

Coverage of Libyan Uprising by the Muslim and Western Press

Prof. Dr. Syed Abdul Siraj and Shuja Ur Rahman Durrani

Abstract

This study sets out to examine coverage of Libyan uprising 2011 in two newspapers from the Muslim Press (the Jakarta Post & the News International) and two newspapers from the Western Press (the New York Times & the Sun) during February 16, 2011 to August 31, 2011. This study used method of content analysis to explore how the selected media framed their coverage of conflict. The content analysis of 474 stories from four selected newspapers shows that framing of different media is different in their coverage of conflict, and difference also exists in the tone of their coverage on different topics selected for this study. This study supports several studies (Kim, 2000; Ray, 2004; Ravi, 2005; Maslog, Lee, & Kim, 2006; Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Siraj, 2008; Zhang & Fahmy, 2009) and concludes that media tend to follow their cultural, national, and foreign interests in their coverage of global events and conflicts.

Key words: Muslim Press, Western Press, Conflict

Introduction

The revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests in the Arab world that started for the sake of political change and also known as “Arab Spring” or “Arab Awakening” got an immediate success in few days as the president of Tunisia gave resign after the successful protests followed by self-immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi. It was the end of 23 years of power of Tunisian president and soon after his resignation, the president of Egypt was forced to resign by the protestors in Egypt. These successful protests put a tremendous pressure on other Arab rulers as some of them announced that their present term would be their last term and they would not take part in next process of elections and some others announced huge financial, social, educational, and political reforms for the people of their country

Libya has huge reserves of gas and oil and its oil trade in international market is about 27 billion dollars per year. The writer is of the view that American interest in Libya is to get control over the oil reserves and the civil war in Libya is a part of the script made by America and Western countries. America cannot get possession of Libyan oil in presence of Muammar Qaddafi because he has been successful in maintaining good relationships with anti-American countries like China, Russia, and Venezuela that threatens the American interests in the region, (Mustafa as cited in Ghani, 2011: p.24). The writer concluded that America and NATO want to replace Qaddafi government with a government that could safeguard their interests in the region. Syed (2011) praised the efforts of the common peoples of the Arab countries. The writer highlighted that it is significant achievement of common peoples of Arab that they have got success in bringing revolution in Tunisia and Egypt, and very close to get success in other countries as well. The writer criticized Muammar Qaddafi for use of force against his own people.

The wave of peaceful protests started in Libya on 15 February 2011 with the same purpose to get rid of the regime as in other countries of the Arab World. The protestors used “face book” and “twitter” as a tool of communication to appeal people to come out to take part in protests to get rid of Muammar Qaddafi (Timpane, 2011). Libyan President Colonel Muammar Qaddafi used force to stop these protests but use of force on protestors worked as an accelerator to speed up these protests and these peaceful protests converted into a civil war between anti Qaddafi people and those people who were loyal to Qaddafi (Michael, 2011).

Peimani (2011) pointed out that the intervention of the United States and European Union has made the situation worse in the Arab countries. They want to replace the undesired rulers of the Arab countries with pro-western rulers to get access to the oil and gas resources in the region. The U.S and West has also denied the right of Libya to resolve its problems internally and providing full support to armed opposition of Libya through direct military engagement of NATO. The writer concluded that the expansion of uprising mainly depends upon the response of the Arab rulers that how they deal with the demands of the protestors. The political instability will increase in Arab countries if fundamental changes in the political, economic, and social structure are not made. The permanent solution of the current political instability does not lie in removal of present rulers, it may give some time to the political system of the Arab countries but any event such as self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi could start a new wave of protests. The real solution of the problem lies in addressing the real problems faced by peoples of the Arab countries. They are against the status quo and want fundamental changes in their political, social, and economic structure.

Lombardi (2011) in his article entitled “The Berlusconi Government and Intervention in Libya” pointed out the reasons which drove Italy towards intervention in Libya. Italy is an ally of NATO and associate of EU and also was tied in longstanding relations with Qaddafi regime. In beginning, Italian government showed huge concerns over intervention in Libya as they were in good economic ties with Qaddafi government and wanted to safeguard their commercial interests and prevention of illegal migrants so they tried hard to keep the EU away from intervention in Libya but when they realized that survival of Qaddafi is not possible they went to protect their economic interests. The writer concluded that the reasons which forced Italy to support anti-Qaddafi movement were the approval of UNSC Resolution 1973 on 17 March 2011, decision of NATO and the US to support anti-Qaddafi movement to achieve their objective they termed as “humanitarian relief”, and the most important were the economic interests of Italy.

The aim of this study is to investigate what amount of coverage has been given to the recent uprisings in the Arab countries by the International *Muslim* and *the Western Press*, and Libya is taken as a case study. How this issue has been framed by both *the Muslim* and *the Western Press* and how did this selected print media tone the stories and whether and whom they favored, and to examine whether and to what extent the difference between the opinions existed among selected print media.

Literature Review

Media Coverage of International events, conflicts/war, and Foreign Policy

In democratic countries, media mostly operates independently and follow standards of democracy. But different studies have found that the main stream media generally follow the foreign policy of their respective countries and serve their national interests in their coverage of foreign news and international events. Ravi (2005) conducted a study to examine how the newspapers of India, Pakistan, U.K, and USA gave coverage to Iraq War. The writer concluded that the newspapers showed patriotism and followed their respective cultural and national interests. Siraj (2008) argued that the U.S media gave favorable coverage to India while coverage regarding Pakistan was unfavorable. The writer argued that the reasons for unfavorable portrayal of Pakistan and favorable portrayal of India might be understood in the perspectives of its being a Muslim country having nuclear weapons and its strong association with China while unfriendly relations with Israel.

Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern (2007) analyzed the coverage of Iraq war by Coalition countries (UK & USA) and Arab countries (Egypt & Qatar), and found major differences among Arab media and Coalition media in framing of conflict and war as the websites of Aljazeera and Al Ahram were more critical towards war and framed destruction and brutality of the war while the websites of The Guardian & The New York Times framed that war will bring the benefits of lasting democracy and liberty to people of Iraq. Similarly, Saleem (2007) found that the U.S media supports the foreign policy of the U.S government and portrayal of a country image depends upon the foreign policy of the U.S government. The coverage of the U.S media was favorable for the countries where the economic, military, or political interests of the U.S government were involved (p. 152-153). On the other hand, Khan (2008) conducted a study to examine the claims that the U.S mass media conform to the foreign policy of its government. The findings of the study were not in the favor of media conformity theory as despite all the efforts made by the Pakistani governments in war against terror and statements given by the U.S officials recognizing the efforts made by Pakistan the U.S media remained critical towards Pakistan as it was before 9/11 and portrayed Pakistan as a 'foe' and Muslims as 'fundamentalist terrorists', 'Islamic radicals', etc.

