

Online News Coverage of the Arab World in Western Media

With Special Reference to Religious Words in Selected Post 9/11 Events

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Abstract

The present study attempts an analysis and assessment of online news coverage of Arab world as exemplified by selected instances of religious references (to be specific, *jihād* and its derivatives) in former Iraqi President Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's speeches/letters. These references are quoted and translated in some articles by selected Western online news institutions during Iraq war (Jan. – Dec. 2003). The excerpts are analyzed in the light of Mona Baker's narrative theory, Lawrence Venuti's domestication and foreignization theory and Javier Aixelá's strategies as models for such an analysis. The online news institutions selected for this study are the *New York Times (NY Times)* and *Guardian*. The present study envisages using a descriptive analytical approach. Such an approach certainly requires analyzing selected Arabic texts and English articles. Selected excerpts and models applied indicate that, to a great extent, selected journalists/translators are affected by their news institutions, which in turn, are influenced by official stances of their political regimes. Also, news coverage of selected online news institutions, which belong to countries which support and/or join coalition troops in invading Iraq, distorts Ḥusayn's religious references and creates narratives of differences, of homogeneity and terrorism regarding Iraq and its people, in target articles, to justify Iraq war. These narratives can, in turn, have negative impacts on Iraq images as well as Arab images in the West.

التغطية الإخبارية الإلكترونية لإخبار العالم العربي في الإعلام الغربي
بالإشارة إلى الإحالات الدينية في أحداث ما بعد الحادي عشر من سبتمبر
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الملخص

تقوم الدراسة الحالية بتحليل وتقييم التغطية الإخبارية الإلكترونية لأخبار العالم العربي عن طريق مقتطفات مختارة من الإحالات الدينية (بالأخص كلمة الجهاد ومشتقاتها) بخطب/رسائل الرئيس العراقي الأسبق صدام حسين والتي تم ترجمتها وعرضها بمؤسسات إخبارية إلكترونية مختارة خلال حرب العراق (في الفترة من يناير إلى ديسمبر ٢٠٠٣). ويتم تحليل هذه المقتطفات في ضوء نظرية السردية لمنى بيكر ونظرية التقريب والتغريب للورانس فينوتي وكذلك أساليب خافيير إكسيلا كنماذج لهذا التحليل. وقد اختيرت نيويورك تايمز والجارديان كمؤسسات إخبارية إلكترونية لهذه الدراسة. وتستخدم هذه الدراسة منهجا تحليليا وصفيا. ويحتاج هذا المنهج إلى تحليل كلا من نصوص عربية ومقالات إنجليزية مختارة. وتبين المقتطفات المختارة والنماذج التي تم تطبيقها أن الصحفيين/المترجمين يتأثرون بتوجهات مؤسساتهم الإخبارية، والتي بدورها تتأثر بالمواقف الرسمية لأنظمتها السياسية. كذلك فإن التغطية الإخبارية للمؤسسات الإخبارية الإلكترونية المختارة، التي تنتمي لدول تؤيد/تشارك بقوات التحالف في غزو العراق، تهدف إلى تشويه إحالات صدام حسين الدينية وبناء سرديات الاختلاف والتجانس والإرهاب بشأن العراق وشعبه، في المقالات المنقول إليها بغرض تبرير حرب العراق، التي بدورها تنتج صور سلبية تجاه العراق والعرب في نظر الغرب.

1. Introduction

Media and media translation play important roles in motivating and affecting countries and peoples . Some media institutions, media professionals, journalists and translators fail to deliver news and its analyses impartially. Many journalists and translators are influenced by their ideologies and ideologies of news institutions they work in, of policy makers in their countries and of target readers. All such considerations and others affect the way texts are presented. Western countries and their news media have focused for long on events in the Arab world, especially in wars and disputes. They adopt different stances towards various events in Arab countries; some of them express their support while others announce their opposition to these events and their participants.

2. The Aim of the Study

The present study attempts an analysis and evaluation of online news coverage of Arab world as exemplified by selected instances of religious references (to be specific, jihād and its derivatives) in former Iraqi President Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's speeches/letters. These references are quoted and translated in some articles by selected Western online news institutions. Selected examples are analyzed in the light of Mona Baker's narrative theory, Lawrence Venuti's domestication and foreignization theory and Javier Aixelá's strategies. The online news institutions chosen for this study are the *New York Times* (*NY Times*) and *Guardian*. The present study envisages using a descriptive analytical approach. Such an approach certainly requires analyzing selected Arabic texts and English articles.

3. Database

This study is limited to the period of Iraq War (March 2003 – December 2011) including different articles which tackle selected speeches/letters by Ḥusayn.¹ Media reflected mixed views regarding such a war. For example, some Western countries and news institutions, attempted to justify the war on Iraq by coalition forces, claiming that they aimed at freeing Iraqi people from dictatorship and injustice imposed by Ḥusayn such as USA, United Kingdom, Australia and Israel. Other Western countries and news institutions

announced their opposition to Iraq invasion such as France, Germany and Russia. They affirmed that resorting to war should be the last alternative and "any solution must be inspired by principles of the United Nations Charter" ("Joint Declaration"). Although Iraq war extended for nine years, this study focuses on the first year, to be precise, from January till December 2003. This is due to the fact that the period before and after the war till the capture of Ḥusayn, in December 2003, is fruitful and full of Ḥusayn's speeches and English commentaries on such speeches as well as on the battlefield.

For the purposes of the study, the researcher selected two online news media organizations; namely, *the NY Times* and *Guardian*, which are two of the most prominent print and online publications worldwide. *The NY Times* and *Guardian* are taken to be generally representative of British and American press. As for *the NY Times*, the American daily newspaper was first published in 1851. *The New York Times* Company has received ever since 128 Pulitzer Prizes awarded for excellence in print and online newspapers and literary works. The newspaper is divided into different parts, but the present study focuses on opinion section (i.e. Op-Eds). *The NY Times* launched a website on the Internet in 1996. The online site was as successful as the print version. Simon Owens, in *Bloggasm* website, which concentrates on online media and newspapers, states that the nytimes.com has more than 60 blogs under its domain unlike other newspapers which have only 20 blogs ("The 50 most popular newspaper blogs"). Furthermore, *comScore, Inc.* website, which is a pioneer in measuring digital market, released a report, "Press release", in May 2010, showing that *the NY Times* ranked as the top U.S. online newspaper. It added that more than "32 million" U.S. Internet users visited this online news site.

