Media discourse and Iraqi Sectarian Violence:

A Critical Discourse Analysis of U.S. Press

Mohamad Yahya Abdullah
Faculty of Islamic Sciences
University of Fallujah
Iraq
Email: muh_rawee@yahoo.com
Phone: 009647801141921

Abstract:
Media has the indisputable power that can formulate our attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors which have been supposed to influence our behaviors in a society. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the role of U.S. Press in provoking Sectarian violence among two main sects of Iraqi communities which are Shiite sect and Sunni sect through using manipulative devices. Based on the critical discourse analysis, four articles have been collected from four different online American Newspapers to achieve the aim of this study. These articles have been analyzed to investigate the role of U.S. press in inflaming the sectarianism among Iraqi society. The results of this study clarify the role of the U.S. Press in maintain the culture of sectarianism among Iraqis. The use of Manipulative strategies like propaganda strategy, commission, and omission strategies proved how the journalists wrote to appeal readers' emotions. They repeated and spread sectarian terms such as 'Sunni' and 'Shiite' to be common among Iraqis. Unfortunately, the use of these words became common among Iraqis while they were strange before. Finally, the conception of the sectarian became part of Iraqi social ideology and because of the bad role of U.S. Mass media; they expect that this war may break out in any time.
Keywords: CDA, Manipulation, Media, Sectarian violence, Shiite, Sunni.

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1. Introduction:

The importance of media in the modern world is undeniable. Different media impact and dominate the way how we understand and know the world we live in while they use a particular language. Certainly, it has the indisputable power that can formulate our attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors which have been supposed to influence our behaviors in a society "Newspapers are not simply vehicles for delivering information. They guide the ideological stance of the reader", (Reah, 2002:50). It is a multidisciplinary field that contains many disciplines such as mass communication, TV programs, Newspapers, and others. As it provides an extent number of critical studies in mass communication; although, it also encompasses other domains such as pragmatics, semiotics, linguistics as well as the discourse studies.

As media discourse has different varieties, Newspaper discourse (journalistic prose) is considered as the most significant variety among them. Khalil (2000) indicated two characteristics which Newspaper discourse varies from other varieties of media discourse. First, Newspaper discourse comprises a wide multiplicity of heterogeneous modes of written communication such as (news, analysis, advertising, comments, and entertainment). Second, it characterizes as non-literary language; despite, it includes literary of fictional types of discourse in which the writer describes phenomena involving feeling or emotions (e.g. short stories, signed articles). These two qualities explain the reason "newspaper discourse displays several kinds of language and is stylistically very eclectic" (ibid: 22). Within Newspapers, language plays a key role information and reproduction the mental representations of societies by providing classifying expressions which enhance mightily the concepts of 'groups', by giving different semantic roles to members of the various groups, in consequence carefully distinguishing among them and, by imbalance, assisting the practice of allocating power and opportunity unequally among them.

Certainly bias does exist, different biases in various sections of the newspaper world. Therefore, Newspapers or Press in general is considered as a model of the process found in all discourse, the structured mediation of the world. Hence, it is undeniable that some cultural and economic features of Press do their roles in the reproduction of ideology (Fowler, 1991&Reah 2002). According to Fowler (1991), the Press has a singular importance in mediating ideology for the individual. From one hand, Newspaper plays a significant role in mediating ideas depending on the economic and political circumstances. From another hand, its function and expression are formulating world view.

 Most of the Newspapers represent the mouthpiece of certain parties or institutions. These newspapers are working hard to implement agendas of their ownership. They reflect their owners' perspectives and ideologies so that it is too difficult to find newspapers work freely "the freedom of the press is a matter of ideological importance, and that is enshrined, for example, in the US Constitution", (Reah, 2002: 3). Reah (2002) added that the ownership of Press is considered as a significant factor in the existence of free Press. The owner has the power to control the content of the paper, its political attitude, and its perspectives.

The role of Newspaper's discourse in shaping the representations and ideologies of certain communities exposes it to the process of critique. Traditionally, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been applied in conducting media discourse analysis besides other approaches. According to

Van Dijk's view (1998b: 352) critical discourse analysis is considered as form of discourse analytical research that examine the way how "social power abuse, supremacy, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context".