Zhang and Fahmy (2009) conducted a study to compare the coverage of political movements in Belarus, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan given by 'The Moscow Times' and 'The New York Times'. The results of the study showed that both the newspapers portrayed the protestors in accordance with the foreign policy of their respective countries as 'The Moscow Times' gave an unfavorable treatment to the protestors and relied on pro-incumbent sources and neglected pro-movement sources. On the other hand, 'The New York Times' gave favorable treatment to the protestors and relied on pro-movement sources and mostly ignored pro-incumbent sources (p. 532-533). Chaudhary (as cited in Toor, 2008: p.42) argued that the U.S print media gave biased coverage to the three Muslim freedom movements in Bosnia, Kashmir, and Palestine. The U.S media distorted the real facts and supported the stance of Israel and India in Palestine and Kashmir. The U.S print media blamed that peoples of Kashmir and Palestine are creating problems and tried to justify the use of force by Israel and India to crush these movements.

Joffe (2011) in his article entitled "The Arab Spring in North Africa: origins and prospects" discussed about the reasons of uprisings and their different outcomes in the Arab

countries situated in North Africa. There was no evidence in support of the view that the reasons of uprisings in the North African countries were the Western support to the autocratic rulers of the regime and crisis of the global food price. The actual reason of uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya was the repressive rule of the heads of the countries. The rulers of Egypt and Tunisia, despite their repressive rule, had allowed limited political liberalization that was calculated in a way that never become threatening to the regimes but Muammar Qaddafi of Libya was not ready to make any kind of political concession which resulted in to civil war. The writer argued that the U.S and EU being the advocates of democracy did not do enough for promotion of democracy in Arab countries rather they extended their support to the dictators of the Arab countries as the Western countries were of the view that alternate to any regime change in Arab countries would be an Islamic model that would promote extremism. The autocrat rulers of the Arab countries promoted these views successfully and got the support of the Western countries especially after the incident of 9/11 but the recent uprisings has negated all these assumptions because Islamist did not play any leading role in these movements. The writer concluded that future of North African countries is not clear; Egypt is likely to become a more liberal version of autocracy, Tunisia might get democratic transition, but outcome in Libya is not certain as it largely depends on the will of the Western countries. NATO performed key role in saving civilians in Libya but did not do anything to determine the future political outcome there.

Media Framing and the UN

The UN has received a lot of criticism for its biased role when it comes to resolve the international conflicts. Rivlin (2006) argued that had there been no United States there would not have been the UN. As the United States was the main influential force behind the formation of the UN so the UN Charter mostly reflects the American ideology of the world. Singh (as cited in Elahi, 2003: p.35) pointed out the passive role of the United Nations and pointed out that the United States and United Kingdom have full control over the United Nations Security Council and use it to implement their agenda. The U.S and UK violated the Geneva Convention and committed great crime against Iraq by destroying its infrastructure in 1991.

According to the South Asia analysis group (as cited in Elahi, 2003: p.37), the U.S became the only super power after the collapse of the Soviet Union and adopted the policy of direct military interference in its desired countries to safeguard its interests. The UN has been proved as a subordinate to the U.S by providing legal cover to the U.S interventionism for implementation of its foreign policy. The UN charter provides cover to the sovereignty of all the countries and disallows foreign interference in the internal affairs of any country but the UN has passed so many resolutions which help the U.S administrations in preserving their foreign interests. Harsch & Varwick (2009) mentioned that a lot of member countries of the UN believe that coalition of the UN and NATO is nothing but a 'tool box' to the U.S. They argued that the alliance and close cooperation of UN & NATO might affect impartiality of the UN in conflict areas as NATO has the reputation of acting as a tool to safeguard the interests of super power. (p. 5).

According to Qureshi (as cited in Elahi, 2003: p.38) the biased role of the UN is fully supported by the U.S. The U.S has been exercising the resolutions of the UN to achieve its objectives. There are almost 600 resolutions passed by the UN have not been implemented yet and the UN has not shown any concern about these unimplemented resolutions because these are

not in the U.S' interest. The U.S and its allies invaded Iraq and gave the justification that Iraq disregarded the UN resolution but they never took any action against Israel who has defied more than 65 UN resolutions against it. In contrast, Sarwar argued that coverage of media is biased towards the UN as it did not give sufficient coverage to the successes and achievements of the UN peacekeeping operations around the globe rather it gave more coverage to the crisis and failures of the UN peacekeeping missions. She concluded that the discouraging portrayal of the United Nations peacekeeping operations by the media has become a challenge for the UN because it demoralizes the UN peacekeepers.

Promotion of Democracy: Role of the United States & West

The Gallup Organization (as cited in Sirhindi, 2011, p. 25) conducted a survey in November 2003 in which American nationals were asked questions about the United States invasion of Iraq and responsibility of the U.S to promote democracy in the Middle Eastern countries and make the people free from the rule of dictators. The results of the survey showed that 56% of the American people were of the view that it is the responsibility of the U.S to promote democracy and U.S has moral right to take every step against dictators to make people free from them. In contrast, Ali (2009) pointed out the Hippocratic strategy of the U.S administration since the formation of Pakistan to achieve their geo-strategic goals. The writer said that the U.S governments claim to be the promoter of democracy but they maintained warm relationships with the military dictators of Pakistan and provided a lot more aid to the military dictators than the democratic rulers. U.S supported the military rule of General Ayub Khan and provided large amounts of economic aid and military assistance because the military was pro-west and the objective of the U.S was to keep Pakistan away from joining the communist bloc. When the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became important for the U.S and they lifted all the sanctions and provided huge economic and military aid to Pakistan. During the cold war, the U.S never showed its concern about Pakistan's nuclear program, human rights violations of its military regime, or lack of democracy. In the military rule of Pervaiz Musharaf, the U.S once again started providing ample aid to Pakistan to get its support in so-called war on terror. The writer concluded that the aid policy of the U.S towards Pakistan has been revolving around the achievement of its geo-political objectives and for achievement of their objectives they even embrace military dictators.

Aliboni and Guazzone (2004) argue that motivation behind the efforts of the western countries about bringing political change in the Arab world is all about their strategic interests. The writers note that it is against the spirit of democracy to enforce regime change (p. 84). Interest based policies of West do nothing in promotion of democracy rather this double standard of West becomes helpful in promotion of the stability of the authoritarian regimes (p. 91). Payne (2009) argues in his article that the Presidential administrations of the U.S. portray democracy as the central point of their foreign policy. When the forces of the U.S attack a country, they say that they are doing it to bring democracy in that country and they justify their interventionism by saying that they are promoting democracy.

The writer says that most of the nations of the world, especially the Muslim countries believe that it is cultural imperialism of America instead of spreading democracy. The writer recommends that United States should promote peace process instead of imposing its views by force on the other nations. Dalacoura (2005) argues in her research article about the implementation of U.S. policies regarding promotion of democracy since 2001 and their impact

on Middle East. She argues that these policies have not achieved the desired results to promote democracy because the U.S. government considers democracy as a way to solve every problem but in the process of its implementation they fail to see those hurdles which may be caused by its implementation.

