

Comparing War Images

2003 Iraq war in Polish and
Norwegian daily newspapers

Introduction

- Media are part in war
- Lack of research on wars and conflicts in Polish media
- Lack of comparative research on Polish and Norwegian media
- War in media: good starting point for comparing political parallelism

War in Iraq in Polish and Norwegian newspapers

1. Foreign reports
2. Explicit moral evaluation of the war, Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush
3. Choice of sources of information
4. Newspaper's own approach to the role of media in the war

Analysis

- Iraq war = 20th of March (the official beginning) to the 10th of April (the official end)
- Polish newspapers: Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita
- Norwegians newspapers: Aftenposten, Bergens Tidende
- 349 war-related articles analysed

Previous research on media coverage of wars and conflicts

- Journalists are coloured by the foreign policy of their governments
- The newspaper does not necessarily speak with one voice any longer
- Coverage influenced by the security policy between a given country and the U.S.

Approach to the Iraq issue in Poland and Norway

- Poland: governmental support, soldiers sent
- Norway: no support without UN agreement, willing to contribute to humanitarian help after the closing of military operations

Selected results of polls in Poland and Norway on the support of military operation in Iraq

	Norway		Poland	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Should we support the USA politically?	30%	62%	44%	41%
Should we contribute with our soldiers?	-	-	21%	69%

Polish and Norwegian media systems

- Democratic Corporatist Model (Norway)
- Democratic Corporatist Model “will have particularly strong relevance for the analysis of those parts of Eastern and Central Europe that share much of the same historical development, like Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic states” (Hallin and Mancini 2004:144).

The Democratic Corporatist Model

- Historically high political parallelism
- Diminishing, but still present, external pluralism
- Persisting legacy of commentary oriented journalism
- Growing emphasis on neutral professionalism and information-oriented journalism

Features of Polish media system shared with Polarised Pluralistic Model

- recent emergence of liberal institutions
- strong position of the Catholic Church
- high ideological diversity among social and political actors

The number of war-related articles in the selected newspapers

	Aftenposten	Bergens Tidende	Gazeta Wyborcza	Rzeczpospolita
20 th March 2003	23	13	31	24
21 st March 2003	30	29	45	26
30 th March 2003	24	11	23	19
10 th April 2003	14	6	16	15

War-related articles in the selected newspapers in the selected period divided by genres

	Aftenposten % priority		Bergens Tidende% priority		Gazeta Wyborcza% priority		Rzeczpospolita% priority	
news /report	26.37	1.	35.59	1.	27.83	2.	41.67	1.
comments	16.48	2.	18.64	2.	11.3	4.	16.67	2.
notice	16.48	2.	8.47	5.	1.746.		7.146.	
mixed, unclassified	14.29	3.	8.47	5.	10.43	5.	9.52	5.
facts/overview	10.99	4.	11.86	4.	18.26	3.	11.9	4.
interview/portrait/quotat ion	9.89	5.	15.25	3.	28.71.		13.1	3.
editorial	4.4	6.	1.69	6.	1.746.		0	
PERCENTAGE BASIS	91		59		115		84	

