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The Impact of Mass Media Coverage on Public Opinion: The Case study of Pre and Post 9/11 Attacks

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the pillars of my life:

First, to whom she illustrates to me by her sacrifices the real sense of success in this contradictive life my tender sweet MUM; to whom he opens to me the door of hope and ambitious my lovely DAD.

Then, to my precious brothers Abderrahmen, Youcef, and my sisters heart Imane.

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Abstract

The present study deals with the media cover and their response toward 9/11 attacks, and the common interest–game between terrorism and media. The events of September 11th shaped rather than changed contemporary history. The 9/11 events were terror attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon near Washington DC, which were shocking global media events that has a relation to the public attention. These media spectacles were intended to terrorize the US, to attack symbolic targets, and to open a terror spectacles, also to give a weak image to the US and global economy. The World Trade Center which was considered as an appropriate symbol of global capitalism of the New York financial land, also, the Pentagon was considered as a symbol and center of US military power. The world media cover the 9/11 event as a global tragedy especially the American media who convince the whole world that the 9/11 attacks were an act of war against America. The main objective of this research work is to analyse the world's media response to the 9/11 attacks, and how did this tragedy change the American media construction under the umbrella of the following hypotheses: different world's media and especially the American ones have greatly affected the opinion of the whole world after 9/11, as well as, as a result, a change took place in media reports about terrorism.

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General Introduction

General introduction

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries one of the main motivations of mass media in almost every country was to influence cultures, the relation between both of them is multifaceted and dynamic, so inquiry cultural mass media takes many distinct forms. All the different tools that are used to assist the distribution and circulation of information and entertainment to the public come under the umbrella of mass media. Mass Media mean 'the whole body of media reaching large numbers of public' the major ones being newspapers, television and the Internet. The main purposes of mass media are to provide information, entertainment and advertisement.

Present age is called the age of information. And mass media are the powerful and the most effective instruments of spreading or sharing information. With the advancement of digital technology, mass media have become powerful. And it is the most influential source of various news, views, ideas and opinion. Mass media also helps making information available anywhere in the world.

The 9 /11 tragedy is a case study of New York attacks where Most of media and government said that terrorist from the Islamic militant group named Al-Qaeda led by Osama Bin Laden were the responsible of it. The destruction of the two towers caused national and international serious problems and damages, there were injured victims and nearly 3000 people died, and this has created a great impact on the global market. The events had a great impact not only on the American foreign policy, but also on the public opinion through media.

In the light of what had been said before, the main objective of this research work is to analyse:

- 1. To what extent did the world's media respond to the 9/11 attacks, and did the American media deal with this event professionally?
- 2. How did this tragedy change the American media construction?

The following hypotheses are derived from the previous questions:

- 1. Different world's media and especially the American ones have greatly affected the opinion of the whole world.
- **2.** As a result of 9/11 attack a change took place in media reports about terrorism.

Through this research, discussion is going to take place on the role of world's mass media and their response to 9/11 attacks, while indicating the events that influence the world in general and Muslims in particular, and how media and terrorism benefit from each other.

This dissertation comprises two chapters. Chapter one is dealing with the concept of Mass media, their strategies such as: advertising, creating media and peace journalism, then their impact on the public opinion in general. Moreover I highlight the notion of culture as being a devise of mass media.

The second chapter is a general description of September 11th, 2001 attacks. The world after September 11th, in fact, was talking about changes that happened at a universal level, American media responses, and whether they dealt with these events as professionals.

Furthermore, we try to investigate the relationship between both mass media and terrorism. A descriptive analysis made by New York Times magasin is going to be used to illustrate data for analysis, the first one is used by the research database LexisNexis to search for the key terms "terrorism" and "terrorist" within 60 print articles from New York Times magasin pre and post 9/11 attacks. From September 11th, 1991 until September 10th, 2001, there were few articles that have to deal with terrorism while after the attack there was a major increase mention of Al Qaeda, Middle East and Islamic terrorism. It is believed that 9/11 event changed the perception of terrorism as influenced by media as There was substantial increase in reports on a global level following the attacks. This analysis shows that terrorism became more prevalent post9/11.

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1.1 Introduction:

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

1.2 The concept of mass media

Present age is called the age of information. And mass media are the powerful and the most effective instruments of spreading or sharing information. Mass media is a significant force in modern culture, and has the power to set the agenda for this purpose this part will tackle the definition of mass media its strategies and the impact of mass media on dissudion of cultures.

1.3 Definition of mass media

Mass media are defined as media which have their proper program and constitute their own audience. Mass media research, accordingly, deals with the production of programs and the consumption of the audience. For both perspectives, research topics are justified, data sources are introduced, and recommendation for the research infrastructure are given.

Media has many definitions, and it affects everything people do in their society because of their ideas, values, attitudes and normative or expected patterns of behavior. It is a diversified collection of media technologies that reach a large audience via mass communication. The technologies through which this communication takes place include a variety of outlets.

W.H. Auden:

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

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

All media exist to invest our lives with artificial perceptions and arbitrary values. Mass media is a complex concept, and no single definition of it has achieved consensus. so, out of the many possible definitions examined, the following definition guides this study:

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

(The Alliance for A Media Literate America, 2000)

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

Mass media has evolved significantly over time. Nowaday, in the world Mass Media considered as an umbrella term for all types of Print, broadcast and interactive communication.