Cornell (1999) discussed about the human rights violations in Chechnya by Russia and criticized the Western and Islamic countries for not showing their concerns on human rights violations in Chechnya. Although some European countries and the International Court of the Justice (ICJ) showed their concerns about human rights violations but the overall response towards Russia was lenient as they did not take any concrete steps forcing Russia to stop human rights violations. The West and the US claim to be the advocate of democracy and human rights in the world and place sanctions and stop grants of the countries where there interests are involved. The writer concluded that the countries having good relations with the powerful countries might get encouragement by this impartial international attitude towards Russia and start using force considering it a solution to crush separatist movements.

Theoretical Framework

This study is theoretically linked with framing and coverage of Libyan uprising 2011 would be examined with the help of framing theory. People are dependent on media organizations to get information about different events in order to understand events as media offer frames of reference “‘mapmaking’ function of the press” (Cohen, 1963; p. 12) for better understanding of the events, especially regarding conflicts and war. Obad (as cited in Siraj, 2006: p. 22) argued that framing is one of the most significant factors that contribute to news coverage. It is the journalist’s taking on things and is presented in a way to influence people perception about any incident so subject to exploitation since the view presented could be biased.

According to Entman (as cited in Saleem, 2008: p. 111) framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Similarly, Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991) said: “A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration (as cited in Maslog et al., 2006; p. 25).

A Sociologist Goffman gave the basic concept of framing which was then applied by other scholars in their respective studies related to framing. Goffman constructed the concepts of selective attention, intimate involvement, and non-contradiction to outline the role of frames and termed “journalism and mass communication ‘social frameworks’ that help individuals understand events” (as cited in Saleem, 2008; p. 113). Entman (2004) submitted that “public’s actual opinions arise from framed information, from selected highlights of events, issues, and problems, rather than from direct contact with the realities of foreign affairs” (p. 123).

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the differences (if any) among *the Muslim* and *the Western Press* while giving coverage to the Libyan uprising.
2. To examine whether the newspapers of the study in their coverage of Libyan uprising 2011 followed the foreign policy and national interests of their respective countries or not.
3. To investigate how the newspapers of the study framed the role of the UN in resolving issues of global concerns.
4. To examine how the newspapers of the study framed Intervention in Libya.

Significance of the Study

It is very important to understand how *the Muslim* and *the Western Press* have covered the Libyan uprising for three reasons. First, because the study of frames helps in understanding how the media construct social reality so this study will be helpful in understanding how *the Muslim* and *the Western Press* described, and interpreted the Libyan uprising.

Second, framing of international events especially war and conflict is extremely important because foreign news is the area where media have even more stronger impact on public opinion because people totally rely on media to get information about the events in other countries as they have no direct experience and have limited resources for getting information about the events in other countries.

Third; this study will be helpful in filling the gap in the academic literature regarding comparative studies on global coverage of war.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Q 1: Whether and to what extent the international *Muslim & the Western presse* were in favor of the protesters?

Q 2: How the international *Muslim & the Western press* portrayed the image of Muammar Qaddafi?

Q 3: How *the Muslim & the Western press* framed the intervention in Libya?

Q 4: How the international *Muslim & the Western newspapers* gave coverage to the political change in Libya?

Q 5: How the Muslim & Western presses portrayed the role of the UN?

H₁: The slant of *the Western press* will be more unfavorable towards the Libyan president than that of *the Muslim Press*.

H₂: *The Muslim press* will be more unfavorable towards intervention than *the Western press*.

H₃: The Muslim press will be more unfavorable towards the role of the UN than the Western press.

Methodology

Content analysis method has been adopted for the study; both the quantitative and qualitative methods have been applied as (McQuail, 1987: p.187) argued that combination of both the methods provides better chance to understand the research questions.

Two newspapers have been selected from Muslim countries, i.e. *The Jakarta Post* (Indonesia), *The News* (Pakistan), and two newspapers have been selected from two most important and influencing countries of the west, i.e. *The Sun* (UK) & *The New York Times* (USA). The rationale for selecting above mentioned newspapers is their circulation and popularity among readers of English language newspapers.

All the 'editorials', 'columns/opinions', and 'letters to editor/news posts' that were published in the selected newspapers related to Libyan uprising 2011 during February 16, 2011 to August 31, 2011 has been taken as universe for this study.

The data for '*the New York Times*' and '*the Sun*' was obtained from the Lexis-Nexis and data for '*the Jakarta Post*' and '*the News International*' was retrieved from the online archives of these newspapers as both these newspapers are not archived on the Lexis-Nexis database. The data was retrieved by putting search term "Libya" for the time period of the study and web-blogs and those stories were eliminated from the population that were not in the context of Libyan uprising 2011. Moreover, '*the Sun*' besides its national edition, has two regionalized editions published from Ireland and Scotland. If a story published in more than one edition of '*the Sun*' was taken only once. Finally 474 stories were part of the universe, 54 stories were generated from '*the Jakarta Post*', 142 from '*the News international*', 139 stories from '*the New York Times*', and 139 stories from '*the Sun*'.

According to Riffe (as cited in Saleem, 2008, p. 139), "the larger the sample size, the less biased will be the results" (p. 84). So to make this study valuable, the whole universe was taken as a sample for this study.

Coding Scheme

In this study, variables are newspapers, topics, wordage, number of stories, slant, and frames. Every editorial, opinion/column, and letter to the editor/news post regarding Libyan uprising 2011 for the given time period is the contextual unit and unit of analysis for this study. Similarly, the whole story is coding unit for identification of topics while identification of slant will be made through using each paragraph as recording unit.

Each story was coded into one of the 5 topics (1-Political change in Libya, 2- Muammar Qaddafi, 3-Protestors, 4-Intervention, and 5-Oil price) of this study and each story was also being coded in terms of slant. The slant was divided into three categories by ranking on a three-point scale: value 1 is for favourable to Qaddafi, value 2 is for unfavourable to Qaddafi, and value 3 is for neutral.

Frame A

(1) Qaddafi as a bad guy

If Colonel Muammar Qaddafi is depicted as a dictator, oppressor, killer, brutal ruler, etc. or depicted in a way that he did not cooperate with the international community or he was directly or indirectly involved in supporting terrorism.

(2) Qaddafi as a good guy

If a story discusses about cooperation of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi with international community in war against terror and his withdrawal from preparation of Weapons of Mass destruction (WMD), or if it says that western countries have hatred for Colonel Qaddafi and he is involved in putting down an armed insurgency supported by the U.S and its allies in order to achieve their own objectives, or the U.S and its allies are ignoring the offers of ceasefire by Qaddafi due to their interests that include occupation of energy resources as well.

Frame B

(1) Qaddafi forces are doing human rights violations

If it is highlighted in a story that forces loyal to Qaddafi are showing brutality against civilians or Qaddafi forces are using them as human shield, or if it is portrayed that Qaddafi forces are the reason for civil casualties, injuries, destruction, or suffering of people etc.

(2) U.S. & allies are doing human rights violations

If a story discusses about casualties, destructions, deaths of civilians and Qaddafi's family members, etc and holds U.S & allies responsible for that.

Frame C

(1) Protestors as violators of law

If it is said that protestors are traitors, or they are violating law of the country by doing a violent resistance or they are agents or planted by the U.S and allies against the regime in order to fulfill the colonial agenda of the west.

