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Framing the forgotten war of Yemen: A comparative study

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The American University in Cairo

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Framing the Forgotten War of Yemen: A Comparative Study

A Thesis Submitted to

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Submitted by:

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Under the Supervision of:

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For the most beautiful soul in heaven,

to my beloved grandmother...

Acknowledgments

For all the sleepless nights, long hours and busy days, for all the missed morning runs and swimming practice. After three long years I am finally here. I can't be more thankful.

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"You need to understand death, everyone here is on intimate terms with death, everyone

has lost someone they love to the war- death walks everywhere with people."

"Mia, nurse in Angola replied when

asked about the country"

(P.59, Nordstrom, 2004)

Abstract

Yemen's Thawrat al-Taghir or 'Change Revolution' much like the Tunisian and Egyptian protests, distinguished by its peaceful nonviolent nature and its creation of its own temporary members containing 'tent cities' and 'people protector' volunteers that started to surround the revolution's public spaces (Davidson, 2016).

In 2015 and specifically on March 26, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) members-excluding Oman- have been initiating a severe military campaign in Yemen. The declared goal of the intervention is to abolish the advance of Houthi rebels, a tool of the Iranian regime as claimed by the coalition (Davis and Sprusansky, 2015).

This study was conducted to test the frames used by different news channels in the coverage of the Yemen war during the two main operations that took place during the Saudi-led intervention, which was from the 26th of March 2015 until the 13th of May 2015. The researcher conducted a frame analysis of five frames defined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): the conflict frame, the human-interest frame, the attribution of responsibility frame, the morality frame, and the economic consequences frame. The study included four news channels with different affiliations: Saudi Arabia's Al Arabiya, Qatar's Al Jazeera, Russian-funded RT Arabic and British-funded BBC Arabic. Content analysis was chosen as the main methodology for this paper. The selection of the news pieces is performed through online platforms. YouTube was used to retrieve all the news pieces posted during the time frame of the study. The researcher will analyze any news piece that has the following keywords: Yemen, Yemen war, Houthi rebels/ militants, decisive storm, restoring hope, coalition forces and Yemen civil war. These keywords ensure that the main focus of the piece would be the war in Yemen.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

War is the state or condition of parties arguing by force (Grotius in Chesterman, 2001). The word "war" is often used comparatively to the word "duel" which in turn refers to both sides in a certain type of conflict *(Just War Theory, Brooks, 2013)*. War relies on fear of oppression, a certainty in power, and eagerness to use violence. Civilians and soldiers are not killed in wars to minimize population numbers; this is not the way wars are won. Fear of death is the main reason why wars are lost or won, because people are afraid of dismemberment, they feel the burden of brutality and hardship to the extent that they can take dangerous chances. The bare truth of violence doesn't make people fight or escape war; they fight or run away because of what violence feels like *(Shadows of War, Nordstrom, 2004)*.

In Nordstrom's book "Shadows of War", the author asked Mia (A nurse in Kuito, Angola, in November 2001) about the most important thing to understand the country; the nurse replied, "You need to understand death, everyone here is on intimate terms with death, everyone has lost someone they love to the war- death walks everywhere with people." (P.59, Mia in Nordstrom, 2004). Violence feels like a pertaining and factual crisis; like there is no hope, like the loss of the future. Violence symbolizes the impossible discrepancies of resistance within injustice and dictatorship, just like the conflict between the human kind and terror (Shadows of War, Nordstrom, 2004).

"*Jus ad* bellum" is a term means "war justly motivated", which is a central part of the discussion of the rationale for prosecuting war. The concept is related to the justifications given by war-makers for entering or triggering a war. *Jus ad bellum* explains only the cause and motive in initiating war *(The Choice of War, Weeks, 2010)*. Over the past 6000 years of human history, the civilized world has witnessed

14,000 extensive armed conflicts that took down dozens of millions of lives *(The Choice of War, Weeks, 2010)*. In the past two colossal World Wars alone, 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, the death toll increased to 21 million and 50 million persons respectively *(The Choice of War, Weeks, 2010)*.

War is only one of many man-made causes of death. Definitely, statistics are very high for the twentieth century alone when piling up the deaths of people - keeping wars away- from the genocidal domestic policies of dictatorial, oppressive and rigid regimes *(The Choice of War, Weeks, 2010)*. Civilization shows no effect on man than to teach him to seek the concept of *bellum omnium in omnia (*Which means *the war of all against all* in Latin*),* on a bigger scale to involve all parties in the same work of destruction. In the eighteenth century, it was commonly believed that sacred law and reason governed "nature". Anything that was accepted within mankind could be seen as having a spiritual and sacred purpose -with excluding initiating wars for sure-. The Old and New testaments assured that killing was a curse, even if it's sake is to sacrifice to God, as shown in the story of Abraham and Isaac. The Ten Commandments condemn killing. Even Jesus ordered the forbiddance against killing higher than the initial formation of the Ten Commandments in the Old Testament *(P. 159, Jefferson in Weeks, 2010)*.

This study is set to examine how different media outlets framed the Yemen war during the time frame of the study which starts from the 26th of March until the 13th of May 2015. A quantitative content analysis of 396 news pieces that were posted on the four YouTube channels under study; Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, RT Arabic and BBC Arabic, has been conducted to categorize the frames used in the news coverage of the Yemen war.

The researcher selected four channels with different affiliations. The first channel is the Saudi-run Al Arabiya TV channel that was launched in March 2003. The channel seeks to deepen the understanding of Arab societies, cultures and economics as mentioned in the mission statement on their official website. Al Arabiya is considered as an important part of the Saudi Arabia's wide-spread media empire in the Arab world. Al Arabiya is framed to keep up with the Saudi political agenda despite the type of understanding it offers for the current issues. It is ranked as the second-highest in viewership after Russia Today Arabic.

Qatar's Al Jazeera is the second selected channel which is the Arab world's most popular news channel. The network was founded in 1996 and it gained its credibility in the region because of its independent coverage in the post 9/11 period. Iran is an important party in the Yemen war, as the main reason of the Saudi-led intervention in Yemen is to abolish the Houthis, that are said to be a tool of the Iranian regime. Al Jazeera was selected as it is believed to support terrorism and has ties with Iran that resulted in isolating the tiny monarchy by Egypt, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (The Economist, 2017).

The third channel is the Pan-Arab Russian funded channel Russia Today Arabic. The channel is broadcasted in Arabic and its headquarters is in Russia. The channel covers a huge number of events around the world from a Russian perspective. Russia Today Arabic has the highest viewership rate on YouTube in comparison to all the Pan-Arab channels in the region.

The British-funded BBC Arabic is the fourth selected channel. The BBC Arabic YouTube channel has 648, 085 subscribers which is the least number of subscribers when compared to the selected channels in the population. Yet comparing it to the subscribers' number of Sky News Arabia, Deutsche Welle Arabic and Al

Hurra, it is the highest, as the number of subscribers of the three channels are 509,525, 490,130, and 106,490 respectively.

Chapter 2: Background Information

2.1.   Iraq War *(March 2003)*

Aside from Afghanistan, the administration of George W. Bush by early 2002 begun to add extra regimes that (Like the Taliban) were not cooperative and in control of territories with rich resources and has significant strategy. Despite the fact that no links between these states and al-Qaeda could be established, the US moved to a whole new level of the 'War on Terror', with Bush declaring Iraq, Iran, and North Korea all a part of an 'Axis of Evil' that- according to the administration- supported terrorism and were responsible for producing weapons of mass destruction in the January 2002 State of the Union address (Davidson, 2016). After the invasion of Iraq, the Middle East region saw constant changes. The conflict formed the surrounding strategic landscape in ways that were hardly felt in future years. The largest external refugee movement in the region since 1948 happened after the war (Wehrey andWatkins, 2010).

2.2.   The Arab Spring **(***A New Challenge, A New Hope***)**

The outbreak of uprisings and revolutions that spread like fire in 2011 across the Middle East and sparked hope in the Arab world made anything unexpectedly seem possible. The whole region was doomed politically and socially, with no real substitution for dictatorship, oppression and tyranny. With no operating democratic institutions, with the least political rights and civil liberty compared to the international scores and with the fading memory of Arab socialism and communism, the people of the Middle East meant to abide by the enslavement of corrupt and aggressive states that without any doubt served the interests of outside powers and

businesses (Davidson, 2016). Egypt, the most populous state in the Arab world, was set in motion. With protestors taking to the streets of Cairo in support of the second Palestinian *intifada* uprising in 2000, and another time to protest against the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, the inspiring and reassured protest movement was openly calling out against President Hosni Mubarak (Davidson, 2016).

2.3.   **Libya's Civil War** *(2011)*

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is the seventeenth largest country in the world, it has 1,759,540 sq. km landmass making it a little bit larger than Alaska. It has 4,348 km of borders, having roughly 1,000 km each with Nigeria, Chad, and Egypt, in addition to shorter borders with Tunisia, Sudan, and Niger, along with 1,770 km of coastline on the Mediterranean. It has the Sahara Desert running in the middle of its land, and more than 90% of its territory is desert or semi desert, with only 1% cultivable land (Chivvis, 2014).

After the 1969 coup that demolished the Senussi monarchy, Qaddafi came to power. He became then a ruler to a country that gained its independence from colonial rule before eighteen years. He was not experienced in democracy, and he depended heavily on the newly discovered oil reserves. Qaddafi was inspired by the anti-European Arab nationalism of his Egyptian neighbor Abdel Nasser, and he justified his coup by using the Senussi monarchy's close ties with the West "the U.S. provided support to the Libyans in the 1950s" (Chivvis, 2014).

The Libyan civil war that is also called the Libyan Revolution, took place in 2011. Gaddafi and his supporters along with opposing groups were united in the National Transitional Council. Libya turned into an arena for international intervention. At first an international coalition got involved to impose a no-fly zone

and maintain a ceasefire. However, all of that was in vain and the coalition stayed and

got into the conflict. Changing of the regime, the death of Gaddafi and 30,000 other

Libyans and hundreds of thousands of refugees were all results of the conflict

(Nijenhuis, 2014).

Just as Tunisia and Egypt, the uprising in Libya took place a few days earlier

with a small number of activists writing on Facebook groups seeking changes to the

Libyan constitution and other reforms. As the rest of the region, the authoritarian rule

was not the only cause of discomfort and dissatisfaction. Unemployment, corruption

and inequality were also triggering factors (Chivvis, 2014). The rebellion in Benghazi

started after four days after the fall of the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, which

sent shockwaves throughout the Middle East and North Africa (Henriksen and

Larssen, 2016). Until 2011 revolution, Libya was not mentioned in the media very

often. One main reason is the difficulty for journalists to enter the country. Journalists

had to travel on foreign passports to visit Libya, and they were subject to strict

monitoring during their stay (Chorin, 2012). The second city of Libya fell very fast in

the hands of opposition fighters and a number of military units that come from the

rebel movement. Moreover, by late February, the rebel groups faced violent resistance

from government security forces. The regime's trials to put down the rebellion were

convicted globally, and they were also intensified sharply as Gaddafi became hated on

the international level and also because of him renouncing the weapons of mass

destruction in 2003 (Henriksen and Larssen, 2016).

In August 2014, the UN security council condemned the intensifying violence

in Libya and stated clearly that it has deep concerns regarding the influence of

violence on Libya's institutions and civilian population, in addition to the menace the

violence will have on Libya's stability and democratic transition. The resolution took

place when the Libya government publicly announced that it had lost all its control

over its ministries to a coalition of militias that had taken over Tripoli. The violence

continued to happen as part of a nationwide conflict of power between Islamist-

backed militias and those who support the government which is internationally

recognized (Henriksen and Larssen, 2016). In January 2015, eight people were killed

in a hotel that was reportedly linked to ISIS. In February, 21 Egyptian Coptic

Christians were beheaded by ISIL in Libya, resulted in air strikes on ISIL training

camps and weapons storage places by both the Egyptian and Libyan air forces. Both

Egypt and France have called for a UN-backed international intervention and to

confront the jihadists in Libya (Henriksen and Larssen, 2016).

Today, Libya suffers from an array of interlinked crises as a result of the

nature of the civil war and the roles of the international community within it. The

problem that appears the most is the crisis over domestic security; which is an

outcome of the shattered nature of military force during war times. Another related

crisis was the crisis over governance and the divide between the government's ability

to control the country and what a future political dispensation for Libya should be.

Both security and governance alter into an expansive socio-political issue, that of

infringement, also religious and political extremism which in turn affects them as

well. All of the three have a great influence of Libya's wider regional role for the

insecurity it has created leaks into the Maghreb, the Sahara, and the Sahel (Henriksen

and Larssen, 2016).

2.4.   Syria War *(March 2011)*

Syria is an inspiring place, as the first visit encourage a desire to visit again

and again. In its old towns and cities, you would walk peacefully in the narrow old

streets filled with the voices of sellers, trash collectors and kids playing or running to

and from schools. The buildings are centuries-old with windows made of decorative

wood. The markets are beehives of life during times of peace, prosperous with the

essence of cumin, allspice and ginger (Sorenson, 2016). Syria as the world has known

it for the past four decades no longer exists. It is now a country that has stepped into

the unknown. Its serene, hopeful revolution has morphed into a civil war with thriving

narrow-minded undertones (Hokayem, 2013). However, since 2011 the words used to

distinguish and portray Syria have changed to other terms such as "civil war",

"bombs", "demolition" and "the Islamic State" (Sorenson, 2016).

Aggression and violence have disrupted Syria, destroyed its ancient religious

sites, shattered its history, and cursed the war survivors to decades of rebuilding after

the war stops (Sorenson, 2016). The discourteous transformation of Syria from an

effective regional player to an arena where local and foreign players compete in will

undoubtedly affect the future of the Levant (Hokayem, 2013). In March 2011, the war

in Syria began when the regime started shooting at peaceful protesters. A few months

later, some Syrians started to shoot back. In order to protect the protesters from the

regime security forces and pro-regime militias, groups of armed men began to

accompany them (Hashemi and Postel, 2013). Some of these groups were "traitors"

from the Syrian army who refused to shoot protestors. The is how the first units of the

Free Syrian Army came to life. Civilians defending their families, jihadist groups

such as Jabhat Al Nusra, Kurdish groups, and criminals released by the regime joined

the Free Army (Hashemi and Postel, 2013).

The displacement took place against the hopeful background of the initial days

of the Arab Spring under the belief that any shift caused by popular uprisings in Syria

would be only temporary. Many people inside and outside the region thought that the

Syrian regime would be replaced by a humane and enlightened government, reflecting what happened in Egypt and Tunisia at the time. Unfortunately, the situation in Syria intensified to a civil war (Ferris and Kirisci, 2016). Explicit violence led to an enormous death toll, a huge refugee crisis affecting the majority of the population and the demolition of populous neighborhoods, all of which restrain quick stability and rehabilitation (Hokayem, 2013). The country's physical progression and stability are hindered by sieges and by checkpoints controlled by Assad loyalists, rebels and groups of new criminals (Hokayem, 2013). Consequently, highways became unsafe, putting travelers and movement of goods in danger leading to the devastation of Syria's economy and overall development (Hokayem, 2013). There is no glimpse of hope to the war in Syria and funds to help an ever-increasing population of refugees and displaced people are neither adequate now nor likely to be continuous in the future (Ferris and Kirisci, 2016).

After two years of the Syrian conflict, the U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said: "After nearly two years, we no longer count days in hours, but in bodies" (P.4, Ki-moon in Hashemi and Postel, 2013). The death toll is increasing, and all the numbers had been documented by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the U.N. Independent International Commission on Inquiry on Syria. The Assad regime was charged with a policy of state-sanctioned "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity" by all the mentioned entities (Hashemi and Postel, 2013). Syria has reached an aggressive state of violence and it is in bad need for any form of humanitarian international intervention to end this conflict swiftly (Hashemi and Postel, 2013).

It is hard to make a concrete prediction regarding the situation in Syria; also, it is very hard to expect where the conflict is heading. Nevertheless, by tracking the

paths of each of these main drivers of conflict, Syria seems doubtfully to regain its national unity and stability in the meantime (Hokayem, 2013). A humanitarian crisis is now entering its seventh year and the international community is still working hard to respond. The displacement of almost half of the Syrian population is the most alarming humanitarian catastrophe of our time. As the numbers of displaced people have been unprecedented since the end of World War II. Countries that hosts refugees, aid agencies and nongovernmental organizations are under inspection (Ferris and Kirisci, 2016). Today, delivering humanitarian assistance nowadays in Syria is the hardest task of all. The main difficulties come from the arrogant policy of the Syrian government, the aggregation of armed members, and the conflict itself (Ferris and Kirisci, 2016). As the situation in Syria has intensified, the government suspects international humanitarian actors as they might be allied with Western interests or traitors who can collect information to be used for military purposes.