1.4 Types of Mass media

There are different types of mass media that we are accustomed to in this age. Whether it's children, young people, or adults, we have all had our share of media-related exposure every day. Mass media refers to communication devices, which can be used to communicate and interact with a large number of audiences in different countries with different languages. There are several types of mass media: Print media, electronic media and New age media.

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

Electronic media is the kind of media which requires the user to utilize an electric connection to access it. It is also known as 'Broadcast Media'. It includes television, radio, and new-age media like the Internet, computers, telephones, etc. The purpose of using electronic media can be for many reasons; one of the reasons is that you can use it to market yourself and anything else from businesses to products and so on. Electronic media is an efficient way to communicate to one another, either by the use of media devices and networks or social media sources such as Television or the Internet these are a few of the many ways you can use Electronic media to your advantage.

New age Media: With the advent of the Internet, we are now enjoying the benefits of high technology mass media, which is not only faster than the old school mass media, but also has a widespread range. Mobile phones, computers, and the Internet are often referred to as the new-age media. The Internet has opened up several new opportunities for mass communication which include email, websites, podcasts, e-books, blogging, Internet TV and many others, which are booming

today. The Internet has also started social networking 4 sites which have redefined mass communication all together. Sites like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have made communication to the masses all the more entertaining, interesting, and easier!

1.5 The role of mass media

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

1.6 Media Keeps You Informed Irrespective Of Geo-Location

No one can deny the blessings of media in today's world. The mass media helps people to remain informed and updated about the various news, events, social activities, lifestyle, entertainment, and advertisements irrespective of the geographical barriers. For example, while sitting in India, one can get all latest news and events of UK, or USA. Like, even while sitting miles away, one got the breaking news of Donald trump winning the Presidential election.

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

1.7 Media: The Good & Bad Aspects

Media can help to create awareness among the people faster than any other thing. In fact, mass media can have a great impact on peoples' lifestyles and culture. For example, girls living in a conservative country or girls who are growing up in a conservative culture can be prompted and motivated to wear short dresses by watching TV shows or by following another country's culture. They might consider by wearing short dresses they can become cool just like the TV personalities they admire.

Anthony Carmona Said:

"Social media websites are no longer performing an envisaged function of creating a positive communication link among friends, family and professionals. It is a veritable battleground, where insults fly from the human quiver, damaging lives, destroying self-esteem and a person's sense of self-worth." Carmona.

While Amy Jo Martin said:

"Just as we teach our children how to ride a bike, we need to teach them how to navigate social media and make the right moves that will help them. The physical world is similar to the virtual world in many cases. It's about being aware. We can prevent many debacles if we're educated".

While the above point stresses on the negative impact of TV, it also has made some positive impact for the society. Through television, one can create social awareness about many social issues and the world economic crisis like AIDS, Child Abuse, and so on through television channels or TV shows which focus on making people aware of the harsh realities of life. Mainwaring Indicates "Social media is not about the exploitation of technology but service to community".

1.8 Media strategies

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

Media strategies divide into three main parts, Advertising, Peace journalism and creating media.

1.8.1 Advertising

With the social and economic development and frequent international cultural exchange, the traditional media such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television are going through a increasingly stable development in recent years. With the rapid development of high technology, Internet media is emerging as the fourth. These resulted in more frequent exchange of social information, and now advertisers have more convenient channels for their goods and services promotion. Mass media has become a major promotional platform for advertising; both news and advertising are interdependent and mutually compete for the TV broadcast time and newspaper pages published. Advertising development is bound to have increasingly important influence on the development of mass media. (Mike pence)

A way of gaining media time is to pay for advertising. Because it is a more controllable and repeatable way of appearing in the media, advertising is usually the first choice of those who can afford it. In the United States alone, advertising has grown into a multi-billion-dollar industry. The high cost involved in running a newspaper or a television network has meant that media companies need marketing dollars in order to keep functioning. Advertising consists of all promotions designed

to create a desired response in consumers. Advertisements—are designed to sell a product, from the literal sale of dish detergent to the figurative sale of a political platform. Politicians, public interest groups, and even nations use them .The benefit of advertising over publicity is that an organization can say exactly what they want and do not have to share the spotlight, but the downside is that many people view ads far more skeptically than news stories.

1.8.2 Peace Journalism

Peace journalism is a term coined by Johan Galtung to describe a style of reporting which deliberately seeks to de-escalate a conflict through focusing on conflict transformation. Peace journalists look at a conflict from a resolution point of view and ask questions such as "what are the deeper roots of the conflict?" and "what are the parties' real goals?" This theory of journalism is not without controversy. Many journalists view peace journalism as a departure from strict objectivity and believe that it is overstepping the bounds of journalism. Galtung and others argue that journalists can and ought to do more than report from a distance.

1.8.3 Creating Media

Another side to working with the media is to actually create programming for mass consumption. This is "media" in the sense of content stories, television and radio programs, songs, etc.