(2) Protestors as struggling for democracy & social justice

If it is portrayed that protestors are innocent civilians and they are on the streets for their family members who were victimized by Qaddafi regime and they are protesting against a brutal regime for democracy, social justice, and rule of law.

Frame D

(1) U.S & allies are usurper

If it is said that purpose of the U.S and allies are not to favour democracy or protection of civilians. They influenced the UN to pass the resolutions for enforcing no-fly-zone and allow NATO forces to intervene in Libya for regime change to occupy energy resources of Libya, or discussing about the double standards of the west while implementing the resolutions of the UN, or they trample the mandate authorized by the UN while taking unilateral or allied actions against other countries of the world. Or it is said that the U.S and allies are not serious in finding

a peaceful solution and only going to attack Libya without mattering the cost & sufferings of human life.

(2) Intervention is justified

If a story discusses that it is responsibility of the U.S and other countries to support the civilian population of Libya and to protect their lives from the Qaddafi regime. If it discusses about the positive effects of no-fly-zone over Libya, or talks about the positive effects of attacks done by NATO forces, or if it says that no-fly-zone and operations have prevented massacre in Libya, or if it argues that ceasefire might split Libya into two countries.

Frame E

(1) United Nations as a good organization

If the United Nations (UN) is portrayed in a way that it condemned the violence in Libya and warned the responsible for accountability or if it is said that the UN has responsibility to deploy multinational peacekeeping forces in Libya including troops and the UN Security Council's resolutions regarding assets freeze of Qaddafi and his family members and those who are loyal to him and imposition of a no-fly-zone over Libya and arms embargo are right steps taken by the UNSC, and UN has mandate for allowing humanitarian intervention (intervention to save civilians lives) will mean that the UN has been portrayed as a good organization. If it discusses that the UN questioned the role of the countries who sold arms to Qaddafi or if it portrays the UN as a legitimate body in deciding the issues of the world and its resolutions were right steps to save innocent lives in Libya from the brutality of forces loyal to Qaddafi & to help Libyans in getting democracy.

(2) United Nations as bad organizations

If the United Nations (UN) is portrayed in a way that it is an organization which has double standards and works under the influence of Western countries to ensure their interests, or it is a tool of Western powers through which they obtain resolutions that are helpful in achieving their global interests, or if the UN is being criticized for its approval to NATO to attack Libya rather than solving the issue peacefully.

A random sample of 10% stories was taken to assess the inter-coder reliability by using Holsti's formula: (cited in Siraj, 2006; p. 27).

A total of 47 stories were coded by the coders to measure reliability. A random sample of 10% was taken from each newspaper of the study that provided 14 stories each from *the News International*, *the New York Times*, and *the Sun*; and 5 stories from *the Jakarta post*.

The results were obtained by applying the Holsti's formula: $R = 2M / \{N_1 + N_2\}$. Where R refers to 'Reliability', M refers to the "number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed", N_1 refers to those "number of coding decisions which were made by the coder 1 (Researcher)", and N_2 refers to those "number of coding decisions which were made by the coder 2".

For topics, the inter-coder agreement level was (0.894) 89.4%. For slants, the level was (0.957) 95.7%, and the level was (0.851) 85.1% for the frames.

SPSS version 16 was used to analyze the data. The quantitative findings were developed through SPSS method of cross tabulations and one way ANOVA. Chi Square test was used to examine the significance of difference between the selected newspapers of the study. The P value for this analysis was taken as equal to 0.05 or less.

Findings

The final sample was consisted of 474 stories, 142(30%) from *the News International*, 139 (29.3%) from *the Sun*, 139(29.3%) from *the New York Times*, and 54(11.4%) from *the Jakarta post*.

The newspapers overall published 91(19.2%) editorials, 39(8.2%) came from *the Sun*, 25(5.3%) from *the New York Times*, 14(3.0%) from *the News International*, and 13(2.7%) from *the Jakarta Post*; overall 219(46.2%) were opinions, 84(17.7%) from *the News International*, 59(12.4%) from *the New York Times*, 50(10.5%) from *the Sun*, and 26(5.5%) from *the Jakarta Post*; and 164 were letters to editor, 55(11.6%) from *the New York Times*, 50(10.5%) from *the Sun*, 44(9.3%) from *the News International*, and 15(3.2%) from *the Jakarta Post* (Table 1). Mean length of the stories for *the News International* was 637.91 words, for *the Jakarta Post* 629.35 words, for *the New York Times* 509.05 words, and for *the Sun* 199.48 words. Overall combine mean length of the stories for all the newspapers of the study were 470.58 words.

Q 1: How the international Muslim & Western newspapers gave coverage to the political change in Libya?

Out of 79(16.7%) stories published on the topic 'Political change in Libya' most stories 61(12.9%) were unfavorable towards Qaddafi thus favoring political change in Libya; most of the stories 24(39.3%) favoring political change in Libya came from *the News International* followed by 15(24.6%) stories from *the New York Times*, 11(18.0%) from *the Jakarta Post*, and 11(18.0%) from *the Sun* (Chi square: 7.393; p: .060) (Table 5). There were 4(0.8%) stories favorable to Qaddafi thus opposing any change in Libya; 2(50.0%) of them came from *the News International*, and 1(25.0%) each from *the Jakarta Post* & *the New York Times* (Chi-square: .500; p: .779) (Table 5). There were 14(3.0) neutral stories on the topic, 7(50.0%) from *the News International*, 5(35.7%) from *the Sun*, and 2(14.3%) stories from *the Jakarta Post* (Chi-square: 2.714; p: .257) (Table 5).

The Muslim Press (the Jakarta Post & the News International) published overall 47(10.0%) stories on topic 'Political change in Libya', 35(57.4%) stories unfavorable to Qaddafi thus favored political change in Libya, 3(75.0%) stories did not favor political change in Libya, and 9(64.3%) stories stayed neutral. *The Western Press* (the Sun & the New York Times) published overall 32(6.8%) stories on topic 'Political change in Libya', 26(42.6%) stories unfavorable to Qaddafi thus favored political change in Libya, 1(25.0%) story did not favor political change in Libya, and 5(35.7%) stories stayed neutral (Chi square: .646; p: .724) (Table 6).