The regime has inflicted many bureaucratic barriers on humanitarian actors working in areas controlled by the government and penalties for workers on cross-border operations. Delivering aid to government-controlled areas required permissions that usually take days and sometimes weeks. The government has imposed restrictive rules on who delivers aid and where (Ferris and Kirisci, 2016). The hypothesis of aid rests on humanitarian neutrality, which provides relief as a nonpolitical act (Bhatia, 2003). What is happening in Syria is against humanitarian law, according to the Handbook of International Humanitarian Law, "The party in control of the territory, including occupied territories, is under an obligation to provide humanitarian assistance to civilians who are in need. If it is unable to do so, it has to accept offers of assistance from impartial humanitarian bodies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Measures of protection must be

extended to humanitarian assistance personnel, their installations and vehicles"

(P.269-270, Fleck et al., 2008).

2.5.   Yemen War *(March 2015)*

The Republic of Yemen is located between Saudi Arabia and Somalia which

is a part of two different areas yet interconnected region, the Arabian Peninsula and

the Horn of Africa (Boucek and Ottaway, 2010). In January 2011, a group of

university students walked down the streets of the capital Sana'a seeking to change in

their country's future. Within a month, hundreds of thousands of people were

gathering in a very peaceful manner to request the downfall of Yemeni President Ali

Abdullah Saleh, and to put an end to corruption and malfeasance (Hill, 2017).

Yemen's *Thawrat al-Taghir* or 'Change Revolution' much like the Tunisian and

Egyptian protests, distinguished by its peaceful and non-violent nature and its creation

of its own temporary members containing 'tent cities' and 'people protector'

volunteers that started to surround the revolution's public spaces (Davidson, 2016).

Before the current conflict, Yemen was already the poorest country in the

Arab world with shortages in oil resources and widespread hunger. The government

was unable to provide suitable educational or other services for the vastly growing

population, more than two thirds of which is under 24 years of age (Boucek and

Ottaway, 2010). The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian

Affairs (OCHA) stated in a report issued in March 2017, that an estimation of 19

million Yemenis -around two- thirds of the population-needed humanitarian aid, and

nearly seven million people did not know where they will find their next meal (Hill,

2017).

The creation of a large coalition by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to intervene in Yemen reflects a precedent and strong motivation. Long time ago, Saudi Arabia and the UAE have been involved in Yemen. In the 1960s, the Saudis fought a deadly war against 70,000 Egyptian expeditionary force sent by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, along with Soviet support, to overthrow the royalist Mutawakkilite government in Yemen and replace it with the left-wing rulers of the Yemen Arab Republic. With public support from Jordan and an invisible help from the United Kingdom, the Saudis repelled the Egyptians. Emiratis have tribal ties with Yemen that occurred after the formation of the UAE in 1971, and wealthy political actors in Yemen have huge investments in the UAE ("The percolating proxy war in Yemen", 2017).

In March 2015, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) members-except Oman- launched a severe military campaign against Yemen. The declared goal of the military intervention is to stop the advance of Houthi rebels; a tool of the Iranian regime as claimed by the coalition (Davis and Sprusansky, 2015). The Arab coalition has released its exceptional air strikes in both the fortress of the Houthi rebels which lies in the northern governorate of Sa'ada, and in the country's capital, Sana'a (The Economist, 2015). The air campaign was widespread and extensive, it has affected all of Yemen's 22 governorates. The strikes destroyed hospitals, schools, water and power facilities, roads, ports and refugee camps.

Saudi Arabia announced on 26th of March 2015, after the desperate appeal by the Hadi government, that it had launched Operation Decisive Storm, which is a military intervention undertaken in collaboration of the coalition of Gulf and Arab states involving both airstrikes and an aerial and naval blockade of its southern neighbor Yemen. Decisive storm's main goal was to blunt the advance of Houthi-led

rebels toward Aden, the seat of Hadi's government in-exile and the main area that can lead to the control of the south. If Aden was captured, it would have been completed the dominance of the Houthis over western portions of the country and spelled the end of the Hadi presidency (Shield, 2017).

Three weeks after the start of the campaign, Saudi Arabia's larger objectives were codified officially in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2216 (UNSCR 2216). UNSCR 2216 requested the restoral of the Hadi government-in-exile to power Sanaa and demanded the Houthis to give up all occupied areas and unilaterally disarm. The Saudis stated that the rationale behind the war is eliminating the threat posed to the Kingdom by Yemen's ballistic missile forces that fell into the control of the Houthi-Saleh alliance. In addition, this war was set to prevent the Houthis' suspected state-sponsor Iran from gaining a strategic foothold on the Arabian Peninsula (Shield, 2017).

The Saudi-led coalition intervened to save the government of ousted President Abd Rabbu Mansur Hadi, on one side, and the alliance of Houthi rebels and defected Yemeni military that are loyal to former president Ali Abdullah Saleh which overthrew Hadi's government on the other (Shield, 2017).

The most powerful factor that affects the critical humanitarian situation is the blockade of Yemen. Almost 80% of food and fuel in Yemen are imported. As a result of the blockade, many parts of the country are cut off of many of these resources (Davis and Sprusansky, 2015). In addition, the blockade contributed to the difficulty of access for international media and human rights organizations to enter and report from Yemen. This has resulted in limited coverage of the war, and the insufficient understanding regarding the conflict across much of the Western world (Davis and Sprusansky, 2015). People in need have the right to receive humanitarian aid.

Humanitarian assistance includes the right to have basic food needs, medicine, medical help, and shelter. It also covers the access to basic education. Giving assistance to people in hardship is an obligation to act-- it is the highest above all (Fleck et al., 2008).

It did not happen before that any of the Gulf states, under GCC command, decisively and aggressively deployed their military forces on such a scale. With many combined factors, most distinguished the conception of the new unexpected regional threat (Iran) and the growth of the illegal and malicious actor on the Arabian Peninsula (the Houthis), catered the motive to intervene in Yemen. However, it is quite essential not to reduce the regional movements that supported the operation. Considering the Arab media and government statements have amplified the deadly and lethal effect of Iran spreading through the rebel Houthi movement (Roberts and Hokayem, 2016). Concurrently, the narrative in the foreign/Western media concentrated more on personalities at the expense of more constructional factors. This intervention which relies heavily on the air strikes, as well as allied forces, has granted the engaging states to achieve better than what is expected operational achievements. Yet, the general performance of the Saudi and Emirati forces still prevails infused and argumentative because of political returns absence and the heavy civilian toll (Roberts and Hokayem, 2016).

Saudi Arabia had always considered Yemen as a threat even before the border war in 2009 and the 2015 intervention. The Kingdom had taken turns more than once between engagement and intervention as methods of dealing with ideological, territorial and other threats came from its southern neighbor, whether certain or thought up (Roberts and Hokayem, 2016). Yemen is considered as closely connected to the security of the Arabian Peninsula, because from one side it has heavy

transnational and affiliated links among different countries, and from the other side it is considered as a very poor country with some very limited resources, populous and politically different as the only non-monarchy on the peninsula (Roberts and Hokayem, 2016). As a consequence of these problems, the Gulf states for long years depended on Ali Abdullah Saleh, to preserve stability in Yemen from 1990 until 2012. However, relations with Saleh became precarious in the face of his disruptive and corrupt rule. His conflicting attack against the al-Qaeda based in Yemen in the Arabian Peninsula had worsened Yemen's already extensive economic and social challenges. The appearance of Ansar Allah, a movement conducted by a Houthi family that had a dispute against the Yemeni government since the mid 2000s, in addition to fighting the 2009 border war that embarrassed the Saudi armed forces (Roberts and Hokayem, 2016). The decision of Saudi Arabia to intervene by bombarding Yemen in March 2015, on the basis that Iran was supporting the Houthis, has connotations for the internal politics of both Yemen and Saudi, in addition to the future relations of Riyadh with Sana'a, Aden, and Tehran (Hill, 2017).

Saudi officials believed that they could accomplish all of these gently. Target lists were available as they were generated after an earlier Saudi intervention against the Houthis in 2009-2010. As suggested by the name of the operation, all indicators are that the Saudis expected Decisive Storm's heavy application of airpower will have rapid and dramatic results (Shield, 2017).

In 2017, according to the UN office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, fatalities from the Yemen conflict now exceed 10,000 with some 40,000 wounded. Two thirds of the population- around 18.8m people- require humanitarian and protection assistance, and two million people are internally displaced. Yemen is one

of the world's largest food-security problems ("The percolating proxy war in

Yemen", 2017).

Chapter 3: Review of Literature

Art people know that a frame placed around a painting can affect how viewers see and react to the painting itself. As a consequence, some artists spend a huge time to take care of how they present their work, picking up a frame that they hope will assist the viewers see the image in the right way. Journalists go through the same process unconsciously when they decide on how to describe the political world. In media, journalists select images and words that have power to influence audiences' interpretation and evaluation to issues (Bryant and Oliver, 2009). In the mass communication field, framing has been distinguished by equal degrees of "conceptual obliqueness and operational inconsistency" (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

Previous research studies that conducted on how media present international issues has shown that media puts events in specific frames through selecting and emphasizing specific aspects of the events (Chang 1988; Bennett 1990; Entman 1991). These studies illustrate the importance of understanding how news media use specific frames in reporting particular events to be better aware of the process of the social construction of reality (Kim and Jahng, 2016).

Particularly, one of the essential ways of understanding the construction of meaning of an international event is to test the use of news sources in the context of framing. Through this way we might learn about whose voice predominate, and who is responsible and have the power in operating news frames. Gatekeeping is a huge responsibility in the hands of media when it comes to source selection, and this largely determines the way stories are framed (Lasorsa and Reese, 1990). Political actors affect how people think about certain issues through framing (Entman, 2007). Thus, the question regarding 'whose' viewpoints and voices are covered in the

depiction of such frames is crucial to understand how frames are constructed (Kim and Jahng, 2016).

Coverage of international news requires involving interests of many groups or countries, it is essential that the news provides a variety of viewpoints and perspectives on the issue (Kim and Jahng, 2016). Quoted sources carry the responsibility of foreign policy (Livingston and Eachus, 1995). Moreover, the media likely echo the interest of their country, rather than the country that is being covered in the news (Wittebols, 1996). News sources have an important role in focusing on news stories' perspectives and frames, which reflects the concerns of one's interest (Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

Bearing in mind the influence of source selection in news frames while reporting international events, this study explores how Russia Today Arabic, BBC Arabic, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera framed the war during the two key events that took place in Yemen, the whole period of the study is from 26th of March 2015 until 13th of May 2015. In addition, this study is aiming to test how different and diverse sources were used to construct and support different news frames.

3.1. Theoretical Foundations of Framing

According to many scholars, framing is defined as a concept that has different levels of analysis. Framing has disciplinary origins and explanatory origins. The disciplinary origins are related to more micro-level or psychological approaches and more macro-level or sociological approaches. As for the explanatory origins, research of framing states that news frames functions propose how audiences can interpret an event or an issue. As a matter of fact, news frames can have an effect on people's

beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. News pieces that are related to political events or issues have both frames and information.

The framing concept states that communication is a dynamic process that has different milestones: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal consequences of framing (D'Angelo, 2002; De Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, 2000). Framing is very crucial as it has the ability to affect individuals and society at large (Hamdy and Gomaa, 2012). The individual-level consequences might take place after the person is exposed to specific frames. Whereas, frames can have an effect on different processes such as political socialization in the society context (De Vreese, 2005). News framing is an important field of study, as sometimes viewers might have no previous knowledge or background information about an issue, and therefore, rely on the media to stay informed and make logical decisions (Entman, 1991). As a matter of fact, a great number of research studies conducted to see how the news media frames events and as a result affect the public perceptions of those events (Entman, 1991; Scheufele, 1999, 2000).

Entman (1993) stated that framing is mainly about selecting specific aspects of a perceived reality and makes them have importance in a communication context, in a particular way to promote certain idea of the item described. Exchanging information and ideas in an ideal free press is a crucial pillar that leads to mass participation and at the same time is considered as a requirement for democratic responsiveness to public preferences (Sartori, 1987).

Framing can have a huge impact on both individuals and society. Studies state that audiences that have little exception have limited prevention against framing effects (Chong and Druckman, 2007). Therefore, if the frame will affect an individual on the personal level, then it will have an effect on the society through political

socialization and collective actions (De Vreese, 2005). As a matter of fact, earlier studies in the communication field have shown that media have the ability to frame events in more than one way, and thus affecting public perceptions about these events (Entman, 1991; Scheufele, 1999; 2000).

The journalist's dependence on news values in the process of covering an event contributes to the occurrence of the news frame. News frames can be categorized into issue-specific frames which is about only one or a particular event or topic, or generic frames that can be identifiable in relation to different topics (De Vreese, 2005). According to De Vreese (2005), frame building is affected by internal journalism factors that determine how journalists frame topics, and external factors such as the interaction between elites, journalists and social movements.

3.2.   Framing Analysis

Frames that are used in the news are mainly "conceptual tools" which media people depend on to deliver, interpret and evaluate information (Neuman et al., 1992). Frames are meant to help viewers "locate, perceive, identify, and label" the flow of information present around them (Goffman, 1974). Framing can help in shaping public perceptions of political issues or institutions.

Frames in the news can be analyzed through two approaches; inductive and deductive. The inductive approach is mainly about analyzing a story with an open view trying to expose any array of possible frames. This method has the ability to detect as many frames as possible, but it is labor intensive and usually based on small samples, and it can be hardly replicated. Whereas a deductive approach is about redefining specific frames as content analytic variables to validate the extent to which these frames appear in the news. It is very crucial to have a clear idea of the types of

frames likely to be in the news within this approach because frames that are not defined maybe excluded. Replication can be done easily in this approach, also it can be done with large samples and it can easily distinguish differences in framing between media and within media.

The majority of studies focus on the presence of one or more frame in the news and its consequences for public opinion. The conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames were the subject of discussion (Patterson, 1993; Capella and Jamieson, 1997). A recent study by Neuman and Crigler (1992) has identified many different frames that were commonly used in U.S. news coverage of many issues, including conflict, economic consequences, human impact and morality frames. The study will be an extension to the research of Neuman et al. (1992) through investigating the presence of different frames that have previously mentioned in the literature. The researcher will also elaborate on the theoretical work of Iyengar (1991), who clearly measured how viewers framed who was responsible for different social problems after they were exposed to two types of news formats: "episodic" news, which is about certain events, and "thematic" news, which mentions more systematic, contextual, or historical coverage.

The literature gives the opportunity to use the second, deductive approach to evaluate the prevalence of frames in the news. Particularly, the researcher investigated the following five frames that have been previously identified in earlier studies:

Conflict frame. This frame underline conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a way to grab viewers' attention. According to Neuman et al. (1992), media use a few key frames for reporting many issues and that conflict was the most common identified frame in U.S news. Other research studies stated that when political elites have discussions in the news that often lessen complex truly existing

political debate to overly simplistic conflict. Using the conflict frame and stressing on it in the news media got a huge criticism for encouraging public cynicism and distrusting political leaders (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997). The research is interested in finding out how visible a conflict frames is relatively to other common frames in the news.

Human interest frame. This frame has a human face or an emotional angle while presenting an event, issue, or problem. "Human impact" frame, that is how Neuman et al. (1992) described it, in addition next to the conflict, it is found to be a common frame in the news as well. The media market is getting competitive every day, journalists and editors exert much effort to produce content that grabs and possess audience interest (Bennett, 1995). One way to achieve this is by using the human-interest frame in the news. Such frame is about personalizing, dramatize or "emotionalize" the news, in order to grab and maintain viewers interest.

Economic consequences frame. This frame presents an event, problem, or issue in a way that shows future results it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country. It is also identified by Neuman et al. (1992) as a common frame in the news.

Morality frame. Religious tenets or moral prescriptions is the used context on events, problems, or issues in this frame. Objectivity is the norm in journalism, as a result, journalists often make indirect references to moral frames by having someone else pointing out the question (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Neuman et al. (1992), this frame is present in the mind of the viewers more than in the content of the news.

Attribution of Responsibility frame. This frame puts an issue or a problem in a way to attribute responsibility for its solution or cause to either the government, an individual or a group.

3.3.   Framing analysis of international news

The majority of studies conducted on international news coverage have stressed on how American news and editorial bureaus cover international events (Riffe and Freitag 1997). These studies often use framing as the theoretical background. Framing the news is the journalistic part of using specific facts, events, or sources over others to promote a certain interpretation and explanation (Pan and Kosicki 1993). News texts determine the news frames that carry the subjective opinion of the media even when objectivity and impartiality guidelines are applied in the story itself (Lasswell et al. 1952). Most of the people do not have a proper access to international news, that is why they depend largely on media, and as a result affecting the public opinion (Horvit, 2006). When Entman (1991) worked on the comparison of news narratives of international news in US newspapers, he found out that the news frames under use were the ones that have interpretation of the US perspective on the international issue, not the interpretations of the other countries involved. Entman (1993) explained:

> "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment for recommendation for the item described. (p. 52)"

Frames used in the news have four functions in the political arena: defining a problem, causal analysis, moral judgement and remedy promotion (Entman 2003,

2007). Which means that frames make the audience think in a particular way as certain issues are marked as important and raised in the media (Iyengar and Simon 1993; Entman 2007).

