110
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	11	5	7	40	63
Total	123	40	54	214	431

6-2-10 Information Sources

Table 6-25 shows that journalists and writers depended heavily on the mass media, news agencies were the least frequent source of their information.

Table 6-25: Information sources

Information Sources Cases Crosstabulation								
Count								
Information Sources	Cases							Total
	Political	Economical	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
News Agencies	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Official Government	26	6	1	1	0	0	0	34
Mass Media	229	13	7	5	1	14	0	269
Other	97	8	4	8	0	7	1	125
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

For the relationship between information sources and the material location, Table 6-26 shows that writers and the specimen newspapers relied on the mass media more than other sources, as the mass media comprised of 62.41%, of their information sources.

Table 6-26: Information Sources and Material Location

Count			
Information Sources	Material Location		Total
	Last Page	Inside Pages	
News Agencies	0	3	3
Official Government	1	33	34
Mass Media	3	266	269
Other	4	121	125
Total	8	423	431

Statistics also indicate that the writers' heavy use of resources in supporting their arguments, played a significant role in keeping their attitudes stable without changes. As shown in Table 6-27, the partial change in the stand of the writers who relied on, any of the information sources during the three-month period of the study is slight, at only 5.57%. The great majority were unchanging in their particular stand.

Table 6-27: Information Sources and Stability

Count			
Information Sources	Stands		Total
	Unchanging	Partial Change	
News Agencies	3	0	3
Official Government	30	4	34
Mass Media	258	11	269
Other	116	9	125
Total	407	24	431

It is obvious that journalists depended on a variety of sources for providing proof of the assertions in their articles, as shown in Table 6-28. In descending order, these sources were the mass media (76.58%), other sources (64%), and government official sources (55.88%). Government official sources probably came in third place because they are known to be biased, since they reflect the government's policy, and the source reveals what he or she is instructed to reveal.

Table 6-28: Information Sources and Information track Cross Tabulation

Information Sources and Information track Cross Tabulation						
Count						
Information sources	Information Track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
News Agencies	1	1	1	0	0	3
Official Government	19	9	4	1	1	34
Mass Media	206	42	18	1	2	269
Other	80	15	21	6	3	125
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

Finally, it is evident that all the quoted information sources were concerned with the Palestinian and the Afghanistan issues, more than any other issues, as shown in Table 6-29. No information source could ignore these two issues because of their importance for the Arab and Muslim world. Table 6-29: Information Sources and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation

Information Sources and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation					
Count					
Information Sources	Subject-Related Issues				Total
	Palestine	Afghanistan	More than one cause	Other	
News Agencies	2	0	0	1	3
Official Government	8	9	7	10	34
Mass Media	88	25	29	127	269
Other	25	6	18	76	125
Total	123	40	54	214	431

6-2-11 Writers' Nationality and Related Subjects

The analysis indicates that there is a significant relationship between the writer's nationality and the related subjects. Table 6-30 shows the subjects related to 9/11 were of most concern to the writers of various nationalities. Political issues constitute the top concern of writers of all nationalities, with economic related subjects next in order of importance.

This is natural since trade and other economic issues and activities depended heavily on the political relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. It is noticeable that Saudi writers contributed to the majority of the articles again, this is understandable, not only because the society of the study is Saudi Arabia, but also because of deep relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States; and because the United States linked Saudi Arabia with the September attacks.

There are many Arab non-Saudi writers who write in Saudi newspapers, also two of the newspapers, *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Hayat*, have a majority of non-Saudi writers because they are issued from London. It appears that non-Arab writers refrained from commenting on religious issues, perhaps because they thought that Islam and its concepts are the concern of only of Muslims. The data collected reveal

that non-Arab females had no contribution during the study period.

Table 6-30: Writers' Nationality and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation

Writers' Nationality and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation								
Count								
Writers' Nationality	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Saudi	226	18	9	6	1	16	1	277
Non-Saudi Arab	116	8	4	6	0	6	0	140
Non-Arab	11	1	0	2	0	0	0	14
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

Concerning the writers' nationality and the material location, Table 6-31 shows that no articles by non-Arab writers were published on the last page of newspapers during this period. However, a small percentage of the material by Saudi and non-Saudi Arab writers was published on the last page; the location of material is decided by criteria set down by the editorial staff of the newspaper.

Table 6-31: Writers' Nationality and Material Location

Count			
Writers' Nationality	Material location		Total
	Last page	Inside pages	
Saudi	3	274	277
Non-Saudi. Arab	5	135	140
Non-Arab	0	14	14
Total	8	423	431

An investigation of the writers' nationality and their stance reveals that there is a

low percentage of change during the study period in the stance of writers from any nationality; an indication that no important changes occurred in the political scene that might induce writers to change their stance dramatically.

Table 6-32: Writers' Nationality and Stand

Count			
Writer's Nationality	Stands		Total
	Unchanging	Partial change	
Saudi	269	8	277
Non-Saudi Arab	126	14	140
Non-Arab	12	2	14
Total	407	24	431

Table 6-33 displays the results of the analysis of the attitudes of writers, by nationality, towards the eleventh of September attacks, as computed according to the number of articles published in the specimen newspapers during the period of the study. Writers of all nationalities were predominantly in disagreement with the aims of the perpetrators of those attacks. The high percentage of Saudi and non-Saudi Arab writers who disagreed with those aims could be attributed, at least in part, to a belief that the attacks had done more harm than good for Arab and Muslim issues.

Table 6-33: Writers' Attitudes and Nationalities

Count					
Writers' Nationality	Attitudes				Total
	Complete agreement	Neutral	Disagree	Complete disagreement	
Saudi	1	37	197	42	277
Non-Saudi Arab	0	18	83	39	140
Non-Arab	0	1	4	9	14
Total	1	56	284	90	431

It is also obvious that writers of different nationalities were keen to provide proof and other supporting data, when applicable, for their articles. This is shown in Table 6-34 below. The September eleventh events were very controversial and writers sought to be convincing in their articles. This goal could only be attained by providing undisputable facts and data for the reader. When this is achieved, the articles acquire the required credibility; an asset for the writer and the newspaper.

Table 6-34: Writers' Nationality and Information Track

Count						
Writers' Nationality	Information Track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Saudi	203	46	21	5	2	277
Non-Saudi Arab	94	18	21	3	4	140

Non-Arab	9	3	2	0	0	14
Total	306	67	44	8	6	431

The statistical analyses point to a significant relationship between the writer's nationality and the related subjects. As shown in table 6-35, the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues were related to 9/11 more than any other single issue. For Saudi writers, 66.67% of the articles related to the Palestinian issue and 30.89% to the Afghanistan issue. For non-Saudi Arab writers, the percentages were 30.89% and 20% for the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues respectively. Foreign writers displayed the least likelihood to do this; only 2.44% of the material related 9/11 to the Palestinian issue and 5% related it to the Afghanistan issue.

Table 6-35: Writers' Nationality and Related Subjects

Count					
Writers' Nationality	Subject-Related Issues				Total
Saudi	82	30	24	141	277
Non Saudi Arabs	38	8	27	67	140
Non-Arab	3	2	3	6	14
Total	123	40	54	214	431

6-2-12 Writers' Prominent Presence

Some writers, both from within and from outside the editorial staff of the newspapers, contributed to the published materials at regular intervals and became

known to the readers. Table 6.36 shows the number of articles published by such writers and their newspapers. As shown, some writers had their work published in only one newspaper; Ahmed Saleh in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, and Tala S. Bannan and Mahmoud M. Safr in *Okaz*. Reda M. Lary wrote in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, *Al-Madinah*, and *Al-Youm*, the latter publishing 62.5% of his articles. Abdullah F. Al-Shreef had 83.3% of his articles published in *Al-Madinah* and 16.7% in *Al-Watan*.

Table 6-36: Writers' prominent presence

Crosstab

% within Writer

		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. AlShreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
News Paper	Okaz			100.0%		100.0%	42.9%
	Al-Shark Al-Awsat	100.0%	12.5%				20.0%
	Al-Madinah		25.0%		83.3%		20.0%
	Al-Watan				16.7%		2.9%
	Al-Youm		62.5%				14.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As for the month of publication and as displayed in table 6.37, Ahmed Saleh published a high percentage of his articles during the second month and a low percentage during the third month. Reda M. Lary's articles were evenly distributed between the first and second months. Talal Bannan and Abdullah Al-Shareef made their largest contribution in the first month; both had a significant number of articles

published in the second month; while, in the third month, Bannan continued to contribute but at a lower rate and Al-Shareef had no articles published.

Crosstab

% within Writer

		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. AlShreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Date of publishing	1	33.3%	50.0%	44.4%	66.7%		40.0%
	2	50.0%	50.0%	33.3%	33.3%		34.3%
	3	16.7%		22.2%		100.0%	25.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As shown in table 6.38, only Abdullah Al-Shareef wrote cultural articles (16.7%) as well as political articles. All the other writers who contributed frequently wrote only about political issues. The cultural material comprised only 2.9% out of the total articles by the five referenced writers. This reflects that both writers and readers were more concerned with the political issues and the political aspects of the event.

Table 6-37: Writers' articles material

		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Cases	Political	100%	100%	100%	83.3%	100%	97.1%
	Cultural				16.7%		2.9%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As exhibited in table 6-39, articles by the five writers were all published in the inside pages of the specimen newspapers. There is no mention of either front, back and last pages.

Table 6-38: Articles location

Articles location							
% within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Material location	Inside page	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As indicated in table 6-40, the referenced writers kept to their initial stands all through the three-month period of the study.

Table 6-39: Writers' Stand

Writer's stand							
% within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Situations	Unchanged	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As shown in table 6.41, three of the five writers provided 100% proof for the views they put forward. Reda Lary and Talal S. Bannan provided figures and statistics for their articles, the former in 37.5% of his articles and the latter in 22.2%. However, proof among all the five writers was as high at 85.7%, and figures and statistics were given in 14.3% of the total articles.

Table 6-40: Information Track Cross Tabulation

Information Track Cross Tabulation							
% within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed Saleh	A. Reda Lary	M. Talal Bannan	S. Abdalla Al-Shreef	F. Mahmoud M. Safr	
Information track	Proof provided	100%	62.5%	77.8%	100%	100%	85.7%
	Numbers and Statistics		37.5%	22.2%			14.3%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6-42 shows that no writer relied on news agencies as a source of information for his articles, and government official sources constituted only 2.9% of the sources for all five writers. Both Ahmed Saleh and Mahmoud A. Safar relied heavily on other information sources for their articles, Reda Lary was most reliant on the mass media, Talal Bannan used the mass media and other information sources, and Abdullah Al-Sahreef depended on all the three sources of information.

Both the mass media and other information sources provided 48.6% of the information sources for all five writers. Little use was made of official or government sources; perhaps, writers tried to avoid being influenced by these or they found them less persuasive for their readers.