The *NY Times* Company asserts that its main goal is "to enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news and information [...] and to cover the news as impartially as possible" ("Standards and Ethics"). However some writers think the *NY Times'* stance is pro-war in Iraq such as Jim Naureckas, Seth Ackerman, Antony Loewenstein, and Barry Grey.² Some reporters of *the NY Times* such as Judith Miller asserted that Iraq was

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concealing weapons of mass destruction, as a kind of supporting the Bush administration morally to attack Iraq.³ In addition, the political analyst, James Moore, writes that “the tenuous information provided by Miller's work was constantly reframed by pundits to give it greater political weight ... The U.S. had found proof of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The president was correct. War was justified.”

Regarding *the Guardian* or *the Manchester Guardian*, The British daily newspaper with its sister Sunday newspaper, *the Observer*, were first published in 1821. *The Guardian* was awarded several prizes including *the Young Journalist of the Year*, *Political Journalist of the Year*, *Feature Writer of the Year* and *Newspaper of the Year* in 2011 by the *Press Awards* ("Press Awards 2011"). *The Guardian's* stance towards its coverage of international news in general and Arab issues, in particular, is tackled by the *Guardian* Columnist, Jackie Ashley. Ashley discerns that *the Guardian* does not have one particularly clear trend to follow, the paper tends to provide diverse viewpoints ("Are the *Guardianistas* Rats?").⁴ The Anglo-American invasion of Iraq is praised by Jason Burke, and Julie Burchill who regard the military intervention as a way for Iraqi people to achieve democracy, to counter terrorism, and to get rid of biological weapons.⁵

The Guardian and the Observer launched a website on the Internet in 1999. According to the study of the *International Center for Media and the Public Agenda*, which focuses on global media, of the transparency of 25 of the top news sites, *the Guardian* ranked first followed by *the NY Times* ("Openness and Accountability"). In addition, *Ipsos MORI*, which is a market research company in the UK, writes that "40% of the Britain's Members of Parliament" use the *Guardian* online newspaper ("*Guardian Unlimited*"). Also, *the Guardian*, for the fourth time, ranked as the top website at the 2009 *Webby Awards* surpassing *the Times*, *Independent* and *the NY Times* ("13th Annual Webby awards").

This study selects specific examples to examine the online news coverage of Iraq War (January – December 2003). The selection of online news materials which the study analyzes depends on some factors. The availability of source Arabic texts affects the choice of selected examples. Unfortunately, Ḥusayn's speeches/letters, are not available in recent official Iraqi websites such as the sites of Iraqi Presidency or Cabinet of Iraq or Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is due to the fact that, the new regime in Iraq, as any coming regime, deletes the old history of the former president and rewrites its own history. Accordingly, Ḥusayn's selected speeches/letters are extracted from the website of Ḥusayn's official party, the Iraqi Ba'ath Party (*Dhīqār*).

Also, the availability of target English articles, which refer to Ḥusayn's speeches/letters, in selected online news sites represents an important factor in choosing the instances of the study. This is because a few number of Ḥusayn's words are translated, in the *NY Times*' and *Guardian*'s opinion section, a matter which narrows the scope of selecting target articles.

Other significant factors are the contents of source texts, presence of religious references (jīhād and its derivatives) in selected examples and the way the news institutions/translators quote/translate these references in English articles. These references can examine to what extent the news institutions/translators transferred the references, which highlight narratives of difference between Iraqis and invaders, and the way they are translated in target articles, which in turn can indicate institutions' and journalists' stances towards Iraq war and Arab World, in general.

The selected translations comprise translations of some parts of Ḥusayn's speeches/letters which are quoted, in a form of narrative, by Patrick Tyler and Ian Fisher (in the *NY Times*) and Jamie Wilson and Jonathan Steele, and Michael Howard (in the *Guardian*) with no reference to the translators of Ḥusayn's citations, in many cases. On the other hand, Ḥusayn's speeches/letters are extracted from the website of Ḥusayn's official party, the Iraqi Ba'ath Party (*Dhīqār*). In addition, the study puts in consideration inclinations of available translators or news institutions, which the selected sites provided, as well as inclinations of selected sites, during the analysis of translated articles.

4. Method of Research

Baker's "narrative", Venuti's "domestication" and "foreignization" and Aixelá's strategies are introduced as models for this study. As for Baker's narrative, the present study uses Baker's narrative theory (as well as narrative's features and components) and concept of narrative framing as a model to analyze a group of translated articles on Iraq war. Its purpose is to scrutinize selected examples to show how some western journalists/translators and their news institutions tackle news coverage of Arab World in their narratives, in general, and how they reframe Iraq issue, in particular.

Baker states that "narratives are not chronologies, not undifferentiated lists of happenings: they are stories that are temporally and causally constituted in such a way as to allow us to make moral decisions and act in the real world" ("Reframing Conflict" 155). Narratives are the tales that an individual adopts orienting his/her conduct; narratives are what s/he informs others as well as herself/himself in the form of stories regarding events. Baker asserts that "narrative theory assumes that the unit of analysis is ultimately an entire narrative", interpreted as a real tale with "characters", milieus, results or expected results and "plot" ("Narratives of Terrorism" 349).

Baker introduced many features of narrative such as "temporality/narrative diachronicity", "relationality/hermeneutic composability", "causal emplotment", "selective appropriation", "canonicity/breach/normativeness", "particularity", "genericness", and "narrative accrual" (*Translation and Conflict* 5). However, the thesis will focus on three features; namely, temporality/narrative diachronicity, causal emplotment and selective appropriation. These features can have an impact on the way the selected political events are narrated. One of the features of narrative is temporality/narrative diachronicity where narratives are entrenched in "time and space" and their imports stem from the "temporal moment and physical" location of the story (Baker, "Reframing Conflict" 155). The temporality has to do with order of events. It indicates that a sequence in which a story is displayed is part of that story, that is to say, it guides and controls comprehending its intention. The sequence in which events occur has a great significance, and such a sequence has a role in narratives that individuals develop regarding events under consideration.