Studio Ijambo is an example of successful peace media in an area infamous for violent conflict (republic of Burundi). Created in 1995 by Common Ground Productions and Search for Common Ground Burundi Studio Ijambo was Burundi's first independent radio station. The station employs both Hutu "ethnic group" and Tutsi "inhabitants of upper class" to produce news, public affairs, and cultural programming. The station's flagship radio drama, "Our Neighbors, Ourselves," describes the common problems facing neighbors, such as drought and division in the village, and how they overcome them together. A recent survey showed that an estimated 87 percent of Burundians listen to the radio, and 82 percent of those surveyed believe that Common Ground's programs in Burundi greatly help

reconciliation. *Studio Ijambo* reaches an estimated 12 million people throughout the Great Lakes region.

1.9 Impact of mass media on diffusion of culture

Diffusion describes the spread of cultural trait from the point of origin throughout an area and into the neighboring regions or to the neighboring societies. The items of culture include food habits, dress, religious beliefs and language. The spread of habits of having tea, coffee, smoking certain brands of cigarettes, using certain brands of toilet soaps, detergents, hair oil, shampoo, tooth paste, tooth brush and hair dye is decidedly due to the impact of television in recent times.

During the middle of the last century, cinema played a very significant role in spreading culture .in the closing decades of the last century the small screen played no less significant role in carrying messages. The immense popularity of two dance forms Viz bharatnatyal and Odissi , beyond the centers of their origin , is definitely an impact firstly of the radio , then the large screen cinema , and ultimately the television.

The spread of Hindi language in the length and breadth of the country is mainly due to Hindi cinema , particularly the songs associated with them which are regularly broadcast in the radio in certain specialized programmes .Later, television influenced deeply the people of all categories.

Today we see that, even in our daily activities, certain words of our mother tongue have been replaced by certain linguistic expressions of the television. Our children behave the same way children in television behave vis-à-vis their parents. these are all cases of cultural dissusion, greatly affected and influenced by mass media.

1.10 Impact of television

The influence of television in learning mechanism is considered to be very significant in an urban society, where a substantial portion of the population is compelled to communicate in a language other than their own. A visual medium like television is considered to be a more useful means of learning and communicating cultural ideas than the spoken or a written word.

1.11 Racism and the press

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

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

This complex picture, full of contradictions that pitch humanitarian values of equal rights against ethnic and racial dominance in virtually all domains of society, is also reflected in the coverage of ethnic affairs in the news media of Europe and

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

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

1.12 The notion of culture

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

"Culture is set of shared and enduring mind, values, and beliefs that characterize national, ethnic or other groups and orient their behavior"

(Mulholland 1991).

The British cultural historian Raymond Williams has written that culture "is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language." (George, 2001, p.1) As Williams further explains, this is because the term culture has acquired new meanings over time without losing the older meanings along the way.

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

1.13 Cultural dependency and the mass media

We focus on the role of the mass media in the poorer countries of the world, how the functions of the media relate to one or more definitions of 'national development', and especially on whether and how the media serve as channels for inter-cultural 'invasion' of the poorer countries by the more affluent and powerful nations.

Any general discussion of media impact should include an assessment of the extent to which populations are actually exposed to the media. The most important factor helping to account for exposure is physical availability of the media. This is still something that cannot be taken for granted in many of the poorer countries. The major obstacles to media development pertain to market conditions, political insecurity, linguistic diversity, illiteracy, and technology.

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

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

1.14 Conclusion

This chapter reported a brief overview about the concept of mass media and the notion of culture. It began by offering definitions about mass media, its types and strategies then the impact of mass media on dissudion of culture as a first part while another review of culture was presented as a second part that consist of a cultural dependency and mass media avaitability.

The following chapter will tackle the 9/11 Terrorist Attack as case tragedy, It began by offering a review about the attack and how media response to this attack as well as a coverage of different world media as first part, the second part will include The media construction of terrorism pre and post 9/11.

Chapter Two

The 9/11 Terrorist Attack and Coverage of Different World's Media

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2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts, the first one highlight the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 on the world trade center in New York Us, how the media response to the attack, and coverage of different world's media. However the second part will tackle the media construction of terrorism pre and post 9/11 by providing an analysis from New York Times Magazine as well as the common interest-game between terrorist and the media .Furthermore we discuss the symbiotic relationship between terrorist groups and Mass media by providing example of mutual beneficial relationships between both of them.

Part one:

2.1 An overview about Media coverage

The events of September 11th shaped rather than changed contemporary history. The 9/11 events were terror attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon near **Washington DC**, which were shocking global media events that has a relation to the public attention. These media spectacles were intended to terrorize the US, to attack symbolic targets, and to open a terror spectacles, also to give a weak image to the US and global economy. The World Trade Center which was considered as an appropriate symbol of global capitalism of the New York financial land, also, the Pentagon was considered as a symbol and centre of US military power.

Everyone in the world was shocked by the attacks of 11 September, wondering which destruction that it would be possible to bring to the United States, and waiting for what the US and its public responses would be.

Mostly we compare between how media response to the attack and the reaction of people who get their news primarly from television with those who get news primarily from newspapers. For example, when it comes to the impact of reliance on television and on newspaper for opinions about the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and their consequences, each source has specific points of

view.