Table 6-41: Information Sources

Information sources							
% within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Information sources	Official Government				16.7%		2.9%
	Informational	16.7%	87.5%	55.6%	66.7%		48.6%
	Other	83.3%	12.5%	44.4%	16.7%	100%	48.6%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As illustrated in table 6.43, the five writers showed great variation in the particular issue or issues that they tended to relate to 9/11. The Palestinian issue was discussed in 50% of Ahmed Saleh's articles, in 16.7% of Abdullah Al-Shareef's articles, and in 11% of Talal Bannan's articles. The Afghanistan issue was referred to in 50% of Reda Lary's articles but in only 11.1% of Talal Bannan's articles. However, other issues were related to 9/11 in 51.4% of the total articles during the period of the study.

Table 6-42: Related subjects

Related subjects							
% Within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Subject related to	Palestine issue	50.0%	25.0%	11.1%	16.7%		20.0%
	Afghanistan issue	16.7%	50.0%	11.1%	16.7%		20.0%

	More than one issue	33.3%			16.7%		8.6%
	Other		25.0%	77.8%	50.0%	100%	51.4%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6-44 shows that no foreign writer had articles published frequently during the three-month period of the study. One of the five writers, Ahmed A. Saleh, is a non-Saudi Arab writer. It is clear that the selected newspapers were more interested in Arab writers whether Saudi or non-Saudi. These may be thought of as being more understanding of the needs and interests of the readers and the way they think.

Table 6-43: Writers' nationality

Writer's nationality * Writer Crosstabulation							
% Within writer							
		Writer					Total
		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr	
Writer's nationality	Saudi		100%	100%	100%	100%	82.9%
	Arab	100%					17.1%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In terms of the writer's objectives, table 6-45 shows that, for the five referenced writers, criticism of extremism and terrorism had a priority (28.6%) while clarification of attitudes and situations was their least concern (5.7%). Calls for the protection of human rights constituted a high percentage (50%) of Ahmed A. Saleh's articles. Mahmoud M. Safar was mostly concerned with criticizing

extremism and terrorism. This result is not unexpected as each writer or journalist is likely to be interested in certain issues more than others.

Table 6-44: Writers' Objectives

Writer's objectives		Writer						Total
% Within writer		Ahmed A. Saleh	Reda M. Lary	Talal S. Bannan	Abdalla F. Al-Shreef	Mahmoud M. Safr		
Writers' Objective	Call for protecting human rights	50.0%	25.0%	11.1%	16.7%	0.0%	20.0%	
	Call for peace and justice	16.7%	12.5%	22.2%	66.7%	0.0%	22.9%	
	Criticism of American situations towards Arabic and Islamic cases	16.7%	25.0%	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	
	Criticism of Western situations towards Arabic and Islamic cases	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	8.6%	
	Criticism of extremism and terrorism	16.7%	12.5%	33.3%	0.0%	83.3%	28.6%	
	Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	16.7%	5.7%	
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

6-2-13 Writers' Objectives, Newspaper Cross Tabulation

As can be seen in Table 6-46, religious objectives were not evident in the articles of

five of the eight specimen newspapers during the period of this study. Of the other three specimen newspapers, *Al-Jazirah* writers were concerned with religious objectives more than those of the other two newspapers.

Instances of the call for democracy were equally shared between *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Madinah* writers, and it appears that the other newspapers did not see any relationship between democracy and the eleventh of September events.

The most frequent criticism of extremism and terrorism was by *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*'s writers, who dealt with this subject in 40.9% of the total articles while *Al-Youm*'s share was as low as 1.8%. However, criticism of extremism and terrorism constituted the most common objective (25.52%) among the newspapers, while the least common occurrences were the call for democracy (4.64%) and religious objectives (1.62%)

The fact that many Islamic countries suffered from extremist ideas and terrorist activities even before 9/11 might explain the high percentage of articles that were critical of extremism and terrorism. The low percentage of articles classified as having religious objectives might be explained by the fact that, though religion was used as a tool by the 9/11 attackers, the majority of writers saw 9/11 primarily as a

political issue that had no connection with religion.

Table 6-45: Writers' Objectives, Newspaper Cross Tabulation

Writers' Objectives, Newspaper Cross Tabulation									
	Newspaper								Total
	Al-Jazira	Al-Hayat	Al-Rayad	Okaz	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	Al-Madina	Al-Watan	Al-Youm	
Religious goals	3 42.9%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 28.6%	2 28.6%	0 0%	0 0%	7 100%
Humanitarian goals	3 16.7%	0 0%	1 5.6%	3 16.7%	7 38.9%	3 16.7%	1 5.6%	0 0%	18 100%
Call for protecting human rights	7 17.1%	3 7.3%	0 0%	4 9.8%	13 31.7%	7 17.1%	3 7.3%	4 9.8%	41 100%
Call for democracy	0 0%	1 50%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 50%	0 0%	0 0%	2 100%
Call for peace and justice	14 17.5%	7 8.8%	5 6.3%	10 12.5%	16 20.0%	18 22.5%	10 12.5%	0 0%	80 100%
To condemn the position of international bodies	2 22.2%	1 1.1%	1 11.1%	0 0%	3 33.3%	0 0%	2 22.2%	0 0%	9 100%
Criticism of the American stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	17 21.0%	5 6.2%	6 7.4%	11 13.6%	6 7.4%	25 30.9%	4 4.9%	7 8.6%	81 100%
Criticism of the Western stance towards Arab and Muslim issues	6 30.0%	1 5.0%	0 0%	2 10.0%	3 15.0%	5 25.00%	1 5.0%	2 10.0%	20 100%
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	18 16.4%	8 7.3%	5 4.5%	10 9.1%	45 40.9%	11 10.0%	11 10.0%	2 1.8%	110 100%
Clarifying and improving the image of	8 12.7%	7 11.1%	6 9.5%	10 15.9%	21 33.3%	8 12.7%	2 3.2%	1 1.6%	63 100%

Islam									
Total	78	33	24	50	116	80	34	16	431
	18.1%	7.7%	5.6%	11.6%	26.9%	18.6%	7.9%	3.7%	100%

Table 6-47 illustrates that objectives of human rights characterized the highest percentage (66.7%) of the material published during the first month of the study period , 25% was inspired by criticism of Western attitudes towards Arab and Muslim causes. In the second month, the percentage of articles with human objectives decreased to 27.8% and the highest percentage (55.0%) of the articles criticized the Western attitudes towards the Arab and Muslim issues. In the third month, the percentages for all the objectives dropped dramatically.

Table 6-46: Month of Publishing Cross Tabulation

Writers' objective		Date of publishing			Total
		From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	
Religious objectives	Count	3	3	1	7
	%	42.9%	42.9%	14.3%	100%
Human objectives	Count	12	5	1	18
	%	66.7%	27.8%	5.6%	100%
Call for protecting human rights	Count	15	18	8	41
	%	36.6%	43.9%	19.5%	100%
Call for democracy	Count	1	1	0	2
	%	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	100%
Call for peace and justice	Count	38	27	15	80
	%	47.5%	33.8%	18.8%	100%
To condemn the position of international bodies	Count	5	2	2	9
	%	55.6%	22.2%	22.2%	100%
Criticism of the American	Count	26	34	21	81
	%				

		%	32.1%	42.0%	25.9%	100%
Criticism of the Western situations towards Arabic and Islamic cases	Count		5	11	4	20
	%		25.0%	55.0%	20.0%	100%
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	Count		51	37	22	110
	%		46.4%	33.6%	20.0%	100%
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	Count		25	25	13	63
	%		39.7%	39.7%	20.6%	100%
Total	Count		181	163	87	431
	%		42.0%	37.8%	20.2%	100%

As for the relationship between the related objectives and the writer's nationality, it is suggested that Saudis and Arabs in different countries were the focus of attention during the climax of the 9/11 crisis. 6.48, contributions to the eight newspapers by Saudi writers' were the highest followed by those of non-Saudi Arab writers, with articles by non-Arab writers in third place. Non-Arab writers had no contributions that were characterized as having religious objectives, calling for democracy, criticizing international stances, or criticizing Western attitudes towards Arab and Muslim issues.

Table 6-47: Writer's nationality and Objectives

Writers' objective * Writers' nationality Crosstabulation				
Writers' objective	Writers' nationality			Total
	Saudi	Arabian	foreigner	
Religious objectives	5 71.4%	2 28.6%	0 0%	7 100%
Human objectives	10 55.6%	7 38.9%	1 5.6%	18 100%
Call for protecting human rights	26	13	2	41

	63.4%	31.7%	4.9%	100%
Call for democracy	1 50.0%	1 50.0%	0 .0%	2 100%
Call for peace and justice	51 63.8%	28 35.0%	1 1.3%	80 100%
To condemn the position of international bodies	5 55.6%	4 44.4%	0 0%	9 100%
Criticism of the American situations towards Arab and Muslim issues	64 79.0%	15 18.5%	2 2.5%	81 100%
Criticism of the Western situations towards Arabic and Islamic issues	16 80.0%	4 20.0%	0 0%	20 100%
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	64 58.2%	39 35.5%	7 6.4%	110 100%
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	35 55.6%	27 42.9%	1 1.6%	63 100%
Total	277 64.3%	140 32.5%	14 3.2%	431 100%

As shown in table 6-49, articles by male writers comprised 94.2%. Interestingly, no female writers produced articles, in which the objectives were classified as a call for democracy or criticism of Western attitudes towards the Arab and Muslim world. Only two out of four hundred and six articles by male writers had the objective for a call for democracy. Like female writers, male writers were found to be much more concerned with criticism of extremism and terrorism, as one hundred and five of their total articles were related to this objective.

Table 6-48: Writers' Objectives and Gender Cross Tabulation

Writers' objective * Writers' gender Crosstabulation			
Writers' objective	Writer's gender		Total
	Male	female	
Religious objectives	6 85.7%	1 14.3%	7 100%
Human objectives	17 94.4%	1 5.6%	18 100%
Call for protecting human rights	37 90.2%	4 9.8%	41 100%
Call for democracy	2 100%	0 .0%	2 100%
Call for peace and justice	76 95.0%	4 5.0%	80 100%
To condemn the position of international bodies	7 77.8%	2 22.2%	9 100%
Criticism of the American situations towards Arabic and Islamic issues	77 95.1%	4 4.9%	81 100%
Criticism of the Western situations towards Arabic and Islamic issues	20 100%	0 .0%	20 100%
Criticism of extremism and terrorism	105 95.5%	5 4.5%	110 100%
Clarifying and improving the image of Islam	59 93.7%	4 6.3%	63 100%
Total	406 94.2%	25 5.8%	431 100%

6-2-14 Newspaper Published Material

Table 6-50 exhibits the percentage of articles with each subject material for each of the specimen newspapers. As usual, the political subject material (81.9%)

dominated other subjects. Economic issues were next in evidence, and the social and cultural issues were at a lower level. It should be noted that the same issues are common for all the specimen newspapers during the period of the study, though individual newspapers differed in the degree of their concern over the period.