One of the crucial devices uses in media discourse is manipulation. It simplifies to "intentionally deceiving one's addressees by persuading them of something that is foremost one's own interest through the covert use of communication devices that are not in agreement with generally acknowledged critical standards of reasonableness" (Eemeren 2005: 12) . Manipulation is considered as one of the critical discourse analysis notions which based on theoretical analysis (Van Dijk, 2006). He proposed that manipulation represented a type of social power abuse, controlling addressee understanding and knowledge as well as discursive interaction so that studying its social environment is essential in order to understand comprehensively and analyze the manipulative discourse.

1.1 Statement of problem

Iraq is a multi-ethnic nation country and contains several numbers of different ethnicities and sects. Arab and Kurd are the major ethnicities while Sunni and Shiite are the major sects. Iraq did not witness any conflict among these ethnicities and sects from the date of establishing Iraq State in 1921. They lived peacefully and friendly with each other, and the affinity among them is considered as an expressive substantiation to their fraternity. However, this situation did not continue for a long time, whereas United States (U.S.) started its scheme of dividing Iraq into several parts after 2003. This date is considered as the black turning point in the history of Iraq whereas U.S.-Anglo troops invaded Iraq through the support of Kurdish and Shiite components that have been gathered by US to achieve their enterprise of Iraq division.

U.S. scheme of the division started through its reports, newspapers and mass media. They began their propaganda of division after the announcement of Iraqis to resist U.S.-Anglo occupation by all the components of Iraqi people. All the reports, Newspapers, and Mass Media try to inflame the sectarianism and racism through pointing fingers towards Sunni community as the only responsible for the resistant attacks in order to separate other components from the enterprise of resistance against the occupied troops. US Reports, Newspapers, and Mass Media multiplied of the use of these terms (such as, Shiite, Sunni, Kurds, Christians, Turkmen, and others.) which with the passage of time to become common among Iraqis "The bombing of an important Shiite mosque in the Iraqi city of Al Samarra in February 2006 sparked a cycle of retaliatory sectarian attacks between Sunnis and Shiites that continued in earnest through early 2007, leading many observers to characterize the violence between rival communities and militias as the beginnings of a civil war" (CRS* Report for Congress: 6).

Iraqis have used to hear the discourses of the U.S. policy makers which inflaming sectarianism and ethnicity, "The central reality today is that violence between the Shiites and Sunnis has surpassed the insurgency and foreign terrorists as the main security threat in Iraq. Sectarian militias are the primary instrument of that violence, and instead of disarming, they are growing, and they are growing for a very basic, simple reason.

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* CRS: Congressional Research Service.

Young men have no jobs, and the militias give them a steady pay and a nice gun to carry", (Biden's speech in CFR*, 2006). The U.S. is putting Iraqis against each other and creating a climate of fear. "There is evidence that U.S. is already using what has been called the Salvador option that

is, setting up death squads in Iraq to run secret war against anyone there who opposes the occupation", (Catalinotto, 2006: 3).

The overall purpose of this paper is to examine the role of U.S. Press in provoking the sectarianism and ethnicity among Iraqis after 2003. Based on the critical discourse analysis, one of the U.S. Newspapers' articles will be analyzed to investigate the role of U.S. press in inflaming the sectarianism and ethnicity among different Iraqi communities.

1.2 Objective of the study

This study aims to investigate the role of U.S. Press in provoking Sectarian violence among two main sects of Iraqi communities that are the Shiite sect and the Sunni sect through using manipulative devices. In addition, it examines how different U.S. Newspapers deal with same event such as explosions have been launched against revered places, in order to depict a clear picture of the U.S. schema in Iraq as occupation troops.

1.3 Research Questions

    1- How does US Press manipulate Iraqi minds to ignite sectarian violence?
    2- How do different US Newspapers deal with the same event?

1.4 The significance of the study

The importance of the current study lies in proofing that US Press is playing a key role in provoking the sectarian violence in Iraq It is expected that the findings of this study indicates the impact using manipulation strategies to persuasive their addressees.