Specifically, frames appear at certain focal points of news presentations, often points in the news that are being used by media people to emphasize elements of the news (Tankard et al., 1991). (1) headlines and kickers; (2) subheads; (3) photographs; (4) photo captions; (5) leads; (6) source selection; (7) quotes selection; (8) pull quotes; (9) logos; (10) charts, statistics, and graphs; and (11) concluding statements of articles, all of these are included in the 'framing mechanisms'. To the journalist, the news source is a concrete base that is being used to report the text in a certain way to promote their idea (Kim and Jahng, 2016).

Earlier studies stated the importance to select news sources in establishing meaning for international events. The news media list the range of voices and viewpoints according to the range of views presented in the mainstream (Bennett, 1990). Political hierarchies are echoed in choosing the news sources (McQuail, 2003), and journalists endorse their known sources when they rely on these sources to cover the news. In the coverage of international issues, news sources are responsible for forming the understanding of the issue to the journalist (Seib, 2002).

3.4.   Framing sources in international news

News sources selection is related to the construction of news frames. While reporting international issues, media select specific news sources to back up the frames they are using. According to Gans (1979), sources are actors that are being interviewed, appear on air and used by the journalist, and also sources are responsible for providing background information or story suggestions. While selecting specific

sources, journalists adjust news stories to focus on perspectives taken by the sources (Reese 2007). How news stories are presented is formed by how news sources define the issues, moreover news sources have greater power in framing the story than journalists (Strentz, 1989).

Earlier research studies analyzed the diversity of sources used in conflict-related news. For example, Atwater and Green (1988) in their content analysis of news sources in television coverage of international terrorism found that more space was given to US sources than non-US sources even when the topic was terrorism outside the US borders. In the context of studying newspapers from USA and Arab countries, Lee (2004) has given a factual evidence that US newspapers used more sources to back up their perspective on the Iraq war than did Arab newspapers. The majority of news agencies, such as the Associated Press, Agence-France Presse, Reuters and Xinhua, used US officials as sources more frequently in reporting on the US war against Iraq (Horvit, 2006). Even agencies like IPS and ITAR- TASS who used fewer US official sources in covering the Iraq war, had a nationalistic bias in their sources.

Using news sources is a key element of strategic framing which highlights the causes of the problem, encourage moral judgements and promoting favored policies (Entman 2007, pp. 164–165). In the coverage of international news, it is obvious that the news sources used are US officials rather than those from the countries involved in the news. While being aware of the systematic determinants of international news coverage, Wu (2000) found that the most covered country in the world is the USA. Concerning this, eliminating or adding news sources have a major role in presenting the event (Carpenter 2007).

3.5. Media Coverage in Times of War

Media coverage is an essential part of both the crisis and the shaping of public opinion (Tumber and Palmer, 2004). Live coverage of the first Gulf War was a very critical moment for citizens and global television scholars. Back then the world was pressed into the life-space of the CNN crew in Baghdad. Years after, a huge number of books was written on how war changed all the rules about Media and War (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006). George Bush knew when the war started from CNN, even before he was informed by the Pentagon (Gerbner et al., 1992). Instant history was created when connecting to video-satellite-computer systems coated the world in real time with specific images that infuriate prompt reactions, affect the outcome, and after that freeze quickly unto received history (Gerbner et al., 1992). One journalist stated that after the end of the War and the censorship constraints alleviated, the Bush administration and military succeeded in taking control of information related to the war, they were able to inform the public only about what they wanted them to know (Gerbner et al., 1992). The CNN coverage had opened the way for global coverage of consecutive wars across the world. The power of visuals in the new age of electronic communication is undeniable (Veer and Munshi, 2004).

Mass media has many key functions, such as creating, codifying and circulating stories, and giving the domination to television, the diversity of visuals have a much wider circulation than printed ones and consequently greater impact and particularly if they are on a fact-based television genre such as news (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006). The illusions broadcasted by television news help viewers form a worldview. In the remote future, this worldview can make viewers accept "natural" information which in a matter of fact is a fabricated reality, created to cover the real structures of global power. Hence, powerful corporate interests privatized airwaves in

the context of global television news, can forge a mythical reality and boost conventionality to the value systems of the dominant groups in society. In this respect, the mass media has an essential ideological role, spreading the values and interests of dominant groups and embed specific beliefs and portrayals that maintain and legitimize their domination (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

The initial themes that President Bush used to describe the war on terror, have adopted the nature of frames, through repetition and refinement along the years. Leading to the War on Terror's composition of five semi distinct, yet interlaminated frames:

1. *Good versus evil*   2. *Freedom versus tyranny*

3. *Civilization versus barbarism.*   4. *The nature of the new enemy*

5. *The nature of war*

With each frame complementing the other and acts to further adjoin the meaning of "The larger frame"; The War on Terror has come to form a complex frame, consisting of the aforementioned five themes. And consequently, each of those themes is in the process of being framed in a certain manner during this extent of time (Kuypers, 2006).

A few people could have imagined that a new different way of apprehending impartiality in conflict communication would emerge from an Arab television channel in a region where broadcasting has been oppressed and defamed for years by heavy censorship and complete state control. The CNN became the 'eyes and ears of the world' when it covered the Gulf War in 1991. In a similar way, Al-Jazeera, a pan-Arab satellite television channel, arose to the world stage after its exclusive coverage of the war in Afghanistan in 11th of September 2001. Al-Jazeera which means 'the Peninsula' in Arabic, born in 1996 from the remnants of the vanished London-based

BBC Arabic television network, which was established by the BBC in collaboration

with the Saudi government to create a pan-Arab television service, with a view to

dominating the Arab TV market (Thussu and Freedman, 2003).

Since 2001, Al-Jazeera has constantly aired video recordings made by Islamic

militants and Osama bin Laden which have been screened by other global networks

and got into the debate about the "war on terror". The channel has come to challenge

common impartiality beliefs by broadcasting voices and representatives from the

Arab world which is considered as invisible to media viewers on Western networks.

The reporting of Al-Jazeera of the 2003 Iraq war, blamed by many anti-American

bias, screened images of civilian disasters and outrageous behavior which were

evident by their absence on CNN and its internet service was the most accessed in the

time of war. Reporting to Arab viewers was very important, but this was a huge

criticism for the Bush administration in terms of critical reporting, and it made it very

difficult for the administration to justify policies and actions to Arab audiences.

Consecutively, it made it very hard to achieve 'the strategic objective of US

communication', which was mainly about balancing international public opinion and

specifically the Arab Muslim opinion in pursuit of its campaign 'war on terror'. US

media labeled the Iraq war as 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' and 'War in Iraq', whereas

Canadian CBC and Arab networks labeled it 'War on Iraq' and referred to the war as

'occupation' or 'invasion' (Veer and Munshi, 2004). There is no doubt that word

choice can significantly imply the presence of a particular frame. For instance,

Hussein was described as an Iraqi Dictator, which in the minds of Americans

categorized him with Hitler, Mao, Stalin and other revolting totalitarians, whereas, the

image could significantly change by associating him with titles like Iraqi Leader or

Iraqi President (Kuypers, 2006). Broadcasting Osama bin Laden's video footage by

Al-Jazeera before being used by any other global network, has been an effective and a powerful tool of communication in the war of images. Both the Gulf War of 1990 and the Iraq War in 2003 signify the role of media as a participant in conflict rather than being only an observer (Spencer, 2008).

3.6.   Infotainment of War

Television is the most global form of the media, through its main privilege of its capacity to surpass linguistic and geographical obstacles. Images do have greater impact in forming opinion than words, specifically in a world where millions of people cannot read or write (Thussu and Freedman, 2003). Excluding positive news stories that occasionally appear on TV, good news is not appealing that much for television, which thrive on violence, aggression, death and destruction, in addition to human causes such as wars and murders. Television news must have visual impact and emotional story, and on that scale, natural disasters and wars have a high score when compared to peacetime events. Therefore, conflicts are considered an excellent news source for 24/7 networks, whereas viewers turn to news channels when there is a natural or man-made disaster (Thussu and Freedman, 2003).

It is known that all the representations in the media are mediated. The realistic visual images are selected. Any visual media that gives an instant and immediate impact, provide a window on the battlefield as it were. But that window is defective. The media does not just provide news and information to audiences, but also it provides disinformation, by that it creates an image-reality gap. In a world full of images, definitely images are such a powerful weapon. A very good example on the concept of a picture can speak a thousand words is the powerful image of Saddam Hussein's statue being toppled, as Goodnight writes,

"Statue and hero are intimately connected terms… to take down a statue is to topple a hero. It is always a fatal instant when idols fall, and disrespect is only displayed. In al-Firdos Square, Iraqis tossed shoes and Americans freelanced disrespect, pulling an American flag over the head of… Hussein. The statue fell as a synecdoche for regime collapse and the completion of a 10-year old confrontation with the Bush presidencies." (Goodnight in Veer and Munshi, 2004)

3.7.   The 'Manufacturing Consent' Thesis

The thesis of 'Manufacturing Consent' states that policy-making is the prerogative of an informed elite, with the media in a supplementary status. Political elites oblige newsmakers to interpret global events in a certain way, as a consequence government and government policy affect the media. Therefore, the priorities of policy-makers are reflected in the media agenda. This view is argued by Chomsky and Herman as they claimed that:

> "Powerful sources regularly take advantage of media routines and dependency to 'manage' the media, to manipulate them into following a special agenda and framework… inundating the media with stories, which serve sometimes to foist a particular line and frame on the media, and at other times to help chase unwanted stories off the front page or out of the media altogether." (Chomsky and Herman in Balabanova, 2007).

Setting the news media agenda by governments could be identified through the general framework of the manufacturing consent thesis. The framework of the mentioned thesis identifies an 'executive version'. It states that the news media reports tailor-made to the official agenda and do not operate to judge or challenge the executive policy line. Thus, the accurate claim is that the news media are prohibited

from affecting the executive policy. Media acts as a supportive partner to the state and dominant elites, concentrating extensively on beneficial themes to them, and arguing and exposing within accepted frames of reference. The mainstream media always follows the state agenda in reporting on foreign policy although this often requires them to contradict themselves and ignore important and related information that clashes with the agenda (Balabanova, 2007).

3.8.   The forgotten war… Compassion fatigue?

Photographs are repeated over and over, resulting in numbing our emotions and therefore contributes to our non-effective response to international crises. Compassion fatigue is always present whenever there is a crisis (Campbell, 2012). "Yemen fell fast into conflict, and yet rarely reached the international headlines." ("Yemen crisis-The forgotten war,"2016). According to the U.N.'s humanitarian aid chief, Stephen O'Brien, Yemen's war has spawned the biggest humanitarian catastrophe of a single nation in the world. However, Yemen's crisis gains little media coverage. After almost three years of crisis and conflict labelled as "the forgotten war", Yemen became very difficult to access for non-U.N. personnel like researchers and journalists ("The forgotten war," 2017). According to Amnesty International -a London-based non-governmental organization focused on human rights: "For two years, much of the world has ignored this raging conflict and heard little about its devastating consequences" (Yemen: The forgotten war,"2015). It is called the world's forgotten war and the worst humanitarian disaster, for almost three years now Yemen is involved in a bloody civil conflict and now on a brink of total collapse ("Yemen: The world's forgotten war,"2017).

TV journalism makes reality a forceful fact as the images are moving and they do have sound. Yet things become temporary, short-lived, and forgotten. The blood of the defeated and the killed children by bombs vanished quickly from the reality list. When dealing with war as just a performance, and cruelty instantly turns into past, and memory is shortened due to the speed of information, the battle then becomes less tragic than captivating (Veer and Munshi, 2004). Compassion fatigue is a result of covering news, it is unavoidable because of the way the news is now covered. Too many crises at the same time, the same news and the same pictures, they are all causes of compassion fatigue (Moeller in Campbell, 2012).

Due to the technological advances in our era, audience can easily listen to the technological miracle of live reporting from a chaos combat zone, yet they only listen to what the reporter wants to convey. Technology has made the world smaller, but it has not made journalists almighty. The selective coverage of foreign events is mainly coverage about celebrity deaths, famines, plagues and genocide. Reading and watching about suffering, and specifically suffering where else has become an entertainment source. Images of trauma has become constitutive to the media market. Every form of media production, newspaper or magazine covers or television news, are filled with selected emotional images of crisis. Painful and ominous images cause people to turn away and considering that the media put bad-news images a priority, this tendency account for people's compassion fatigue. Even sometimes the fatigue is a result of simple overexposure. Crisis coverage must have pictures, because if a story does not have a visual hook, the viewer will most probably ignore it (Moeller, 1999).

3.9.   The Communicative Architecture of Television News

At the core of television journalism lies a number of "communicative frames" constantly construct the elaboration and explanation of news stories. These frames became familiarized through time and widely used by television journalists around the world. They show a communicative ramification that has yet to be acknowledged and well-evaluated by researchers, and this is very crucial for the communication of conflicts in addition to the mediatized war on terror (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Television news dispose many number of communication frames related to conflict. While each frame constantly constructs the communication of conflicts in various ways, each mainly does so at the shape of propositions, claims, contending claims, and arguments. These communicative frames can be comprehended empirically as dominant, contest, contention, campaigning, and exposé/investigative frames. Not all news is framed that way, and they are not all about only conflicts, however, some conflicts can communicatively structured consensually. The mentioned consensual communicative frames rely more on "cultural display" than "analytic deliberation" and can be distinguished as *community service, collective interests, cultural recognition,* and *mythic tales.*

Some of these news presentations might be based on hidden conflicts, yet, these communicative frames put them consensually with no apparent issue or disputed perspective in presence. In the contrary, the conflict-driven and analytical frames likely to work in an expressive or cultural oriented way, sustaining its expressive communicative mode more. The final two frames are *reporting* and *reportage* draw upon analytical/propositional and aesthetic/expressive all together or deliberative and display communication modes, as shown in the figure below (Kavoori and

Fraley,2006).
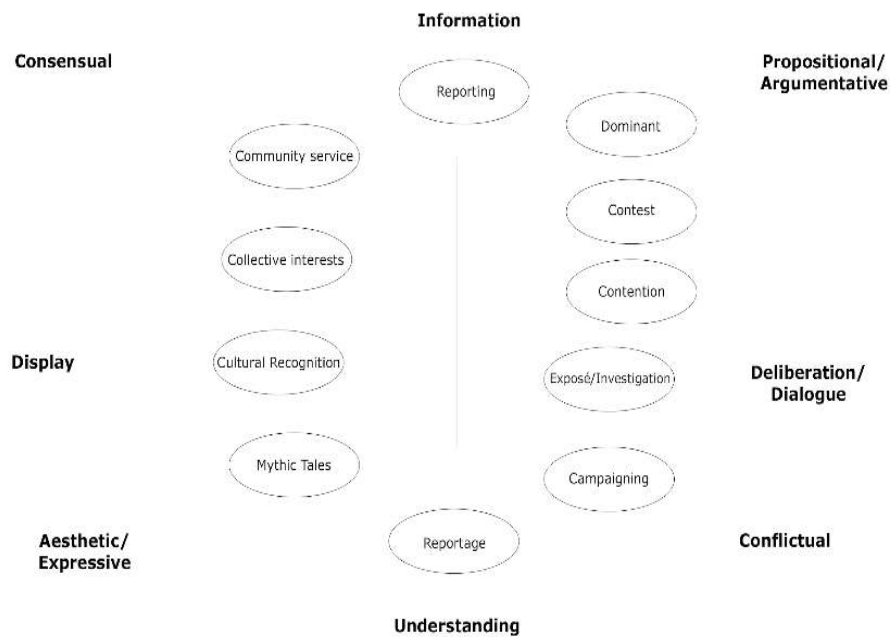
The Communicative Architecture of Television News

Reporting

The classic "reporting" frame is in the center of the historical evolution of television news. This frame functions are mainly about deliverance and supervision of current events consistent to everyday production cycles of television news. The types of events that are reported under this frame can have a conflictual or consensual nature, but they are communicatively framed in terms of providing new information and most of the time have short duration, but this is not always the case. The reporting frame serves the mission of professional journalism "to inform" in addition to lending fact-based support ideas about accuracy and objectivity. Moreover, it delivers the information without any explanation, context, background and competing definitions (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Dominant

This frame is about the news stories that obviously dominated which is, defined by only one external news source. This source may originate from authority, challenger or other groups within the social hierarchy, yet it is their aspect or views that clearly "dominate" the communicative frame and still unopposed or receive token challenge (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Contest

Television news delivers news stories in terms of a *contest frame.* In this frame conflictual news stories are framed as a dual opposition, whereas these opposing views and arguments mainly given nearly equal weight or representation and put together in opposing terms. The contest frame brings out the conflict in the shape of fundamental opposition between two opposing sides, and therefore, structures the communicative frame (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Contention

In this frame there are many voices or aspects presented, unlike the contest frame mentioned above. It combines the more accurate and qualifying engagements of various points of views that debate, criticize, or content differently, without essentially opposing some state of affairs or perspective (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Exposé/Investigation

This frame adapts the idea of the ideal liberal democratic role of journalism as public watchdog. Journalists actively investigate, uncover, and expose information and practices that is not easily exposed in the public domain. Hence, this frame contains

traditional investigative journalism based on extensive research and fact finding in addition to exposé journalism of private or public affairs (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Campaigning

This is frame is rarely used in the mediatized war on terror. It involves the media certainly and actively campaigning for a reason or an issue and promoting action or a change beyond the journalism world (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Community Service

In this frame the media directly advise the viewers on the meaning of new information and how this information can influence them. The role of the news media in this frame is more of an advisory or service-oriented role. Consensual information is presented as valuable or "good advice" and might be presented in an educational way (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Collective Interests

News stories in this frame not only reporting news events or giving advices but rather explain and visualize collective interests through the subject matter of "common interest", most commonly demonstrating or determining shared communal values, thoughts and sentiments (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Cultural Recognition

This frame serves to stimulate and appeal to motions of cultural identity and different cultures through, yield and/or celebrate events, individuals, or even represented groups. This consensual frame is used to show prospects of multi-cultural difference. Obviously, the war on terror clearly distinct lines between "Us" and "Them" and

menace the marginalized minority groups already known as "Other" within imaginary national communities, the cultural recognition frame consensually affirms and recognizes their cultural position (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Mythic Tales

This frame shows and turns on cultural myths that have echos for contemporary cultures. This communicative frame is not about transmitting new information but communication, which is mainly through excessive emotions and symbolism, old values and narratives that stems from the deep cultural reservoirs that present within all communities. These mythic tales concentrate on persons, groups, objects or places that characterize values that are unprecedented or exceptional that are felt in some way as culturally consequential (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

Reportage

This frame portrays events and issues in two ways either conflictually or consensually and it easily communicates so through expressing/showing and/or deliberative/analytic representation modes. This frame helps in generating s deep understanding of information through digging in and going behind the scenes. Reportage moves from "what is" to "what ought to be". From a communication perspective, this represents an elaborate and a powerful frame for exploring conflicts and their root, directions and consequences (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006).