Table 6-49: Newspaper Issues Cross Tabulation

Newspaper * Cases Crosstabulation								
Newspaper	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religions	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Al-Jazirah	64	0	3	1	0	10	0	78
	82.1%	0%	3.8%	1.3%	0%	12.8%	0%	100%
Al-Hayat	32	1	0	0	0	0	0	33
	97.0%	3.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Al-Riyadh	15	7	0	0	0	1	1	24
	62.5%	29.2%	0%	0%	0%	4.2%	4.2%	100%
Okaz	44	2	1	1	0	2	0	50
	88.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	0%	4.0%	0%	100%
Al-Shark Al-Awsat	92	5	5	9	0	5	0	116
	79.3%	4.3%	4.3%	7.8%	0%	4.3%	0%	100%
Al-Madinah	67	7	0	3	1	2	0	80
	83.8%	8.8%	0%	3.8%	1.3%	2.5%	0%	100%
Al-Watan	27	1	4	0	0	2	0	34
	79.4%	2.9%	11.8%	0%	0%	5.9%	0%	100%
Al-Youm	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	16
	75.0%	25.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431
	81.9%	6.3%	3.0%	3.2%	.2%	5.1%	.2%	100%

As shown in table 6-51, only *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Madinah* published some of

the material relating to 9/11 on the back page; that is 5.2% for the former and 2.5% for the latter. *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* had the highest number of inside-page articles (110) and *Al-Youm* with sixteen articles, had the lowest number. No articles were published on the last page of any of the specimen newspapers.

Table 6-50: Material Location Cross tabulation

Newspaper * Material location Crosstabulation				
		Material location		Total
		Last page	Inside page	
Newspaper	Al-Jazirah	0 0%	78 100%	78 100%
	Al-Hayat	0 0%	33 100%	33 100%
	Al-Riyadh	0 0%	24 100%	24 100%
	Okaz	0 0%	50 100%	50 100%
	Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	6 5.2%	110 94.8%	116 100%
	Al-Madinah	2 2.5%	78 97.5%	80 100%
	Al-Watan	0 0%	34 100%	34 100%
	Al-Youm	0 0%	16 100%	16 100%
	Total	8	423	431

Newspaper * Material location Crosstabulation				
		Material location		Total
		Last page	Inside page	
Newspaper	Al-Jazirah	0 0%	78 100%	78 100%
	Al-Hayat	0 0%	33 100%	33 100%
	Al-Riyadh	0 0%	24 100%	24 100%
	Okaz	0 0%	50 100%	50 100%
	Al-Shark Al-Awsat	6 5.2%	110 94.8%	116 100%
	Al-Madinah	2 2.5%	78 97.5%	80 100%
	Al-Watan	0 0%	34 100%	34 100%
	Al-Youm	0 0%	16 100%	16 100%
		8 1.9%	423 98.1%	431 100%

The most significant features of the data displayed in table 6-52 , which shows changes in the stand of newspapers towards 9/11 over the study period, is the 12.1% partial change in the position of *Al-Hayat* and the 11.2% partial change in that of *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*. The partial change among the specimen newspapers was 5.6%, an indication that the specimen newspapers found no reason to change their

perception radically about 9/11.

Table 6-51: Newspaper Stand Cross Tabulation

		Situations		Total
		Unchanged	Partial change	
Newspaper	Al-Jazirah	77 98.7%	1 1.3%	78 100%
	Al-Hayat	29 87.9%	4 12.1%	33 100%
	Al-Riyadh	24 100%	0 0%	24 100%
	Okaz	50 100%	0 0%	50 100%
	Al-Shark Al-Awsat	103 88.8%	13 11.2%	116 100%
	Al-Madinah	77 96.3%	3 3.8%	80 100%
	Al-Watan	31 91.2%	3 8.8%	34 100%
	Al-Youm	16 100%	0 0%	16 100%
	Total	407 94.4%	24 5.6%	431 100%

As shown in table 6-53, only Al-Jazirah reflected any agreement in its articles with the aims of the eleventh of September, eleven attackers, and that was limited to only one article. As in disagreement, articles in Al-Youm recorded the highest percentage of 87.5%. For articles which showed complete disagreement with those

aims, the highest percentage was in Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (42.2%). No articles in Al-Riyadh and Al-Youm were classified as being in this category.

Table 6-52: Newspapers Attitude Cross Tabulation

Newspaper * Attitudes Crosstabulation						
		Attitudes				Total
		Completely agree	Neutral	Disagree	Completely disagree	
Newspaper	Al-Jazirah	1 1.3%	10 12.8%	50 64.1%	17 21.8%	78 100%
	Al-Hayat	0 0%	8 24.2%	20 60.6%	5 15.2%	33 100%
	Al-Riyadh	0 0%	4 16.7%	20 83.3%	0 0%	24 100%
	Okaz	0 0%	4 8.0%	42 84.0%	4 8.0%	50 100%
	Al-Shark Al-Awsat	0 0%	8 6.9%	59 50.9%	49 42.2%	116 100%
	Al-Madinah	0 0%	16 20.0%	56 70.0%	8 10.0%	80 100%
	Al-Watan	0 0%	4 11.8%	23 67.6%	7 20.6%	34 100%
	Al-Youm	0 0%	2 12.5%	14 87.5%	0 0%	16 100%
Total		1 .2%	56 13.0%	284 65.9%	90 20.9%	431 100%

It can be seen from table 6.54 that Al-Watan scored the highest percentage of 85.3% for articles that provided proof for their arguments, and the lowest percentage was

found in Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (54.3%). For providing figures and statistics, Al-Youm scored highest with 43.8% and *Al-Watan* scored lowest with 2.9%. Proof was provided in 71% of all the articles published by all the specimen newspapers.

It is worth noting that the highest number of articles (116) was published in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, constituting 26.91% of the total, while *Al-Youm* produced only sixteen articles, which comprised 3.71% of the total.

Table 6-53: Newspaper Information Track Cross Tabulation

Newspaper * Information track Crosstabulation						
	Information track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Al-Jazirah	58 74.4%	9 11.5%	8 10.3%	2 2.6%	1 1.3%	78 100%
Al-Hayat	27 81.8%	4 12.1%	2 6.1%	0 .0%	0 .0%	33 100%
Al-Riyadh	19 79.2%	5 20.8%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	24 100%
Okaz	34 68.0%	15 30.0%	1 2.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	50 100%
Al-Shark Al-Awsat	63 54.3%	17 14.7%	26 22.4%	6 5.2%	4 3.4%	116 100%
Al-Madinah	67 83.8%	9 11.3%	3 3.8%	0 .0%	1 1.3%	80 100%

Al-Watan	29 85.3%	1 2.9%	4 11.8%	0 .0%	0 .0%	34 100%
Al-Youm	9 56.3%	7 43.8%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	16 100%
Total	306 71.0%	67 15.5%	44 10.2%	8 1.9%	6 1.4%	431 100%

As indicated in table 6-55, the specimen newspapers resorted to the mass media for information more than to any other source. The mass media was the source of information for 81.3% of the articles published by *Al-Youm* and for 41.4% of *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat's*, the latter depending less on this information source than the other specimen newspapers.

News agencies were the least used sources of information for the articles in the specimen newspapers, and only *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, *Okaz* and *Al-Madinah* utilized news agencies as sources for some of their articles, though this was only 9% for *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 2% for *Okaz* and 1.3% for *Al-Madinah* articles.

Table 6-54: Newspaper Information source Cross Tabulation

Newspaper Information source Cross Tabulation					
	Information sources				Total
	News Agencies	Official Government	Informational	Other	
Al-Jazirah	0 .0%	2 2.6%	63 80.8%	13 16.7%	78 100%

Al-Hayat	0	7	16	10	33
	0.0%	21.2%	48.5%	30.3%	100%
Al-Riyadh	0	2	17	5	24
	0.0%	8.3%	70.8%	20.8%	100%
Okaz	1	3	25	21	50
	2.0%	6.0%	50.0%	42.0%	100%
Al-Shark Al-Awsat	1	13	48	54	116
	0.9%	11.2%	41.4%	46.6%	100%
Al-Madinah	1	5	62	12	80
	1.3%	6.3%	77.5%	15.0%	100%
Al-Watan	0	2	25	7	34
	0.0%	5.9%	73.5%	20.6%	100%
Al-Youm	0	0	13	3	16
	0.0%	0.0%	81.3%	18.8%	100%
Total	3	34	269	125	431
	0.7%	7.9%	62.4%	29.0%	100%

As exhibited in table 6-56, the most important political issues related to 9/11 were Palestine and Afghanistan. Many Arab writers correlated these two issues and 9/11.

Table 6-55: Newspaper-Subject-Related Cross Tabulation.

Newspaper * Subject related to Crosstabulation					
	Subject related to				Total
	Palestine case	Afghanistan case	More than one case	Other	
Newspaper Al-Jazirah	24	4	8	42	78
	30.8%	5.1%	10.3%	53.8%	100%
Al-Hayat	11	1	9	12	33
	33.3%	3.0%	27.3%	36.4%	100%
Al-Riyadh	2	4	7	11	24

	8.3%	16.7%	29.2%	45.8%	100%
Okaz	14	7	3	26	50
	28.0%	14.0%	6.0%	52.0%	100%
Al-Shark Al-Awsat	31	9	16	60	116
	26.7%	7.8%	13.8%	51.7%	100%
Al-Madinah	23	8	4	45	80
	28.8%	10.0%	5.0%	56.3%	100%
Al-Watan	12	3	6	13	34
	35.3%	8.8%	17.6%	38.2%	100%
Al-Youm	6	4	1	5	16
	37.5%	25.0%	6.3%	31.3%	100%
Total	123	40	54	214	431
	28.5%	9.3%	12.5%	49.7%	100%

6-2-15 Gender

Table 6-57 shows that male writers contributed many more articles than female writers did. The contributions of the female writers were predominantly political and they provided no articles on religious, security or social subjects. Political articles also constituted the highest percentage of articles by male writers, while their articles on social and other subjects were very few.

Table 6-56: Writers' Gender and Issues

Writers' gender * Cases Crosstabulation								
	Cases							Total
	Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Writer's gender	332	25	13	14	1	20	1	406
	81.8%	6.2%	3.2%	3.4%	.2%	4.9%	.2%	100%

female	21	2	0	0	0	2	0	25
	84.0%	8.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	.0%	100%
Total	353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431
	81.9%	6.3%	3.0%	3.2%	.2%	5.1%	.2%	100%

A point to be noticed here, as indicated in table 6.58, is that the percentage of female writers' material appearing on the back page (4.0%) was higher than that of the male writers (1.7%). However, the number of articles (25) by female writers was small compared to the number of articles (431) by male writers, so this finding may not be as significant as it appears.

Table 6-57: Writers' Gender Material Location

Writers' Gender * Material location crosstabulation					
			Material location		
			Last page	Inside page	Total
Writer's gender	Male		7	399	406
			1.7%	98.3%	100%
female			1	24	25
			4.0%	96.0%	100%
Total			8	423	431
			1.9%	98.1%	100%

Table 6-59 represents the partial change in the stance of male and female writers.

The partial change is small for both, and the difference between the two is also small, being 5.7% for male writers and 4.0% for female writers.