Table 1 Distribution of stories in the selected newspapers by No. of stories, Type, Topics, and Mean Story length

	<i>Muslim Press</i>		<i>Western Press</i>		
	Jakarta Post	The News	The Sun	New York Times	All Media
Chi Square					
No. of stories	(n =) 54 (11.4)	(n =) 142 (30.0)	(n =) 139 (29.3)	(n =) 139 (29.3)	(N =) 474 (100.0)
Type of story*¹					
Editorial	13 (2.7)		14 (3.0)	39 (8.2)	25 (5.3)
(19.2) 19.374; p: .000					91
Opinion	26 (5.5)		84 (17.7)	50 (10.5)	59 (12.4)
(46.2) 31.466; p: .000					219
Letter to Editor	15 (3.2)		44 (9.3)	50 (10.5)	55 (11.6)
(34.6) 23.463; p: .000					164
Topics*²					
Political change in Libya	14 (3.0)		33 (7.0)	16 (3.4)	16 (3.4)
(16.7) 11.987; p: .007					79
Muammar Qaddafi	5 (1.1)	22 (4.6)	28 (5.9)	9 (1.9)	64 (13.5)
21.875; p: .000					
Protestors	5 (1.1)	13 (2.7)	12 (2.5)	15 (3.2)	45 (9.5)
5.044; p: .169					
Intervention	25 (5.3)		69 (14.6)	73 (15.4)	93 (19.6)
37.908; p: .000					260 (54.9)
Oil price	5 (1.1)	5 (1.1)	10 (2.1)	6 (1.3)	26 (5.5)
2.615; p: .455					
Mean Story length*³	629.35	637.91	199.48	509.05	470.58

Note:

*¹ Chi square: 24.013; p: .001
p: .000

*² Chi square 31.072; p: .002

*³ F = 46.277;

Table 2 Distribution of stories collectively between Muslim and Western press by No. of stories, Type, Topics, and Mean Story length

	<i>Muslim Press</i>		<i>Western Press</i>	
	Jakarta Post & The News		The Sun & New York Times	All Media
Chi Square				
	(N =)		(N =)	
No. of stories	196(41.4)		278(58.6)	474 (100.0)
Type of story*¹				
Editorial	27 (5.7)		64 (13.5)	91
(19.2)	15.044; p: .000			
Opinion	110 (23.2)		109 (23.0)	219
(46.2)	.005; p: .946			
Letter to Editor	59 (12.4)		105 (22.2)	164
(34.6)	12.902; p: .000			
Topics*²				
Political change				
in Libya	47 (10.0)		32 (6.8)	
79 (16.7)	2.848; p: .091			
Muammar Qaddafi	27 (5.7)		37 (7.8)	64 (13.5)
1.562; p: .211				
Protestors	18 (3.8)		27 (5.7)	45 (9.5)
1.800; p: .180				
Intervention	94 (19.9)		166 (35.0)	260 (54.9)
19.938; p: .000				
Oil price	10 (2.1)		16 (3.4)	26 (5.5)
1.385; p: .239				
Mean Story length*³	635.55		354.27	470.58

Note:

*¹ Chi square: 14.190; p: .001
p: .000

*² Chi square 13.760; p: .008

*³ F = 71.535;

Q 2: Whether and to what extent the international Muslim & Western presses were in favor of the protesters?

A large number of stories 109(23.0%) framed ‘protesters as democracy & social justice seekers’ followed by 8(1.7%) stories that framed ‘protesters as violators of law’ (Chi-square: 7.623; P: .054) (Table 3). In individual coverage, most stories 41(37.6%) came from *the News International* that used the frame ‘protesters as democracy & social justice seekers’, followed by 38(34.9%) stories from *the New York Times*, 17(15.6%) stories from *the Jakarta Post*, and 13(11.9%) stories from *the Sun* (Chi square: 22.486; p: .000) (Table 3). Among 8(1.7%) stories that used the frame ‘protesters as violators of law’ most stories 6(75.0%) came from *the News International*, followed by 2(25.0%) stories from *the Sun*, *the Jakarta Post* & *the New York Times* did not frame ‘protesters as violators of law’ in any of the news story (Chi square: 2.000; p: .157) (Table 3).

The Muslim Press (the Jakarta Post & the News International) in most stories 58(53.2%) framed 'protesters as democracy & social justice seekers' and in least stories 6(75.0%) framed 'protesters as violators of law' while most stories 51(46.8%) from *the Western press* (the Sun & the New York Times) framed 'protesters as democracy & social justice seekers' and in small number of stories 2(25.0%) framed 'protesters as violators of law' (Chi square: 1.428; p: .232) (Table 4).

Q 3: How the international Muslim & Western press portrayed the image of Muammar Qaddafi?

Overall 218(46.0%) stories framed 'Qaddafi as a bad guy'; most stories (71 or 32.6%) were from *the New York Times*, followed by 67(30.7%) from *the Sun*, 58(26.6%) from *the News International*, and 22(10.1%) from *the Jakarta Post* while total 7(1.5%) stories framed 'Qaddafi as a good guy' 6(85.7%) stories were from *the News International* and 1(14.3%) story was from *the Jakarta Post*. *The Sun & the New York Times* did not frame 'Qaddafi as a good guy' in any of the stories (Chi square: 12.879; p: .005) (Table 3).

The Muslim Press (the *Jakarta Post* & the *News International*) framed 'Qaddafi as a bad guy' in 80(36.7%) stories out of 218(46.0%) while *the Western press* (the *Sun* & the *New York Times*) framed 'Qaddafi as a bad guy' in 138(63.3%) stories (Chi square: 15.431; p: .000) (Table 4). Overall 7(1.5%) stories framed 'Qaddafi as a good guy' and all of them were from *the Muslim Press*, *the Western Press* did not frame 'Qaddafi as a good guy' in any of the stories (Table 4).

H₁: The slant of the Western press will be more unfavorable towards the Libyan president than that of the Muslim Press.

Overall 269(56.8%) stories out of 474 were unfavorable towards Qaddafi; 96(35.7%) by *the New York Times*, 82(30.5%) by *the Sun*, 61(22.7%) by *the News International*, and 30(11.2%) by *the Jakarta Post* (Chi square: 36.740; p: .000) (Table 3).

Out of 269(56.8%) unfavorable stories; slant of 178(66.2%) stories by the *Western press* (the *Sun* & the *New York Times*) was unfavorable towards Qaddafi, while slant of 91(33.8%) stories by *the Muslim Press* (the *Jakarta Post* & the *News International*) was unfavorable towards Qaddafi (Chi square: 28.138; p: .000) (Table 4). Hence H₁ was supported.

Q 4: How the Muslim & the Western press framed the intervention in Libya?

Overall 169(35.7%) stories used intervention frame. A large number of stories 91(19.2%) framed 'U.S & allies are usurper' followed by 78(16.5%) stories that framed 'intervention is justified'. In individual coverage, most stories 68(74.7%) came from *the News International* that used the frame 'U.S & allies are usurper', followed by 13(14.3%) stories from *the Jakarta Post*, 5(5.5%) stories from *the Sun*, and 5(5.5%) stories from *the New York Times* (Chi square: 121.879; p: .000) (Table 3). Overall 78(16.5%) stories used the frame 'intervention is justified' in which most stories 45(57.7%) came from *the New York Times*, followed by 14(17.9%) stories from *the Sun*, 12(15.4%) stories from *the Jakarta Post*, and least stories 7(9.0%) from *the News International* (Chi square: 45.795; p: .000) (Table 3).

The frame 'U.S & allies are usurper' was dominant in coverage of *The Muslim Press* (the *Jakarta Post* & the *News International*) as they used it in most stories 81(89.0%), followed by *the Western press* (the *Sun* & the *New York Times*) in only 10(11.0%) stories (Chi square: 55.396; p: .000) (Table 4). Out of 78(16.5%) stories that used the frame 'intervention is justified'; most stories 59(75.6%) came from *the Western Press*, while *the Muslim Press* used the frame in 19(24.4%) stories (Chi square: 20.513; p: .000) (Table 4).