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* CRF: Council on Foreign Relations.

2. Literature review:
2.1 Theoretical Framework:
2.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak are considered the more associated scholars with critical discourse analysis school. They discussed CDA in different theoretical foundations and analyzing tools.

Van Dijk (1998b) in his *'Socio-cognitive Model'* suggests that CDA as an interdisciplinary field based on his notion which "labels his methodology on socio-cognitive discourse analysis and states that despite his reluctance to labeling, this label shows to what extent studying cognition is significant in CDA, communication, and interaction". Nevertheless, this does not mean that CDA should restrict its confines to cognitive and social analysis; rather, due to the real world problems, its complexities and people's needs CDA should have historical, cultural, socio-economical, philosophical, logical, and neurological approaches as well.

Fairclough (1995) in his *'three dimensional Model'*, sees 'CDA' as an approach for investigating social and cultural modifications that could be used in protesting against the power and control of an elite group on other people.

Wodak (2001) in her 'Sociological and historical approach to CDA' suggests that CDA is interdisciplinary in nature and the historical approach to discourse considers written and spoken language as form of social behavior. Otherwise, discourse as a social act produce discourse and

non-discourse performances and consequently is produced by them. However, she differentiates between discourse and text. She believes discourse as a multifaceted set of synchronic and coherent linguistic acts that come in genre and text. Thus, text is perceived as the construction of these linguistic acts.

2.1.2 Manipulation Theory:

The subject of manipulation is playing a considerable function in several aspects of life, such as political issues, religion, and advertising. Blass (2006: 170) defines manipulation term as "it is an attempt to affect the target in such a way that his behavior/action is an instrument of attaining the goals of the manipulator, who acts without using force but in such a way that the target does not know the goal of the manipulator's actions".   He adds that Manipulation is intentional, it cannot happen by accident. Based on van Dijk's idea towards manipulation (2006), it is one of the fundamental philosophies of CDA that involves supplementary theoretical analysis. He indicates that "discursively, manipulation generally engages the standard forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing 'Our' good things, and emphasizing 'Their' bad things", (ibid.: 359). Accordingly, and at all these levels of analysis it indicates the difference between manipulation and legitimate mind control, for example in "persuasion and providing information, for instance by stipulating that manipulation is in the best interest of the dominated group and against the best interests of dominated groups", (ibid).

2.2 Past studies:

2.2.1 Media discourse

Since this study is concerned with the role of media discourse in shifting ideologies of Iraqi communities toward the culture of sectarianism, a brief review has been discussed below about the media discourse and ideology. Van Dijk (1995a) discussed the function of media in the current multifaceted framework of social, cultural forces and economical in the global context. He claimed that ideologies like 'policies', 'markets', 'politics', ' marginalization' , and 'exploitation' need involving with production and reproduction in public text and talk based on ideological framework. He examined the western media to predict the function of media such as the position of television and much of the press in the process of growing the nationalism in Serbia. These ideologies are largely present in the mass media. He summarized the results in these following words "in present global conflicts, and in ongoing and increasingly harsh forms of inequality, mainstream western media are far from innocent or impartial", (ibid: 32-31).

Another study was conducted by Van Dijk (1995b) to elaborate the use of more or less influential effects of the media on the public. He restricted it to the news media, and especially to the press. He indicated that power is not limited to the effect of media on their audience; however, it goes behind the border of the social framework of the cultural, political, and economic power structure of the society. He stated that "Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions" (ibid: 10). Finally, he suggested that the influential power of the press lies in its consistent with the interests of most readers. That is mainly involved the coverage of ethnic affairs and race.

Talbot (2007) considered media as a multidisciplinary field because it involved with different cultural studies such as ethnography of communication, pragmatics, critical discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and others. Talbot recognized three separate positions of interactions

related to media discourse that are "interactions in production communities, interactions in audience communities and interactivity" (ibid: 4). Finally, he noticed that media discourse is deeply embedded in the daily life and daily interaction of almost everyone.

2.2.2 Discourse and Manipulation:

However, the use of manipulation through media discourse has a noteworthy function in carrying the goals and schemes of manipulators, a few studies have examined the use of manipulation within media to achieve specific objectives. The following two studies are considered as related studies because they concern with the role of manipulation in consolidating ethnicity and racism.