Table 6-58: Writers' Gender Stand Cross Tabulation

Writers' gender * Situations Crosstabulation				
		Situations		Total
		Unchanged	Partial change	
Writers' gender	Male	383 94.3%	23 5.7%	406 100%
	female	24 96.0%	1 4.0%	25 100%
Total		407 94.4%	24 5.6%	431 100%

Table 6-60 exhibits the relationship between the writers' gender and attitude towards 9/11. Complete agreement with the aims of the attackers, was absent among female writers against a small percentage of 2% for male writers. Neutrality was higher among female writers than among male writers. Both genders exhibited a small difference in the percentage of disagreement and complete disagreement with the attackers.

Table 6-59: Writers' Gender and Attitude

Writers' gender * Attitudes Crosstabulation						
		Attitudes				Total
		Completely agree	Neutral	Disagree	Completely disagree	
Writers' gender	Male	1 .2%	52 12.8%	268 66.0%	85 20.9%	406 100%
	female	0	4	16	5	25

		.0%	16.0%	64.0%	20.0%	100%
Total		1	56	284	90	431
		.2%	13.0%	65.9%	20.9%	100%

As demonstrated in table 6-61, female writers provided a slightly higher percentage of proof in their articles than male writers did. The same applies to the ‘Side case show’ (taking just one side of the issue and ignoring the other sides). At the same time, female writers resorted to other information tracks more than male writers.

What is significant here is that both genders provided a high percentage of proof for their articles.

Table 6-60: Writers’ Gender and Information Track Cross Tabulation

Writers’ gender * Information track Crosstabulation							
		Information track					Total
		Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Writers’ gender	Male	288	64	41	8	5	406
		70.9%	15.8%	10.1%	2.0%	1.2%	100%
	female	18	3	3	0	1	25
		72.0%	12.0%	12.0%	.0%	4.0%	100%
Total		306	67	44	8	6	431
		71.0%	15.5%	10.2%	1.9%	1.4%	100%

As exhibited in table 6-62, female writers resorted to the mass media for information for most of their articles. The same is true for male writers. Other

sources came next in importance for both genders, with reliance on government official sources being minimal. News agencies did not constitute a source of information for female writers and they were the least used source for male writers.

Table 6-61: Writers' Gender and Information Source Cross Tabulation

Writers' gender * Information sources Crosstabulation						
		Information sources				Total
		News Agencies	Official Government	Informational	Other	
Writers' gender	Male	3	33	252	118	406
		.7%	8.1%	62.1%	29.1%	100%
	female	0	1	17	7	25
		.0%	4.0%	68.0%	28.0%	100%
Total		3	34	269	125	431
		.7%	7.9%	62.4%	29.0%	100%

As it can be seen from table 6-63, male writers were more concerned with the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues more than female writers were. On the other hand, female writers related 9/11 to more than one issue and to other issues more often than male writers did.

Table 6-62: Writers' Gender and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation

Writers' Gender and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation						
		Subject related to				Total
		Palestine case	Afghanistan case	More than one case	Other	
Writers' gender	Male	118	39	49	200	406
		29.1%	9.6%	12.1%	49.3%	100%
	Female	5	1	5	14	25
		20.0%	4.0%	20.0%	56.0%	100%
Total		123	40	54	214	431
		28.5%	9.3%	12.5%	49.7%	100%

6-2-16 Nationality

As displayed in table 6-64, the highest percentage of Saudi writers' articles was on political issues and the lowest on other issues. Non-Saudi Arab writers' highest contribution was also to the political issues; none of their articles were on social or other issues. The contribution of foreign writers was very small on all issues, and they contributed no articles on religious, social and cultural issues or on other issues.

Table 6-63: Writers' Nationality Cross Tabulation

Writers' nationality * Cases Crosstabulation									
		Cases							Total
		Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	226	18	9	6	1	16	1	277
		81.6%	6.5%	3.2%	2.2%	.4%	5.8%	.4%	100%
	Non Saudi Arabs	116	8	4	6	0	6	0	140
		82.9%	5.7%	2.9%	4.3%	.0%	4.3%	.0%	100%
	foreigners	11	1	0	2	0	0	0	14
		78.6%	7.1%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
Total		353	27	13	14	1	22	1	431

Writers' nationality * Cases Crosstabulation									
		Cases							Total
		Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	226 81.6%	18 6.5%	9 3.2%	6 2.2%	1 .4%	16 5.8%	1 .4%	277 100%
	Non Saudi Arabs	116 82.9%	8 5.7%	4 2.9%	6 4.3%	0 .0%	6 4.3%	0 .0%	140 100%
	foreigners	11 78.6%	1 7.1%	0 .0%	2 14.3%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	14 100%
		353 81.9%	27 6.3%	13 3.0%	14 3.2%	1 .2%	22 5.1%	1 .2%	431 100%

As table 6-65 shows, no material by non-Arab writers was published on the back or last page of any of the eight newspaper used in this study, while 1.1% of the Saudi writers' material and 3.6% of non-Saudi Arab writers' materials were published in the back page.

No articles were published by any nationality on the front page. The majority of articles whether by Saudi or non-Saudi writers came in the inside pages. It is also clear that foreign writers were not represented in the back or last pages. This can be justified as the subjects and issues trodden by Saudi writers touched the Saudi reader more so that these are more likely to appear in the back pages.

Table 6-64: Writers' Nationality Material Location Cross Tabulation

Writers' Nationality Material Location Cross Tabulation				
		Material location		Total
		Last page	Inside page	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	3 1.1%	274 98.9%	277 100%
	Non Saudi	5	135	140
	Arabs	3.6%	96.4%	100%
	foreigners	0 .0%	14 100%	14 100%
Total		8 1.9%	423 98.1%	431 100%

It can be seen from table 6-66 that an unchanged or consistent stance is high among all writers. As to partial change, it was higher among foreign writers than among Saudi writers and non-Saudi Arab writers. This can be attributed to the fact that foreign writers have more freedom to express their own viewpoints regardless of the government position. That is, there are less pressures on them to adopt a certain viewpoint.

Table 6-65: Writers' Stand Cross Tabulation

Writers' Stand Cross Tabulation				
		Situations		Total
		Unchanged	Partial change	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	269 97.1%	8 2.9%	277 100%

	Non Saudi	126	14	140
	Arabs	90.0%	10.0%	100%
	foreigners	12	2	14
		85.7%	14.3%	100%
Total		407	24	431
		94.4%	5.6%	100%

Table 6-67 shows that complete agreement with the 9/11 attack was low among all nationalities; 4% of articles by Saudi writers and 0% of articles by non-Saudi Arab and foreign writers took this view. Neutrality was low among all nationalities, representing 7.1% of the articles by foreign writers, 12.9% of the articles by non-Saudi Arab writers and 13.4% of the articles by Saudi writers. In the complete disagreement category, the highest percentage was 64.3% for articles by foreign writers, and the lowest for articles by Saudi writers at 15.2%.

Table 6-66: Writers' Nationality and Attitude Cross Tabulation

Writers' Nationality and Attitude Cross Tabulation						
		Attitudes				Total
		Completely agree	Neutral	Disagree	Completely disagree	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	1	37	197	42	277
		.4%	13.4%	71.1%	15.2%	100%
	Non-Saudi Arabs	0	18	83	39	140
		.0%	12.9%	59.3%	27.9%	100%
	Foreigners	0	1	4	9	14
		.0%	7.1%	28.6%	64.3%	100%

Total	1	56	284	90	431
	.2%	13.0%	65.9%	20.9%	100%

Table 6-68 shows that proof was provided in a high percentage of the articles by all nationalities. The highest percentage of articles providing figures and statistics were written by foreign writers and 21.4% of their articles exhibited this type of proof. Saudi writers provided figures or statistics in 16.6% of their articles. The ‘Side case show’ represented 15.0% of on-Saudi Arab writers' articles, and 14.3% of foreign writers’ articles.

Table 6-67: Writers' Nationality and Information Track Cross Tabulation

Writers' Nationality and Information Track Cross Tabulation							
		Information track					Total
		Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	203 73.3%	46 16.6%	21 7.6%	5 1.8%	2 .7%	277 100%
	Non-Saudi Arabs	94 67.1%	18 12.9%	21 15.0%	3 2.1%	4 2.9%	140 100%
	foreigners	9 64.3%	3 21.4%	2 14.3%	0 .0%	0 .0%	14 100%
Total		306 71.0%	67 15.5%	44 10.2%	8 1.9%	6 1.4%	431 100%

It can be concluded from table 6.69 that news agencies were not used as a source of information by non-Arab writers, Saudi and non-Saudi Arab writers used this source for only 7% of their articles. The mass media was the greatest source of information for all writers, being as high as 70.4% for Saudi writers, 57.1% for

foreign writers and 47.1% for non-Saudi Arab writers.

Non-Saudi Arab writers resorted to government official information sources for 13.6% of their articles. Other sources of information were next in importance to the mass media for writers of all nationalities.

Table 6-68: Writers' Nationality and Information Sources Cross Tabulation

Writers' Nationality and Information Track Cross Tabulation							
			Information sources				Total
			News Agencies	Official Government	Informational	Other	
Writers' nationality	Saudi		2	14	195	66	277
			.7%	5.1%	70.4%	23.8%	100%
	Arabian		1	19	66	54	140
			.7%	13.6%	47.1%	38.6%	100%
	foreigner		0	1	8	5	14
			.0%	7.1%	57.1%	35.7%	100%
Total			3	34	269	125	431
			.7%	7.9%	62.4%	29.0%	100%

As indicated in table 6-70, other related subjects were discussed in 50.9% of Saudi writers' articles. Next in importance was the Palestinian issue with 29.6% and at the bottom was more than one issue with 8.7%. For non-Saudi Arab writers, other related subjects were discussed in 47.9% of their articles, the Palestinian issue in 27.1% of their articles and the Afghanistan issue featured in only 5.7% of articles.

The high percentage of other related subjects is an indication that 9/11 raised many issues of concern for writers of all the nationalities surveyed.

Table 6-69: Writers' Nationality and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation

Writers' nationality * Subject related to Crosstabulation						
		Subject related to				Total
		Palestine case	Afghanistan case	More than one case	Other	
Writers' nationality	Saudi	82	30	24	141	277
		29.6%	10.8%	8.7%	50.9%	100%
	Non-Saudi	38	8	27	67	140
		27.1%	5.7%	19.3%	47.9%	100%
	Arabs	3	2	3	6	14
		21.4%	14.3%	21.4%	42.9%	100%
Foreigners	123	40	54	214	431	
	28.5%	9.3%	12.5%	49.7%	100%	
Total						

6-2-17 Month of Publication

This section introduces analyses concerning the relationship between the month of publication and material location, writers' attitudes, information track, information sources and the related subjects. Table 6-71 shows that political articles made up the highest percentage (81.9%) of the selected material published during the three-month study period, while other issues were of minimum concern, representing only 2% of the total number of articles. Religious and social issues were also few, with

3% for the former and 2% for the latter.