Another feature of narrative is selective appropriation. Baker describes such a feature as a “core feature” (“Reframing Conflict” 155). This is because a coherent tale cannot be created by referring to all circumstances that surround an event; therefore narratives are created according to some specific standards that guide a process of selective appropriation and preference of some circumstances instead of others regarding a specific event. Baker notes that such a selection is associated with one’s “location in time and space” and with one’s interaction with a cluster of “public, conceptual and meta-narratives” that determine important events to be selected (*Translation and Conflict* 71-72). One form of selective appropriation is used in media to manipulate truths through selecting and presenting one narrative only as in the case of Palestinian-Israeli conflict where Palestinian side is always blamed, by many Western media, regardless of the Palestinian causalities. Selective appropriation is also manifested in water conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt, regarding Nile river dam, resulted in competing narratives where the story of each party supports one’s stances and claims, including national security or national pride or economic future, towards construction of the dam and excludes other views. Another form of selective appropriation, which can be accepted ethically, is done by the translator to omit any sexual expression that may offend target readers.

Causal employment is the most crucial feature of narrative as it selects a group of events and merges them in varied tales, regardless of their sequential order, to achieve specific goals intended by their narrators. Baker affirms that such a feature is “identifying a cause for a set of events that helps us determine what course of action we should take, and this in turn allows us to appeal to others” (*Translation and Conflict* 67).

A significant factor in influencing readers is how a narrative of a political event is framed to achieve its goal as implied by actors of a narrative (whether the actors are speakers of speeches or journalists/translators or news institutions or a political regime of a certain country). For instance, translators may modify the title of source texts or add remarks on them or defy them in prefaces or appendixes of target texts. Thus, a frame can be used to spread different forms of reality for the same event. Baker argues that a “frame” can have an impact on the “way we experience” a story (“Reframing Conflict” 155-156). She adds that

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Effective narratives also rely on subtle processes of (re)framing which can draw on practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resource to set up an interpretive context for the reader or hearer. This may include exploiting paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography, visual resources such as colour, image and layout and linguistic devices such as tense shifts, deixis, code switching and the use of euphemisms.

("Narratives of Terrorism" 360)

Moreover, there are different types of narratives such as "ontological/personal narratives", "public narratives", "conceptual/disciplinary narratives" and "meta/master-narratives". Political events addressed in this thesis, can be listed under public narratives. Public narratives are records developed by and socialized among social and institutional groups such as political and religious institutions as well as media in the course of years. Baker refers to two main components of public narratives; namely, ideas of "difference" and "homogeneity", which lead and follow every war ("Interpreters and Translators" 198). The notion of "difference" has recently been critical to every community's view towards its enemies in the world especially in war times. According to Baker, "the enemy, has to be narrated as radically different from ourselves if the violence of war is to be justified" (198). A aggressor country depicts itself with noble features of rescuing a victim country and depicts an enemy with evil features to earn sympathy and gain support of the international community. Baker introduces two forms of the idea of *homogeneity*. In the first form, "the enemy is typically narrated as consisting of a single, homogeneous group, as sheer evil, or 'an undifferentiated menace'" (Baker, "Interpreters and Translators" 198). Another form of a narrative of homogeneity includes portraying the enemy as comprising several tribes fighting with each other.

The form of a story shaped in media can affect not only policy makers but also laypersons and their lives. Therefore, translators have ethical roles in circulating or resisting narratives. Individuals and institutions depend on past narratives to understand

current events or to interact with or to justify certain actions and situations. Thus, using narrative as a model for studying political texts as a whole can cast light on reasons and results for methods adopted by journalists'/translators' news institutions in selecting these political events or parts of political speeches.

Regarding Venuti's domesticating and foreignizing methods, This study is, also, influenced by the work of Venuti, whose famous discussion of two approaches to translation: "domestication" and "foreignization" had a wide influence on both practioners and theoreticians. Venuti bemoans an "illusion of transparency" of texts and invisibility of translators in the Anglo-American culture, through translating texts "fluently" into English language aiming at producing a natural target text (*Translator's Invisibility* 1). Venuti was influenced by the French translator and translation theorist Antoine Berman. Berman states that there are two methods of translation; the "trial of the foreign" and the "trial for the foreign" (284). The former forms a link between target readers and source texts by seeking to present original texts to target readers in their peculiarities. The latter sets source texts free by uprooting them from their source language contexts. Berman believes that the "ethical" purpose of translation is "receiving the Foreign as Foreign" (285-286).

The root of the two terms (domestication and foreignization) can be traced back to the German philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher's speech in 1813; he proposes two different strategies for translation. The first is that the translator "leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer towards the reader"; s/he endeavours to show as if source writers are writing source texts in target languages to target readers (Venuti, *Translator's Invisibility* 20). In this way, translators integrate original writers into target communities to which target readers belong. The second is that "the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer". Translators exert utmost effort in compensating for readers' unfamiliarity with source languages through transferring essences and impacts of source texts to target readers, and thus "move [ing] the readers to his [their] viewpoint, which is actually foreign to

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them” (20). For example, the well-known term “the carrot-and-stick policy”, which is used nowadays to refer to “reward-or-punishment” to tempt or impose compliance, is sometimes translated as "سياسة العصا والجزرة" – a calque translation” which is regarded as a "foreignizing" method (Mazid 54). On the other hand, the same term can be translated as "ذهب المعز وسيفه" ('the sword and the gold')” if translators' aims are to domesticate source terms (Mazid 54). When translators resort to calques of such terms, they miss an opportunity to transfer “a piece of Arab-Islamic culture” in translation and regenerate the noticeably “ideological donkey-and-donkey-rider metaphor where the rider is the United States and its ‘allies’ and the donkeys are its enemies, mostly located in the (Middle) East” (Mazid 55).