In an important article by Rawlinson (2003) entitled "The political manipulation of ethnicity in Africa", the author discussed the manifestation of politicized inter-ethnic competitions and conflicts in '*Côte d'Ivoire*' throughout the civil war. His study aimed to explain the reasons stood behind the manifestation of ethnic dimension in the African society. The findings revealed that the instrumental use of ethnic ties "political tribalism" played a significant role in consolidating the relationship between ethnic group and their 'tribal' chiefs who are considered as the political, social and economic elites. The author stated that real ethnic tensions existed in autonomously of political leaders.

Consequently, the author indicated several points such as; first, that African leaders only tied competing communities together rather than creating mutual distrust between them. Second, Colonial directors promoted divisions between communities and making them groups to control them. Third, African elites played a considerable role in constructing this organization by promoting the awareness of national politics as a '*zero-sum game*', and by paving the way to the matters of distribution and power under an ethnic slant. Finally, the author considered the manipulating ethnicity as a 'dangerous game' which worked for political gain.

In another study entitled "Racist manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian right-wing populism", Kienpointner (2005: 213) described and criticized the potential use of racist propaganda within "right-wing populism". The author paid a considerable attention to the use of pragmatic argument and illustrative examples as well as "the formulation of these arguments with the help of metaphors and hyperbolic exaggerations", (ibid.). The study pointed out that the Nazi Press Instructions and the 'Thursday-Argus' in the 'German Democratic Republic' GDR share some instantly recognizable similarities. However, these differences between them hate to be taking into consideration. Finally, the author suggested "this assumption still need to be approved through a comparison of the instructions and the content of the newspapers", (ibid.301).

3. Methodology:

3.1 Data collection (Corpus):

Four online American Newspapers have been collected to achieve the aim of this study. The following articles discussed the same event happened in Samarra 'Iraqi city' on 13th July 2006.
The New York Times (July 13, 2007)
By: DAMIEN CAVE and GRAHAM BOOLEY
'Shiite Leaders Appeal for Calm after New Shrine Attack'

2- Fox News (June 14, 2007)
By: Jennifer Griffin and Associated Press
'13 Iraqi Police Arrested After Golden Destroyed in Shrine Blast'

3- DAILY NEWS (Thursday, June 14th 2007: 4:00 Am)
By: JAMES GORDON MEEK in Washington and CORKY SIEMASZKO in NEWS STAFF WRITERS
Nothing is Holy: Terror blast rocks Shiite Shrine & sets off wave of sectarian attacks

4- The Washington Post (Thursday, June 14, 2007)
By: John Ward Anderson and Joshua Partlow, Washington Post Foreign Service
'Shiite Shrine in Samarra Is Hit Again'

3.2 Methods for Analysis:
3.2.1 Means of Analyzing:
Since our first question is: 'How does U.S. Press manipulate Iraqis to ignite sectarian violence?' a set of manipulative strategies have been implemented by U.S. Press to manipulate Iraqis to ignite sectarian violence. To enhance the usefulness of analysis, the researcher shall present an analytical category to each strategy used by the writers in the four articles as discussed by the researcher.

3.2.2 Manipulative strategies:
Blass (2006) stated a set of manipulative strategies used within speech and written discourses to investigate the manifestations of manipulation and its mechanisms in the Speeches and Writings of Hitler and the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party). Blass divided these strategies into two main types. Firstly, manipulation can be done by omission and commission. According to Blass (2006: 173), omission is the process of withholding despite the fact that it could have been applicable to an addressee in a particular situation. "Omission can be passive, in which case the speaker is simply withholding information". In such a situation, the addressee is purposefully prevented from gaining particular information. To apply manipulation by commission, Blass (2006: 173) indicated that "Manipulation by commission happens if a deceiver is active. Her goal is to make the addressee acquiring or continuing a belief that she intends the addressee to accept". The commission process can be achieved by either implicitly or explicitly. While the explicit commission can be made by lies, exaggeration, minimization, or half-truth; the implicit commission can arise through implied information.