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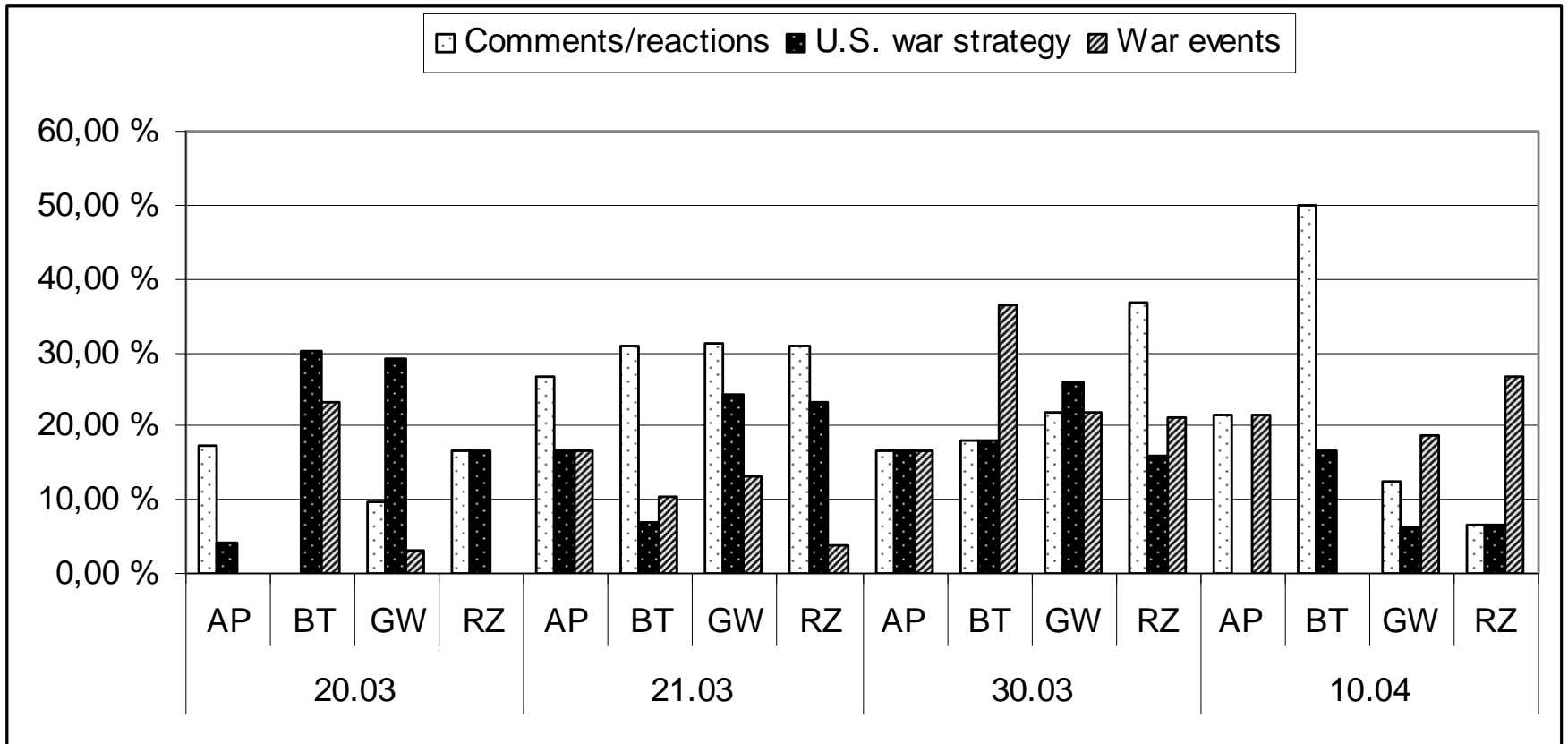
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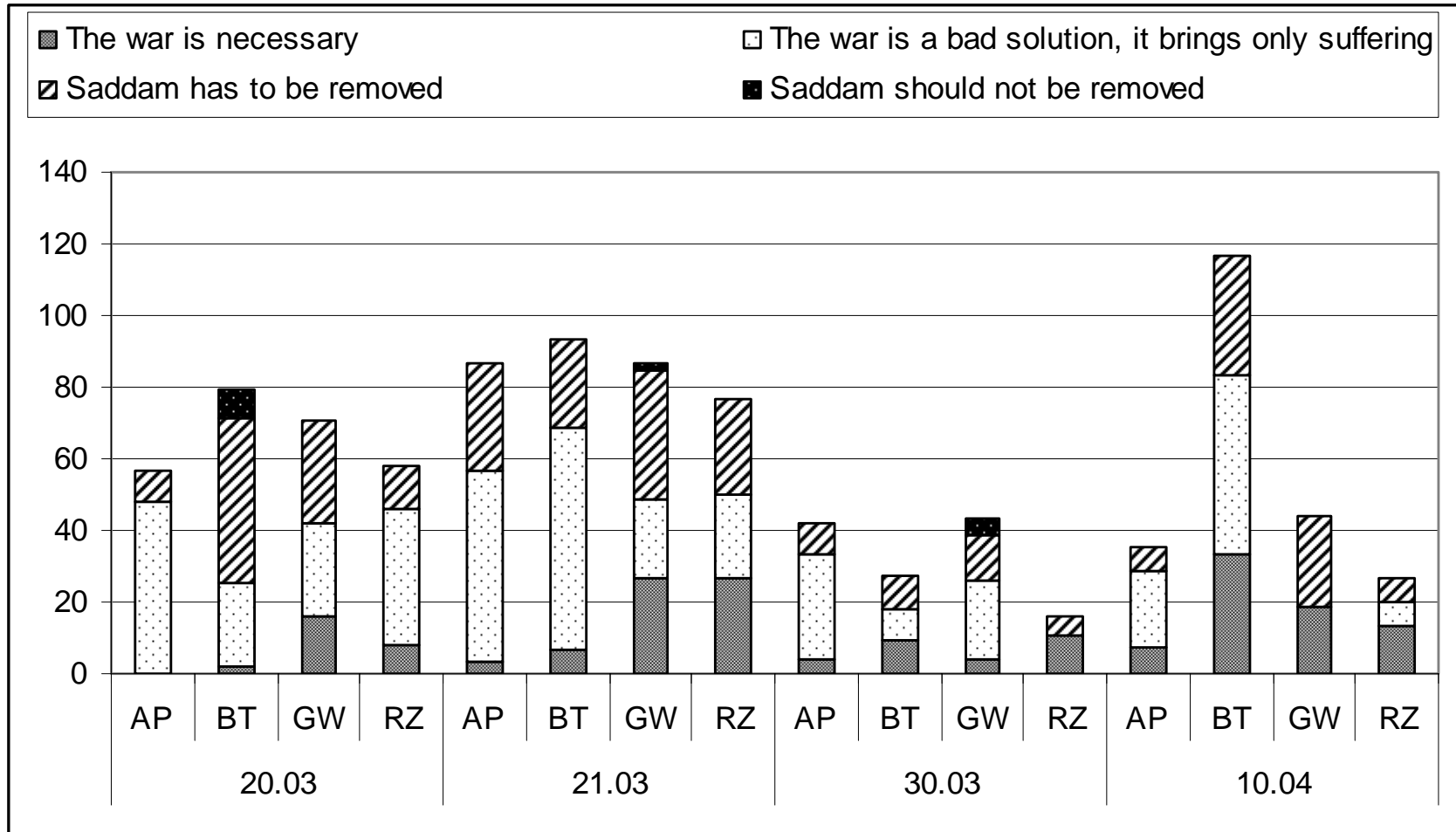
Main subjects occurring in war-related articles