Table 6-70: Month of Publication

		Cases							Total
		Political	Economic	Religious	Security	Social	Cultural	Other	
Date publishing	From 12 Sep. to 11 Oct.	153 84.5%	9 5.0%	4 2.2%	8 4.4%	1 .6%	5 2.8%	1 .6%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	127 77.9%	12 7.4%	8 4.9%	5 3.1%	0 .0%	11 6.7%	0 .0%	163 100%
	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	73 83.9%	6 6.9%	1 1.1%	1 1.1%	0 .0%	6 6.9%	0 .0%	87 100%
Total		353 81.9%	27 6.3%	13 3.0%	14 3.2%	1 .2%	22 5.1%	1 .2%	431 100%

Concerning the relationship between month of publication and material location, the highest percentage of the relevant material (98.1%) was published on the inside pages, as shown in table 6-72. There was a similar percentage for.

Table 6-71: Month of Publication and Material Location Cross Tabulation

Month of Publication and Material Location Cross Tabulation				
		Material location		Total
		Last page	Inside page	
Date of publishing	From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	4 2.2%	177 97.8%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th	3	160	163

	1.8%	98.2%	100%
From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	1	86	87
	1.1%	98.9%	100%
Total	8	423	431
	1.9%	98.1%	100%

As for the attitudes, no significant change is noticeable here, with partial change being noted in only 5.6% of the articles during the three-month period. The highest was 7.7% in the first month.

Table 6-72: Month of Publication and Trends Cross Tabulation

Date of publishing * Situations Crosstabulation					
		Situations			Total
		Unchanged	Partial change		
Date of publishing	From 12th of Sep.	167	14		181
	to 11th of Oct.	92.3%	7.7%		100%
	From 12th of Oct.	156	7		163
	to 11th of Nov.	95.7%	4.3%		100%
	From 12th of Nov.	84	3		87
	to 11th of Dec.	96.6%	3.4%		100%
Total		407	24		431
		94.4%	5.6%		100%

Disagreement with the aims of the 9/11 attackers constituted the highest percentage (65.9%) during all three months surveyed. The third month saw the highest percentage of 74.7%. Complete disagreement accounted for 20.9% of attitudes and

complete agreement was least evident with only 2%.

Table 6-73: Month of Publication and Attitudes Cross Tabulation

Month of Publication and Attitudes Cross Tabulation						
		Attitudes				Total
		Completely agree	Neutral	Disagree	Completely disagree	
Date publishing	From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	0 0.0%	22 12.2%	108 59.7%	51 28.2%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	1 .6%	19 11.7%	111 68.1%	32 19.6%	163 100%
	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	0 0.0%	15 17.2%	65 74.7%	7 8.0%	87 100%
Total		1 .2%	56 13.0%	284 65.9%	90 20.9%	431 100%

And concerning the information track, proof was provided for three hundred and six or 71.0% of the total number of four hundred and thirty one articles, and only a small percentage (1.9%) ignored some information.

Table 6-74: Month of Publication and Information Track

Date of publishing	Information track					Total
	Proof provided	Numbers and Statistics	Side case show	Ignoring some information	Other	
From 12th Sept.	133	25	16	3	4	181

	73.5%	13.8%	8.8%	1.7%	2.2%	100%
From 12th Oct. to 11th Nov.	111 68.1%	23 14.1%	23 14.1%	4 2.5%	2 1.2%	163 100%
From 12th Nov. to 11th Dec.	62 71.3%	19 21.8%	5 5.7%	1 1.1%	0 .0%	87 100%
Total	306 71.0%	67 15.5%	44 10.2%	8 1.9%	6 1.4%	431 100%

As shown in table 6-76, the mass media provided 62.4% of the information sources for writers, other sources provided 29.0%, government official sources provided 7.9% and news agencies provided only 7%. Writers used the mass media as a source of information more than any other source.

Table 6-75: Month of publication and Information Sources

Date of publishing * Information sources Crosstabulation						
		Information sources				Total
		News Agencies	Official Government	Informational	Other	
Date publishing	From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	1 .6%	15 8.3%	113 62.4%	52 28.7%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	1 .6%	15 9.2%	101 62.0%	46 28.2%	163 100%
	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	1 1.1%	4 4.6%	55 63.2%	27 31.0%	87 100%
	Total	3 .7%	34 7.9%	269 62.4%	125 29.0%	431 100%

As shown in table 6-76, the mass media provided 62.4% of the information sources for writers, other sources provided 29.0%, government official sources provided 7.9% and news agencies provided only 7%. Writers used the mass media as a source of information more than any other source.

Table 6-76: Month of publication and Information Sources

Date of publishing * Information sources Crosstabulation						
		Information sources				Total
		News Agencies	Official Government	Informational	Other	
Date publishing	From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	1 .6%	15 8.3%	113 62.4%	52 28.7%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	1 .6%	15 9.2%	101 62.0%	46 28.2%	163 100%
	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	1 1.1%	4 4.6%	55 63.2%	27 31.0%	87 100%
	Total	3 .7%	34 7.9%	269 62.4%	125 29.0%	431 100%

And concerning the related subjects, Table 6-77 demonstrates that ‘other issues’ were discussed in relation to 9/11 more than any other category, with the Palestinian issue coming in second place. However, Afghanistan shot up as a related issue from 8.3% of the articles in the first month to 12.6% in the third month. This can be justified that the US war on terror began in Afghanistan which drew the attention of writers to such an important issue.

Table 6-77: Month of Publication and Related Subjects Cross Tabulation

		Subject related to				Total
		Palestine case	Afghanistan case	More than one case	Other	
Date publishing	From 12th of Sep. to 11th of Oct.	47 26.0%	15 8.3%	24 13.3%	95 52.5%	181 100%
	From 12th of Oct. to 11th of Nov.	50 30.7%	14 8.6%	17 10.4%	82 50.3%	163 100%
	From 12th of Nov. to 11th of Dec.	26 29.9%	11 12.6%	13 14.9%	37 42.5%	87 100%
Total		123 28.5%	40 9.3%	54 12.5%	214 49.7%	431 100%

6-3 Summary

The results reported in this chapter reveal that many writers saw that other issues were related to the 11th September events, though individual writers and individual newspapers were concerned with some issues more than with others. Most of Saudi and non-Saudi Arab journalists criticized the American attitude towards Arab and Muslim issues, but that did not prevent them from showing and expressing their disagreement with Al-Qaeda. Non-Arab journalists were more concerned about criticizing the hijacking than expressing concern with the American administration's attitude towards states purported by America to be supporters of Al-Qaeda. Generally, political articles were dominant in the material published by the eight Saudi Arabian newspapers used in this study.

Chapter 7 : Critical Debate

This chapter is based on the statistical results and findings, that were generated using content analysis methods in the previous chapter. Critical debate using such an interpretative framework, that includes both framing theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA) is proposed.

This chapter interprets the statistical numbers and figures and compares them to the existing literature, in order to relate these results to the research questions raised at the outset of the thesis, and find whether they are in agreement or disagreement with the results obtained in the existing literature.

The chapter is organized as follows.

- Part 7-1 is rationale. It discusses the relationship between the statistical results generated in the previous chapter and the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Four.
- Part 7-2 discusses the meaning of the quantitative results to the research questions raised at the outset of the thesis.

- Part 7-3 compares the results generated in the previous chapter to the existing literature.
- Part 7-4 is a summary.

7-1 Rationale

In doing content analysis, data was first prepared, units of analysis were defined, categories and a coding scheme were developed, and finally numerical results were generated using statistical tests. The next step involves making sense of the themes or categories identified, and their properties. This requires making inferences of the figures, I mean the pure numerical results, and presenting reconstructions of the meanings derived from the data.

This is considered to be a critical step in content analysis since it is widely based on the researcher's understanding of his data and the derived numerical results and his reasoning abilities. This chapter explores the properties and dimensions of categories, identifies relations between categories, uncovers patterns, and considers categories against the full range of data.

The results reported in the previous chapter were based on measuring and counting

the frequencies of key words (units of coding) using statistical tests of variables, such as the nationality, gender, and attitude of the writer, the material location, and the issues addressed by the writers and their location in the selected newspapers, with the purpose of assessing the Saudi newspaper coverage of the eleventh of September events.

Although the statistical results revealed many issues that are related to the main research question, they still need an interpretative framework that better explains, clarifies and relates them to research questions. This is done here using mixed methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and framing theory. In other words, statistical figures do not provide satisfactory answers to the research questions raised at the outset of the thesis.

An integrated framework is thus essential in order to develop the aspects of interpretation and to formulate them in terms of the material. Such a framework reconstructs the statistical figures and expresses them in the appropriateness of the category definitions so that it adds to the overall picture. CDA and the framing theory adopted here function as the glue that cements the interpretation of the statistical results and relates them to the research questions.

7-2 Quantitative results and research questions

The research questions constitute the core of this study. Since the number of articles a newspaper publishes on a particular subject indicates its editorial policy and the importance it attaches to the subject, this section portrays the kind of issues covered by the specimen newspapers of the research. The comments, results and conclusions are derived from the data exhibited in Chapter Six, and the research questions posted in Chapter One are answered.

7-2-1 The issues associated with the newspaper coverage of the September 11 events

The statistical findings indicate that out of the four hundred and thirty one articles published in the specimen newspapers, the political articles numbered three hundred and fifty three (81.9%) of the total. As to individual newspapers, political articles accounted for 96.97% of the material about 9/11 published by *Al-Hayat*; for *Al-Madinah* the percentage was 88.75%; for *Okaz* 88%; for *Al-Jazirah* 82.05%; for *Al-Watan* 79.4%; for *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* 79%; for *Al-Youm* 75%; and for *Al-Riyadh* it was 62.5%.

This is to be expected since the September eleventh events and the attacks were

political in essence, and are a major concern to Saudi Arabia in particular and to the Arab and Muslim world in general.

The economic issue was next in importance since political relations are of central importance to economic relations between countries. It is not surprising, then, that the eleventh of September events had a huge impact on economic relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. However, articles pertaining to economic issues numbered only twenty seven (6.26%) of the total.

Other subject related issues included culture (5.10%), security (3.25%), religion (0.7%), social issues (0.23%) and other miscellaneous subjects (0.23%). Articles that referred to the Islamic religion ranked fifth in place, accounting for 3.68% of the total number of articles published.

It is observed that *Al-Hayat* published only one economic article, and showed no interest in the other types of article. As for the social articles, they were of the least concern for the specimen newspapers, with only one article in *Al-Madinah*. *Al-Jazirah* was concerned with cultural articles more than any of the other specimen newspapers; of the twenty two cultural items published in the sample newspapers, ten (45.45%) appeared in *Al-Jazirah*.

The implication is that the September events represented an important issue for the writers who in one way or another reflect their needs and interests. So the

September attacks can be taken to represent an important issue for Arab readers.

This finding also reflects the fact that political aspects and issues are of special importance to the writers in the selected newspapers.