There are a lot of reactions of intellectuals that have played a big role in making some Americans change their views towards Iraq and Islam. Noam Chomsky, who was one of the leaders, who reacted to the events and he was completely different from many. He wrote several works, articles, and made interviews about the attacks and expressed his opinion clearly.

"After the 9/11 incidents, Islam has become a big question mark among westerners, especially Americans. The mass media constantly raise the issue of relationship between Islam and terrorism."

(Abdolkarim Soroush)

2.2 Media Response To 9/11 attacks

Mass media are the main means which provide people with information, entertainment and advertisement all over the world. Media sources such as newspaper, television, the Internet...etc play significant roles in shaping a person's understanding and perception of the events occurring in our daily lives, and shaping their opinion.

2.2.1 Televison

Television's central role in our society makes it the primary channel of the mainstream in our culture. People who got most of their news from TV differ in important ways from those who get most of their news from other media sources. In addition, it is the swiftest medium that persons usually go to get news. For example, when the Pew Research Center asked a sample of American adults, at random, immediately in the days after the attacks, which kind of media that they back first to know about the news about the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, the result was that 88 percent said television (Rhine, Bennett, Flickinger 4). Through that, it is noticed that TV is very important, and is the first medium that most of people return to. Thus, it can have a great influence on shaping the public opinion.

2.2.2 Internet

In the age of superfast broadband, WiFi and smartphones, when a major news story breaks, it is the internet which people turn to first. Within moments social media networks and news sites light up, awash with pictures, video, and updates playing out events in real time. But things were very different in 2001 when jets slammed into the Twin Towers, the Pentagon and a field in Pennsylvania. Back then TV and radio were still the best way to get up-to-date stories, while cell phones could do little more than text and make calls.

For those who had a computer, dial-up internet was slow and unreliable, often taking minutes to load a single page, even if it only contained one or two pictures. The average dial-up speed was 56kbps, which is roughly one twentieth of the slowest internet speeds available today, meaning pages were limited in what they could contain. While today news sites are awash with high-resolution images, moving gifs, HD video and detailed graphics, back then they were little more than narrow columns of text, as these images show. While some contain video links, the technology was still in its infancy, often contained only low quality footage, and took a long time to buffer before playing. Unfortunately, there's no comprehensive archive of digital media from that day. The Newseum for instance, has an archive of hundreds of newspaper front pages from september12,2001,but doesn't have any images from websites that actually covered the event as it happened on September 11.

2.3 American media coverage of 9/11

The USA used the media to influence the public opinion in order to have people's Support and sympathy. Most Americans today, get their information and entertainment from the media. They tend to be the leading in the whole world. The American media are the purposeful promoter of ideas and have a great responsibility to play with any event especially when they cover the September 11.2001 attacks.

2.3.1 CNN

Anyone could believe that a paper like the New York Times, or a network like CNN are favor in one way or another, also, accept some or much of what those foundations report as effective information about what is happening in America and the world.

September 11th attacks were the definite day that CNN and other media outlets made sure that everybody knew, exactly, what happened. The shock was also on such a level because the event was not in Africa, where hundreds of them die without taking it in consideration or interest from the Western World. The attacks on The World Trade Center were like an objection at the heart of Western values, commercialism, and trade. CNN after September 11th considered Bin Laden to be "At the center of an international coalition of Islamic radicals" (Dimaggio 263). This shows that CNN's judgment was precipitated and subjective.

2.3.2 New York Times

Many editors demonstrated the events in different articles, for example, 'War Without Illusions' was a title of the New York Times editors explained that there was no dispute about 9/11, that represented twenty-first century first American war (Dimaggio 266). We can say that the New York Times is considered as the most respected news medium in the United States; it was seemed as the nation's newspaper. Furthermore, New York Times magazine reporter, Michiko Kakutani, had expressed the September 11 attacks as followed:

A searing view of the tragic events of September 11th, 2001. a view that is at
once wrenchingly intimate and boldly sweeping in its historical
perspective... A narrative history that possesses all the immediacy and
emotional power of a novel, an account that indelibly illustrates how the
political and the personal, the public and the private were often inextricably
intertwined.

After the 9/11 attacks, New York Times had incredible suitable role to cover the events. For example, in 2004, the newspaper repeated similar view and

discovered that Bin Laden and Zawahiri were not the only ones who are in the process of the attacks, but there are many other members within the group. In other words, they were just a part of these attacks. World had discovered the Bush's hidden intentions from providing humanitarian help the Afghan, the following example embodied this: New York Times editors asserted that Bush tried to show the most significant part in the American strategy by helping the Afghan people through which he could win their hearts and minds .In other words, the editors described this action from Bush was considering as an attempt to profit and gain their support.

However, "In the months following September 11th, the New York Times invariably framed the story within this context of Islam. Andrew Sullivan, a devout Catholic, who had recently discovered the virtues of the 18th-century Enlightenment published in the magazine section a long piece entitled 'This is a religious war'. Illustrated with pictures of atrocities that September 11th was 'only the beginning of a new epic war'.

2.4 Coverage of different World's Media

2.4.1 Uk media coverage of September 11

More than twenty years ago, French philosopher Jean Baudrillard referred to terrorism as the "theatre of cruelty". He Meant that in so far as its perpetrators set out to fill news media with horrifying, attention-grabbing images of bodies and buildings blown apart, modern terrorism can be understood as staged spectacle, intended to command the political agenda and fill the enemies' hearts with disgust and fear.