	AP	BT	GW	RZ
22-25%		Comments\ reactions	U.S. war strategy	Others, Comments\ reactions
19-22%	Comments\ reactions, Casualties and civil situation\ civil casualties\ humanitarian help		Comments\ reactions	
16-19%		War events	Others	U.S. war strategy
13-16%	War events	Hunting Saddam\ Saddam alive?\ Saddam's person, U.S. war strategy		Demonstrations and protests, War background\ split within EU\UN
9-13%	Others, Media and journalism during the war \ media war, Demonstrations and protests, U.S. war strategy	Casualties and civil situation\ civil casualties\ humanitarian help, Demonstrations and protests, Political comments\ atmosphere in Norway	War background\ split within EU\UN, War events, Political comments\ atmosphere in Poland	Hunting Saddam\ Is Saddam alive?\ Saddam's person, War events

Overview of the three most frequent subjects in relation to the newspaper and the date



Overview of quota of explicit moral evaluation in the war-related articles in selected newspapers



First pages 20.03.2003

Vin med Mobil
CAREWIS
HANEVOLD
VISTE GULL-
MUSKLER
Norge vil hjelpe USA
Strøm-
prisen
faller
Resignasjon
erstattes av
raseri i Bagdad
Ørreten
i Mjøsa
verdens
giftigste
Milliard-gambling
for tankrederne
Kattebus
kan fore-
bygge
allergi
Hva skjer i Irak
etter en krig?SjØEN FOR ALLE
LILLESTRØM
14. - 23. MARS
Oslo Stockholm!

The image shows the front page of the Norwegian newspaper 'Aftenposten' from March 20, 2003. The masthead is at the top center. The main headline is 'Norge vil hjelpe USA' (Norway will help USA). Other prominent headlines include 'Strømprisen faller' (Electricity prices fall), 'Resignasjon erstattes av raseri i Bagdad' (Resignation replaced by riot in Baghdad), and 'Ørreten i Mjøsa verdens giftigste' (The eel in Mjøsa is the world's most poisonous). There are several photographs, including one of a man in a white shirt and another of a woman with a white object in her mouth. The bottom of the page contains advertisements for 'Leasing kompanje på Caddy!', 'Husbanken åpner pengesekken for barnelager', 'SjØEN FOR ALLE LILLESTRØM', and 'Oslo Stockholm!'.

First pages 20.03.2003

Bergens Tidende René

Bombene regner over Bagdad

EKSTRA

■ Det første amerikanske angrep mot Irak etter det andre verdenskrig begynte i Irakens territorium lørdag kveld. Det var amerikanske bombefly som angrep Bagdad. Det var det første angrepet mot Iraks hovedstad siden den amerikanske invasjonen i 1991. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad.