Secondly, manipulation can be done through propaganda strategies such as repetition or emotional appeal. Hence, Blass (2006: 174) argued that the process of "exposure to the same information again and again invites the addressee, whether directly addressed or by information via media, posters tec., to think about this information and have it therefore easily accessible. The thoughts might then lead to believe an action". Within the emotional appeal strategy, the writer appeals to the feelings of his reader, the addressees (readers or audiences) "are often more easily ready to accept, believe and act upon the propagated information without thorough coherence checking" (ibid: 174-175).

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1 RQ (1): How does US Press manipulate Iraqi minds to ignite sectarian violence?
- Sample (1):

> The New York Times (July13, **200**7)
>
> By: DAMIEN CAVE and GRAHAM BOOLEY
>
> 'Shiite Leaders Appeal for Calm after New Shrine Attack'

1- Omission and commission manipulative strategy:

a- Omission:

From the very beginning of the article, the writers withheld critical information when they mentioned that the Imam al-Askari Mosque in Samara was considered as the most sacred Shiite shrines "*One of Iraq's most sacred Shiite shrines, the Imam al-Askari mosque in Samarra*". Imam al –Askari Mosque is sacred for both Shiite and Sunni. Furthermore, this Mosque is under the guardianship of 'Dewan Waqef Sunni' besides to all Sunni Mosques. Hence, the writers implement the manipulative strategy of omission to "prevent readers from acquiring beliefs he would have otherwise been able to establish" (Blass, 2006: 173).

b- Commission

- Exaggeration:

This device of commission manipulative strategy has been used in several spots in this article. The writers intentionally used words and overstatements to give more information than required (Turner in Blass, 2006). This device used while the writers described the al-Askari mosque in Samarra "the mosque contains the tombs of the 10th and 11th imams – Ali al-Hadi, who died in 868, and his son, Hassan al-Askari, who died in 874. Both are descendants of the Prophet Mohammad, and Shiite considers them to be among his successors".

- Minimization:

Within this strategy, the writer endeavors to avoid providing full information about an important event which can refute her claims or reduce from the effectiveness of her role as a manipulator. Herein, the writers gave a little information to the incursions that Sunni Mosques have been exposed by Shiite Militia, "*By this afternoon, a handful of Sunni mosques had been attacked in apparent reprisal attacks from Shiites, Iraqi security officials said*". The writers gave a simple clue about this event and they didn't mention to the previous attacks which Sunni Mosques faced while they reported the Shiite Mosques in detail "*Attacks on Shiite holy sites by suspected Sunni insurgents have increased in Iraq in the last two months*", "*In April, a car bomb exploded in Karbala about a third of a mile from the Imam Abbas shrine, one of the holiest sites in Shiite Islam, killing at least 58 people and wounding 169*", "*Two weeks earlier in Karbala, another car bomb exploded near the Imam Hussein shrine, killing 36 people and wounding 168*". They reported

different events relevance to the Shiite Mosques to achieve their manipulation through minimizing the importance of Sunni Mosques to give more focus to the Shiite case.

2- Manipulation through propaganda strategies:

- Repetition:
   Blass (2006) stated that the process of repeating the same information could play a key role to lead the addressee to think about this information and have it. This strategy has been implemented in different places within the article. The writers have mentioned many times the previous attacks of al-Askari Mosque in addition to other Shiite shrine places which also exposed to car bomb attacks. They repeated the word 'attack' 23 times.

> *'One of Iraq's most sacred Shiite shrines, the Imam al-Askari mosque in Samarra, was attacked and severely damaged again today, just over a year after a previous* **attack** *on the site unleashed a tide of sectarian bloodletting across the country.'*

> *'The shrine was badly damaged in the February 2006* **attack** *by Sunni insurgents, but the destruction of the remaining two minarets is expected to have powerful symbolic importance to Iraqis.'*

> *'Since the prior* **attack** *in 2006, the shrine had been under the protection of local, predominantly Sunni, guards. American military and Iraqi security officials recently became concerned that those guards may have been infiltrated by Al Qaeda.'*

These are three samples of the repetition propaganda strategy in addition to other spots whereas the writers mentioned the prior attacks. Actually, this repetition is closely associated to the next propaganda strategy. Herein, the writers try to provoke the religious emotions of their readers and cultivate the culture of sectarianism through pointing the incrimination towards Sunni community, "It is well-known that messages that are processed repeatedly are more highly accessible than those only processed occasionally" (Blass, 2006: 184).