The British public saw the tactic in action over some 30 years in Northern Ireland but the spectacular, theatrical quality of terrorism has never been more skillfully deployed than on September 11, 2001, when Osama bin Laden used the immediacy and global reach of 24 hour real-time news to send his defiant message to the United States and its allies. On that day in New York, in the most obscene

snuff movie of all time, the transnational television audience watched nearly 3,000 people die. The event triggered military attacks and led to controversial policy developments, It was a devastating first strike in what quickly became known as the "war on terror," Islamic fundamentalism and Osama bin Laden, in particular, in interviews with CNN and other media, had declared holy war "Jihad" on non-Islamic civilizations and values in the 1990s.

Dissemination of those particular images was immediate and allencompassing. Real-time news media such as CNN and Fox News, network news organizations such as NBC and the BBC, Internet news sites and bloggers, and radio and print outlets all were given over to blanket coverage of events in New York and Washington for several days and weeks.

The story commanded the global news agenda, bringing into being a transnational public united in consumption of information about its significance and impacts, the United Kingdom the United States' closest ally on September 11, 2001, as it has remained in the ensuing period. It notes that British news media shared many of the premises and assumptions of U.S. journalists as they sought to make sense of the attacks. While dissenting views as to the meaning of 9/11 were reported in the UK media, British journalists tended to respond, as did their colleagues in the USA, to the event as the opening of a new era, an era of war on global Islamic terror.

2.4.2 Arab middle eastern media

Coverage of 9/11 fundamentally varied between Western and Middle Eastern media but they shared the similarity of having a huge influence on the perceptions of their audience. Sympathy was doled out to both Americans and Palestinians that day, and blame was assigned to Muslims and Americans. Public opinion worldwide was being formed by media text and images, and the political ramifications of that were enormous.

"The fact that the majority's perception of terrorism is of audiovisual origin, where clichés predominate alongside of simplifications and shallowness has an enormous influence in the way in which public opinion presents its demands to the public officials."

(Torres, 2008)

The risk of enhancing clichés and simplifications was fully realized when American media outlets failed to represent the "other" or the typical Middle Eastern citizen in an informative, unbiased fashion. Both Middle Eastern and American outlets framed the political environment of a post 9/11 world in their respective regions. American networks predicted retaliation while Middle Eastern outlets interpreted the attacks as a result of ignoring Palestinian casualties. International events are shaped by the media's coverage. With 9/11, American outlets prepared the nation for war, while Middle Eastern media acknowledged that 9/11 was the result of American policies concerning Palestine. To improve global understanding, media must portray each party's stake and viewpoint accurately. In a global environment, to present only one nation's side leaves citizens completely unaware of what lies at the roots of the problems they're facing. People can't see reality from the other side of the world; they rely on media outlets to map out the terrain so they can navigate.

2.4.3 European media coverage

In the immediate aftermath of September 11th, the reaction of the French media was one of passionate empathy. The September 12th headline of Le Monde reads simply" Nous sommes tous Américains" (We are all Americans). Yet as early as September 13th, Le Monde began broaching criticism of American policy and scrutinizing the American response. On the whole, the opinions that appeared in Le monde in the week following 9/11 trace a trajectory from cautious optimism to outright disapproval. At first, they convey an implicit trust in America's potential to rise to the challenge of global terrorism, casting the terrorist attacks as a turning point moment and opportunity for American introspection. Yet this emotion is

rapidly supplanted by intense concern regarding the direction of the American response and its corresponding dependence on dualistic rhetoric. On the whole, French newspaper coverage of 9/11 tells a narrative of American unilateralism, a story of the United States retreating from reality, shunning nuance and re-embracing the kind of worldview that initially promoted its sensitivity. Le monde offers a counter-narrative of international solidarity and reflection and expresses increasing anxiety and disapproval as the US rejects this worldview.

One of the earliest Le monde articles on the subject of September 11th was entitled "La fin d'un rêve" (The end of a dream) and appeared on September 13th, 2001. In this short piece, the author offers sympathy to the United States and recognizes the terrible nature of the attacks, calling them "a festival of barbarism." Yet in contrast with the newspaper's September 12th statement of unequivocal sympathy, this piece, published only a day later, already contains implicit and explicit criticism of US policy. The article begins with the simple statement "It was the end of a utopian dream." This plain expression conveys not only the terror and trauma associated with 9/11 but also puts forth a bold critique of the American worldview. (Joshua C.Feblowitz

The author goes on to argue that United States must recognize its new role in the world, not as a "lone actor" but as part of a complex and tumultuous international scene. This criticism is constructive in nature and suggests that the French perceive potential for dramatic change. The reference to the United States as a "lone actor" reveals the germination of a French counter-narrative that is based on international cooperation. According to Le Monde, if the United States recognizes and repudiates this false role of unilateral actor, then the nation can contribute to a new era of cooperation. The author places the blame for this erroneous view firmly on the shoulders of President Bush, arguing that it was his aim to "protect the United States from the international scene." The author's ultimate conclusion is that "isolationism is never an option for America." This further reinforces a counternarrative of cooperation by suggesting that isolationism is not a viable political policy but a deliberate and reckless spurning of reality. This critical stance only two

days after the attacks demonstrates a presupposition of US policy failure but also offers a hopeful tone with respect to the potential for positive change. "La Fin d'Un Rêve." Le Monde 13 septembre 2001. Joshua C.Feblowitz.