H₂: The Muslim press will be more unfavorable towards intervention.

In individual coverage, *the News International* framed 'U.S and allies as usurper' in 68 stories and in 7 stories framed that 'intervention is justified'; *the Jakarta Post* framed 'U.S & allies as usurper' in 13 stories while in 12 stories framed that 'intervention is justified'; *the Sun* framed 'U.S & allies as usurper' in 5 stories and 'intervention is justified' in 14 stories; and *the New York Times* framed 'U.S & allies as usurper' in 5 stories and 'intervention is justified' in 78 stories.

Overall *the Muslim Press* (the Jakarta Post & the News International) framed ‘U.S & allies as usurper’ in 81 stories and ‘intervention is justified’ in 19 stories while the *Western Press* (the Sun & the New York Times) framed ‘U.S & allies as usurper’ in 10 stories and ‘intervention is justified’ in 92 stories. Hence H₂ was supported (Chi-square: 85.422; p: .000) (Table 2).

Q 8: How the Muslim & Western presses portrayed the role of the UN?

The Western Press (the Sun & the New York Times) in most stories 36(62.1%) framed ‘UN as a good organization’ and in fewer stories 7(17.9%) framed ‘UN as a bad organization’ while *the Muslim Press* (the Jakarta Post & the News International) in their most stories 32(82.1%) framed ‘UN as a bad organization’ followed by 22(37.9%) stories that framed ‘UN as a good organization’ (Chi square: 18.394; P: .000) (Table 4).

H₃: The Muslim press will be more unfavorable towards the role of the UN than the Western press.

Overall the *Muslim Press* (the Jakarta Post & the News International) combine framed ‘UN as a bad organization’ in 32(82.1%) stories, while the *Western Press* (the Sun & the New York Times) combine framed ‘UN as a bad organization’ in 7(17.9%) stories (Chi-square: 16.026; p: .000) (Table 2). Hence H₃ was supported.

Table 3 Distribution of stories coverage in the newspapers by Slants and Frames

	<i>Muslim Press</i>		<i>Western Press</i>		All Media
	Jakarta Post	The News	The Sun	New York Times	
Chi Square					
	(n =)	(n =)	(n =)	(n =)	(N =)
Slant*¹					
Favorable to Qaddafi	11 (8.7)	65 (51.2)	26 (20.5)	25 (19.7)	127 (26.8)
50.858; p: .000					
Unfavorable	30 (11.2)	61 (22.7)	82 (30.5)	96 (35.7)	269 (56.8)
36.740; p: .000					
Neutral	13 (16.7)	16 (20.5)	31 (39.7)	18 (23.1)	78 (16.5)
9.692; p: .000					
Frames					
Frame A*²					
Qaddafi as a bad guy	22 (10.1)	58 (26.6)	67 (30.7)	71 (32.6)	218 (46.0)
27.468; P: .000					
Qaddafi as a good guy	1 (14.3)	6 (85.7)	0	0	7 (1.5)
3.570; P: .059					
Frame B*³					
Qaddafi forces doing					
human rights violations	12 (21.4)	12 (21.4)	6 (10.7)	26 (46.6)	56
(11.8) 15.429; P: .001					
U.S & allies doing					
human rights violations	3 (18.8)	8 (50.0)	4 (25.0)	1 (6.2)	16 (3.4)
6.500; P: .090					

Frame C*⁴

Protestors as violators of law 0 6 (75.0) 2 (25.0) 0 8 (1.7)
2.000; P: .157

Protestors as democracy & social justice seekers 17 (15.6) 41 (37.6) 13 (11.9) 38 (34.9) 109 (23.0) 22.486; P: .000

Frame D*⁵

U.S & allies are usurper 13 (14.3) 68 (74.7) 5 (5.5) 5 (5.5) 91 (19.2)
121.879; p: .000

Intervention is justified 12 (15.4) 7 (9.0) 14 (17.9) 45 (57.7) 78 (16.5) 45.795; p: .000

Frame E*⁶

UN as a good organization 14 (24.1) 8 (13.8) 10 (17.2) 26 (44.8) 58 (12.2)
13.448; p: .004

UN as a bad organization 7 (17.9) 25 (64.1) 4 (10.3) 3 (7.7) 39 (8.2) 32.692; p: .000

Note:

*¹ Chi square: 44.109; p: .000 *² Chi square: 12.879; p: .005 *³ Chi square: 10.886; p: .012

*⁴ Chi square: 7.623; p: .054 *⁵ Chi square: 85.422; p: .000 *⁶ Chi square: 29.306; p: .000

Table 4 Distribution of stories collectively in the Muslim and Western press by Slants and Frames

	<i>Muslim Press</i>		<i>Western Press</i>		All Media
	Jakarta Post & The News		The Sun & New York Times		
Chi Square	(n =)	(n =)	(n =)	(n =)	(N =)
Slant*¹					
Favorable to Qaddafi	76 (59.8)		51 (40.2)		127 (26.8)
4.921; p: .027					
Unfavorable	91 (33.8)		178 (66.2)		269 (56.8)
28.138; p: .000					
Neutral	29 (37.2)		49 (62.8)		78 (16.5)
5.128; p: .024					
Frames					
Frame A*²					

Qaddafi as a bad guy 15.431; P: .000	80 (36.7)	138 (63.3)	218 (46.0)
Qaddafi as a good guy	7 (100.0)	0	7 (1.5)
Frame B ^{*3}			
Qaddafi forces doing human rights violations (11.8) 1.143; P: .285	24 (42.9)	32 (57.1)	56
U.S & allies doing human rights violations 2.250; P: .134	11 (68.8)	5 (31.2)	16 (3.4)
Frame C ^{*4}			
Protestors as violators of law 2.000; P: .157	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	8 (1.7)
Protestors as democracy & social justice seekers (23.0) .450; P: .503	58 (53.2)	51 (46.8)	109
Frame D ^{*5}			
U.S & allies are usurper (19.2) 55.396; p: .000	81 (89.0)	10 (11.0)	91
Intervention is justified (16.5) 20.513; p: .000	19 (24.4)	59 (75.6)	78
Frame E ^{*6}			
UN as a good organization (12.2) 3.379; p: .066	22 (37.9)	36 (62.1)	58
UN as a bad organization (8.2) 16.026; p: .000	32 (82.1)	7 (17.9)	39

Note:

^{*1} Chi square: 24.742; p: .000
p: .068

^{*2} Chi square: 11.460; p: .001

^{*3} Chi square: 3.340;

^{*4} Chi square: 1.428; p: .232
18.394; p: .000

^{*5} Chi square: 72.667; p: .000

^{*6} Chi square:

Discussion

The results of this study indicate existence of significant differences in the approach of media coverage of the issues of global importance especially conflict and war even in this era of globalization. The examination of coverage of the four newspapers of the study provides evidence about differences in the tone of their coverage. While giving coverage to various topics (Political change in Libya, Muammar Qaddafi, Protesters, Intervention, Oil price), 'Intervention' was the topic that got most of the coverage, followed by 'Political change in Libya', 'Muammar Qaddafi', 'Protesters', and 'Oil price'.