7-2-1-1 The prevailing subjects and issues

For the Arab and Muslim world, the Palestinian issue has been, and still is, of major concern; it may be considered to be the core of its conflict with the West since the establishment of the Israeli State in 1948. It was to be expected that the Palestinian issue would be of concern for Saudi journalists. Afghanistan became another important issue after the overthrow of the Taliban Islamic government by military force. This is demonstrated by the number of articles relating 9/11 to these two issues. The research data reveal that out of the 431 articles for the period under study, 123 articles (28.53%) were concerned about the Palestinian issue and 40 articles (9.28%) about the Afghanistan issue, while 54 articles (12.52%) were about more than one issue and 214 articles (49.65%) about different issues. Perhaps surprisingly, Kashmir and Iraq did not constitute an issue for the specimen newspapers during the period of the study. The Palestinian issue was discussed in 37.5% of *Al-Youm's* articles, followed by 35.29% for *Al-Watan* and 8.3%, the lowest percentage, for *Al-Riyadh*. For Afghanistan, the equivalent percentages were

25% for *Al-Youm* with *Okaz* in second place and *Al-Hayat* at the bottom with 3.03%. The large number of such articles in *Al-Youm* is rather surprising because, as a local newspaper, it is rarely concerned with international issues. What is more surprising is that *Al-Hayat* published so few such articles; as a London publication of international dimensions, it would be expected to give more attention to international issues.

The strengths of various issues shown above reveal nothing new. Among Muslim and Arab international issues, Palestine has always been in first place of concern followed by Afghanistan and then Iraq and Kashmir. Iraq was not in the forefront of the news at that time because it was stable under Saddam's regime. Kashmir and, especially, Afghanistan, although geographically remote from the Arab region, have strong ties with the Arab world and the Arab mujahideen fought in Afghanistan during its war against the former Soviet Union's occupation.

The research data reveal the following results for the individual months of the study. In the first period, the total number of articles published was 181. Political material numbered 153 articles (84.53%), economic material 9 articles (4.97%), cultural material 5 articles (2.76%), religious material 4 articles (2.21%) and social and other materials 2 articles (0.55%). This was a large number of articles but, in the first month after such a momentous event as 9/11, it was perhaps to be expected and the pattern of issues addressed reflected its political importance. This casts doubt on the theory of *the Clash of Civilizations* because the conflict was expressed in political and not in terms of culture and civilization. In the second period, 163

relevant articles were published. Political material numbered 127 articles (77.9%), economic material 12 articles (7.36%), cultural material 11 articles (6.74%), religious material 8 articles (4.91%), and social and other material were absent. There was no significant difference in the number of political articles compared with the first month. It is an indication that journalists had not been affected by the developments that occurred later. In the third period, 87 relevant articles were published. Political material numbered 73 (83.91%), economic material was represented in 6 articles (6.9%), cultural material was represented in 6 articles (6.9%), religious material was represented in just one article (1.5%), and social and other material were represented in no articles.

It can be seen that political articles made up a very high percentage of the published material (84.53%) during the first month of the study period, as journalists focused on the political aspects of the events. During the second month, the percentage of political articles, though still at the top of the list, dropped to 77.9%, while articles on economic issues increased from 4.97% in the first month to 7.36%. Materials on cultural issues shot up from 2.76% in the first month to 6.74% in the second month, and to 6.9% in the third month. With the elapse of time, it seems that journalists began to consider the economic, cultural and other consequences of the events. It is understandable that the first month after 9/11 witnessed double the number of articles of the third month because the event was momentous and many people worried about and debated its consequences. Other issues, like economics and culture, gained more attention as time passed and people realized that 9/11 had

economic and cultural dimensions as well as political ones.

7-2-1-2 The Frequency of the September events in the selected newspapers

The research data reveal that three hundred and fifty three political articles in the specimen newspapers were related to the eleventh of September events during the three months of the study period. *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* published the highest number (92 articles) and *Al-Youm* the lowest number (12 articles).

This is not surprising as *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* addresses Arab leaders worldwide, and most of its writers are highly concerned with international issues, and issues that have international dimensions. However, *Al-Youm* should not be criticised for publishing the fewest articles concerned with 9/11 because it is a regional newspaper published in the eastern region of the Kingdom and consequently it is much more concerned with local than with international issues.

7-2-2 Consistency of writers and journalists

Some newspapers were committed to the attitude and position they adopted at the beginning of the period following the attacks while others changed theirs partially. *Al-Riyadh*, *Okaz* and *Al-Youm* maintained their original stands without any change.

The change in stand of other newspapers was negligible, as it accounted for only twenty four (5.57%) of the four hundred and thirty one articles in the sample newspapers.

An overall slight change in stance of 5.5% was detected in the specimen newspapers. As to the trend over time, the partial change decreased from 7.73% in the first month to 3.45% in the third month, and the unchanging stand increased from 92.27% in the first month to 96.55% in the third month. This indicates that journalists had reached certain conclusions after the elapse of the first two months, and then they adhered to those findings.

Disagreement with the 9/11 attacks was always stronger than the other attitudes, shooting up from 59.67% in the first month to 74.71% in the third month. This increase can be explained by the fact that, immediately after the attacks, there was a good deal of public support for various conspiracy theories but, as time passed, more rational explanations and more evidence appeared and this convinced the public that the hijackers were Arabs and Muslims.

The newspaper writers seemed to respond to the changing public opinion and to deal with the issues in the light of the new information. Another reading of this

increase in the newspapers' opposition to the 9/11 attacks might be that they started to echo the official stance of the Saudi government in its condemnation of terrorism, not to mention that the Saudi newspapers are controlled by a form of censorship.

Complete disagreement with the aims of the 9/11 attackers was negligible and of no significance. Both the neutral and complete disagreement stands fluctuated without a decrease or a steady increase, but both were low and neither reached a significant percentage. The data obtained from the analysis of newspapers provide a clear indication that Saudi public opinion did not support the attacks, despite the widespread criticism in Saudi Arabia of the American attitude towards Arab and Muslim countries.

It is quite obvious that writers expressed their rejection of using violence against the United States or using violence in general. They did not give any excuses for Muslim extremists to use violence whatever the reasons were. They do not think that the United States support for Israel or its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan can be reasons to use violence and terror against the United States and its citizens.

All writers included in the study condemned the September attacks even though some hinted that the United States itself murders and killed innocent people in Iraq

and did not criticize the Israeli practices against Palestinians. This finding is different from the conclusion many American writers believed, which stresses the idea that the September attacks were welcomed by many Arab people and scholars.

7-2-2-1 Attitudes of Saudi journalists towards terrorism and al-Qaeda

Out of the four hundred and thirty one articles about September eleventh, two thousand and one published by the specimen newspapers, only one article published by *Al-Jazirah*, representing 0.23% of the total articles, was in full agreement with the objectives of the attackers. For other attitude categories, 12.99% of the articles did not express a point of view, 65.89% were in disagreement and 20.88% were in complete disagreement with the attackers' aims.

If disagreement and complete disagreement are combined, the percentage is 86.77%, a clear indication that journalists considered 9/11 irrational. This result was to be expected given Saudi Arabia's official response, though there is a margin of freedom for newspapers in taking a stance on any event. It is possible that the one article that completely supported the attack was published by mistake, or it could be that the censor either did not read it or misunderstood it.

For articles published by privately owned newspapers, *Al-Hayat's* articles exhibited the highest percentage of neutrality (not expressing a point of view) (24.24%) and *Okaz* the lowest percentage (8%). As to disagreement, *Al-Youm* accounted for the highest percentage (87.5%) and *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* the lowest percentage (50.86%).

For complete disagreement, *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* showed the highest percentage (42.24%) and *Al-Riyadh* the lowest percentage (0%). It could be argued that neutrality on such a major issue as 9/11 is not acceptable, as it indicates that the journalist is adopting a passive attitude instead of playing a positive role in formulating public opinion.

7-2-3 The track and information sources for the journalists

Since the beginning of the reports on the 9/11 attacks, the careful reader was very keen to know the journalists' sources of information, so as to be able to judge the authenticity of the articles and the credibility of the journalist. On the other hand, journalists had to try to rely on credible sources and provide reliable data in their articles. These issues are of significant importance both for the journalist and the newspaper in order to build up credibility among readers.

The more credible a journalist is, the more trusting are his or her readers. All

newspapers do their best to win new readers and influence public opinion by building trust among readers who have access to different sources of information to judge the credibility of the different articles. The analysis of the research data showed that, out of the four hundred and thirty one articles in the specimen newspapers, proof was provided in three hundred and six articles, or 70.99% of the published material, figures and statistics were provided in 15.55% of the relevant material, and only a low percentage of 1.86% neglected some information.

Three hundred and six articles (70.99%) provided proof of sources, of which 15.55% depended on figures and statistics, and only a low percentage (1.86%) provided no proof to support the facts or views contained in an article.

In the use of figures and statistics, *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* scored the highest percentage (19.40%), and *Al-Watan* the lowest percentage (1.49%) of the sixty seven articles that provided this type of proof. As *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* is published in London, it is characterized by its Arab and international dimensions. Its journalists and writers address the readers from the reality of figures and facts. *Al-Hayat*, *Al-Riyadh*, *Okaz* and *Al-Watan* published no articles that were classified as ignoring some information and other information tracks.

The figures concerning the journalists' sources of information showed that the mass media was the highest source (64.87%) for the political articles and the latter accounted for 81.90% of the total articles published about 9/11. News agencies were the least used source of information, representing only 0.28% of the sources in the articles in the specimen newspapers. This indicates that news agencies are not considered trustworthy by Saudi journalists and Saudi newspaper writers.

Sometimes, the news agencies rushed to publish, and because of this, published news stories which contradicted each other.

Economic articles, which comprised 6.26% of the total, the mass media was again the most used source of information (48.14%). On the whole, the information sources for journalists, in a descending order, were mass media 62.41%, other sources 29%, government official sources 7.9% and news agencies 0.7%. This reveals that Saudi journalists are not obliged to use or report government information sources. In other words, they may doubt the complete truthfulness of official statements. This was a new phase in the development of the Saudi press because, before the eleventh of September two thousand and one, the Saudi press were obliged to adhere to the statements of government sources.

It is not surprising that the mass media was the most used source of information because it comprises many different sources, including space channels, radio stations, newspapers and magazines. This enables journalists to make comparisons, and to evaluate what they are receiving.

The newspapers used in this study resorted to mass media for information more than to any other source. The mass media provided the information sources for 81.3% of the articles published by *Al-Youm*, and 41.4% of those published by *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, the latter representing the lowest percentage of use of this information source among the specimen newspapers. *Okaz* depended on other sources for 46.6% of its articles with government official sources constituting 7.9% of its sources. This is consistent with some public opinion in Saudi Arabia that *Okaz* relied on a greater variety of sources, and would publish information about which other papers had some reservations or caution.

News agencies were the least used source of information for the articles of the specimen newspapers, and only *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, *Okaz* and *Al-Madinah* utilized them, and then only 9% for *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 2% for *Okaz* and 1.3% for *Al-Madinah* articles. This is understandable because *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* is published in

London and hence has wider access to news agencies; also its discourse is directed towards a more sophisticated audience in Arab countries, as well as readers in the West in general and Arab-British society in the UK in particular.

7-2-4 The writers' reaction to the September attacks

Were writers the objective in introducing their arguments. The idea is that some believe that writers may be influenced by their religious beliefs in reporting and commenting on a given event. In this, we see whether the selected writers were influenced by their religious beliefs when conveying or expressing their own viewpoints concerning the September attacks.