The domesticating method was advocated by Anglo-American culture for a long period. Venuti regards a domesticating strategy as an "ethnocentric" submission of original texts to dominant cultural norms in English; such a strategy comprises an "exchange" of original-languages "intelligibilities" for target-language ones (*The Translator's Invisibility* 81-203). There are two main features of domestication; namely, fluency and transparency. "Fluent" translations "invisibly" rewrite original texts with English-language canons and give target readers a "narcissistic experience" of identifying their cultures in original ones (Venuti 15). Fluency cannot be achieved with "close" or “verbal” translation, which restrains an impact of "transparency", producing a translated text with unfamiliar terms (Venuti 58). Fluency cannot be achieved with "close" or “verbal” translation, which restrains an impact of "transparency", producing a translated text with unfamiliar terms (Venuti 58). It can be seen as a digressive scheme preferably fitted to domesticating translation, capable of performing an "ethnocentric violence of domestication" and, at the same time, masking this violence under an impact of "transparency", an "illusion" that this is the original text not the translated one (Venuti 61). Fluency requires a deployment of varied vocabulary and terminology by translators so as not to expose an "artificiality of the translation", or to the idea that translators provide their readers with target-language milieus to

second their evaluations of original writers' views (Venuti 76-77). By offering an "illusion of transparency", a fluent strategy pretends to be an accurate semantic equivalence although it actually rewrites a source text with a "partial interpretation, partial to English-language values", minimizing if not expelling the "difference" that translating is expected to transfer (Venuti 21). This transparent translation is regarded as reflecting writers; it perceives source texts as genuine and depreciates target texts as artificial, thus, target texts read without any difficulty of understanding by readers. Venuti argues that the "illusion of transparency" is an impact of fluent approach used by translators in an attempt to guarantee legibility. However, such an "illusory" impact veils translators' "intervention" in original texts during translation processes.

The foreignizing method was postulated first in German culture during "classical and romantic" eras and revived by contemporary French culture (Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility* 20). Accordingly, translators should abandon target values to produce foreign interpretations by selecting to transfer source texts excluded by target values. Venuti argues that resorting to a foreignizing strategy resembles practising an "ethnodeviant pressure" on target norms to record linguistic and cultural divergences of source texts (81). Seconding foreignizing translation against the Anglo- American tradition of domestication does not mean abandoning cultural political agendas, but promoting translation strategies that challenge dominant target-language cultural canons in order to indicate the semantic and cultural variances of original texts (23). A core feature of foreignization is resistancy. Venuti regards foreignizing translation strategy as "resistancy" for eschewing fluency as well as resisting a target-language culture (24). This discourse saves peculiarities of original texts so as not to lose cultural features of source texts while translating them in target language contexts. In addition, resistance supposes a notion of "autonomy", placing the foreign in target cultures, probing for cultural difference, highlighting semantic and cultural diversities of original language texts. Venuti argues that target texts should be the place where different cultures are introduced, where target readers can get acquainted with other cultures.

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Venuti's theory and translation strategies are chosen, in this thesis, as a theoretical method. This is due to the fact that Venuti discusses role of politics and target cultures which may affect selection, addition and deletion of foreign features and construct representations of foreign cultures that conform to domestic values in target translated texts. Venuti defines translation as a "strategic public intervention, a cultural political" act (*The Translator's Invisibility* 245). This definition casts light on conflicts and interventions in translation, discussed in this study, where cultural and political ideologies of journalists/translators and their news institutions are main participants in translation processes and products. Venuti's strategies can be regarded as a parameter while analyzing selected texts to determine whether translators resort to domesticating or foreignizing strategy. The strategy to be followed can indicate the way target news institutions cover Iraq war and depict their cultural and political tendencies towards Arab World.

Concerning Aixelá's Strategies, The two methods proposed by Venuti's research have been elaborated by other translation studies scholars. Some procedures elaborated by those scholars provide more detailed analysis of domestication such as George Bastin's procedures: "transcription of the original", "omission", "expansion", "exoticism", "updating", "situational equivalence" and "creation" (7). James Dickins et al. address other techniques including "cultural borrowing", "calque", "exoticism", "cultural transplation", "communicative translation" and "transliterating names" (29-35). Javier Aixelá deals with others such as "repetition", "orthographic adaptation", "linguistic translation", "extra-textual gloss", "intra-textual gloss", "synonymy", "limited universalization", "absolute universalization", "naturalization", "deletion" and "autonomous creation" (61-64). Aixelá's strategies are an elaboration of Venuti's domestication ("repetition", "orthographic adaptation", "linguistic translation", "extra-textual gloss" and "intra-textual gloss") and foreignization ("synonymy", "limited universalization", "absolute universalization", "naturalization", "deletion" and "autonomous creation"). They combine most traits which identify domesticating and foreignizing methods.

On the other hand, the present study focuses on four strategies; namely, "repetition", "orthographic adaptation", "intra-textual gloss" and "naturalization". These strategies can be applicable to selected examples. "Naturalization" means substituting source terms with target terms from target cultures. Translators aim to "bring the CSI [culture-specific item] into the intertextual corpus felt as specific by the target language culture" (63). "Repetition" is a transference of references from source texts to target ones (61). "Orthographic adaptation" involves usage of transliteration, when source terms are voiced in different alphabets from those used by target readers (Aixelá 61). "Intra-textual gloss[es]" are located in the body of target texts to state connotations implied by source texts (Aixelá 62).

The selected examples are fraught with Arabic religious culture-specific references. The way the translators/news institutions interpret religious references (jihad and its derivatives) show stances of selected Western online news institutions regarding Iraq war, in particular, and Arabs, in general. It, also, shows whether selected news institutions aim at evoking the same responses by English readers as evoked in Iraqi/Arab readers or not. To judge how some Western institutions present the image of Arabs, Baker's, Venuti's and Aixelá's strategies are examined and applied to selected translated speeches/letters of Ḥusayn in English articles.