The *Western Press* published more stories on category intervention than *the Muslim Press* but slant of large number of stories was in favor of the allies. The *Muslim media* in their stories were more unfavorable in slant towards the intervention, as expected, than the two Coalition newspapers (*the Western Press*). The most criticism on intervention came from *the News International*, which contained predominantly unfavorable coverage regarding intervention in Libya.

The most likely reason for this difference in their coverage is rooted in the differences in public opinion in each country. The public in Muslim world does not support the West's policy of intervention in the Muslim countries so the criticism was naturally reflected in coverage of *the Muslim Press* especially *the News International* criticized intervention in Libya more than any other newspaper of the study and portrayed as it was for the sake of occupying oil & gas resources and supply routes of Libya, and criticized that U.S & allies have double standards while taking decision of intervention in any country as they just attack Muslim countries for achievement of their own interests. On the other hand, *the Western press* gave more coverage in favor of intervention and termed it "humanitarian intervention" (intervention to save people from brutal oppression and killings from Qaddafi forces) and framed NATO strikes as those were to stop Qaddafi forces from killing the Libyans and helpful in achieving long term benefits for the people of Libya by throwing Qaddafi out from power to open the doors of democracy and social justice in Libya. This finding is consistent with Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern (2007).

There were also significant differences between *the Muslim Press* & *the Western press* about framing role of the UN. Overall *the Muslim Press* remained unfavorable towards the role performed by the UN. In individual coverage, *the Jakarta Post* framed the UN role positively in more stories and appreciated its measures and sanctions against Qaddafi regime. But after the NATO forces started strikes in Libya, *the Jakarta Post* criticized UN's role for its inconsistent response on Arab world's situation.

In contrast, *the News International*, in most stories criticized the UN for its double standards and more often portrayed it as a 'tool', and 'mistresses of Western Powers. Overall, *the Muslim Press* in more stories framed the role of the UN than *the Western Press* and criticized the role of the UN and framed it as a bad organization that is working to implement the agenda of the big powers.

The reason behind this criticism on role of the UN by *the Muslim Press*, especially by *the News International* is the public opinion in the Muslim world especially in Pakistan about this organization as it always ignored the human rights violations and killings of innocent people in

Palestine and Kashmir by Israeli and Indian forces, and never performed its role similarly in resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict and Indian oppression of the Kashmiris.

On the other hand, few stories by *the Western Press* criticized the role of the UN but that criticism was not on the same lines as *the Muslim Press* did rather those stories framed role of the UN negatively for being slow in placing sanctions against Qaddafi regime and enforcing a no-fly zone over Libya. But as soon as the UN passed resolutions for enforcement of no-fly zone over Libya, referred the case of Qaddafi to ICC, and allowed to take every possible measure to save civilians in Libya, *the Western press* started positive framing of role of the UN and stressed more on its importance and legitimacy of its resolutions in resolving the matters of international concerns.

All the newspapers of the study tended to portray Qaddafi negatively; *the Western press* in more stories framed Qaddafi negatively than *the Muslim Press* and criticized him for oppressing the people of Libya, depicted him as a promoter of terrorism in past, and portrayed him as a ‘mad man’ who was ready to kill his people to remain in power and kept on asking the international community to condemn and punish the ‘international criminal’. *The Muslim Press* also criticized Qaddafi for his crack down on his own people. *The Western Press* used very harsh words for Qaddafi,

The New York Times depicted Qaddafi by using terms such as ‘brutal dictator’, ‘mad dictator’, ‘monstrous’, ‘murderer’, ‘butcher’, ‘erratic’, ‘comic loon’, ‘defiant’, ‘mentally unhinged’, ‘ruthless’, ‘delusional’, ‘megalomaniacal’, ‘thug’.

The Sun repeatedly portrayed Qaddafi as a ‘butcher’, ‘dictator’, ‘tyrant’, ‘despot’, ‘mad man’, ‘mad dog’, ‘mass murderer’, ‘thug’, ‘mad colonel’, ‘deranged dictator’, ‘Barmy beast’.

Similarly *the Muslim Press* presented negative portrayal of Qaddafi and criticized him for his use of force against his own people but in few stories also gave a positive portrayal of Qaddafi especially *the News International*. *The News International* also used harsh words and depicted Qaddafi as ‘dictator’, ‘despot’, ‘the arch-criminal’, ‘butcher’, ‘maniac’, ‘demented’, ‘delusional’, ‘maverick’, ‘whacky dictator’, ‘mad man’, ‘tyrant’, ‘vengeful’, *the Jakarta Post* did not use harsh words for Qaddafi and depicted him as ‘long-time dictator’, ‘defiant’.

This study did not find any significant differences among *the Muslim & Western Presses* in their coverage of topics (Political change in Libya and Protesters) and number of stories published in favor of the ‘protesters’ and ‘political change in Libya’. Both *the Muslim & the Western Press* were in favor of the protesters and they portrayed protesters positively and framed their movement as struggle for democracy and social justice. Similarly both *the Muslim & Coalition Press* favored the political change in Libya as desired by the people of Libya to get rid of the dictatorial rule but with some exceptions that *the Muslim Press* favored the Political change in Libya without the foreign intervention and urged the international community to respect the sovereignty of Libya and find a peaceful solution of the issue with the help of regional cooperation rather than solving the issue by use of force, *The Muslim Press* also raised the questions about harms of Ariel bombardment and criticized both the Qaddafi regime and the Coalition forces for human rights violations.

The differences in frames among *the Muslim & the Western Press* confirm that global press does not seem homogeneous in their coverage of international events. This study is consistent with several studies (Kim, 2000; Ray, 2004; Ravi, 2005; Maslog et al. 2006; Siraj, 2008; Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Zhang & Fahmy, 2009) that the media follow their respective cultural, national, and foreign interests while covering international events.

Limitations and Further Research

There are some limitations of this study. First, this study was aimed to analyze editorials, opinions, and letters to editor/news posts as it was not possible in a limited time to analyze all news published in the newspapers. A future study should examine framing of the uprisings by selecting all news content published in the newspapers in order to get an overall understanding about the framing. Second, the scope of this study was to examine framing about Libyan uprisings. A future study should include more countries of the region to examine difference in framing. Finally, this study included two newspapers from the Muslim countries that were not part of the Arab world and two newspapers from the Western countries that were involved in the conflict. A future study should include more newspapers from different Western countries and from Arab world also.

About the Authors

Prof. Dr. Syed Abdul Siraj is Dean, social Sciences and Humanities and Chairman, Department of Mass Communication, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Shuja Ur Rahman Durrani is a broadcast journalist and a PhD scholar in Islamia University , Bahawalpur, Pakistan.