It is within and through the created communicative forms of television journalism that opposition and conflicts became mediatized and publicly known. This architecture as shown, is internally diversified, has a very complicated structure, and most importantly significant in matters of its bounding influences as well as democratizing possibilities. The useful use of mass-mediated forms of communication

to advertise and boost an ideology does not represent the meaning of critical media consciousness. The main advantage of critical media consciousness lies in its capability to know the understanding of mediated communication as an effective method in combining different groups together in search of a common ground (Kavoori and Fraley, 2006). At the core of this communicative architecture we discern an established and conventionalized repertoire of 'communicative frames' that routinely organize how news events and issues are publicly communicated and contested (Cottle and Rai, 2006).

This chapter highlights previous research studies that were conducted on how media use specific frames in their media coverage. It stresses on the importance of using sources in the context of framing as it is a crucial way to understand the process of shaping the meaning of international events. By that, we will know about predominate sources that have the responsibility and power to operate news frames. According to Entman (2007), political actors influence people's attitudes and beliefs about certain issues through framing. Therefore, knowing whose voices and thoughts are presented in frames is essential to understand how frames are constructed. Furthermore, media tends to echo the interest of their country, rather than the country being covered in the news. As a matter of fact, news sources play an important role in focusing on frames depicted in news stories, which reflects the concerns of one's interest. Political actors are frequently selected to be news sources, and journalists boost their known sources when they depend on these sources to cover the news. The literature also focuses on the thesis of Manufacturing consent, which illustrates that political elites oblige newsmakers to interpret global events in a specific way and as a consequence government and government policy influence the media. Manufacturing consent states that the news media produce a tailor-made news according to the

official agenda and do not judge or challenge the executive policy. Media is a

supportive partner to the state dominant elites, focusing on themes that are beneficial

to them, and arguing within accepted frames of reference. It goes without saying that

the mainstream media will always follow the state agenda in reporting foreign policy

although sometimes they have to contradict themselves and ignore important and

relevant information that clashes with the agenda. Another main aspect of the

literature is focusing on compassion fatigue. Compassion fatigue happens when

emotional images of crises are everywhere in news coverage. Traumatic images cause

people to turn away and think that the media prioritized bad-news images and that

contributes to people's compassion fatigue.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1 Framing Theory

A "frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue". That being said, neutral facts can be affected by framing; based on how it is utilized, whether inserting it in a story line giving it the coherence, or just selection based on what ought to be emphasized. In this sense, framing can shed light on certain aspects of our reality (Kuypers, 2006). Framing relies on the hypothesis of how an issue is perceived in news report can influence how viewers interpret it. It is defined by some scholars as the context of a news story is reported deep inside it, which is reached through selecting and choosing what information to report by the reporter (O'gara, 2009).

The framing process is divided into "macrolevel" and "microlevel" constructs according to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007). In the macro-construct, framing is mainly about how media people present information in a way that clicks with existing schemas among their audience. Whereas in the micro-construct, framing is about how people use specific information to form their personal impressions.

The main reason to study frames is to recognize styles in issue definitions and make comparisons between media coverage. Researchers study it in many ways, first they have to select the issue, along with a frame in communication that can only be spotted when there is an issue. Secondly, researchers should remove specific attitudes when studying how frames affect public opinion. After that, many frames are recognized to form a coding scheme. Finally, after selecting sources for content analysis (magazines, news bulletins, websites) coders analyze a sample to classify the

presence or absence of one of the already identified frames (Chong and Druckman, 2007).

Images tell a more interesting story than words, giving governments' common attempts to have control over images either by hiding them from the public domain or publishing them but with very tight restrictions to their use (Moeller in Fahmy, 2010). The framing process in the field of communication has psychological and sociological roots that build the framework and dynamics of this media effect (Bryant and Oliver, 2009). Frames in communication as a field of research was developed using sociological backgrounds that focuses on the "words, images, phrases and presentation styles" (Druckman, 2001, p.277).

Media frames are not spoken, and they are not acknowledged, these frames organize the world for the journalist who report it and also for the viewer who relies on these reports. Framing as a concept of media effects states that two pieces of news stories provide the same factual information through different rhetorical and script structures frames, may generate huge perspective differences on the part of recipients (El-Bendary, 2010). Many studies showed that media outlets broadcast news events in different ways, as they cautiously choose certain images as visuals are commonly used to present certain views to the audience. And this is more common during times of crisis (Fahmy, 2010).

In reference to the central organizing principle of framing, the profound political and social power exercised by the news media, allows them to control the content and the public's discussion direction; facilitating a basis in which we are told how to think or react to a particular issue or event. An event-specific frame is one that was developed in response to a specific event. With this schema, journalists are determined to perceive, process and report information about such an event in a

manner that is supportive of the basic perception embedded in the schema. Respectively, press narratives include framing elements, and portray thematically consistent meanings over time, once the interaction of sources and journalists set the established framing process in motion, the settled-on frame guides both audience and journalist (Kuypers, 2006).

As for television medium, frames are either episodic or thematic. An episodic frame focuses more on a person, unlike a thematic frame that concentrate more on the issue. Concentrating on single events are the main goal of the episodic frame, whereas thematic frame concentrates more on trends over time. In addition, episodic frame has better information regarding giving solutions to problems, unlike a thematic frame, which asks for better policies (Benjamin, 2007).

Political actors and/or the media shape frames, and sometimes wide cultural aspects can contribute as well in shaping frames. According to Entman (1993:52) framing means 'to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and-or treatment recommendation' (Dimitrova and Strömbäck, 2008).

Research studies in framing had supported the idea that national political elites influence media framing. Entman's 'Cascading Network Activation Model' stated that political administration, the media and the public, are all involved and add to the development of news frames, but the level of contribution is not equal. Entman argues that in this model, whatever passes through the cascade is likely to be 'highlights packaged into selective, framed communications'. In addition, news frames that are harmonious with the culture have the most impact on public opinion, and frames that are compatible with the culture employ certain images and words that are very

important and known in the culture, which make them understandable, noticeable and emotionally charged (Dimitrova and Strömbäck, 2008).

Enduring over time is another characteristic of frames. Prognostic frame is an important frame in war coverage. This frame mainly proposes future arrangements for the situation that is happening in the moment (Benford and Snow, 2000). It mainly concentrates on the question of what should be done about a situation and it could have a wider discussion of other outcomes. For instance, the Prognostic frame could be seen in the case of the Iraq war through promoting a particular outcome which is the democratic rule in the country (Dimitrova and Strömbäck, 2008).

4.2 Episodic and Thematic Frames

The two types that illustrate the way the media affect how people attribute responsibility is Episodic and Thematic frames. Research studies has found that television relies more on episodic coverage (Iyengar, 1991). Thematic frames focus more on broader trends and social conditions, while episodic frames stress on one event or one problem case, expressing public issues in terms of individual angst, with no or a very limited view to the larger social consequences that leads to the problem (Dorfman, Wallack, and Woodruff, 2005). When there is no context, the viewers' attention mainly goes to the individuals in the stories, and more often than not, fails to see the bigger picture, attributing responsibility for the problem, instead, on the people depicted in the story (Cozma and Kozman, 2015).

According to Bennett (1988), journalists can set frames easily as personal and dramatic, unlikely to focus on sophisticated underlying political realities. Episodic framing puts the journalist and the viewers in the middle of a ready, developed situation, whereas thematic framing has a wider look than the immediate human

drama to dig into the origins of the problem and the larger social, economic, or political contexts where the news story has developed. This part is very crucial as stated by Bennett, as episodic coverage does not give the viewer the chance to put the story in the larger world context, to learn, and to generalize.

Episodic frames put life to parts of different episodes, random events or case studies. Whereas, thematic frames identify reasons at the community or systems level that have contributed to the problem. This is the main ingredient that distinguish episodic from thematic reporting. Context helps define an issue as "public" in nature and as a result solved appropriately in the realm of policy. Government and other civic organizations are less likely accountable for solving the problem, when the social issues are framed in an episodic way. The more thematic and contextual the coverage, the more likely it is that viewers will see the issue as one suitable for collective action (Benjamin, 2007).

According to Benjamin (2007), the below stories are two contrasting ones related to childhood obesity. The first one is a typical episodic reporting that comes from a tragic case of a single overweight child, whereas the second story shows the issue from a thematic viewpoint by focusing on trends in school nutrition environments.

Episodic:

> "In Chicago, one of the world's fattest cities, doctors and child welfare officials have handled cases similar to this week's drama around an English boy so overweight that authorities investigated his mother for possible abuse or neglect. Authorities in England threatened to take custody of 8-year-old Connor McCreaddie, who at 218 pounds is three times the size of an average child his age. Connor was allowed to remain with his mother

after she entered into a formal agreement with the Local Safeguarding

Children Board."

Thematic:

"Spurred by the growing crisis in child obesity, the nation's schools have

made "considerable improvements" in nutrition, fitness and health over the

last six years, according to a new government survey that found that more

schools require physical education and fewer sell French fries. The survey,

which is conducted every six years, shows that more schools than six years

ago offer salads and vegetables and that fewer permit bake sales. More

states and school districts insist that elementary schools schedule recess and

that physical education teachers have at least undergraduate training. More

states have enacted policies to prohibit smoking at school and to require

courses on pregnancy prevention."

Adding to content analyses, plenty of studies have investigated the

psychological processing of audience members when revealed to news messages in an

experimental setting. Gross (2008) analyzed the role of emotion in the context of the

influences episodic and thematic framing produces in persuasive political

communication and found that episodic frames affected the emotional response of the

participants in the experiment. These outputs suggest that episodic frames work via

both affective and cognitive routes.

Sourcing patterns goes along with framing analysis (Kim and Weaver, 1993).

It is well known that those who give information have a huge effect on how people

view issues (Cohen, 1963). Journalists depend on sources to interpret information,

and there are many arguments stating that journalists frame their coverage through the

sources they use (Kim and Weaver, 1993).

4.3 Sourcing Theory

The relationship between journalists and their sources is labelled as interdependent relationship where every side needs the other. Using sources is another important framing mechanism used in news reporting. Generally, news media depend on official sources and they specially rely on information from government and military sources during wartime (Carruthers, 2000; Pfau et al., 2004; Tumber and Palmer, 2004). Despite all censorship imposed by the government either by controlling the flow of information by restricting access to the war zone, or even through forming a pool system of reporters, the media don't have the choice and they have to depend on government and military officials for information (Fahmy and Johnson, 2005; Pfau et al., 2004).

The relationship between journalists and sources is a main factor in affecting what and who forms the news. Sources affects the public understanding of the world through helping to shape how events and issues are reported. Journalistic practices studies emphasized main challenges in news routines, one of which is having limited news sources and depend on those with institutional power; such as government officials, police officers or business leaders (Hermida, Lewis, and Zamith, 2014).

If a general consent or agreement among the elite sources, the possibility that journalists will search and investigate an issue and search for answers is low. Therefore, heavy reliance on official government and military sources is present, most of the time the media agenda is set by government officials rather than editors or journalists (Bennett, 2003, 2004; Entman, 2004).

Sources play an important role in framing news. Source selection is a main component of the finalized news product. Sourced material gives reporting a concrete base, giving evidence and lending legitimacy and credibility to the story (Hamilton

and Lawrence 2010; Cozma, Hamilton, and Lawrence 2012). Both the message and the receiver are affected when the same source is used over time. Research studies has found that using a variety of sources is crucial, it influences news frames, public perceptions of the covered issues by news stories and affects media credibility (Hansen 1991; Kurpius 2002; Cozma 2014). Many research studies supported the fact that media dedicate their content to sources in official or authoritative positions (Gans 1979; Brown et al. 1986; Cook 1998; Bennett 1990).

For journalists, news sources fulfill different purposes. Journalists want news sources that are able to give accessible and easy information that is in high news value, available, reliable and authoritative. They need information that decrease the level of uncertainty and gives verification (Davis 2007; Manning 2001; Reich 2009; Sigal 1973; Tuchman 1978). These sources that accomplish journalists' considerations are most of the time official and high-ranking sources such as politicians, ranking officials in public and private organizations (Bennett 2003; Berkowitz 2009; Lawrence 2000; Manning 2001; Shehata 2010; Shoemaker and Reese 1996).

News construction is subject to who gets the frame (Druckman, 2001), with news sources affecting the frame that journalists choose (Liebler and Bendix, 1996). Therefore, sources are a key pillar in the framing game, which consists of constant redefinitions of the speakers themselves (Pan and Kosicki, 2001). Selecting sources is a main component of the final news product, and crediting information to sources other than the reporter is a main doctrine in contemporary journalism. Sourced material is the core of news reporting, giving proof and lending validity, legality and credibility to the story, the news outlet and the journalism profession (Hamilton and

Lawrence 2010; Cozma, Hamilton, and Lawrence 2012). Repeating the same sources over time has the possibility to influence both the message and the message receivers.

Research studies have found that using different sources is essential, as it has an effect on news frames, public perceptions of the covered issues by news stories, as well as credibility of the media (Hansen, 1991; Kurpius, 2002; Cozma, 2014). Many studies conducted have found that professional practice likely to rely on "the usual suspects" rather than using balanced and different sourcing, which fails to contribute to a pluralistic marketplace of ideas (Freedman and Fico, 2005).

Bennett (1990) states that the "other", or non-official, voices and views are devalued, and their main use is to boost the rhetorical implications that already found in "official" circles. These "other" voices are mainly voices of the average citizens affected by the events being covered.

Foreign news presents realities to the viewers that they could rarely learn by themselves, source diversity is made certain to formulate their perceptions of remote places and events. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) prescribed in one of the most comprehensive examinations of newsgathering and its responsibilities, that journalism should provide people with information they need in order to be self-governing. To achieve that task, they propose 10 elements of journalism, one of these elements is monitoring power and giving a voice to the voiceless (139).

4.4 The Gatekeeping of News Sources

News sources are a key element in the practice of journalism as it forms the kind of information they get (Carlson, 2009; Gans, 1979). Decisions taken on who is included or excluded as an actor in the media is a part of sourcing. Sources used in the media do more than signifying events and issues. They give logic and meaning to

events as well as formulating public perceptions and understanding. Many studies

conducted showed that in the process of news production, journalists tend to site

authoritative sources as they hold specific credentials in society (Ericson, Baranek,

and Chan, 1989; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). These credentials are mainly bodies

that hold positions of power such as the government or police, or representing

powerful sectors of society such as businessmen for instance. Many studies have

described how sources are dominated by government officials (Brown, Bybee,

Wearden, and Straughan, 1987; Sigal, 1973). Elite sources are on the top of the

credibility hierarchy ladder, and as a result of that, are considered as the main definers

who shape the news agenda (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Roberts, 1978).

The type of source and its affiliation have an influence on how journalists

assign credibility, as a result of that, reporters are keen on developing relationships

with their sources. The more a journalist is familiar with a source the more credible

the source becomes (Hermida, Lewis, and Zamith, 2014). Selecting news sources is

an important form of gatekeeping, which is the process through which journalists

filter huge amounts of information to condense a narrow set of news reports along in

one day (Shoemaker, 1991). According to White (1950), the gatekeeping metaphor

has set a theoretical basis for a great range of mass communication scholarship,

bearing in mind journalists' efforts to "guard open gates" (Singer et al., 2011) as news

organizations employ participatory forms of news (Lewis, Kaufhold, and Lasorsa,

2010).