5. Review of Literature

Some studies refer to the power of media and media translation in a society and among countries.⁶ Paul Brewer et al. conducted a survey on the influence of media on attitudes towards foreign countries. They assert that "media audiences do not necessarily connect domestic issues such as illegal drugs to foreign nations unless the media explicitly draw that connection" (506). They add that "reading stories [in the media] that linked Iran to terrorism led participants [in the survey] to judge Iran in terms of their attitudes about fighting terrorism" (506). In addition, Douglas McLeod states that during wars and disputes, two acts take place in media: a) "tend[ancy] to rally around the presidential administration and its policies" and b) "relaying information from official sources without investing the necessary time and resources to investigate its

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veracity or to seek alternative perspectives and relevant facts” (134). Also, Sai-hua Kuo and Mari Nakamura affirm that “ideological” partialities are semantically entrenched in a “translated reporting”; news media, in most cases, provide different reports of news story to “accommodate their ideologies” to various types of readers (393; 411).

Moreover, J. Richstad and M. Anderson, and E. Herman and N. Chomsky argue that some Western news institutions offer a vague and an imprecise picture of cultures of other countries according to their interests, which in turn, can create misunderstanding regarding these countries. Herman and Chomsky state that

While the coverage of the worthy victim was generous with gory details and quoted expressions of outrage and demands for justice, the coverage of the unworthy victims was low-keyed, designed to keep the lid on emotions and evoking regretful and philosophical generalities on the omnipresence of violence and the inherent tragedy of human life. (39)

Other studies discuss the way by which Arab peoples are presented in Western media and online media, in particular. Abdulaziz Al-Zahrani (1988) and Mohammed Selim (2009) point out to the disfigured image of the Arabs reflected by Western media because of its negative coverage which has formed a stereotyped image about the Arabs in the minds of Western people and hence has created a hostile attitude towards them. Also, Edward Said refers to hostile attitude of media in some European countries and especially in America towards Islam since the early seventies:

This energetic coverage is based on far from objective material. In many instances, ‘Islam’ has licensed not only patent inaccuracy but also expressions of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even racial hatred,

deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility. All this has taken place as part of what is presumed to be fair, balanced, responsible coverage of Islam ... There is unquestioned assumption that Islam can be characterized

limitlessly by means of a handful of recklessly general and repeatedly deployed clichés. (li)

In addition, Badran Badran (1984) evaluates, in his dissertation, the news reporting offered by European and American papers regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict during a period time from 1980 to 1982. He argues that the perspectives of selected papers follow the opinions of American and European officials and statesmen.

Concerning online news media, Magda Abu-Fadil (2005) refers to the fact that this kind of media whom she called “new media” is a “double-edged sword” which sometimes offers “anti-Arab venom” through its deceptive articles and reports (54).⁷ Also, Jason Sternberg (2008) tackles specific bias sites; namely, “commondreams.org and rightwingnews” and the news they provide to their users which are related to certain Arab topics (i). He argues that the Internet enables political sites to rearrange political events to echo partiality in media.

Furthermore, Baker (in “The Treatment of Variation”), Rigmor Argren, and Maria Tymoczko argue that media and translation of news are, in many cases, affected by agendas of media agencies.⁸ Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge, Baker (in *Translation and Conflict*) and Richard Reuben refer to ideas of selectivity and framing in media for the sake of specific political stances. Also, Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett, in their article, stress the importance of translation in world news coverage, paying heed to the Internet as a new channel of media. They assume that there is a close relation between “politics, media, and translation” and that the treatment of political situations in media involves “recontextualization” which, in turn, implies “transformation” (2). Similarly, Tymoczko does not regard translation as a semantic or grammatical practice but as “an ethical, political, and ideological activity” (443). In addition, Issa Boullata (2003) feels that Arabic texts are usually “subjected to domestication” in translation so as to be satisfactory to readers of foreign cultures(29). Thus, he calls for a “resistant translation” in order that source texts can be translated in a way that offer a real image of Arabs and their culture.

6. Analysis

This section presents an analysis for translations of religious references (jihad and its derivatives) in Husayn's speeches/letters during Iraq war in selected English articles during Iraq war (Jan. – Dec. 2003). It is subdivided into two subsection. The first is translations of religious references (jihad and its derivatives) in Husayn's speeches/letters during Iraq war in the *NY Times*' articles. The second is translations of religious references (jihad and its derivatives) in Husayn's speeches/letters during Iraq war in the *Guardian*'s articles. The analysis can help in evaluating the online news coverage of Iraq war, in particular, and Arab World, in general, by selected Western news institutions. Baker's narrative, Venuti's domestication and foreignization, Aixelá's techniques are traced to study the approach followed by translators/news institutions in selected examples.

Religious references are used, by Husayn, to set contrasts between believers and Iraqis, on one side, and infidels and invaders, on the other side. The following examples show how selected news sites translate Husayn's religious references (to be specific jihad and its derivatives), highlight comparisons between Iraqis and allied forces and, in turn, form specific image of Iraqis and Arabs.

6.1 Translations of Husayn's Religious References in the *NY Times*'s Articles Two articles by *NY Times*'s journalists, Tyler and Fisher, are tackled in this subsection. They entail short translated utterances of Husayn's speeches on 14th of June and 17th of Sept.

As for Tyler, he was formerly a "chief correspondent in April 2002" and discussed different issues regarding "domestic and foreign policy" ("Correspondent biography"). Before Iraq war, Tyler expressed, in February 2003, his opposition to Iraq invasion: "what is the urgent rationale for war now if there is a chance that continued inspections under military pressure might accomplish the disarmament of Iraq peacefully?" ("Threats and Responses: News Analysis"). In October 2003, he states that "Iraqis –even those who welcomed the overthrow of Saddam Hussein– are rebelling against occupation" ("The World: Three Wars over Iraq").

On 5th of July, Tyler writes, in the *NY Times*, "After the War: Iraq", after Ḥusayn recorded a tape on 14th of June. Ḥusayn called on Iraqi people to support resistance movements against invasion and urged his people not to co-operate with allied troops. The audio-tape has been played, on the Arabic television station *Āl-jazīrah* on 4th of July, hours after American forces killed 11 of Iraqi resistance who ambushed a patrol north-west of Baḡdād, wounding 18 American soldiers. The speech was, also, broadcasted the day after the USA put a \$25 million reward on Ḥusayn's head and a \$15 million reward for information leading to the capture of his two sons, Quṣayy and ʿUday. Tyler does not acknowledge readers whether translated quotations are his translations or not.