References

- Aliboni, R., & Guazzone, L. (2004). Democracy in the Arab countries and the West. *Mediterranean Politics*, 9(1), 82-93. doi: 10.1080/13629390410001679937
- Ali, M. (2009). US aid to Pakistan and democracy. *Policy Perspectives*, 6(2), 119-132.
- Arief, A. (2011, April). Algeria: Current issues. Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a543373.pdf>
- Ashley, J. (2011, March 6). The Arab spring requires a defiantly European reply. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk>
- Black, I. (2011, February 1). Jordan's king Abdullah appoints new prime minister as Egypt unrest spread. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk>
- Cockburn, A. (2011, February 18-20). The tweet and revolution. *Counter Punch*. Retrieved from <http://www.counterpunch.org/2011/02/18/the-tweet-and-revolution/>
- Cohen, B. C. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cornell, S. E. (1999). International reactions to massive human rights violations: The case of Chechnya. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 51(1), 85-100. doi: 10.1080/09668139999137
- Dalacoura, K. (2005). US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: A critique. *International Affairs*, 81(5), 963-979. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2005.00497.x
- Dimitrova, D. V. & Connolly-Ahorn, C. (2007). A tale of two wars: Framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war, *Howard Journal of Communications*, 18(2), 153-168. doi: 10.1080/10646170701309973
- Elahi, N. (2003). *Media Portrayal of the role of United Nations in Iraq war 2003* (M.Phil. thesis). Department of Mass Communication, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.
- Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projection of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, A. (2011, February 24). Saudi ruler offers \$36bn to stave off uprising amid warning oil price could double. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>
- Ghani, A. (2011). *Comparative analysis of editorial pages of elite press of Pakistan in covering the uprisings in Middle East in 2011 (The case study of daily Dawn, daily Times, daily Jang and daily Nawa-i-waqt) from January 2011 to March 2011* (BS Honors thesis). Institute of Communication Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan
- Harsch, M. F., & Varwick, J. (2009). NATO and the UN. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, 51(2), 5-12. doi: 10.1080/00396330902860744
- Iraq PM plans no re-election. (2011, February 5). *The Voice of Russia*. Retrieved from <http://english.ruvr.ru/2011/02/05/43000042.html>
- Joffe, G. (2011). The Arab Spring in North Africa: Origins and prospects. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 16(4), 507-532. doi: 10.1080/13629387.2011.630881
- Khan, M. A. (2008). The image of Pakistan in prestigious American newspaper editorials: A test of the media conformity theory. *Strategic Studies*, XXVIII(2&3).
- Kim, S. T. (2000). Making a difference: U.S press coverage of the Kwangju & Tiananmen pro-democracy movement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(1), 22-36.
- Kirkpatrick, D. D. (2011, February 11). Egypt erupts in jubilation as Mubarak steps down. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>

- Lombardi, B. (2011). The Berlusconi government and intervention in Libya. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 46(4), 31-44. doi: 10.1080/03932729.2011.628090
- Maslog, C. C., Lee, S. T., & Kim, H.S. (2006). Framing analysis of a conflict: How newspapers in five Asian countries covered the Iraq War. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 16(1), 19-39. doi: 10.1080/01292980500118516
- McMaster, N. (2011, January 14). Arab precedent: Tunisian protests oust president. *Newser*. Retrieved from <http://www.newser.com/story109765/tunisian-protesters-force-out-president.html>
- McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass communication theory*. London: Sage publications.
- Michael, M. (2011, February 16). Libya protests: Anti-government demonstrations spread. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com>
- Oman shuffles cabinet amid protests. (2011, February 26). *Aljazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/201122620711831600.html>
- Payne, J. L. (2009). Making the world safe for muddle: The meaning of democracy in American foreign policy. *The Independent Review*, 13(4), 601-610. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.org/publications/tir/default.asp?issueID=57>
- Peimani, H. (2011). The Middle East after the “Arab Spring”. *South Asian Journal*, July-September(33), 132-141.
- Ravi, N. (2005). Looking beyond flawed journalism: How national interests, patriotism, and cultural values shaped the coverage of the Iraq war. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 45-62. doi: 10.1177/1081180X05275765
- Ray, D. (2004). *Frames in the U.S. print media coverage of the Kashmir conflict* (Master’s Thesis). Available from <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1216>
- Rice, X. (2011, February 21). Omar al-Bashir will not stand for re-election in Sudan. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk>
- Rivlin, B. (2006). How does the UN system fit into American foreign policy interests?. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 28(4), 283-284. doi: 10.1080/10803920600876046
- Roberts, P. C. (2011, February 1). Things Have To Change In Order To Remain The Same. *Foreign Policy Journal*. Retrieved from <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/02/01/things-have-to-change-in-order-to-remain-the-same/>
- Rosenthal, S. J. (2010). The US foreign policy and the Middle East. *Policy Perspectives*, 7(1), 11-14.
- Saleem, N. (2007). U.S. media framing of foreign countries image: An analytical perspective. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2(1), 130-162. Retrieved from <http://cjms.fims.uwo.ca>
- Saleem, N. (2008). *U.S. image in Pakistani english dailies, Dawn, the Nation, & the News with special reference to Pakistan-United States relationship during post Cold War era (1991-2004)* (PhD thesis). Available from Pakistan Research Repository. (Document ID 5571). Retrieved from <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Thesis/3467H.pdf>
- Sarwar, N. (n.d). Emerging challenges to the UN peacekeeping operations: Post-2000. In *The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, Retrieved from http://www.issi.org.pk/old-site/ss_Detail.php?dataId=456

- Sheridan, G. (2011, February 2). Arab awakening or dawn of a dark age? In *Real Clear World*. Retrieved from http://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2011/02/02/arab_awakening_or_dawn_of_a_dark_age_99378.html
- Siraj, S.A. (2006). *Image of Pakistan in the US media: Exploring news framing* (Post Doctorate dissertation). Available from Pakistan Research Repository. (ID Code 3773). Retrieved from <http://eprints.hec.gov.pk/3773/>
- Siraj, S. A. (2008). War or peace journalism in elite U.S newspapers: Exploring news framing in Pakistan-India conflict. *Strategic Studies*, XXVIII(1).
- Sirhindi, T. (2011). *Editorial treatment of leading U.S. newspapers regarding Egypt revolution 2011: A case of New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Star Tribune, Daily News New York and Boston Herald from January 26 to February 26, 2011* (BS Hons. thesis). Institute of Communication Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.
- Syed, A. Z. (2011, February 25). Ready for a change, at last. *The News International*. Retrieved from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>
- Timpane, J. (2011, February 28). Twitter and other services create cracks in Gadhafi's media fortress. *The Inquirer*. Retrieved from http://articles.philly.com/2011-02-28/news/28637707_1_moammar-gadhafi-diaspora-fortress
- Toor, S. I. (2008). *Portrayal of Pakistan in American print media after 9/11: A case study of Time & Newsweek (Sept. 2001-Dec. 2007)* (M.Phil. Thesis). Institute of Communication Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.
- Zhang, J., & Fahmy, S. (2009). Color revolutions in colored lenses: A comparative analysis of U.S. and Russian press coverage of political movements in Ukraine, Belarus, and Uzbekistan. *International Journal of Communication*, 3(2009), 517-539. Retrieved from <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/issue/view/4>