> *'The shrine was badly damaged in the February 2006 attack by* **Sunni** *insurgents, but the destruction of the remaining two minarets is expected to have powerful symbolic importance to Iraqis'.*

- Emotional appealing*:*
   It has been mentioned above that the strategy of repetition is closely associated with the emotional appealing strategy. According to Blass (2006: 175), "appealing to the feelings of the addressee is often more easily ready to accept, believe, and act". In this article, there are many positions where the journalists used this strategy to stimulate the feelings of their audience:

> *'***The shrine was badly damaged*** in the February 2006 attack by Sunni insurgents,* **but the destruction of the**

> *remaining two minarets is expected to have powerful*
> *symbolic importance to Iraqis.'*

The use of the phrase *'badly damaged'* has its effect on the reader. They try to enlarge the size of destruction and consequently evoke the readers' feelings through portraying a tragic image about one of the holy Mosques in Iraq. Herein, they mentioned to the prior attack of Samarra and reminded readers that the two minarets have been destroyed in this attack in addition to reminding them that the persons who launched the first attack are from Sunni community *'Sunni insurgents'*.

> *"In a joint statement, the American ambassador to Iraq,*
> *Ryan C. Crocker, and Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top*
> *American commander in Iraq, said: "This **brutal action***
> ***on one of Iraq's holiest shrines is a deliberate attempt***
> ***by Al Qaeda to sow dissent and inflame sectarian strife***
> ***among the people of Iraq."***

As mentioned before, the writers' intention to appeal their readers' emotions is considered as part of the manipulation. Through repetition and then appealing they would achieve their manipulation influentially. The use of *'brutal action'* conveys a clear message to the readers that this operation has been launched by their enemies and after that they mentioned directly to the expected responsible *'Al Qaeda'* which means *'Sunni insurgents'* .

Sample (2):

> Fox News (June 14, 2007)
>
> By: Jennifer Griffin and Associated Press
>
> '13 Iraqi Police Arrested After Golden Destroyed in Shrine Blast'

     1- Manipulation through propaganda strategies:
-   Repetition:

In this report, we have two different ideas that have been repeated. The first one is the process of detaining 13 policemen *'**Thirteen Iraqi policemen were arrested'***. The writer intents to assert on the potential role that these 13 may play in the process of the explosion in order lead the reader to believe that Sunni community is responsible for this brutal damage. This conception has been repeated to address Shiite community and manipulate their beliefs through pointing the incrimination towards the policemen who are from Samarra, city of the Sunni majority.

> *'**Thirteen Iraqi policemen were arrested** Wednesday after*
> *two minarets of a revered Shiite shrine in Samarra were*
> *blown up'*

The second position is the counterattack on Sunni Mosques after the Askariya dome attack. In this place, the writer tries to provoke Sunni feelings and their Mosques faces probable counterattack *'**arsonists set fire to a Sunni mosque**'*. It is the second step of manipulation the writer follows. She tries to manipulate both sides throughout warning them of the coming risk *'**a wave of sectarian violence that still bloodies Iraq**'*.

> *'Before the curfew took hold, **arsonists set fire to a***
> ***Sunni mosque** in western Baghdad, police said.'*

- Emotional appealing:

Holy places have its value inside their consecrators who consider these places as a red line that no one must encroach upon them. In this text, the writer appeals his addressee's feeling through asserting the importance of Askariya dome and its sacredness among Shiite sect '***the Askariya Shrine, one of the holiest in Shiite Islam***'. The writer uses the exaggeration through the description of Askariya in detail '***The mosque contains the tombs of the 10th and 11th imams -- Ali al-Hadi***, *who died in 868, and his son, Hassan al-Askari, who died in 874.* ***Both are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and Shiites consider them to be among his successors'***. Then, the manipulation manifests when the writer blames Sunni community to explore this holy place '*The Askariya shrine's dome was destroyed on Feb. 22, 2006, in a bombing* ***blamed on Sunni Muslim militants believed linked to Al Qaeda'***.