As for the word *jihād* and its derivatives, in Tyler's article, two interpretations are given to "*āl-mujāhīdīn*". Tyler resorts to orthographic adaptation to interpret "*āl-mujāhīdīn*", in "فإننا ندعو إلى احترام أمن المجاهدين", as "mujahedeen", in "Make the mujahedeen secure" ("*Risālīt Āl-mūjāhīd Ṣaddām Ḥusayn Āl-sadīṣah*"). This term may give a negative connotation, unless it is followed by an intra-textual gloss to explain its gorgeous religious meaning. This is because after 11/9 events some Western news institutions, unfortunately, relate narratives of terrorism to Islam and its religious references. Tyler, also, naturalizes "*āl-mujāhīdīn*", in "أدعوكم للتغطية على المجاهدين الأبطال", as "fighters", in "The voice [...] called upon Iraqis to 'protect these heroic fighters'" which omits its religious and core meaning, as Iraqis are not just fighting coalition forces, but they are struggling for their liberty. To elaborate, the word *mujāhīd* has two meanings, in *Āl-mūʿjam Āl-ʿaraby Āl-āsāsy*: "من يجاهد في سبيل الله" and "من يحارب دفاعاً عن الوطن". On the other hand, "fight" entails, in *Longman Dictionary*, "a battle between two armies especially the fighting that happens at one particular place and time" whereas "struggle" implies "a long hard fight to get freedom, political rights". Accordingly, "fighters" seems to be an inaccurate word to the meaning intended by Hussein and implied by *ālmujāhīdūn*.

In addition, Tyler links Ḥusayn's expression "*āl-mujāhīdīn*", in "المجاهدين الأبطال", "heroic fighters", to American casualties: "On the tape, the voice exhorts Iraqis to protect 'heroic fighters' who have staged attacks on American and British forces, leaving at least 25

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Americans dead since May 1." By doing so, Tyler makes use of Baker's selective appropriation, temporality and causal emplotment through selecting Ḥusayn's utterance "al-mujāhīdīn" and linking its negative translation, "fighters", to the attacks on allied troops in order to accuse Iraqi resistance of killing allied troops. Thus, he resorts to foreignization and temporality to form narratives of terrorism and difference between coalition forces combating terrorism and Iraqis, as alleged source of terrorism for defending their land against invasion.

Regarding Fisher, he is *an assistant managing editor at the NT Times*. Fisher does not offer a precise stance towards Iraq invasion: "thus was crystallized, under the sun in the steadily warming desert, the dynamic in the debate over whether to attack Iraq: American accusations, Iraqi denials and pretty much no way for anyone else to know where the truth lies" ("Threats and Responses: Targets). On 18th of Sept., Fisher refers in his article, "U.S. doubts Iraq prisoners' claims", to Ḥusayn's audio tape, aired by the Arabic television channel *Ál-ʿArabīyah* on 17th of Sept. In this speech, Ḥusayn calls for an immediate withdrawal of coalition forces from Iraq. Ḥusayn also urges Iraqis to step up attacks on the coalition troops. There is no reference to the translator of Ḥusayn's words in this article.

Regarding the word *jihād* and its derivatives, in Fisher's article, repetition is resorted to in order to interpret "al-jihād", in "تاج" "كل هذا الجهاد المسلح", as "struggle", in "you must increase your grip and armed struggle" ("Rīsālīt Ál-mujāhīd Ṣaddām Ḥusayn Ál-ʿAšīrah "). Using the word "struggle" can give a positive impact, as intended by Ḥusayn, on target readers regarding Iraqis. On the other hand, Fisher resorts to causal emplotment to belittle Ḥusayn's utterances. For instance, he quotes some words by a military spokesman, Lt. Col. George Krivo, who "dismissed the possibility that Iraqis might obey such directions, saying, 'the time of that regime has passed.'" By doing so, Fisher underlines the narrative of difference, of portraying the other as a coward person who "comes up from some hideout someplace" and as an undifferentiated person whose words have no value or effect on its audience.

Fisher casts light on Krivo's words: "the security situation improves every day" and "there are 'big areas of the country where it is relatively peaceful and stable.'" Thus, he, again highlights the narrative of difference, between Ḥusayn and "coalition troops" that witness "progress every day", after invading Iraq, getting rid of Ḥusayn and ending narratives of homogeneity and disputes among Iraq's different groups. Although Fisher does not express his views regarding Iraq occupation, he follows the attitude of the *NY Times*, while tackling Ḥusayn's speech, via recalling narratives of coalition troops to demean Ḥusayn's utterances and their effect on target readers.

In the abovementioned instances, the *NY Times'* journalists cite very short words of Ḥusayn's speeches although they provide many spaces in their articles to speakers of coalition troops. Accordingly, they do not tackle different points of view of events in Iraq but make use of selective appropriation of narratives of coalition troops at the cost of Ḥusayn's points of view (in speeches). Baker's selective appropriation, temporality and causal emplotment are resorted to in selecting, placing Ḥusayn's words, in different frames than that meant by Ḥusayn, which, in turn, produce an incorrect image of Iraqis and their country.

Regarding Tyler, he uses Ḥusayn's speech to direct his readers to have hatred attitude towards Iraqi resistance. Tyler resorts to foreignization (orthographic adaptation) and temporality to misuse selected religious words and to create narratives of terrorism and difference between allied forces combating terrorism and Iraqi resistance, as alleged terrorist for struggling against occupation. As for Fisher, he makes of foreignization (repetition) to clarify Ḥusayn's religious references. On the other hand, he resorts to selective appropriation and causal emplotment of a few words by Ḥusayn, in comparison to Fisher's long quotes of the other war party, to belittle Ḥusayn's views. He, also, forms a narrative of difference between Iraqis and coalition troops and stress validity of narratives of homogeneity and disputes among Iraqis, claimed by coalition troops, as one of the reasons for invading Iraq.

6.2 Translations of Ḥusayn's Religious References in the *Guardian's* Articles

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Two articles by *Guardian's* journalists, Wilson and Steele, and Howard, are discussed in this subsection. They include short translated lines of Ḥusayn's speeches/letters, on 25th of July and 9th of Oct.