Part two:

2.5 The media construction of terrorism Pre and post 9/11

There is very little research available today examining the construction of terrorism in the media and the differences in those constructions both pre and post-9/11. In this academic research , there is an analysis done in this area that demonstrates the change that took place in media reports about terrorism as a result of 9/11. A sample was gathered to search New York Times articles for the ten-year period before 9/11 and the decade following 9/11.

The sample is used by the research database LexisNexis to search for the key terms "terrorism" and "terrorist" within print articles from the New York Times, two different time frames were used in order to find a total of sixty articles that covered a span of twenty years, the twenty years was broke up into two ten-year spans: one pre-9/11 and one post-9/11. The white boxes depict the article number, and the gray boxes below state the number of references made in that article.

Pre-9/11 Sample

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
References	4	3	13	3	8	0	3	1	6	0	4	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	29	2	3
Total = 92																														

Table 2.1 New York Times magasin pre 9/11 articles

In Pre-9/11 sample there were only 30 articles that came up over a ten-year span .the variations of the word "terror" come up a total of 92 times

Post 9/11 sample

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
References	19	4	8	8	13	3	12	19	10	8	7	8	6	9	8	4	1	7	5	3	7	7	7	19	17	7	4	5	6	9
Total = 250																														

Table 2.2 New York times magasin post 9/11 articles

in the post-9/11 sample, the words "terrorism" and "terrorist pop up a total of 250 times. Just this shows that terrorism itself became more Prevalent post-9/11.

The sheer numbers shown above indicate that the frequency of terrorism being brought up in the news media post-9/11 more than doubled than what it was before 9/11.

2.6 Pre 9/11 Themes

Terrorism is still a large problem, not just in the United States. Terrorism only happens elsewhere such as in Palestine, or England. This is not to say that Americans were never attacked in the pre-9/11 era, because they definitely were. In an article about the first bombing of the Twin Towers, it was said that "American targets have been singled out by terrorists before" (Bernstein, NYT 3/7/1993). The only difference between then and now is that there was never been an attack on American soil before. In the sample, we see this by noticing a large amount of stories concerning the conflict in Palestine. The United States believed at this point that they were immune from terrorist attacks because this was America, it never happens here.

The following chart displays a basic quantitative analysis of some of the groups or conflicts that are the main focus of this pre-9/11 sample.

Group	Number of article
Israel/Palestine conflict	5
Local rebel groups	5
Ossama ben laden	3
Hamas	3
others	1

Table 2.3 The groups that were the main focus in new York times magasin pre 9/11

From September 11th, 1991 until September 10th, 2001 there were very few articles that have to deal with terrorism in the New York Times. oussama ben laden and Hamas were only mention 3 times each.

2.7 Post themes

Common post-9/11 themes included mentions of Al Qaeda, the war on terrorism, and there is more of a focus on the Middle Eastern countries. The change in the number of articles printed alone during the two time frames can be seen as a huge indicator that 9/11 changed the perception of terrorism as influenced by the media. Post-9/11 is made up of some of the same themes that we see in the pre-9/11 sample. the frequency of bombings, and the strong emphasis on Islam, although in this time period, it is dramatized compared to what we have seen in the media up to this point. 9/11 changed the view a lot of the aspects of terrorism due to the fact that it caused so much trauma and heartbreak for a lot of Americans. One of the most obvious themes was the number of times the word terrorism is used compared to what we saw before the events of 9/11.

There was a drastic increase in its usage in the media since that day and it became a large concern for a lot of Americans. But there were also other themes that were pretty clear throughout the entire sample. The first theme was the added emphasis on Middle Eastern countries, there is an increase in the New York Times zeroing in on areas such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Along with more mention of Middle Eastern countries, there was a lot more mention of Al Qaeda throughout this sample, compared to the pre-9/11 sample that does not use the name of the group even once. Al Qaeda became very popular after the attacks of September 11th since they were the group that claimed responsibility and this thrust them into the spotlight.

Main topic	Number of articles
Al Qaeda	12
Terrorism in general	7
Islamic terrorism	6
Middle east terrorism	4
Other	1

Table 2.4 The groups that are the main focus post 9/11

In post 9/11 Themes there is a major increase mention of Al Qaeda, middle east and Islamic terrorism.

The post 9/11 offered up some very useful information in the media reports on terrorism. There was a substantial increase in reports on a global level following the attacks on the World Trade Center. Although there were some themes that did not change from the previous decade, there were quite a few new ones that cropped up as well. The following table shows the number of articles contained in each theme.

Theme	Number of article
Focus on middle east	16
Al Qaeda	12
Mentions 9/11	21
Mentions" war on terror"	4

Table 2.5 Most repeated post 9/11 articles in new York times magasin

The table above display the number of each article has been repeated, we can see that the number of articles that focus on middle east and Al Qaeda popped up to a total of 28 articles, plus an enormous mention of 9/11 attacks.