4.5 Reliance on Official and Elite Sources

This criterion is about the dependence on elite and official sources (Artwick,

2014). News sourcing relates to institutional structures, where journalists are exposed

to both beats and bureaus that are "objectified" as proper information sites (Tuchman, 1978). This official structure has the ability to marginalize the voices outside the elite circles and can set up social norms (Reese, 1997).

In the context of sourcing patterns, both general and specific topic news coverage favor official voices. A study analyzed front-page stories from six newspapers showed that the majority of sources were attributed to the government (Brown et al., 1987). Correspondingly, more than 50% of the sources in network television news on Alzheimer's disease over the period of 25 years were doctors, researchers and politicians (Kang et al., 2010). Sourcing patterns broaden outside US borders. In Canadian newspapers, the majority of news stories about homelessness were from professionals, not from those living in poverty (Schneider, 2011).

This chapter highlights the two theories that the researcher selected in the study, which are framing and sourcing theories. Frames in the communication context was developed through using sociological backgrounds that stresses on the words, images, phrases and presentation styles. According to Fahmy (2010), media outlets broadcast news events in different ways as they choose specific images as visuals to convey specific messages to the audience, moreover, this is more common during times of crisis. Cultural aspects and political actors shape frames. As Entman stated (1993) that framing is selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and giving them importance in a communication context to promote a specific problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Media affects how people attribute responsibility through episodic and thematic frames. Previous research studies found that television relies more on episodic coverage. As episodic frames provide better information regarding giving solutions to problems, unlike thematic frames that ask for better policies. The second aspect highlighted in this

section is sourcing theory. The relationship between media and journalists contributes to who affects what and who forms the news. Sources help to shape how events and issues are reported and through this, it has an effect on how the public perceive the world. If there is an agreement among elite sources, the possibility that journalist will search and investigate an issue and search for answers is low. Thus, media rely heavily on official government and official military sources, therefore, the media agenda is set by government officials rather than editors or journalists (Bennett, 2003, 2004; Entman, 2004). Non-official views are devalued, and their main job is to boost the rhetorical implications that are already found in official circles. These other voices are the voices of the average citizens that are affected by the events being covered.

Chapter 5: Methodology

This paper uses the quantitative approach of content analysis as the most appropriate methodology to analyze news content to see how different media outlets are framing the Yemen war. Content analysis is used to analyze communication content in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner to easily measure variables. Content analysis helps in testing hypotheses of message characteristics. As analyses tend to relate characteristics of the source of a particular body of message content to the characteristics of the produced messages. Jha (2007) noted in Dominik and Wimmer's book "Mass Media Research" that journalists covering certain social protest in 1999 depended on official sources more than journalists who covered an anti-war protest in 1967. Another use of content analysis is establishing a starting point for studies of media effects. According to Dominik and Wimmer, content analysis is used in studies of agenda setting. An analysis of media content is important to determine the importance of news topics (Dominick and Wimmer 2011). Therefore, content analysis in this research context would help explore the way the Yemen war is portrayed in the Pan-Arab- the Gulf-funded, Russian-funded, and British-funded- channels and what frames were used in the coverage.

5.1.   Quantitative Approach: Content Analysis

To test the hypotheses of the study, the researcher will conduct a quantitative content analysis of the content of 4 Pan-Arab YouTube channels; two of which are Gulf-funded and the other two entail a Russian-funded channel and a British-funded channel.

 In the Gulf-funded case, the Saudi-run Al Arabiya TV channel that was launched in March 2003 was selected. The channel is considered as an essential part

of the Saudi Arabia's wide-spread media empire in the Arab world (Behravesh, 2014). According to the mission statement of Al Arabiya (Al Arabiya News, 2013), the channel seeks to deepen the understanding of Arab societies, cultures and economics. Despite the type of understanding it offers, it is still colored and framed to keep up with the greater political agenda formed by the Saudi government (Behravesh, 2014). Al Arabiya is committed to promote a worldview that supports a Saudi-friendly order in the Arab world. Hence, during the time of the Egyptian military's powerful ousting of democratically elected Islamist President Mohamed Morsi was labeled as "military coup" by Al Jazeera, yet it was mentioned as people's "second revolution" on Al Arabiya (Al-Rashed, 2013). The justification of that is explaining the different relations of the Muslim Brotherhood-to which Morsi was a part of-with the Qatari and Saudi governments. Al Arabiya YouTube channel was founded on the 18th of September 2006 and currently has 2,321,373 subscribers. The channel has a total number of 47,788 videos published, in addition it is ranked as the second-highest in viewership after Russia Today Arabic, which has 1,208,002,664 views. The researcher will analyze the published 132 videos on the channel during the time frame of the study.

The second selected channel is the Arab world's most popular news channel Qatari-funded Al Jazeera "The Peninsula" (The Economist, 2017). The network was founded in 1996 and gained its credibility with viewers in the region for its independent coverage in the post 9/11 period. Qatar seeks greater political influence in the Gulf that is why it took over the channel (Sabbagh, 2012). Al Jazeera is believed to support terrorism and has ties with Iran, that resulted in isolating the tiny monarchy by Egypt, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (The Economist, 2017). Al Jazeera YouTube channel was founded on the 26th of March 2007 and currently

has 2,148,204 subscribers. The channel has a total number of 97,348 published

videos, it also has 927,617,336 view rates. The researcher will analyze 125 videos

posted on the channel during the time frame of the study.

The third selection is the Pan-Arab Russian funded channel Russia Today

Arabic. RT Arabic is a Russian TV news channel broadcasted in Arabic and its

headquarters is in Russia. The channel started broadcasting on the 4th of May 2007.

The channel covers a huge number of events worldwide from the Russian

government's perspective. The researcher selected this channel as it has the highest

viewership rate on YouTube in comparison to all the Pan-Arab channels in the region,

which is 2,316,208,109 views. The channel has 2,526,845 subscribers with a total

number of 38,890 published videos. The researcher will analyze 95 posted videos on

the channel during the time frame of the study.

The fourth channel selected is the British-funded BBC Arabic. The TV

channel was launched on the 11th of March 2008 and is run by the BBC World

service. The BBC Arabic YouTube channel has 648, 085 subscribers which is the

least number of subscribers when compared to the selected channels in the population.

Yet comparing it to the subscribers' number of Sky News Arabia, Deutsche Welle

Arabic and Al Hurra, it is the highest, as the number of subscribers of the three

channels are 509,525, 490,130, and 106,490 respectively. The researcher will analyze

41 videos posted on the channel during the time frame of the study.

5.2.   Defining the Universe

The universe is defined through establishing limits to the studied content, and

this can be fulfilled through an operational definition that is relevant to the population

in a suitable way. In this study, the researcher will focus on every news piece about Yemen portrayed in the four channels.

This study will only include news pieces related to Yemen according to the operational definitions, any other piece will be excluded from the study. All the news pieces analyzed are easily found online through the official YouTube channels of the 4 selected media outlets.

5.3.   Population and Sampling

The sample type used in this paper is a non-probability purposive sample. Purposive sample falls under non-random sampling, as subjects who pertain specific qualities or characteristics are selected to be a part of the sample, and others who do not meet those characteristics are excluded (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006). Purposive samples are the most used samples in applied research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). There are other types of purposive samples yet the most common characteristic among all types is that subjects are selected according to already chosen criteria that is relevant to the research objective.

The war took place in March 2015 and due to the tight time of the research study, the researcher will analyze every news piece about Yemen during two periods, the first period is from the 26th March 2015 to the 21st April 2015 (27 days) which is known as Operation Decisive Storm, this operation was carried out by the Saudi Arabian-led intervention to influence the outcome of the Yemeni civil war in favor of the government of President Abd Rabbu Mansur Hadi. The second period is Operation Restoring Hope which is an operation that is said to launch political peace efforts to restore hope, it started on the 22nd of April 2015 and is active until now, the period that will be analyzed in this operation is from 22nd April until 13th May 2015,

therefore three weeks and six days will be analyzed from each operation, as these operations are considered key events in the Yemen war.

The following research questions and hypotheses will aim to find the primary modes of presentation and the frame context that was used in the four channels during the coverage of the Yemen war. In addition, testing frames and finding out what is the most dominant frame is crucial as it shows how the media portrays the Yemeni conflict. The researcher will test the relationship between the journalist and their sources to see whether the frames will differ according to the source used or not. The coalition forces include nine Gulf and Arab states and it supports many native Yemeni armed elements aligned with Hadi. The countries are Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Sudan joined subsequently, and the US and Great Britain have supplied low-profile targeting and logistical support (Shield, 2017). It is a contribution to the study to see how the media from intervening countries frames the Yemen war.

5.4.   Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: What is the major frame context used in the four news channels?

RQ2: What is the primary mode of presentation in the four news channels?

RQ3: What is the dominant frame used in the four news channels?

RQ4: What types of sources are most prominent in the coverage of the Yemen war?

RH1: The frame type will differ according to the source used.

RH2: Yemen is mentioned more frequent in Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera channels.

RH3: Higher proportions of conflict frames will be found in the media from intervening countries than in the media from non-intervening countries.

RH4: While covering the Yemen war, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera channels will rely on official sources more often than RT Arabic and BBC Arabic.

5.5.   Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the individual news piece. The selection of the news pieces is performed through online platforms. YouTube was used to retrieve all the news pieces posted during the time frame of the study. The study will analyze any news piece that has the following keywords: Yemen, Yemen war, Houthi rebels/ militants, decisive storm, restoring hope, coalition forces and Yemen civil war. These keywords ensure that the main focus of the piece would be the war in Yemen.

According to previous studies and research papers on wars, many war-specific frames were developed. According to Entman's (1993) definition, frames are crucial textual cues that perform at least one of the following four frame functions:

1- Promotion of a certain problem definition

2- Propose an appropriate causal interpretation

3- Giving a specific moral evaluation

4- Suggest a precise treatment recommendation

Following a literature review, many framing categories were conceptualized and illustrated that journalists have plenty of ways to frame the news. The most used themes are stressing on the conflict, emotional perspective of the story and the economic consequences (Entman, 1993; Severin and Tankard, 2001). Frames can promote specific definition of a problem, causal interpretation, or moral evaluation (Entman, 1993) and therefore, affect debates and formulate the political outcomes. The relevant frames according to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) framing scale that were relevant to the study are: the Conflict frame "*Does the news piece reflect*

disagreement between parties/ individuals/ groups?", Human interest frame "*Does*

the news piece emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by issue/

problem?", Attribution of responsibility frame "*Does the news piece suggest that*

some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?", Morality frame

"*Does the news piece contain any moral message?"* and Economic frame "*Is there a*

mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?".

5.6. Research Variables and Operationalization

1- Variables of the channel

    a. Channel name

    b. Posting/publishing date

    c. URL

2- Variables of the news piece

    a. Type

    b. Size "seconds"

3- Variables of framing

    a. Conflict

    b. Attribution of responsibility

    c. Human-interest

    d. Economic consequences

    e. Morality

4- Variables of frame context

    a. Episodic

    b. Thematic

5- Variables of primary mode of presentation

    a. Read

    b. Voice over/anchor

    c. Package

    d. Live location report

    e. Live location/no action

    f. Reporter live newsroom

    g. Commentary

    h. Q/A, panel discussion

5.7.   Operational Definitions

In order to minimize subjectivity and avoid any bias while analyzing the selected content that covered the Yemen war, operational definitions were defined to illustrate the unit of analysis which was the news story, clearly.

Yemen war: It started in March 2015 through a coalition led by Saudi Arabia where airstrikes used to restore the former Yemeni government.

Coverage: Media outlets act as an essential provider of information to citizens about current events. Media coverage report events in a specific way, thus influencing the way audiences interpret framed messages. Comparing media coverage of different news channels let researchers know how the media is framing events during times of war, conflict and crisis (Wiggins, 2013).

Intervening countries: Countries that are considered a direct party in the war. The international coalition that Saudi Arabia heads includes nine Gulf and Arab states and it supports many native Yemeni armed elements aligned with Hadi. The countries are Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Sudan joined subsequently, and the US and Great Britain have supplied low-profile targeting and logistical support (Shield, 2017). In this case Saudi Arabia is from the intervening countries.

Non-intervening countries: Countries that are not a part of the war and also that are not part of the GCC.

Official sources: Mainly they are sources from the government or the military.

Conflict frame*:* This frame underline conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a way to grab viewers' attention. According to Neuman et al. (1992), media use a few key frames for reporting many issues and that conflict was the most common identified frame in U.S news. Using the conflict frame and stressing on it in

the news media got a huge criticism for encouraging public cynicism and distrusting

political leaders (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997).

Frame context: They are forms of presenting a story, either episodic or thematic

frames are used. An episodic frame focuses on unique cases or recalls associative

examples that describe a larger trend. A thematic frame focuses more on the general

picture, it considers "larger social and political trends" (Morris in Wiggins, 2013).

Primary mode of presentation: They are production techniques used to present a

story. It includes nine possible modes of presentation (Budzilowicz, 2002)

i.   **Read:** *having the anchor as a talking head without any video, yet it can have a picture or graphics.*

ii. **Voice over/Anchor:** *the anchor is reading over video, or he/she reads over video with some sound bites from different sources.*

iii. **Package:** *a reporter is narrating over tape with him/her present in the location.*

iv. **Live location report:** *reporter is on air from the live event that is happening in the moment.*

v.   **Live location report/no action:** *reporter is on air in the location after events have occurred. Or he can be in other locations that are related to the event to an extent (police station or a hospital).*

vi. **Live location report/go to video:** *reporter narrates over recorded footage while being live on location.*

vii. **Question/Answer, panel discussion, speech, other:** *content of planned event.*

viii. **Editorial/commentary:** *opinion piece.*

ix. **Reporter live in newsroom:** *anchor sends story to another location in studio where a reporter is on air.*

5.8.   Framing Measures

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) framing scale will be deployed to measure what specific frames occur in stories that mention the Yemen war, 20 questions were developed for coders to answer. Each questions answer is "Yes" or No". Accumulative answers of questions stated under each frame illustrate the existing absence of the frame; therefore, Yes =1 and No = 0. Every set of questions are set to measure one of the five news frames: *human interest, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences*. The frames under study are:

- **Conflict frame:** *Does the news piece reflect disagreement between parties/ individuals/ groups?*

- **Human interest frame:** *Does the news piece emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by issue/ problem?*

- **Attribution of responsibility frame:** *Does the news piece suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?*

- **Morality frame:** *Does the news piece contain any moral message?*

- **Economic frame:** *Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?*

    The researcher will investigate whether these questions would cluster in a way to expose fundamental dimensions. A minimum of three questions were put to measure each frame. The approach of the paper is exploratory in measuring the presence of frames, and there is a probability that some of the questions will not cluster properly, as a result extra question items were added for some frames. The 20 framing items are below:

- Attribution of responsibility:

1. Does the news piece suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?

2. Does the news piece suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?

3. Does the news piece suggest solution(s) to the problem/ issue?

4. Does the news piece suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue-problem?

5. Does the news piece suggest the problem requires urgent action?

- Human interest frame:

1. Does the news piece provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?

2. Does the news piece employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feeling of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

3. Does the news piece emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/ problem?

4. Does the news piece go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

5. Does the news piece contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

- Conflict frame:

1. Does the news piece reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?

2. Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?

3. Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

4. Does the news piece refer to winners and losers?

- Morality frame:

1. Does the news piece contain any moral message?

2. Does the news piece make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?

3. Does the news piece offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

- Economic frame:

1. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

2. Is there a mention of the costs/ degree of expense involved?

3. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursing or not pursuing a course of action?

5.9.   Intercoder Reliability

To achieve a reliable analysis, ten percent of the sample was re-coded by another coder. After watching the news pieces and filling the code form, the researcher calculated the intercoder reliability. The reliability is achieved through the calculation of Holsti's formula (1969), which determines data reliability in terms of agreement percentage:

*Intercoder Reliability = 2M / N1+N2 * 100*

According to the mentioned formula, "M" is the number of decisions the two coders agreed on, "N1" and "N2" are the total number of coding decisions by both coders the first and the second one (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). When this formula is applied to this research paper, there were 51 coding decisions, and the coders agreed on 46 decisions, furthermore, a direct substitution will be done in the formula below:

Reliability = 2(46) / 51+51 * 100 = 90.1%

Chapter 6: Results and Discussion

6.1.   Descriptive Overview

A total number of 396 news stories have been coded to test the research questions and hypotheses. The researcher has computed the results using SPSS, which is a statistical software program that allows the researcher to have the statistical information and make the process of examining data and testing relationships between variables using descriptive statistics and inferential statistics much easier.

This paper aims to identify how different media outlets frame the Yemen war. The researcher coded news pieces from four YouTube news channels. Descriptive statistics were conducted in addition to independent t-tests to answer the research questions and hypotheses.