As for Wilson and Steele, both take a stance against the Iraqi war. Wilson refers, in February 2003, to a "rally" organized by some movements which oppose Iraq war, in Hyde Park, London, such as "the Stop the War Coalition (STWC)" ("Peace March"). Steele is a "is a *Guardian* columnist, roving foreign correspondent and author" ("Profile"). He argues, in Mar., after a few days of occupation, that "London and Washington convinced themselves that Saddam Hussein had ruined the economy without asking whether Iraqis shared this view. If they now divert Iraq's oil revenues, they will be following a long tradition of blunder and exploitation" ("Read the Small Print"). In 2008, He published his book *Defeat: Why America and Britain Lost Iraq*, where he attributes the defeat of the USA and Britain to their arrogance after ignoring the feelings and social conditions of ordinary Iraqis, who welcomed the alliance troops but continued suffering after the occupation.

Wilson and Steele refer, in "Saddam praises dead sons", on 30th of July, to Ḥusayn's audio tape, recorded by Ḥusayn on 25th of July and aired by *Ál-Ḥarabīyah* on 29th of July. In the tape message, Ḥusayn mourns his dead sons, Quṣay and ʿUday who were killed as well as Quṣay's son, in the northern city of *Ál-mawṣil*, by the American forces. The broadcast came hours after the American special forces, which is searching for the former Iraqi president around *Tíkrīt* (Ḥusayn's birthplace in the northwest of *Baḡdād*), captured a number of *Ál-baḥṭ* party loyalists. Wilson and Steele made no reference to the translator of selected Ḥusayn's quotations in their article.

Regarding the word *jihād* and its derivatives, in Wilson's and Steele's article, orthographic adaptation is resorted to while translating "*ál-jihād*" as "jihad" in "وقف إخوانكم عدي وقصى ومصطفى ابن قصي وقفة الإيمان التي ترضي الله وتسر الصديق وتغيظ عدي في ساحة الجهاد", "Uday, Qusay and Mustafa [Qusay's teenage son] died in jihad field" and in "لو كان لصادم حسين مائة من الأولاد غير عدي وقصي لقدمهم صدام"

"حسين على نفس الطريق", "if Saddam Hussein had 100 sons, he would have offered them on the same path which is the path of jihad" ("Rísālīt Ál-r̥̄ys Ál-qā̄d Ál-mũjāhíd Şaddām Ḥusayn Ál-sabī̄h"). Also, Wilson and Steele add an intra-textual gloss to "على نفس الطريق", "on the same path which is the path of jihad", to clarify the meaning of Ḥusayn's utterance. The word "ál-jīhād" means, in *Ál-mũẓjam Ál-ʿArabīy Ál-ásāsy*, "القتال دفاعا عن الدين والوطن". Accordingly, "ál-jīhād" has religious and patriotic goal, which may not be transferred by resorting to orthographic adaptation.

On the other hand, Wilson's and Steele resort to causal emplotment through citing "the US deputy secretary of state": "I think most people feel the noose is tightening pretty regularly around the neck of Saddam Hussein." These words challenge Ḥusayn's speech who urges Iraqi people for continuing resistance against invaders regardless of the death of his two sons. They reflect the futility of Iraqi resistance against allied troops, to break the will of Iraqis, especially after American deputy secretary of state refers to his expectation of arresting Ḥusayn in the near future.

Again, Baker's causal emplotment is used by Wilson and Steele to emphasize the near-capture of Ḥusayn via narrating the story of arresting Ḥusayn's "senior bodyguard". Wilson and Steele's reference to the humiliated way of capturing Ḥusayn's bodyguard, "bleeding and barefoot Mr Al-Musslit was dragged outside, stripped to his underwear, and put into an army Humvee", represents a threat to Ḥusayn's loyalists and a fate of all tempted to resist invaders. Wilson's and Steele's stance towards the Iraqi issue contradicts with their opposition to Iraq invasion.

As for Howard, he is "descended [on his father's side] from a prominent family" in the "Kurdistan Region" and his mother is British ("Speaker's Details: Michael Howard"). Howard is a "Senior Communications Advisor to the Minister of Natural Resources in the Kurdistan Regional Government." He reported from across Iraq for the *Guardian* and the *Economist* from 2002 till 2009. On 20th of Oct., Howard tackles Ḥusayn's letter, dated Oct. 9, in "Troops die". In the letter, Ḥusayn urged tribal Iraqi leaders to struggle against coalition forces to free their country. In response, Iraqi resistance attacked an American convoy outside the northern Iraqi city of

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Kirkūk on 19th of October, followed by another attack on an American patrol in Fällujah, near the west of Baġdād on 20th of October. Howard states that he quotes Ḥusayn's words from the *AFP*. The *AFP* is an official French press agency and one of the largest news agencies in the world following *Reuters* and *AP*. The French agency affirms that it presents "the elements of a complete and objective information service" to readers ("*AFP's* Statutes"). John C. Tedesco et al. state that "the Agence France Presse" [*AFP's*] interest in "focusing on France's opposition to U.S. actions in Iraq" is "perhaps indicative of nationalistic reporting" (234).

Regarding the word *jihād* and its derivatives, in Howard's article, the Arabic word, "*jihād*", in "ادعوا أبناء عشائركم للجهاد", transliterated by the *AFP* as " *Jihad*", is preserved, in "call the sons of your tribes to the *Jihad*" ("*Risālīt Āl-rūys Ṣaddām Ḥusayn Āl-ḥādyt Āl-ṭāšīrah*"). On the other hand, Howard naturalizes "*jihād*" as a "holy war", while referring to Ḥusayn's call to his people: "Saddam Hussein [is] urging tribal leaders to launch a holy war." By doing so, he misinterprets, intentionally or unintentionally, Ḥusayn's call to his people, by using the word "*jihād*", to defend their country, as ordered by Allah. To elaborate, The word *jihād* refers to "a holy war fought by Muslims" and a "holy war" means, in the target culture, "a war that is fought to defend the beliefs of a religion" (*Longman Dictionary*). Thus, the *Guardian* may convey an imprecise message to target readers, in contrast to what Ḥusayn means by *jihād* i.e. struggle against an enemy who seeks to occupy his country. Howard, by translating "*jihād*" as "holy war", aims to convey to readers that Ḥusayn is calling Iraqis to wage a "holy war" between Islam and Christianity, a matter which can have a negative impact on target readers regarding Ḥusayn's letter, in particular, and Iraqi issue, in general. He aims to emphasize narratives of terrorism and difference between Iraqis/Muslims and coalition troops/Christians, unintended by Ḥusayn.