The findings indicate that the objective address was the most frequently used (81.43%) type of address used in the articles examined for this study. Writers were concerned with building logical arguments that are based on facts, truth, figures, and statistics that support their arguments. The massive majority of the writers showed an objective mood and were not influenced in any way by their religious beliefs and motifs.

Religious emotion did not have an effect on the writers. Only one article in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* was classified as belonging to this category. This is classified under

the emotional address in which the writer did not use facts but was in one way or another influenced by his religious background.

It can be seen from the findings that all the classification categories were found in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* at different levels (logical 73.28%, emotional 2.59%, logical and emotional 21.55%, illogical 0.86%, and unemotional 1.72%). Overall, the logical approach to the 9/11 events prevailed over other approaches and the minimum percentage for that category was the 67.65% found in the *Al-Watan* newspaper.

7-2-5 The correlation between gender and subjects

Analysis of the research data indicates that the Saudi press is dominated by male journalists as articles by female journalists account for only 5.8% of the total articles relevant to 9/11 published during the period of the study.

There was no contribution by female journalists on religious or social subjects. Male journalists contributed 94.05% and female journalists only 5.95% of the political articles. In the area of economics and business, males' contribution was 92.59% of the total and females' contribution was only 7.41%, while on cultural issues males contributed 90.91% and females 9.09% of the published material. This low percentage of contribution by female journalists may be attributed to the fact

that Saudi society is conservative and women have a limited role in public life.

Saudi females are not allowed to vote in the municipal elections, let alone to stand for election, nor are they represented in the Advisory Council (equivalent to parliament in the West), which reviews what is submitted to it by the central government. It is true that the status of Saudi women has improved over time, but they are still deprived of privileges enjoyed by females in some other Arab and Islamic countries, where women there are members of parliament and hold ministerial posts. However, the Saudi government has plans for gradual social changes.

In a Reuters interview with Prince Talal Bin Abdul-Aziz in October 1999, the Prince suggested that Saudi women would gain more rights within a few years. A month later, Deputy Interior Minister, Prince Ahmed stated that women should have equal rights in all areas. Saudi women have had their own identity cards since early 2000 (Kabha, 2007: 126).

7-2-5-1 The material's location in the newspaper for each gender of the writers

As shown in Chapter Six, 1.72% of male writers' material was published on the

back page and 98.28% on the inside pages. This is not unexpected because the first page is reserved for news, advertisements, exciting events, and the newspaper's editorial. For this reason articles are published either on the inside pages or the last page. 4% of the articles by women writers were published on the back page and 96% on the inside pages. No such material was published on the front page. Thus, gender is not a factor in determining the material's location, as both male and female writers seem to have been treated equally in this respect.

7-2-6 The relationship between nationality and subjects

As the figures indicate, the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues rated the highest as single issues. Saudi journalists contributed 66.67% of the articles connecting 9/11 to the Palestinian issue and 30.89% of the articles connecting 9/11 to the Afghanistan issue.

For non-Saudi Arab journalists, the percentage was 30.89% and 20% for the Palestinian and Afghanistan issues respectively. Non-Arab journalists contributed the least percentage; only 2.44% of their published material related to the Palestinian issue and 5% related to the Afghanistan issue. This could be explained by the fact Arab and Muslim societies are affected by the Palestinian and

Afghanistan issues much more than other societies are.

7-2-7 The frequency of writers' production

Five writers were identified as contributing articles about 9/11 to the specimen newspapers more frequently than others, of the total material produced by these writers, criticism of extremism and terrorism was most evident (28.6% of their articles), while clarification of attitudes and situations was their least concern (5.7% of articles). Calls for the protection of human rights constituted a high percentage (50%) of Ahmed A. Saleh's articles. Mahmoud M. Safar was mostly concerned with criticism of extremism and terrorism.

Criticism of extremism and terrorism was a common aim among the majority of writers of all nationalities in the specimen newspapers. The research data shows that no articles which had religious objectives were published by five of the specimen newspapers' writers during the period of study. This may be because religious matters were seen as the province of religious scholars and authorities.

Three other specimen newspapers, *Al-Jazirah* writers were more concerned with religious objectives than were writers of the other two newspapers. The call for democracy came only from *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Madinah* writers, and it appears that

the other specimen newspapers did not see any relationship between democracy and 9/11.

The highest percentage (40.9%) of articles criticising extremism and terrorism was by *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* writers, while *Al-Youm's* share was as low as 1.8%. However, criticism of extremism and terrorism constituted a shared objective among newspapers, being at the top of the list of objectives (25.52%) and at the bottom of the list was articles calling for democracy (4.64%) and articles with religious objectives (1.62%).

An opinion shared by many journalists or writers is that Islamic countries suffered from extremist ideas and terrorist activities even before 9/11 and this might explain the high percentage of articles criticizing extremism and terrorism. The low percentage of articles with religious objectives might be explained by the fact that the majority of writers saw no connection between religion and 9/11, even though religion was used as a tool by the attackers for the attainment of their objectives.

Five writers, either from within or outside the editorial staff of the newspaper, enjoyed popularity among readers, and each had an area of particular concern.

Ahmed Saleh published all his articles *in Al-Sharq Al- Awsat* and all Mahmoud M.

Safar's articles appeared in *Okaz*. Reda M. Lary wrote in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, *Al-Madinah* and *Al-Youm*, the latter publishing 62.5% of his articles. Abdullah F. Al-Shareef had 83.3% of his articles published in *Al-Madinah* and 16.7% in *Al-Watan*.

The Palestinian issue comprised 50% of Ahmed Saleh's articles and 16.7% and 11% of Abdullah Al-Shareef's and Talal Bannan's articles respectively. The Afghanistan issue was discussed in 50% of Reda Lary's articles and in 11.1% of Talal Bannan's articles. These writers were known to be more concerned about Arab and international issues than about local issues.

7-2-8 The kind of material published in each newspaper

The results presented in Chapter Six show that all the specimen newspapers covered all the categories of material, namely political, economic, religious, cultural, social, etc., albeit at different levels.

7-3 A comparison to the existing literature

This part is concerned with investigating whether the statistical results obtained in the previous chapter agree or disagree with the existing literature discussed in Chapter Two. This is illustrated as follows.

Firstly, numerous studies especially those in the West argued that the existing social and political system of Saudi Arabia is an important factor that has to be considered when investigating the reasons of the September attacks (Wright, 2006; Lewis, 2003). In other words, it has been claimed by many commentators that corruption in the Arab world and lack of democracy are considered the real cause of the September events.

The statistical findings, however, do not support this argument. Furthermore, it was President George W. Bush who criticized the lack of democracy and the absence of freedom of speech in the Arab and Muslim world. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the President does not apply his words to some political opponents of the United States' policy. For example, the political system is almost the same in Egypt and the Sudan, where one party is always in power and the other parties are marginalized.

It is noticeable that the attitude of the American administration, so far, towards the two countries is completely different. It is worth noting that the Egyptian people overthrew Mubarak regime in February two thousand and eleven as a result of a peaceful revolution that attracted the attention of many observers and millions of

ordinary people around the world.

Secondly, some studies argue that Saudi journalists and scholars criticized the unfair attitude of the United States towards Arab and Muslim issues and therefore this is considered one of the main reasons behind the September attacks. This is exemplified in the United States' unlimited support for Israel in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the invasion of Iraq and the killings of many Muslims in Somalia and Sudan. Furthermore, many Westerners believe that the September attacks came as a revenge of Muslims against the United States.

In this, the study has attempted to investigate whether writers in the Saudi newspapers were influenced by the accusations against the United States for its support for Israel on the expense of Arabs and whether such a support can be one of the reasons behind the attacks.

Nevertheless, the results shown in Chapter Six do not support these arguments.

There is no evidence that any of the writers included in this study, who are taken to be representative of those in the Saudi newspapers in general, thought that the United States' support for Israel was the motive for the attack on 9/11. Even if there had been any mention of this in the articles examined in this study, that would not

establish such a link or correlation in a direct way.

Thirdly, Saudi journalists were influenced by conspiracy theories proved to be not testable because it is difficult to distinguish between a conspiracy theory and the subjective ideas of the writers. The findings indicate that the majority of the writers adopted logical arguments in dealing with the issue. That is, they were not emotional. They did not agree with many of the religious interpretations that are based on the conspiracy theory that considers the events a chain in the long battle against Islam and Muslims.

Fourthly, despite the negative impacts of the eleventh of September events on the relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United States, the events had some positive developments in Saudi Arabia. This argument is supported by the research results. An example is the first national municipal elections in February two thousand and five. Although only half of the municipal council members were elected and the other half was appointed by the government, it was a step towards democracy.

To preserve human rights, the King set up the government human rights agency in two thousand and five to protect human rights in keeping with the provisions of

Islamic law. As a result, in May two thousand and six, the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice was deprived of its powers to detain and question people accused of infringing the moral code. Instead, suspects are handed over to the police for investigation to decide whether or not to pass the case to the public prosecutor.

Previously, the Commission had its own police and absolute power to detain and punish anyone suspected of infringing the moral code and the accused had no right of appeal to a legal or any other authority. The Commission was deprived of all its former absolute powers.

Furthermore, the Saudi government realized that the importance of building cultural relations with the Western countries and encouraged the Saudi citizens themselves to be more tolerant with and understanding of the Western culture. In this way, the Saudi authorities created many schemes to strengthen cultural relations with the Western world.

As part of this, the government established, in two thousand and five, the King Abdullah Program for Scholarships. Between 2006 and 2009, the Kingdom sent over 150,000 students to the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Spain,

Australia, and other Western countries, to obtain knowledge in all types of subjects at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It is worth mentioning that these government acts came as a result of many calls raised by many Saudi writers who stressed the importance of launching scholarship programs after being cancelled for some time.

This researcher is one of the beneficiaries of the Program. The positive outcomes of 9/11 for Saudi Arabia are countless, and it is impossible to elaborate more about them in this thesis. Perhaps, that would be a worthwhile separate research study.

7-4 Summary

This chapter discussed the statistical findings generated in the previous chapter. It related the statistical results that were generated in the previous chapter to the research questions raised at the outset of the thesis with the purpose of indicating how these results can contribute to the Saudi newspapers debate and literature.

The main conclusion that can be derived from this chapter is that in spite of the numerous studies that have been conducted on the coverage of the press of the September attacks, none was done on the coverage of the Saudi press based on

objective grounds. Furthermore, this study provided a comprehensive description of the Saudi press coverage of the September attacks. Political, economic, religious, and social analyses that were associated with the coverage of the events were extensively investigated. That was linked to an analysis of the writers' attitudes and political orientations. This is what distinguishes this study from other studies.

Chapter 8 : Conclusion

This thesis addressed the following main research question:

- How did the writers and journalists in the Saudi newspapers frame the 9/11 terrorist attacks?