Sample (3):

DAILY NEWS (Thursday, June 14th 2007: 4:00 Am)

By: JAMES GORDON MEEK in Washington and CORKY SIEMASZKO in NEWS STAFF WRITERS

Nothing is Holy: Terror blast rocks Shiite Shrine & sets off wave of sectarian attacks

- ***Repetition:***

This propaganda strategy of Manipulation has been playing a key role in the implantation of the two samples discussed above as well as the current one. The quotations below will indicate the repetition applied in this article.

The repeated conception is the role of Al Qaeda in the resurgence of sectarian violence through blowing up Al Askariya dome.

'***Al Qaeda-inspired terrorists infiltrated*** *the U.S.-trained Iraqi security forces and detonated a fresh explosion of sectarian violence yesterday by bombing the gold-covered minarets of a revered Shiite shrine.*'
'*Other U.S. officials* ***blamed Al Qaeda in Iraq, the terror group that bombed the same shrine last year and reduced its golden dome to ruins.*** *That attack triggered a brutal bloodletting between Sunnis and Shiites that rages on to this day.*'

The writers try to persuade his readers that Al Qaeda (which means Sunni community) is the only responsible for the attack. They do to stimulate Shiite angry towards the Sunni community. The repetition of the 'Sunni' and 'Shiite' is very clear whereas the writer mentions 'Sunni' five times while Shiite word has been repeated nine times.

- Emotional appealing:

There are different statements that have been used in this article portrayed the role of this tool of manipulative propaganda strategy.

'After the dust settled, I couldn't see the minarets anymore," Imad Nagi, who owns a store 100 yards from the shrine, told The Associated Press'.
*'Nimrod Raphaeli, an Iraqi-born analyst at the Middle East Media Research Institute, said that despite pleas yesterday by Shiite clerics to stay calm, **their followers "are losing patience."***
***"They can't keep a lid on the Shiites for long,"** he said.*

Always the writers choose effective words or statements to have their audiences' feelings such as the use of *'After the dust settled, I couldn't see the minarets anymore'.* It has its impact on the reader either they are Sunni or Shiite because it portrays metaphorically the size of destruction and gives a clear image of the hostile intentions of executors. Then, another statement said by official Iraqi person who works as an analyst in the Middle East Media research institute 'despite pleas yesterday by Shiite clerics to stay calm, their followers "*are losing their patience*" and he added that " *they can't keep lid on the Shiite for long*". This statement has implicit meaning which every Iraqi person can interpret. It means that even those who are working outside Iraq realized the coming risk of sectarian violence. The writers choose this intertextuality to support the idea of sectarian violence and their choice to an analyst person will reinforce their claims.

Sample (4):

The Washington Post (Thursday, June 14, 2007)

By: John Ward Anderson and Joshua Partlow, Washington Post Foreign Service

'Shiite Shrine in Samarra Is Hit Again'

- *Repetition:*

Blass (2006: 184) indicates that "it is well-known that messages which are processed repeatedly are more highly accessible than those only processed occasionally". In this place, the following quotations indicate the intention of the writers to fixate their addressee to the Shiite- Sunni sectarian conflict '***the ensuing Shiite-Sunni strife***'. The repetition of this conception looks very clear throughout the lines of this text.

> *"Tens of thousands of Iraqis died last year in* ***the ensuing Shiite-Sunni strife***".

> *"Shiites, Sunnis, Kurds, and U.S. officials have feared that a high-level assassination or an attack similar to* ***the 2006 bombing of the Askariya shrine could prompt renewed sectarian bloodletting***".

- *Emotional appealing:*

Blass (2006:175) states that emotions of addressees could be an appeal to "accept, believe and act upon propagated information". The information indicated below have its significant role in inflaming sectarian violence. The writers propagated these ideas in order to shuffle their addressees to believe in the sectarian conflict. The process of directing towards Al Qaeda (Sunni group), "***blamed Wednesday's blasts on al-Qaeda in Iraq, an extremist Sunni group",*** helps in cultivating the culture of bloodshed between Shiite and Sunni communities.