Out of the total number of news analyzed, N=132 news stories were from Al Jazeera news channel (34%), then comes after N=126 from the Saudi-funded Al Arabiya news channel (32%), the third channel is Russia Today Arabic that have N=95 news piece (24%), finally, BBC Arabic is the least channel that have news stories on Yemen in the period of the study N=41 which is (10%) of the sample.

6.2.   Technical characteristics of Findings

News piece length. The results showed that (65%) of the news stories N=255 are less than one-minute long. Whereas, from one-minute to less than 5 minutes the percentage was (17%) which is a total number of 67 news pieces. Finally, only (8%) of the news pieces in the sample are 20 minutes and above in length N=33.

Number of published news pieces in the time frame of the study. The Saudi-led intervention in Yemen started in March 2015. The key events that took place were operation *decisive storm* and operation *restoring hope.*

- The first operation "Decisive storm" took place on the 26th of March 2015 and lasted until the 21st of April 2015, during this period 74% of the news pieces were published in the sample N=291. On the 27th of March, 23 news pieces were published on the that day alone, which is a huge number when compared to other dates.

- The second operation "Restoring hope" took place on the 22nd of April 2015 until now, but due to the time frame of the study 3 weeks and 6 days were taken from this period, hence, the time frame analyzed in this operation is from the 22nd of April 2015 until the 13th of May 2015. During this time (26%) of the news pieces were published N=105. In addition to 13 stories published only on the 22nd of April 2015.

6.3.   Data Analysis

RQ1: The first research question was aiming to get an answer about the major frame context used in the four channels. Frame contexts are persuasive ways to present a story; either episodic or thematic frames are used. An episodic frame focuses on unique cases or recalls associative examples that describe a larger trend. A thematic frame focuses more on the general picture, it considers "larger social and political trends" (Morris in Wiggins, 2013). To answer this question descriptive statistics conducted to know the frequency of each frame whether episodic or thematic in the overall sample. As shown in the figure below, 207 news pieces had thematic frames, while 189 news pieces had episodic frames. Which makes the

percentage of thematic frames equals to more than half (52%) of the sample. Whereas the percentage of the episodic frames equals to (48%).

Frame Context in the overall sample
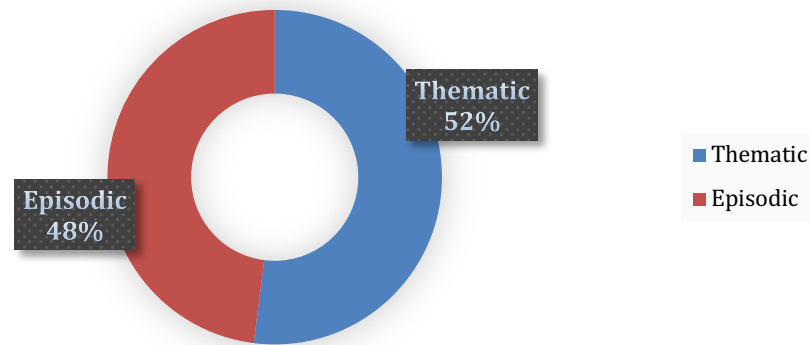
Figure 1. **Frame context in the overall sample.**

In order to examine whether the frame context differs in each news channel or not, a cross tabulation was conducted between the frame context and the channel type. The results are demonstrated in figure 2.

Figure 2. **A Cross Tabulation bar between Frame context and New Channel.**
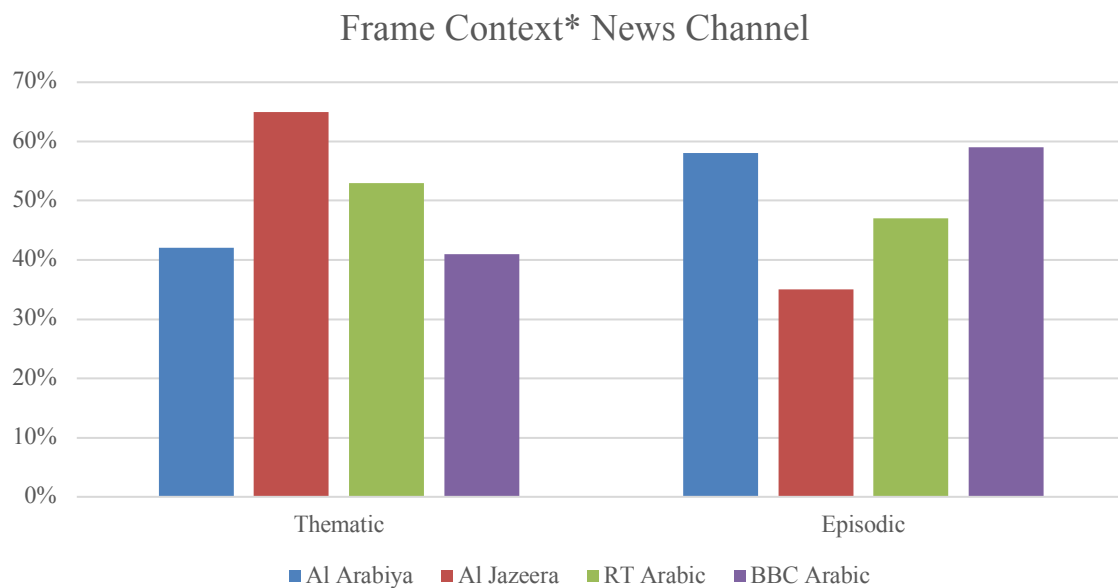
As shown in Figure 2., Al Jazeera channel has the highest percentage of stories with a thematic frame context (65%), whereas BBC Arabic has the lowest percentage (41%) of using thematic frame context in its coverage. Meanwhile in using an episodic frame context, BBC Arabic has the highest percentage (59%) among other channels, whereas Al Jazeera has the lowest percentage (35%) in using episodic framing context in its news pieces.

RQ2: The second research question was about the most used primary mode of presentation in the whole sample. Primary modes of presentation are production techniques used to present a story. They include nine possible modes of presentation according to Budzilowicz (2002). After coding the material, the most form used from the listed modes of presentation was the "Voice over/Anchor" (31%) which has mainly an anchor or a reporter reading over video and it can have some sound bites from different sources as well. The Voice over/Anchor was present in 124 news pieces, but there were other modes of presentation that were not from the 9 listed modes were present in 289 news pieces, this includes press conferences for military officials or having footage that is playing without a VO or text. The second used mode of presentation was the "Question/Answer, panel discussion, speech", it was present in 66 news pieces.

PRIMARY MODE OF PRESENTATION
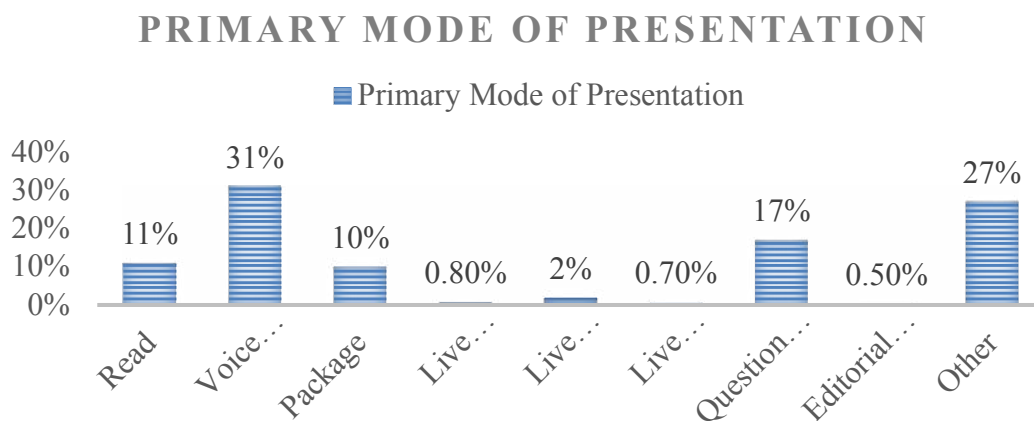
Figure 3. Types of news presentations in the sample

RQ3: The third research question was aiming to find the dominant frame used by the four channels under study. Results showed that the most apparent and dominant frame used in the news pieces was the conflict frame (M=.4696), whereas the least frame used was the morality frame (M=.0134) as shown in *table 1*.

Table 1. **Mean differences of used frames.**

	Conflict Frame	Human-interest Frame	Attribution of responsibility	Morality Frame	Economic Frame
Mean	.4696	.1863	.1883	.0134	.0218
N.	396	396	396	396	396
Std. Deviation	.3481	.2030	.2124	.0698	.0982

RQ4: The fourth research question was aiming to find the different types of sources that were used in the coverage of the Yemen war in all the channels under study. The war in Yemen has many parties involved, as a result it was a challenge for the researcher to divide the sources into categories. Iran, Saudi-led coalition, Pakistan, Yemen government, Houthis and popular resistance are all parties in the war. The researcher made all similar sources from different parties fall under one category. For instance, witnesses include any witness from any country, Yemen or Saudi Arabia or even Iran. Results showed a significant percentage of using official sources which is (49%), whereas the least percentage (1%) attributed to both Official and non-official Yemeni military sources. Furthermore, (36%) of the news pieces relied on non-official sources and (24%) goes to using official military sources. As

shown in figure (4), (22%) of the sample used sources from coalition sources,

moreover (21%) of the stories didn't use sources at all.

SOURCES USED IN YEMEN WAR COVERAGE

■ Sources used in Yemen War coverage
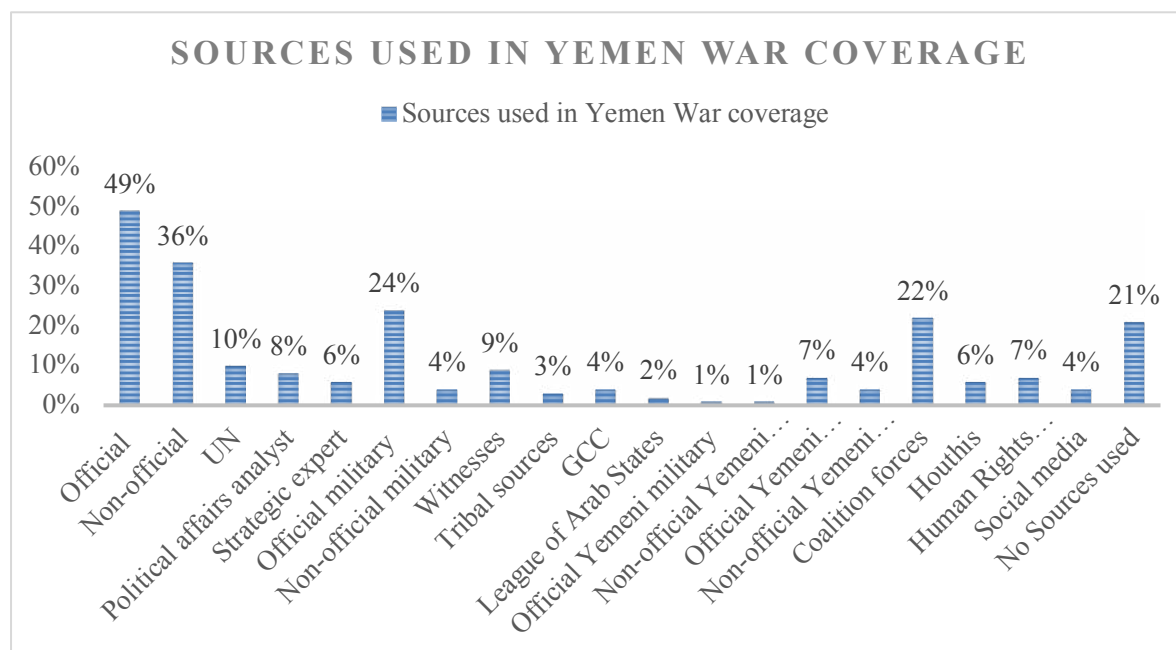
Figure 4. **Sources used in the coverage of the Yemen war in the overall sample.**

RH1: The first research hypothesis stated that the used frame will differ

according to the source used. To examine this hypothesis means of frames were

compared in each source used, after that a t-test was conducted to examine the

statistical significance of the most prominent frame used by each source. Moreover,

this hypothesis was rejected, and the null hypothesis is accepted as the frame used did

not differ according to the source used because all the sources used conflict frame.

Frames used by official sources

As illustrated below in *table 2.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories

that have official sources is the conflict frame with M=.6018 (S.d=.3193).

Table 2. **Test of frame differences for means used by official sources.**

Official sources		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.3428	.1603	.1178	.0066	.0066
	N	202	202	202	202	202
	Std. Deviation	.3276	.1903	.1538	.0465	.0465
Yes	Mean	.6018	.2134	.2618	.0206	.0378
	N	194	194	194	194	194
	Std. Deviation	.3193	.2126	.2389	.0873	.1303

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -7.962 and P= .001

Frames used by non-official sources

As illustrated below in *table 3.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have non-official sources was the conflict frame with M=.6423 (S.d=.2845).

Table 3. **Test of frame differences for means used by non-official sources.**

Non-official sources		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.3710	.1436	.1246	.0132	.0132
	N	252	252	252	252	252
	Std. Deviation	.3431	.1753	.1661	.0652	.0776
Yes	Mean	.6423	.2611	.3000	.0138	.0370
	N	144	144	144	144	144

	Std. Deviation	.2845	.2259	.2377	.0775	.1253

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -8.038 and P= .001

Frames used in stories that did not mention any source.

As illustrated below in *table 4.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have no sources was the conflict frame with M=.2835 (S.d=.2853).

Table 4. **Test of frame differences for means used in stories with no sources mentioned.**

No Sources mentioned		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.5183	.1936	.2203	.0159	.0254
	N	314	314	314	314	314
	Std. Deviation	.3470	.2077	.2223	.0760	.1068
Yes	Mean	.2835	.1585	.0658	.0040	.0081
	N	82	82	82	82	82
	Std. Deviation	.2853	.1825	.0996	.0368	.0517

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= 5.646 and P= .001

Frames used in stories that have unknown sources.

As illustrated below in *table 5.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories

that have unknown sources was the conflict frame with M=.4615 (S.d=.2841).

Table 5. **Test of frame differences for means used by unknown sources.**

Unknown sources		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4705	.1899	.1932	.0140	.0224
	N	357	357	357	357	357
	Std. Deviation	.3548	.1991	.2176	.0714	.1005
Yes	Mean	.4615	.1538	.1435	.0085	.0170
	N	39	39	39	39	39
	Std. Deviation	.2841	.2360	.1518	.0533	.0744

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not

statistically significant, with t= 154 and P= .878

Frames used by United Nations sources.

As illustrated below in *table 6.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories

that have sources from the UN was the conflict frame with M=.6428 (S.d=.2876).

Table 6. Test of frame differences for means used by the UN.

UN sources		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4491	.1644	.1677	.0122	.0160

	N	354	354	354	354	354
	Std. Deviation	.3493	.1861	.1990	. 0676	.0797
Yes	Mean	.6428	.3714	.3619	.0238	.0714
	N	42	42	42	42	42
	Std. Deviation	.2876	.2442	.2429	.0868	.1882

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -3.456 and P= .001

Frames used by political affairs analysts.

As illustrated below in *table 7.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have political affairs analysts as a source was the conflict frame with M=.6428 (S.d=.2876).

Table 7. **Test of frame differences for means used by political affairs analysts.**

Political affairs analysts		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4593	.1796	.1719	.0128	.0156
	N	363	363	363	363	363
	Std. Deviation	.3479	.1964	.2005	. 0688	.0825
Yes	Mean	.5833	.2606	.3696	.0202	.0909
	N	33	33	33	33	33
	Std. Deviation	.3346	.2573	.2555	.0807	.1913

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -1.965 and P= .050

Frames used by strategic experts.

As illustrated below in *table 8.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have a strategic expert as a source was the conflict frame with M=.6904 (S.d=.3527). Responsibility frame comes after the conflict frame M=.4190.

Table 8. **Test of frame differences for means used by strategic experts.**

Strategic expert		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4573	.1824	.1754	.0124	.0186
	N	375	375	375	375	375
	Std. Deviation	.3442	.2000	.2016	. 0678	.0875
Yes	Mean	.6904	.2571	.4190	.0317	.0793
	N	21	21	21	21	21
	Std. Deviation	.3527	.2461	.2676	.1002	.2082

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -3.016 and P=.003

Frames used by witnesses.

As illustrated below in *table 9.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have a strategic expert as a source was the conflict frame with M=.5909 (S.d=.2851).

Table 9. **Test of frame differences for means used by witnesses.**

Witnesses		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4586	.1735	.1851	.0146	.0229

	N	363	363	363	363	363
	Std. Deviation	.3516	.1959	.2151	.0728	.1010
Yes	Mean	.5909	.3272	.2242	.0000	.0101
	N	33	33	33	33	33
	Std. Deviation	.2851	.2281	.1785	.0000	.0580

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -2.089 and P=.037.