■ Det var forventende at angrepet kom i påsken, og det var også forventende at det var det første angrepet mot Iraks hovedstad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad.

■ I lørdag kveld ble det rapportert om at det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad. Det var en rekke fly som angrep Bagdad.



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First pages 20.03.2003

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WOJNA MIĘDZY IRAKIEM

Wojna przed atakiem.

Wczoraj 2 w nocy minął miesiąc od rozpoczęcia wojny z Saddama Husajną

Wzrost presji na prezydenta Busha, tenat oczekiwani

Wczoraj 2 w nocy minął miesiąc od rozpoczęcia wojny z Saddama Husajną



Strażka zdalnie obserwująca na granicy Kuwejtu i Iraku. Major Frank McClary z 3. dywizji amerykańskiej obserwuje Irackie pojazdy

W pierwszych godzinach wojny oczekiwano zmasowanych nalotów lotniczych na stanowiska obrony przeciwlotniczej i centra dowodzenia, a także udzielenia kiliemu rakiet wystrzelonych z pokładów amerykańskich okrętów na wodach Zatoki Perskiej.

Rok wcześniej sily ludowe miały przekroczyć granicę kuwejto-iracką i rozprzeczć mur w stronę Bagdadu. Na tych Irackiej armii miały wyłowić siły specjalne i jednostki spadochronowe – z zadaniem odcięcia Irackich dróg zaopatrzenia i linii komunikacyjnych.

Wciąż nie jest jasne, czy namigi atak z północy, od strony Turcji. Parlament w Ankarze zgodził się wczoraj wieczorem, by amerykańskie samoloty mogły latać nad tureckim niebem, ale bez prawa lądowania nawet dla uzupełnienia paliwa. Znamy po ogłoszeniu tej decyzji tureckiej MSZ zastępcy, że to się może zmienić, bo wciąż trwają rozmowy z Amerykanami. Ale wbrew wcześniejszym sugestiom z Anskary nie ma mowy na razie o wpuścieciu 62 tys. żołnierzy USA, którzy mogliby stworzyć front polnocny. Nie jest też jasna sytuacja amerykańskiego i brytyjskiego kontyngentu lotniczego stacjonującego w bazie Incir-

PRZED ATAKIEM

Kuwejt przed godziną zero – rozpoczęcie napaści wywołano- ni

Wczoraj 2 w nocy minął miesiąc od rozpoczęcia wojny z Saddama Husajną

Sprawa Rywina

Wczoraj 2 w nocy minął miesiąc od rozpoczęcia wojny z Saddama Husajną

Trojmiasto

Wczoraj 2 w nocy minął miesiąc od rozpoczęcia wojny z Saddama Husajną

Ładowanie już jutro!



First pages 20.03.2003



Foreign reports - US focus

- Polish newspapers:
- Reporting from several places in US
- Focus on equipment
- Positive presentation of military operation
- Norwegian newspapers:
- Reporting from Washington
- Focus on people
- Negative presentation

Foreign reports –Iraq focus

- Polish newspapers:
- Dichotomy in presentation
- Cooperation with embedded American journalist (GW)
- Norwegian newspapers:
- Similar presentation in both newspapers
- No cooperation with American journalists

Countries reported from

- Polish newspapers
- USA
- Countries of the Middle East
- EU countries
- Russia
- Vatican
- Bulgaria
- Norwegian newspapers:
- USA
- Countries of the Middle East

Explicit moral evaluation of Saddam Hussein, George W. Bush and the war

- Polish newspapers:
- Differentiated presentation/inner antagonisms (GW)
- More focus on Saddam Hussein
- Norwegian newspapers:
- Homogeneous presentation
- More focus on George W. Bush

Media and the war

- Polish newspapers:
- Norwegian newspapers:
- No discussion, but publishing translation of articles and comments from other newspapers (European, Arab, Iraqi)
- Discussion about the role of the media

Sources of information

- Politicians: similar pattern, more diversified nationalities in Polish media
- Military sources: N: talking about problems; P: never talking about problems
- Iraqi/Arabian/Muslim sources: more often quoted and more diversified in Norwegian media

Sources of information

- Moral guides: N: authorities in the secular cultural life; P: the Catholic Church
- Experts: N: humanitarian organisations; P: military officers

Conclusion

- Political parallelism and advocacy traditions strong in both countries, but different
- Norwegian newspapers spoke with one voice, Polish did not
- Polish Media System seems to be much more unstable than Norwegian one