Throughout the sample, the war on terror is only specifically mentioned in four articles, but in each of those four, it is repeated multiple times and is one of the main focuses. The war on terror has become the driving force behind the American ferocity towards any terrorist organization no matter whose borders they are within. This seems to be a very important theme present in the post-9/11 world seeing as it fuels motivation against terrorism.

As a result of 9/11, America as a country declared a global "war on terror". By this, it means that American societies decided to make it their mission to combat terrorism not just within their own borders, but to attempt to put a stop to it all over the world. One of the problems people face nowadays though is defining terrorism. Before 9/11, there may have been a less stereotypical definition out there, but most Americans view a terrorist as being someone of Arab or Middle Eastern descent, or as a suicide bomber. This is due to the fact that the media has shaped societies to see terrorists this way.

It is commonly claimed that terrorists and the media both benefit from high levels of media attention to terrorism (Hoffman, 2006). This statement reinforce the articles that accuse both terrorism and media had a reciprocal relationship and benefit from each other.

2.8 The common interest-Game between Terrorist and the media

Terrorists gain from media attention that communicates their goals and grievances to a wider audience. The media gain larger audiences because terrorist attacks tap many of the characteristics that communications research identifies as important for media attention. This perspective holds that terrorists and media outlets have a symbiotic relationship in which both can benefit from media attention to terrorism.

Recent history has provided plenty of examples of mutually beneficial relationships between terrorist organisations and the media. The terrorist attack on New York's twin towers on 9/11/2001 was all mediated mega- event, where terrorists deliberately wanted the attention of the public and where the media benefited from record sales and huge audiences. The more recent terrorist attacks on public transport services in Madrid in 2004 and in London in 2005 also follow the same pattern.

It appears that political extremists employ terror as a communication strategy, and that they deliberately choose their targets and their timing in order to maximize media attention. Most of the time, terror attacks take place in big cities with a higher density of press agencies. Similarly, terrorists tend to attack before or during big media events, such as elections, international summits like the G8-summit or the Olympic Games.

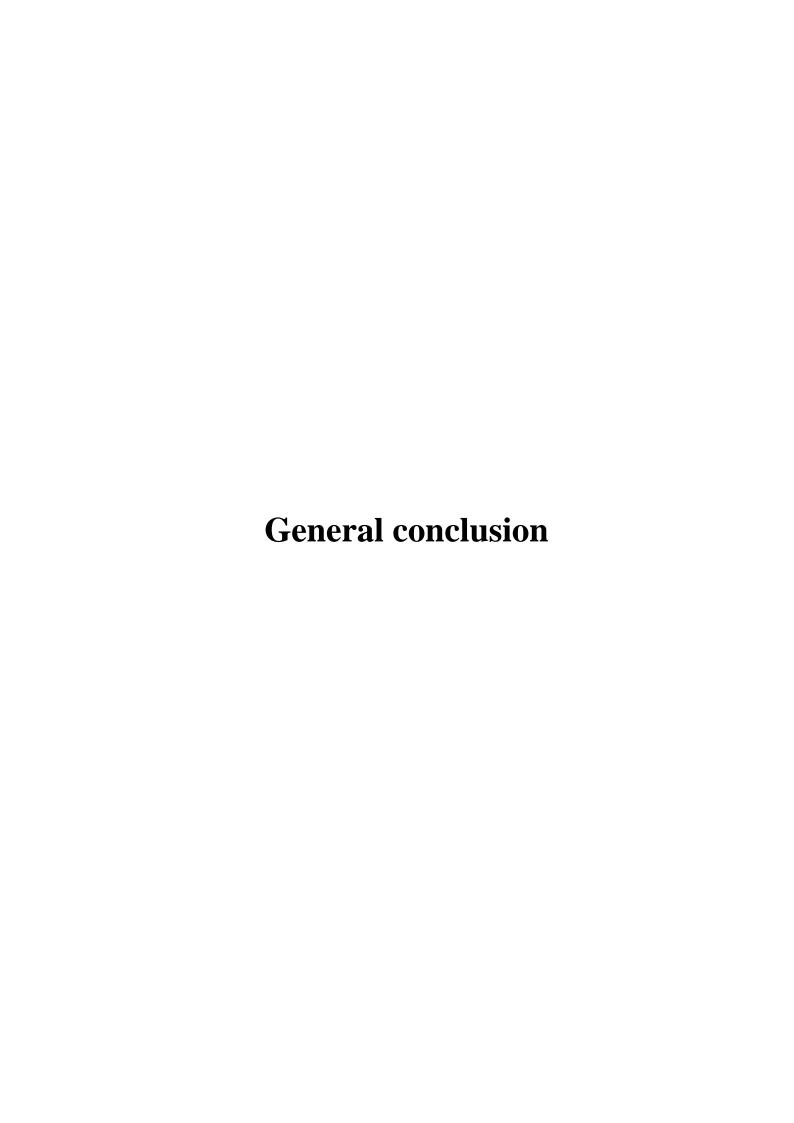
Claiming that they do not hype terrorism, professional journalists argue that terrorism is an important public policy issue and deserves substantial coverage from the media. Many of professional journalism limit media outlets' willingness to exploit terrorism to increase their audience share and lead them to devote substantial attention to the views of governments when covering episodes of political violence At the same time, however, this means that to compete successfully for media attention, terrorists must be original enough to stage incidents that are a departure from past events. large media returns to terrorism come mostly from the perpetrators' imaginative abilities new means of attack and

seek out new types of targets, making it far more challenging to devise effective countermeasures. The desire for media attention may also help explain some characteristics of the "new" terrorism, which is characterized by more victims, the indiscriminate targeting of civilians, and frequent use of suicide tactics.