Frames used in by official military sources.

As illustrated below in *table 10.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have an official military source was the conflict frame with M=.6473 (S.d=.3210).

Table 10. **Test of frame differences for means used by official military sources.**

Official military source		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4136	.1860	.1840	.0110	.0232
	N	301	301	301	301	301
	Std. Deviation	.3379	.2164	.2116	.0598	.1009
Yes	Mean	.6473	.1873	.2021	.0210	.0175
	N	95	95	95	95	95
	Std. Deviation	.3210	.1538	.2153	.0949	.0892

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -5.948 and P=.001.

Frames used by the Gulf Cooperation Council.

As illustrated below in *table 11.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories

that have a source from the GCC was the conflict frame with M=.6911 (S.d=.3483).

Table 11. **Test of frame differences for means used by GCC sources.**

GCC sources		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4597	.1857	.1820	.0131	.0228
	N	379	379	379	379	379
	Std. Deviation	.3453	.2029	.2090	. 0694	.1002
Yes	Mean	.6911	.2000	.3294	.0196	.0000
	N	17	17	17	17	17
	Std. Deviation	.3483	.2121	.2443	.0808	.0000

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not

that significant, with t= -2.702 and P=.007

Frames used by the League of Arab States.

As illustrated below in *table 12.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories

that have a source from the League of Arab States was the conflict frame with

M=.7812 (S.d=.2814).

Table 12. **Test of frame differences for means used by the League of Arab States**

sources.

League of Arab States		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4632	.1845	.1814	.0128	.0223
	N	388	388	388	388	388
	Std. Deviation	.3467	.2037	.2080	. 0686	.0991
Yes	Mean	.7812	.2750	.5250	.0416	.0000
	N	8	8	8	8	8
	Std. Deviation	.2814	.1488	.1488	.1178	.0000

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not statistically significant, with t=165 and P=.010

Frames used by official Yemeni military source.

As illustrated below in *table 13.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have an official Yemeni military source was the conflict frame with M=.5833 (S.d=.3818).

Table 13. **Test of frame differences for means used by official Yemeni military**

source.

Official Yemeni military		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4688	.1857	.1882	.0135	.0220
	N	393	393	393	393	393

	Std. Deviation	.3483	.2025	.2127	. 0701	.0985
Yes	Mean	.5833	.2666	.2000	.0000	.0000
	N	3	3	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	.3818	.3055	.2000	.0000	.0000

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding does not have any statistical significance, with t= -.567 and P=.571

Frames used by official Yemeni government sources.

As illustrated below in *table 14.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have an official Yemeni government source was the conflict frame with M=.6120 (S.d=.3509).

Table 14. **Test of frame differences for means used by official Yemeni government.**

Official Yemeni government		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4584	.1874	.1765	.0127	.0227
	N	367	367	367	367	367
	Std. Deviation	.3459	.2052	.2048	. 0685	.1005
Yes	Mean	.6120	.1724	.3379	.0229	.0114
	N	29	29	29	29	29
	Std. Deviation	.3509	.1750	.2513	.0859	.0618

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is statistically significant, with t= -2.300 and P=.022

Frames used by the coalition forces.

As illustrated below in *table 15.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have a source from the coalition forces was the conflict frame with M=.6580 (S.d=.2881).

Table 15. **Test of frame differences for means used by the coalition forces.**

Coalition forces source		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4166	.1864	.1844	.0129	.0237
	N	309	309	309	309	309
	Std. Deviation	.3456	.2160	.2132	.0698	.1012
Yes	Mean	.6580	.1862	.2022	.0153	.0153
	N	87	87	87	87	87
	Std. Deviation	.2881	.1487	.2101	.0702	.0866

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not statistically significant, with t= -5.956 and P=.0001

Frames used by the Houthis.

As illustrated below in *table 16.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have a source from the Houthis was the conflict frame with M=.7934 (S.d=.2460).

Table 16. **Test of frame differences for means used by the Houthis.**

Houthi source		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4497	.1742	.1747	.0142	.0169
	N	373	373	373	373	373
	Std. Deviation	.3438	.1950	.2024	.0719	.0847
Yes	Mean	.7934	.3826	.4086	.0000	.1014
	N	23	23	23	23	23
	Std. Deviation	.2460	.2328	.2521	.0000	.2116

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not statistically significant, with t= -4.717 and P=.0001

Frames used by Human Rights Organizations.

As illustrated below in *table 17.,* the dominant and most used frame in stories that have a source from a Human Rights Organization was the conflict frame with M=.7586 (S.d=.2712).

Table 17. **Test of frame differences for means used by Human Rights Organizations.**

Human Rights Organization source		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4468	.1722	.1722	.0118	.0190
	N	367	367	367	367	367
	Std. Deviation	.3436	.1938	.1983	.0664	.0884

Yes	Mean	.7586	.3655	.3931	.0344	.0574
	N	29	29	29	29	29
	Std. Deviation	.2712	.2334	.2750	.1033	.1797

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding is not statistically significant, with t= -4.768 and P=.0001

Frames used by social media.

As illustrated below in table 18., the dominant and most used frame in stories that have social media as a source was the conflict frame with M=.5781 (S.d=.2988).

Table 18. **Test of frame differences for means used by social media.**

Social media source		Conflict frame	Human-interest frame	Attribution of responsibility frame	Morality frame	Economic consequence frame
No	Mean	.4651	.1778	.1826	.0131	.0184
	N	380	380	380	380	380
	Std. Deviation	.3497	.1952	.2070	.0693	.0870
Yes	Mean	.5781	.3875	.3250	.0208	.1041
	N	16	16	16	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.2988	.2777	.2909	.0833	.2347

The results of the t-test for statistical significance states that this finding has no statistical significance, with t= -1.273 and P=.204.

RH2: The second research hypothesis stated that Yemen is mentioned more frequent in Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera channels. This hypothesis is accepted as after

gathering the material within the time frame of the study, which is from 26th of March

until 13th of May 2015, the researcher found that the number of news stories in both

Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera was more than the number of stories in Russia Today and

BBC Arabic. Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera had a total number of 257 news stories about

Yemen, whereas Russia Today and BBC Arabic had only 136 news stories. The

highest number of stories is in Al Jazeera, which is 132 news pieces and Al Arabiya

comes after with 125 news stories. Whereas, the number of stories in Russia Today

and BBC Arabic is 95 and 41 respectively.
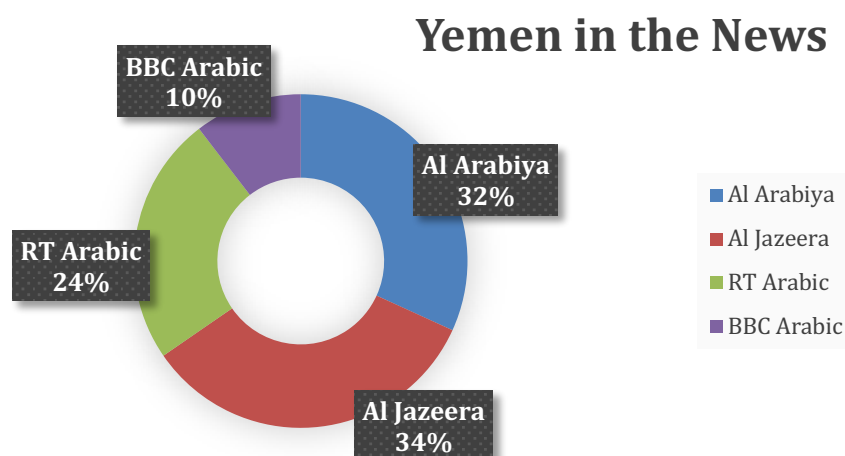
Figure 5. **Yemen in the news**

RH3: The third research hypothesis stated that higher proportions of conflict

frames are found in media from intervening countries than in media from non-

intervening countries. This hypothesis is accepted as conflict frame has higher

proportions in intervening countries than in non-intervening ones. The international

coalition that Saudi Arabia heads includes nine Gulf and Arab states and it supports

many native Yemeni armed elements aligned with Hadi. The countries are Saudi

Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. Egypt, Jordan,

Morocco and Sudan joined subsequently, and the US and Great Britain have supplied

low-profile targeting and logistical support (Shield, 2017). During the time frame of the study, Qatar was among the country members of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen. Therefore, Qatar's Al Jazeera and Saudi Arabia's Al Arabiya are considered channels from intervening countries. Whereas, Russian Funded RT Arabic and British funded BBC Arabic are considered channels from non-intervening countries.

Table 19. **Means of used frames**

Channel	Mean *(Conflict frame)*
Al Arabiya	.248
Al Jazeera	.693
RT Arabic	.334
BBC Arabic	.756
Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera	.474
RT Arabic and BBC Arabic	.461

RH4: The fourth research hypothesis stated that Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera channels will rely on official sources more often than RT Arabic and BBC Arabic. This hypothesis will be rejected, and the null hypothesis will be accepted as Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera did not rely more than the other two channels on official sources. The results showed that Al Jazeera used official sources in (64%) of its news stories, whereas BBC Arabic used official sources in (83%) of their stories which is a very high percentage when compared to other channels. Al Arabiya channel has the highest percentage among all the channels in using non-official sources in their stories which is (73%), unlike BBC Arabic that has the least percentage in using non-official sources in their stories which is (17%). As shown in *table 3.* Russia Today Arabic comes after Al Arabiya in using non-official sources which is (59%).

Table 20. **Cross Tabulation of Official Sources*Channels**

Channel	Official Sources Mentioned		
	Yes	No	Total
Al Arabiya	34	91	125
Al Jazeera	84	48	132
RT Arabic	39	56	95
BBC Arabic	34	7	41

6.4. Frame Analysis

Coding 1 for every Yes and 0 for every No in the 20 questions in the framing scale of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), in a similar way in their study, one score will be created for every item or frame aspect. Compiling the scores will create one multi-item scale for each frame, with a mean score between 0 (frame absent) to 1 (frame present). The higher the score, the more visible is the frame in the coverage of the Yemen war.

As shown in *table 21.* the average score for the conflict frame (.469) indicates that it was the most common and most used frame among the five types of the news frames. Then comes after the attribution of responsibility frame and human-interest frame (.187), they have the same mean in the news stories, and they are the most used after the conflict frame. The average score of the economic consequences frame (.021) indicates that it was less employed in the news stories. The final frame is the morality frame and its average score of visibility (.013) indicates that it was not used much in the sample as the topic has nothing to do with morals or religious tenets.

Table 21. **Average score of visibility of news frames.**

News frame type	Mean
Attribution of responsibility	.187
Human-interest	.187
Conflict	.469
Morality	.013
Economic consequences	.021

Aspects within the frame can be tested on an individual basis to see which

aspect was used more in the news pieces. In other words, when testing the questions

under each frame, it can give us a sense of the most dominant idea inside the frame

itself. For instance, in *table 22.* the most prominent idea under the responsibility

frame is that an individual or group of people are responsible for the issue or the

problem (.457). In the coverage of the Yemen war, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera blamed

Houthis for what is happening in Yemen, whereas in RT Arabic the Saudi-led

coalition was blamed for all the destruction in Yemen.

Table 22. **Visibility score of Responsibility frame.**

Attribution of responsibility frame	Visibility of frame
Does the news piece suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	.065
Does the news piece suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?	.143
Does the news piece suggest solution(s) to the problem/ issue?	.156
Does the news piece suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue-problem?	.457

Does the news piece suggest the problem requires urgent action?	.118
Average	.187

In *table 23.* the most prominent idea under the human-interest frame is that the

majority of the news pieces emphasized on how groups and individuals are affected

by war (.540). This was the case in the coverage of the war in the whole sample, as

news pieces showed the destruction and chaos happening in Yemen because of the

war.

Table 23. **Visibility score of Human-interest frame.**

Human-interest frame	Visibility of frame
Does the news piece provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?	.109
Does the news piece employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feeling of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	.083
Does the news piece emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/ problem?	.540
Does the news piece go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	.027
Does the news piece contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	.174
Average	.187

In *table 24.* the most prominent idea under the conflict frame is referring to two or more than two sides of the issue or the problem (.532). As the Yemen conflict is so complicated, one news piece had at least two sides of the story. Then comes after the reflection of disagreement between parties or individuals (.527), which was true because stories were mainly showing disagreements between parties in the Yemen case.

Table 24. **Visibility score of Conflict frame.**

Conflict frame	Visibility of frame
Does the news piece reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	.527
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	.383
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	.532
Does the news piece refer to winners and losers?	.434
Average	.469

In *table 25.* the most prominent idea under the morality frame is that the piece offers specific social prescription about how to behave (0.22). Mainly this frame did not have much significance in the coverage of the war.

Table 25. **Visibility score of Morality frame.**

Morality frame	Visibility of frame
Does the news piece contain any moral message?	.000
Does the news piece make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	.017

Does the news piece offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	.022
Average	.013

In *table 26.* the most prominent idea under the economic frame is that financial losses or gains were mentioned in the news. News pieces showed how the country is affected by the war, how the Yemenis are affected as they are injured, do not have food and no access to clean water.

Table 26. **Visibility score of Economic frame.**

Economic consequences frame	Visibility of frame
Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	.042
Is there a mention of the costs/ degree of expense involved?	.017
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursing or not pursuing a course of action?	.005
Average	.021

The study also tested the effect of news sources on the frames used in the coverage of the war. The results showed that the most common frame in the news pieces that used different types of sources, was the conflict frame. As shown in *table 27.* The mean scores of the frame used with specific sources. The study has found that the most common frame in pieces that attribute strategic experts encountered statistical significance (P=0.003), also pieces that had official sources from the Yemeni government had statistical significance (P= 0.022). Most of the sources used

had statistical significance except for unknown sources, social media, non-official

sources, UN, and Yemeni military sources.

Table 27. **The mean scores of the frame used with specific sources.**

Sources used	Frame used	Mean
Houthis	Conflict	.7934
League of the Arab States	Conflict	.7812
Human Rights Organizations	Conflict	.7586
Gulf Cooperation Council	Conflict	.6911
Strategic experts	Conflict	.6904
Coalition forces	Conflict	.6580
Official military sources	Conflict	.6473
United Nations	Conflict	.6428
Political affairs analysts	Conflict	.6428
Non-official sources	Conflict	.6423
Official Yemeni government	Conflict	.6120
Official sources	Conflict	.6018
Witnesses	Conflict	.5909
Yemeni military	Conflict	.5833
Social media	Conflict	.5781
Unknown sources	Conflict	.4615
No sources mentioned	Conflict	.2835

6.5.   Discussion and Conclusion

This study has been conducted to test the frames used by different news channels in the coverage of the Yemen war during the two main operations that took place during the Saudi-led intervention, which was from the 26th of March 2015 until the 13th of May 2015. The researcher has conducted a frame analysis of five frames defined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): the conflict frame, the human-interest frame, the attribution of responsibility frame, the morality frame, and the economic consequences frame. The study included four news channels with different affiliations: Saudi Arabia's Al Arabiya, Qatar's Al Jazeera, Russian-funded RT Arabic, and British-funded BBC Arabic.

Content analysis was chosen as the main methodology for this paper. The researcher examined the coverage of the Yemen conflict during two periods. The first period was from the 26th of March 2015 until the 21st of April 2015 (27 days), also known as Operation Decisive Storm, this operation was launched by the Saudi Arabian-led coalition to influence the outcome of the Yemeni Civil war in favor of the government of President Abd Rabbu Mansur Hadi. The second period is Operation Restoring Hope which is an operation that is said to launch political peace efforts to restore hope. It started on the 22nd of April 2015 and is active until now. The period that will be analyzed in this operation is from the 22nd of April 2015 until the 13th of May 2015, therefore three weeks and six days have been analyzed from each operation, as these operations are considered key events in the Yemeni conflict.

The study has included all news pieces that mentioned Yemen during the time frame of the study. The news pieces were retrieved from the YouTube official website, through the official channels of each news outlet selected in the study. Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera channels had the largest share of the total number of news

pieces from the whole sample (65%). The number of news pieces in Al Jazeera

(N=132) was very close to the number of news pieces in Al Arabiya (N=126). The

third most-represented channel was Russia Today Arabic with a total number of

(N=95) which is (24%) of the whole sample. The final and the least-represented

channel that had news pieces on Yemen is the BBC Arabic, it is only (10%) of the

sample (N=41).

Following through World War I, Laswell (1971) interpreted the inevitable

relationship between war and propaganda. In order to fight wars successfully, he

added, administrations have to establish and maintain emotional ties between citizens

and soldiers, and that needs popular mobilization and media support (Schechter,

2004). As a matter of fact, audiences are easily moved back and forth as they are

generally distant from events and political actors. This is so true for events that take

place in faraway places that they cannot experience and check themselves. Lippmann

(1922) stated that being away from political events leads to war decisions, which is

much similar to theatregoers who arrive at the theatre in the "middle of the third act

and leaves before the last curtain, having stayed just long enough perhaps to decide

who is the hero and who is the villain of the piece." This is the case in the Yemen

war, which is very distant, and it is very difficult for people to know the truth, they

depend on television and specifically on news channels for any information related to

Yemen. People will not be able to flag wrong information about Yemen as they are

exposed to many frames. This study showed that the dominant frame used in all

channels was the conflict frame (M=.469) and the human-interest frame comes after it

(M=.1863) moreover, the least-used frame used in all news pieces in the overall

sample is the morality frame (M=0.134). The results also showed that (49%) of the

sample relied on official sources, whereas (22%) stories relied on sources from the

coalition forces, (6%) only used Houthi sources, and the least-used sources in the sample were Yemeni sources either from military or the government (1%).