> *"U.S. and some Iraqi officials immediately **blamed Wednesday's blasts on al-Qaeda in Iraq, an extremist Sunni group** that regularly attacks U.S. and Iraqi targets, the latter in an apparent effort to provoke chaos and civil war."*
>
> *"In Iskandariyah, about 30 miles south of Baghdad, **fighters believed to be from the Mahdi Army militia of Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr planted explosives at the Sunni Grand Mosque and flattened it."***
>
> ***"Sadr, whose Mahdi Army was accused of brutally attacking Sunnis** after the dome of the Askariya mosque was destroyed 16 months ago, said that "no Sunni would desecrate*."*

From the other side, the writers manipulate Sunni community to believe in the sectarian risk and appeal their emotions through a reference to the attacks of Mahdi Army Militia on Sunni Mosques "***the Mahdi Army militia of Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr planted explosives at the Sunni Grand Mosque and flattened it***". Therefore, the journalists manipulate both sects to believe in sectarian violence.

4.2 RQ (2): How do different US Newspapers deal with the same event?

As far as using manipulation in media aims to persuade and fixate a new belief or idea, the writers (Journalists) involve various strategies to achieve their aims purposely. According to Kienpointner (2005: 217), propaganda within the manipulative framework means "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of propagandist". During the exploration of the strategies carried out in the four articles that have been analyzed above, the propaganda manipulative strategies were the most which had been used compared with other manipulative strategies.

The selection of Al-Askari Dome bombing event took its role in clarifying how different U.S. press deals with same incident. Based on the results of question one, it became apparent that the journalists of U.S. Newspapers deal with the same event in assimilated way based on the aim they endeavor to achieve. In the first, second, third, and fourth sample, the writers deal with that event emotionally and efficiently as well. They discussed several points which are as following:

1- Describe the attack in an affected way that helps them to appeal the emotions of their readers such as ***'the shrine was badly damaged' or 'One of Iraq's most sacred Shiite shrines, the Imam al-Askari mosque in Samarra, was attacked and severely damaged.'***

2- Use sectarian terms profusely, like '***Sunni***', '***Shiite***' and '***Sunni mosque***' or '***Shiite shrine***'.

3- Mention previous sectarian events in order to remind their readers to what had happened previously, such as '***Sadr, whose Mahdi Army was accused of brutally attacking Sunnis'.***

4- Point the incrimination towards Sunni community through Al-Qaeda in order to cultivate sectarian feud towards Sunni community for instance, ***"This brutal action on one of Iraq's holiest shrines is a deliberate attempt by Al Qaeda to sow dissent and inflame sectarian strife among the people of Iraq".***

5- Finally, the use of non-linguistic devices such as images which could play the role of eyewitness.

5. Conclusion

The bombing of Al-Askari Dome in Samarra (2007) has been chosen to investigate the role of the U.S. Press in cultivating the culture of sectarian violence among two main Iraqi communities whereas U.S. scheme of dividing Iraq became apparent among most of Iraqis *"Biden's advocacy for breaking Iraq into three entities is probably the Bush regime's goal from the start of the conflict, since smaller enclaves would make the oil easier to control"[1]*. U.S. press took its role inactivate this agenda through support and provoke the sectarian conceptions to change Iraqi ideologies to accept the project of breaking Iraq into three entities. This claim became very clear after analyzing four online articles taken from the most popular U.S. Newspapers that are considered for almost as U. S. mouthpiece.

Herein, the results of this study clarify the role of the U.S. Press in maintain the culture of sectarianism among Iraqis. The use of Manipulative strategies like propaganda strategy and commission and omission strategies proved how the journalist wrote to appeal readers' emotions. They repeated and spread sectarian terms such as 'Sunni' and 'Shiite' to be common among Iraqis. Unfortunately, the use of these words became common among Iraqis while they were strange before. Finally, the conception of the sectarian became part of the Iraqi social ideology and because of the bad role of U.S. Mass media; they expect that this war may break out at any time.

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