2.9 Conclusion

The USA, after 9/11 attacks has changed a lot of things, such as, the view of the Americans to Islamic world, as well the whole world. This chapter reported an overview about the September 11 attack and the media coverage of this tragedy. it began by describing the event , how different mass media response to it by citing the different world's media coverage of the incident . Through media, the US journalists and reporters tried give disinformation to support the war on terror.

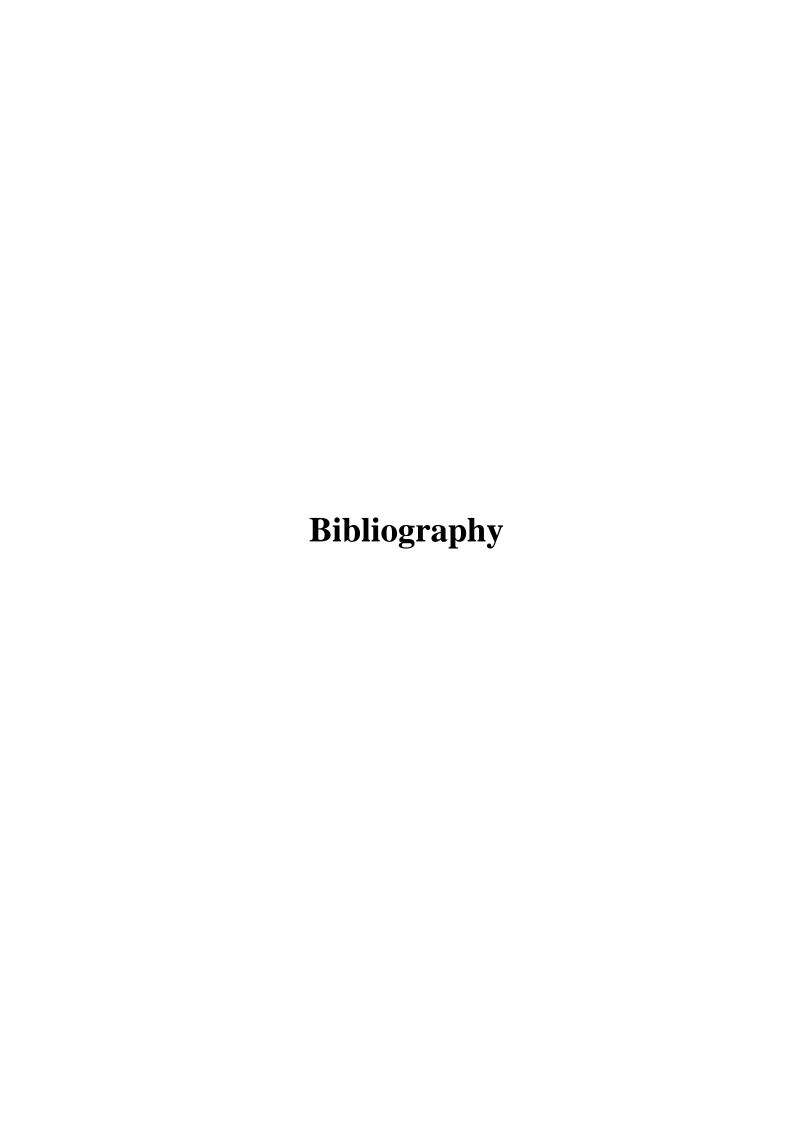
The fact that the September 11th attacks struck New York and Washington, the two capitals of globalization explain, that not only why Americans were so deeply shocked and moved, but the rest of the world also. For the new generation of Americans, terrorism had been brought into their borders.



General conclusion

This research is concerned with the American media response to the September 11, 2001 attacks, and the war on terror. The goal behind this study is to show the reaction of the Us, Uk, EU and Arrab middle east media towards these attacks, the shape of the American public opinion towards these events, as well as the media construction of terrorism pre and post the tragedy. Finally, we want also to show the common interest game between terrorism and the media. After September 11, 2001 attacks, the world has changed completely. These events could be considered as the breaking point in both the American history and the world in general. The USA has incredible sources of media, that were obvious during the attacks. After the attacks, directly, they tried to accuse the Islamic world, and have great influence on the public opinion, and convinced the world that Osama Bin Laden was responsible of these attacks.

Throughout this study, most of the information we have gathered was really a distortion of the reality of Islam. As a result, the world started looking at the Middle East countries as criminals. After all, we can confirm the hypotheses which are; US and Uk media had greatly affected the opinion of American public and the whole world. Finally We can say that mass media and terrorism have become ever more intertwined in a mutually beneficial relationship often described as 'symbiotic'. On its side, the mass media capitalizes from the confusion and consternation caused by terrorist attacks to produce the kind of dramatic news that draws the attention of its viewers and readers.



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