Howard makes use of Baker's selective appropriation and causal emplotment through selecting and relating an incident, where "two American soldiers were killed and one was wounded [...] on Saturday", to Ḥusayn's message to "tribal leaders to launch a holy

war against 'the hated invaders' and those who cooperate with them." He endeavours to link the attacks on coalition forces to Iraqi resistance, to show its violence and highlights narratives of terrorism, in order to justify American invasion and its deeds, in relation to the U.S. war on terror.

In aforesaid instances, the *Guardian* tackles some quotations by Ḥusayn in articles by Wilson and Steele, and Howard. The *Guardian's* journalists quote brief references of Ḥusayn's speeches/letters. On the other hand, they present views of allied forces' leaders in detail, a matter which highlights the usage of selective appropriation of narratives of allied forces at the expense of Ḥusayn's views (in speeches/letters). Selected *Guardian's* journalists make use of selective appropriation and causal emplotment of Ḥusayn's references to form narratives of difference opposed to Ḥusayn's narratives.

Regarding Wilson and Steele, they use selective appropriation, causal emplotment, foreignizing method (orthographic adaptation), in dealing with religious terms, to weaken Ḥusayn's narratives and frame narratives of difference between coalition troops and Iraqis (and alleged futility of their resistance). Concerning Howard, he resorts to selective appropriation and causal emplotment in referring to his narratives of difference and terrorism regarding Iraqi resistance. Both the *AFP* and Howard stress narratives of terrorism and difference between Iraqis/Muslims and coalition troops/Christians. To elaborate, the former uses foreignization (orthographic adaptation) in translating the religious expression (jihād). The latter makes use of domestication (naturalization) in rendering the same religious expression, while narrating his story, to justify Iraq invasion

7. Findings and Conclusion

Translations of religious references (jihād and its derivatives) in Ḥusayn's speeches/letters, quoted in English articles, are analyzed. Baker's narrative theory (including public narratives and their components and features), Venuti's discussion of approaches to translation (domestication and foreignization) and Aixelá's strategies are addressed with a view to analyzing translations in the abovementioned examples from this perspective. As for the *NY*

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Times' articles, the *NY Times'* selected journalists quote very short lines of Ḥusayn's speeches although they provide many spaces in their articles to allied forces' spokesmen. Thus, the *NY Times'* journalists do not tackle different points of view regarding various events in Iraq but make use of selective appropriation of allied forces' narratives at the cost of Ḥusayn's views (in speeches). They adopt hostile attitude towards Iraqi resistance while tackling Ḥusayn's speeches to direct readers to follow their attitude. To elaborate, the *NY Times'* journalists misuse selected religious words and frame narratives of terrorism and difference between allied forces, combating terrorism, and Iraqi resistance, as alleged terrorist for struggling against invasion. They create narratives of difference between Iraqis and coalition troops and stress validity of narratives of homogeneity (disputes among Iraqis) claimed by coalition troops as one of the reasons for invading Iraq.

Regarding the *Guardian's* articles, the *Guardian's* selected journalists oppose Iraq war. On the other hand, they stress narratives of allied forces at the expense of Ḥusayn's views through citing brief references of Ḥusayn's speeches/letters and presenting views of allied forces' leaders in detail. While dealing with religious references, they use selective appropriation, causal emplotment, domesticating and foreignizing method to weaken Ḥusayn's narratives and frame narratives of terrorism and difference between Iraqis/Muslims and coalition troops/Christians, to justify Iraq invasion.

To conclude, Baker's narrative theory, Venuti's domestication and foreignization and Aixelá's strategies are presented as a model for this study and are traced to study the approach followed by translators/news institutions in the selected samples. These samples indicate that, to a great extent, selected journalists/translators are affected by their news institutions, which in turn, are influenced by official stances of their political regimes. Also, news coverage of selected online news institutions, which belong to countries which support and/or join coalition troops in invading Iraq, distorts Arabic speeches/articles and creates narratives of differences, of homogeneity and terrorism regarding Iraq and its people, in

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translated texts/articles, to justify Iraq war. These narratives can have negative impacts on Iraq images as well as Arab images in the West. In brief, the selected samples and models applied show how selected news institutions cover comparisons set by Ḥusayn between Iraqis and invaders, in a biased way, using religious references to reflect Iraq war in particular, with its events and news, and Arab World, in general, in a negative image in Western media.

Notes

1. The White House stated on its website that the "American troops served in Iraq with honor and distinction from March 19, 2003 until December 2011" ("Promise Kept").
2. On the *NY Times'* support to American administration's policy towards Iraq, see Naureckas' "When 'Doves' Lie" and "They cannot tell a lie"; Ackerman's "The great WMD hunt" and "Right too soon?"; Loewenstein's "How America's Media Backs Bush's War" and "the *New York Times'* role"; Grey.
3. In 2004, editors of the *NY Times*, in "the *Times* and Iraq", admitted that some articles "pointed in a wrong direction" due to absence of "following up the veracity" of sources.
4. See Ashley's "We Have Moved on" and "Who will Win".
5. Burke states that "the threat from Saddam is [...] to his own people. Which is why he should be deposed, locked up, shot". Burchill writes that "he[Husayn] is, responsible for the murder of tens of thousands of Iranians, Kurds, Kuwaitis and Iraqis."
6. The power of media is referred to by Cristina Archetti and Pamela Shoemaker.
7. Role of the Internet and media is discussed by Eytan Gilboa and Stephen Marmura.

Several studies point to media translation. See Erkka Vuorinen, Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett, André Lefevere, He Xianbin, and Sándor Hervey. See, also, Christina Schäffner's "Political Discourse Analysis", "The Prime Minister" and "Politics and Translation".

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