Relating to this main question, the following sub-questions are raised:

- What are the most frequent topics that dominated the Saudi newspapers during the September 11 events?
- Which position did Saudi journalists and writers hold during the crisis? In other words, the study is concerned with identifying the attitudes of the journalists and writers during the September events and more specifically whether they were for or against the attacks. In short, the study investigates whether the accusations of the Saudi newspapers and writers as supporting terrorism are true.
- Is there a correlation between gender and the issues covered by journalists? The idea is that the Saudi society is often described as a male-dominated society, where women's views are traditionally seen as shallow and insignificant. On another point,

political writing has always been associated with male writers since the initial developments of the Saudi press. It becomes important thus to see whether this is the case in relation to the September attacks.

- Is there any relationship between the nationality of the writer and the political views he or she holds? The Saudi newspapers make it possible for non-Saudi writers to write for them and this raises the question of the relationship between nationality and ideological perceptions.

The questions were answered using quantitative content analysis. Statistical results were then discussed using an interpretative framework that included both the framing theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

8-1 Findings

The main findings can be summarized as follows:

The system of government, the government intervention in Saudi editorials, the social and political structures in Saudi Arabia, and the lack of freedom of speech and expression (discussed in Chapter 3) encouraged some Western observers and commentators to think that Saudi Arabia was a safe haven for terrorism.

The initial developments of Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia and Arab and Muslim countries, the ideology of Al-Qaeda in excluding the other (non-Muslims), and the declarations made by prominent members in Al-Qaeda of their responsibility of the attacks played an important role in making Western writers link Islam to terrorism and violence.

Despite positive changes in the Saudi press, the Saudi government still censors the media in general and uses its power to control the press. The statistical findings and interpretations indicate that the government still exerts power over the press, despite the fact that the newspapers are owned by non-governmental private institutions.

The Information Ministry has the upper hand in appointing all chief editors, and in providing guidelines for newspapers and writers on controversial issues.

Drastic changes in the Saudi press took place only in the late 1990s, when the government permitted the press some freedom to criticize governmental departments and social policies via editorial columns and cartoons. Over the last has begun to discuss some issues that used to be taboo; subjects such as the religious police, the work of government bodies and the education system.

The Saudi newspapers were highly concerned with the September events. This is

indicated in the intensive coverage of the selected newspapers. The events occupied great space in the Saudi newspapers. The event was intensively discussed in terms of political and economic aspects.

Contrary to the American accusations, the Saudi newspapers did not accept violence and terrorism against the United States. The September attacks were condemned by all the Saudi newspapers. Furthermore, the reaction of the majority of the writers in the selected newspapers was logical. Many of them were not emotional in their assessment of the September attacks.

The journalists and writers in the selected newspapers were professional in tracking their sources of information. Evidence represented a special importance for them.

There is a correlation between gender and subject matters. The results indicate that the Saudi press is dominated by male journalists. Articles by female journalists account for only 5.8% of the total articles relevant to 9/11 published during the given period. Furthermore, there was no contribution by female journalists on religious or social subjects. Male journalists contributed 94.05% and female journalists only 5.95% of the political articles. In the area of economics and business, males' contribution was 92.59% of the total and females' contribution was

only 7.41%, while on cultural issues males contributed 90.91% and females 9.09% of the published material.

There is a correlation between the writer's nationality and the subject matters that were raised in the newspapers during the given period. Arab writers are more concerned with both the Palestinian and Afghani issues. Non-Arab writers, on the other hand, were more concerned with discussing the consequences and implications of the events.

The quantitative findings indicate that the lack of democracy in Arab countries has nothing to do with the September events. This finding is different from the claims made by the United States President, G. W. Bush. The results also refute the argument concerning the American support for Israel. The selected writers indicated that the United States support for Israel was not the main motive behind the September attacks.

The results indicate that Saudi journalists were not influenced by conspiracy theories that have been proved to be not testable. It is difficult to distinguish between a conspiracy theory and the subjective ideas of the writers.

The justification given by Al-Qaeda for the strikes on the United States of America in two thousand and one discussed in Chapter 2 was to challenge the arrogance of the enemy at home and to force him, depicted as a snake, to come out of his hole, which would make it easier to tear the enemy apart through other strikes. This justification proved to be irrational, as the 9/11 strikes gave the United States the excuse to wage its international war against Al-Qaeda and its sympathizers.

The immediate result was the overthrow, in Afghanistan, of the Taliban government, the intimate friend and host of Al-Qaeda. On the other hand, the United State of Americas global war against terrorism was not without criticism and even rejection by some Western countries because it was a war against an anonymous enemy and for an unknown period. Criticizing these countries, Dick Cheney (the US Vice-President at the time) described them as Old Europe.

The Western media was very effective and influential in addressing international public opinion, but the media in the Arab and Muslim world was poor in this respect and it completely failed to address Western public opinion. While the United States of America succeeded in winning supporters and allies, the Arab and Muslim countries failed to coordinate their responses and actions, let alone win

supporters for their cause. Each country acted alone to serve its own interests, and to defend itself against American and Western accusations.

It is important to note that there is no unanimously agreed definition of terrorism. It is a vague, loose and unidentified term which any country or system may use to describe political opponents and to justify action against them, however brutal these actions may be. It is vital, then, to agree upon an international definition of terrorism to prevent any country exploiting loose interpretations that serve its own interests and objectives.

Such an agreed definition would have to make a clear distinction between terrorist activities and struggles for legitimate rights. However, whatever attitude people took on the American War on Terror, it is undeniable that it weakened Al-Qaeda. This is certainly in the interest of Arab and Muslim states that have suffered from the operations of Al-Qaeda and its sympathizers.

Islam, Muslims, Arabs and their culture occupied a prominent place in Western media after 9/11 but, for the most part, the images portrayed were negative.

Muslims and Arabs have failed, so far, to clarify the positive aspects of their common ideology, culture and political concepts. Muslim societies and

organizations face the task of developing workable mechanisms with the mass media in the West to provide informed coverage of their societies and the ethical and humanistic content of Islam. For example, the Organization of Islamic Countries was very passive in defending Islam against the severe attacks by Western media. Politically, Arab and Muslim leaders failed to address Western opinion.

On the other hand, the spokesman of Britain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example, addressed the Arab and Muslim world from Aljazeera Space Channel more than once, but no Muslim or Arab leader found a similar opportunity on Western television or radio to address the Western audience. Furthermore, there are voices in the West that are sympathetic to Arab and Muslim causes, but there is lack of communication with such people from Arab and Muslim nongovernmental organizations; much more could be done in joint co-ordination and programing, and the production of helpful literature, data and information.

In many Muslim and Arab countries, Western embassies support libraries and cultural centres to teach the language of its country and to showcase its culture.

Such activities create relationships with the local civil society and foster

understanding of the culture and society of the foreign country. Rarely, if ever, are such activities found in Arab and Muslim embassies in the West. Muslim and Arab countries must think hard about the ways and means they can communicate with the Western public and win their support.

No culture or ideology can easily annihilate another culture or ideology by the use of armed force. The United States succeeded in overthrowing the Taliban government and Saddam's regime, but it cannot claim to have eradicated Al-Qaeda's political or religious ideology, or to have won the support of the Afghan or Iraqi people. If any government system is to be overthrown, this should be done by the people of that country, as has happened in numerous countries since World War II. The friendship of peoples is more important than the friendship of their governments.

Whenever a problem or conflict occurs, the concentration should be on the reasons behind it and on possible solutions. The media, which should be objective, can play an important role in this respect in its coverage of the conflict or the problem.

8-2 Recommendations

Bearing in mind the limitations of the current thesis, the following can be recommended.

As this thesis is only concerned with the newspapers coverage, it is recommended that future studies make use of the internet and blog materials. Despite the frequent comments on the infancy of the Internet journalism,

“the web format can integrate disparate information into a coherent narrative at a speed that exceeds the viewers’ or readers’ cognitive and physical information gathering capacities and facilitates further information-seeking”

(Walker, 2006:24).

Furthermore, internet journalism give journalists, especially in countries like Saudi Arabia that have press restrictions, more freedom of expression and discussing points of view without being questioned about opinions that conflict with the government's policy.

A cognitive analysis of the influence of newspaper articles on readers, how far they are trustworthy, and to what extent journalists are trusted by their readers is

suggested. A study of the kind would reveal the extent to which journalists are mere echoes of their governments, and to what extent they are truly free to treat and discuss local, regional or international issues without the fear of being questioned.

An analysis of the United States newspaper reviews and analyses after the end of the military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq is suggested. This should be compared to the pre-wars newspaper coverage.

The possibility of co-operation between Arabic and English newspapers by translating some Arabic articles into English and some English articles into Arabic. If such cooperation occurred, it would be interesting to study its effect in filling some of the gaps in understanding between the two cultures.

A study of the television coverage of the eleventh of September events, especially as the Aljazeera Space Channel coverage is thought to have greatly influenced many people. TV news transcripts have usually higher emotion influence on audience than print news stories. As pointed out by Kabha (2007: 181), for instance, the talk-shows on *Al-Jazeera* have been described by many Western journalists as the most popular programs throughout the region. The *Opposite Direction* is viewed weekly by millions of Arabic speakers across the world. The presenter of that

program believes that *Al-Jazeera* has provided help in enabling Arabs to think about democracy, and he states that democracy is “the talk of the town everywhere in the Arab world”.

The talk-shows are considered one of the best examples of social debates on Arab satellite TV, and they are the most watched programs by Arab viewers. Viewers are allowed to participate in the debate by telephone or fax.

In order to avoid invalid accusations, writers and journalists are advised to use labelling. This is a linguistic cue that is used to identify the political, cultural, and ideological perceptions in news coverage. The use of such can be useful in defining confusing and controversial terms that may lead to conflicts and invalid accusations.

8-2-1 Recommendations for Saudi Newspapers

The following recommendations are made for Saudi newspapers and journalists:

1. Saudi newspapers should give more attention to opinion articles and readers' messages because such materials represent “the echo of the news” and what is behind the news.

Readers' messages are particularly important because they reflect public opinion.

2. Journalists should depend on reliable information and read a lot about an event before they write about it because "self-reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self-reliance, since dependence in the field of information in turn retracts the very achievement of political and economic growth" (Fenby, 1986: 15).

3. Saudi newspapers should review the contributions of their journalists about 9/11 and evaluate their contributions in the light of subsequent events. This would reveal which journalists had a good analysis and were able to anticipate subsequent events, and those who used unreliable sources or who were seriously mistaken about the future.

4. Saudi newspapers should give more space to females as this study reveals that articles by Saudi women accounted for only 5.8% of the total articles published about 9/11 during the period of the study.

5. Press establishments should arrange better training courses for their journalists, as the findings of this study show that the address direction was 40.85%, a mixture of logic and emotions. This is a high percentage and it indicates that journalists are not very familiar with the basic principles of the press article.

6. Saudi newspapers should encourage journalists to use technology to collect data, as the research findings demonstrate that the mass media represented 62.41% of their information sources. As commented by the renowned journalist Stewart Purvis that technology nowadays allows us to do anything we want, if we have a mind to do it.

“Technology is not a bar, given the will More and more material will be available sooner and faster. It will be an engineering extravaganza, but the decision about what to do with it all will have to be made by the people back at base”
(Harrison, 1986: 139).

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