One of the research hypotheses stated that Yemen will be mentioned more in channels from intervening countries than non-intervening ones, this is true as the number of the news stories in Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera contributed to more than (50%) of the sample. Whereas, RT Arabic comes in the third place in having news stories about Yemen (24%), and finally BBC Arabic had the least number of stories during the time frame of the study about Yemen which contributes to only (10%) of the total sample. In addition, higher proportions of war frames were found in the previously mentioned Saudi Arabia and Qatar funded channels (M=.474).

Existing literature on terrorism and media states that in covering terrorism issues, news media tend to use both thematic and episodic frames (Falkheimer and Olsson, 2015). A great example is the studies that tested the frames used during the September 11 attacks, which found the episodic frames were dominant, and disregarding the social and political conditions. At the same time, other media scholars suggest that the media stress on "global macro frames" when reporting news about wars and conflicts (Falkheimer and Olsson, 2015). Meanwhile, the results of this study showed that overall, the most used frame context in the press coverage of the Yemen war has been the thematic frame, which is (52%) of the coverage. Yet, the percentage of the episodic frame was somehow close (48%), which means that journalists used both thematic and episodic frames in portraying the war.

The results of the study indicate that the frame context was different according to the news channel and this contributes to statistical significance. For instance, both Al Arabiya and BBC Arabic used episodic frames more than thematic frames, the percentage was (58%) for Al Arabiya and (59%) for BBC Arabic. Whereas thematic

frames were used more frequently in both Al Jazeera and RT Arabic, the percentage

was (65%) for Al Jazeera and (53%) for RT Arabic. The attribution of responsibility

frame is not the only way that gives the audience the opportunity to assign the blame

on someone, but also frame context directs them to who is responsible for the problem

(Iyengar, 1991).

The research paper examined different sources used in the coverage of the war.

Journalists rely on official sources more because they have more authority and they

are perceived as credible among the public (Cozma and Kozman, 2014). Arguably,

dependence on official sources is due to the time and space constraints. Previous

studies stated that news sources play a crucial role in emphasizing the perspectives of

news stories and construct meanings of the events (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Chong and

Druckman, 2007; Entman, 2007). The research findings were similar to Paletz et al's

(1982) and Kothari's (2010), who found that official sources were the most used in

the coverage of terrorism and conflict news. The research findings revealed that

official sources were used in (49%) of the whole sample, (24%) were official military

sources, and (22%) were from the coalition forces which considered a military source

as well. In details, BBC Arabic had the highest percentage of using official sources

(83%), Al Jazeera came next (64%), whereas RT Arabic had (41%). Al Arabiya had

the lowest percentage (27%) of using official sources, and this is very significant as

Saudi Arabia was the country that led the intervention in Yemen, and Al Arabiya is

owned by Saudis, they should have relied on official sources more than any other

channel in the sample, but this was not the case.

According to the literature review, conflict frame underline conflict between

individuals, groups, or institutions as a way to grab viewers' attention. Media use a

few key frames to report issues, yet conflict is the most common (Neuman et al.,

1992). According to the results of the study the dominant frame that was used in the coverage of the Yemen war was the conflict frame. Despite the fact that the Yemen crisis is a conflict, yet the humanitarian aspect was ignored in the coverage. In addition, Yemen is a poor country even before the conflict, and yet the economic consequences frame has been barely used.

The literature review states that research studies conducted on how media present international issues has shown that media puts events in certain frames through selecting and stressing on specific aspects of the event. This concept was present in the study as media outlets under study framed Yemen as a conflict and neglected the humanitarian aspect of the war. The majority of analyzed news pieces illustrated how this conflict contributes to a better Yemen, but at the same time they showed how Yemen is badly affected by war. Furthermore, to understand the construction of meaning of an international event, it is to test the news sources in the context of framing. As a consequence, we might learn whose voice predominate, and who is responsible and have power in operating news frames. The thesis of manufacturing consent state that political elites oblige newsmakers to interpret events in a certain way, and as a result, government and government policy affect media agenda. Setting the news media agenda by governments is understood through the framework of the manufacturing consent thesis. This framework states that the news media reports tailor-made to the official agenda and do not operate to judge or challenge the executive policy lines. Media is a supportive partner to the state and dominant elites, they only allowed to argue and expose within accepted frames of reference. Despite all censorship imposed by the government, the media do not have the choice and they have to depend on government and military officials for information. Many research studies supported the fact that media dedicate their

consent to sources in official or authoritative positions. The results of the study showed that official sources were used in nearly half of the sample (49%), which reveals that in times of conflict, official sources are the most reliable and valid source to use. In the Yemen war context, many official parties were involved, but the most used source was from the coalition forces as they are the main providers of information about operations in Yemen. The 'other' or non-official voices and views are devalued, and their main use is to boost the rhetorical implications that already found in "official" circles. These "other" voices are mainly voices of the average citizens affected by the events being covered.

As stated in the literature, US media labeled the Iraq war as 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' and 'War in Iraq', whereas Arab networks labeled it 'War on Iraq' and referred to the war as 'occupation' or 'invasion'. Moreover, the media likely echo the interest of their country, rather than the country that is being covered. Previous studies showed that media outlets broadcast events in different ways to present certain views to the audience, and this is more common during the times of crisis. Frames in the communication field of research was developed using sociological backgrounds that focuses on the "words, images, phrases and presentation styles". The same concept was present in this study, as channels from intervening countries (Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera) used different text in covering the war than channels from non-intervening countries. For instance, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera used 'coalition forces airstrikes', whereas RT Arabic was using 'Saudi raids'. Also, when presenting Ali Abdullah Saleh (Former Yemeni president), Al Arabiya labeled him as 'the ousted Yemeni president', whereas in RT Arabic he was just 'the former Yemeni president'. Therefore, the word choice can significantly imply the presence of a particular frame.

The research paper was aiming to test the frames used by international media and Gulf-funded media. But after gathering data, the researcher has found that the content from international media was limited when compared to the content gathered from Gulf-funded media. That is the reason why the paper is comparing Pan-Arab channels with different agendas. Every form of media production is filled with selected emotional images of crisis. Painful images cause people to turn away and this tendency accounts for people's compassion fatigue. Compassion fatigue is a result of covering news, it is unavoidable because of the way the news is now covered. Too many crises at the same time, the same news and the same pictures, they are all causes of compassion fatigue. After three years of crisis, Yemen fell fast into conflict, and yet rarely reached the international headlines. It is called the world's forgotten war and the most humanitarian disaster, it is involved in a bloody civil conflict and now on a brink of total collapse.

According to Iyengar (1991), The two types that illustrate the way the media affect how people attribute responsibility is episodic and thematic frames. Research studies has found that television relies more on episodic coverage. Yet the results of the study showed that the coverage of the Yemen war used thematic frames more than episodic. But the percentage was close as thematic frames were (52%) and episodic frames were (48%) of the coverage. Thematic frames focus more on broader trends and social conditions, while episodic frames stress on one event or problem case, expressing public issues in terms of individual angst, with no or a very limited view to the larger social consequences that leads to the problem (Dorfman, Wallack, and Woodruff, 2005). When there is no context, the viewers' attention mainly goes to the individuals in the stories, and more often than not, fails to see the bigger picture, attributing responsibility for the problem, instead, on the people depicted in the story.

Through understanding how media uses frames and selects sources we will have a better explanation and understanding of the phenomena related to how journalists construct information. This research paper adds to the framing theory through explaining the relationship between framing and the sources selected, showing that during the coverage of wars, the conflict frame is present and the most used frame. In addition, all the sources used in the coverage of the Yemen war demonstrated conflict frame as well. Despite the fact that Yemen is in a very critical humanitarian situation, a few stories had the human-interest frame or even the attribution of responsibility. Selected sources have an effect on framing. The rationale of framing theory states that an issue can be viewed from many angles and it can be shaped to have many implications. The Yemen war is depicted as a major conflict and not a humanitarian catastrophe, this is shown in the study results which reveal that the conflict frame is the most used one among the five defined frames.

Since the eruption of the ongoing political crisis more than three years ago, Yemen has been torn apart by the devastating series of conflicts. The conflict is between Iran-supported Houthi rebels who control the north and the Saudi-backed, official Yemeni government, which controls the rest of the country. Yemen was declared a level 3 emergency in July 2015; more than half of the population is in need of humanitarian aid, with almost 40% in acute need (Coppi, 2018). Now in its fourth year, the war in Yemen is not receding and may be escalating. On the third anniversary of the war, 26th of March 2018, Houthis launched seven ballistic missiles at Saudi Arabia, killing at least one person. After one week, on the 2nd of April 2018, the Saudi-led coalition launched an airstrike on the Houthi-controlled port that led to the killing of more than 14 civilians, including children. The war in Yemen has killed more than 10,000 Yemenis and it had a huge effect of the infrastructure of the

country. The risk of the war to spread beyond the Yemeni territory appears to be

growing as the conflict intensifies (Sharp, 2018).

6.6.   Research Significance

The study was aiming to find answers to the following questions: what are the dominant frames that were used in the coverage of the Yemen war? How different were the frames according to the sources used? What is the frame context that was used by the four YouTube channels? What types of the most used frames in the coverage of the war? Was Yemen mentioned more frequent in Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera? Are conflict frames are found more in the coverage of intervening countries than non-intervening countries? And finally, whether Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera will rely more often on official sources than the other two channels or not.

This is study was set to examine how different media outlets framed the Yemen war in the time frame of the study which starts from the 26th of March until the 13th of May 2015. A quantitative content analysis of 396 news pieces that were posted on the four YouTube channels under study; Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, RT Arabic and BBC Arabic, has been conducted to categorize the frames used in the news coverage of the Yemen war.

6.7.   Study Limitations

One limitation of this study is that the results are relevant to the content selected and the time frame chosen in the sampling process. The tight time of the study was the reason why a purposive sample was selected. Since the war began more than three years ago, it would have been comprehensive to analyze media content throughout the whole period and not only during the time selected for the study. Thus, results cannot be generalized beyond this scope. Framing is about analyzing media content and testing the framing effects on audiences' perspectives and viewpoints. Moreover, due to the time constraint of the study it was not feasible to test the framing effects on audiences' thoughts about the Yemen war. Therefore, other research methods should be applied to test these effects.

The researcher chose analyzing video content rather than print media because images are more powerful. Due to the selected period of the study, the researcher chose the online platform "YouTube" because the majority of new channels tend to regularly post on social media and YouTube, without archiving all produced videos on their own official websites. The researcher selected YouTube because it has news pieces with different lengths, so the researcher analyzed pieces that are less than a minute and at the same time analyzed news pieces that could last to one hour. Yet, social media platforms post short videos because of the different target audience. This study was aiming to test the differences between pan-Arab channels and international channels. But while collecting the material, BBC English and CNN World had only 30 news pieces during the time frame of the study, and this cannot be compared to the 250 news pieces from Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera altogether. And as a result, the researcher changed the sample and aimed at comparing pan-Arab channels because Yemen has a regional importance and it would be mentioned more on Arabic

channels. But if print media was under study, all the material would have been easily accessible, because written news pieces are archived.

Iran is an important party in the Yemen conflict, as Saudi Arabia states that it is backing up the Houthis. It would have been better to have Iranian viewpoints on what is happening in Yemen. This was impossible to conduct because of the time and language constraints.

6.8.   Future Implications

Further research should be conducted regarding the war in Yemen, especially on international news channels in order to compare how the regional conflict and a forgotten war is framed inside and outside of the Arab world. Future research should also address the framing effects on the viewers themselves, and not on only how the media outlets are using frames in their coverage. This study would have also benefitted from qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews with strategic and political experts, which would help to test framing effects on viewers.

It might have also been comprehensive to compare Pan-Arab, international, and Iranian news outlets to have a sense of the various viewpoints and the different coverage that would differ according to their news agendas. Furthermore, the agenda-setting theory should be taken into consideration as it would be interesting to test how the affiliation of a certain media outlet would have an effect on covering such a critical issue.

Before the conflict, Yemen was one of the poorest countries in the Middle East. After now entering the fourth year of conflict, the humanitarian situation is getting worse. Future research should focus on the humanitarian implications of media coverage on Yemen. This thesis demonstrates that the most frequently used frame was the conflict frame. While it is definitely a conflict, it is first and foremost a humanitarian catastrophe. This begs the following questions: what is happening to Yemen's malnourished children? What is happening to the vulnerable pregnant Yemeni women? What about access to adequate food and clean water? Future research should focus more on how media coverage of the Yemen war impacts the humanitarian situation on the ground. This includes analyzing news about humanitarian work and access to Yemen.

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Appendices

Appendix (A): Code Book (EN/AR)

Q1: Coder:
  1- Omnia
  2- Esraa
  3- Mohamed
  4- Sarah

Q2: Name of the channel
  1- Al Arabiya
  2- Al Jazeera
  3- RT Arabic
  4- BBC Arabic

Q3: Headline of the news piece

Q4: URL of the news piece

Q5: Date of publish/post of the news piece

Q6: Type of the news piece

  1- Straight news
  2- News Analysis
  3- Feature
  4- Interview/ profile
  5- Other

Q7: Size of the story in terms of seconds

Q8-Q27: Select appropriate answers after watching the news piece.

Q28: Frame context
  1- Episodic
  2- Thematic

Q29: Primary mode of presentation
  1- Read
  2- Voice over/anchor
  3- Package
  4- Live location report
  5- Live location/no action
  6- Live location/go to video

7- Question/ Answer, panel discussion, speech, other
8- Editorial/ commentary
9- Reporter live in newsroom

Q30: Official sources used

Q31: Non-official sources used

Q32: Known sources used

Q33: Unknown sources used

Q34: No sources mentioned

Q35: UN sources used

Q36: Political affairs analyst used

Q37: Strategic expert used

Q38: Official military source used

Q39: Non-official military source used

Q40: A witness used as a source

Q41: A tribal source used

Q42: A source from the GCC used

Q43: A source from the League of Arab states used

Q44: Official Yemeni military source used

Q45: Non-official Yemeni military source used

Q46: An official source from the Yemeni government used

Q47: Non-official source from the Yemeni government used

Q48: A source from the coalition forces used

Q49: A source from the Houthis used

Q50: A source from any human rights organizations used

Q51: Social media used as a source

Q52: Any other source used that was not listed

Q53: Write down any comments

كتاب التحليل:

Q1: اسم المحلل

1- أمنية

2- إسراء

3- محمد

4- سارة

Q2: اسم القناة

1- العربية

2- الجزيرة

3- روسيا اليوم العربية

4- بي بي سي عربي

Q3: عنوان الخبر

Q4: URL (محدد موقع المعلومات) القطعة الإخبارية

Q5: تاريخ نشر القطعة الإخبارية

Q6: اختر نوع القطعة الإخبارية

1- **أخبار مباشرة**

2- **تحليل الأخبار**

3- **فيتشر**

4- **مقابلة / بروفيل**

5- **أخرى**

Q7: رمز الوقت للقطعة الإخبارية

Q8-Q27 :   قُم باختيار الإجابة المناسبة بعد مشاهدة القطة الإخبارية

Q28:   شكل العرض السائد

1- **عرضي:** يركز على حالات فريدة أو يتذكر أمثلة ترابطية تصف اتجاهًا أكبر.

2- **المواضيعية:** إنها تركز أكثر على الصورة العامة، فهي تضع في الاعتبار "الاتجاهات الاجتماعية والسياسية الأكبر"

Q29:   الوضع الأساسي للعرض التقديمي

1- **قراءة**

2- **VO / مذيع**

3- **الباقة**

4- **تقرير الموقع الحي**

5- **الموقع المباشر / عدم اتخاذ إجراء**

6- **موقع حي / الانتقال إلى الفيديو**

7- **سؤال / جواب، حلقة نقاش، خطاب، مواضيع أخرى**

8- **الافتتاحية / التعليق**

9- **مراسل في بث حي من غرفة الأخبار**

Q30:   المصدر المستخدم

Q31:   المصدر المستخدم غير رسمي

Q32:   المصدر المستخدم معروف

Q33:   المصدر المستخدم مجهول

Q34:   لم يتم استخدام أي مصدر

Q35:   المصدر المستخدم من الأمم المتحدة

Q36:   المصدر المستخدم محلل للشئون السياسية

Q37:   المصدر المستخدم خبير استراتيجي

Q38:   المصدر المستخدم مصدر عسكري رسمي

Q39: المصدر المستخدم مصدر عسكري غير رسمي

Q40: المصدر المستخدم من شهود العيان

Q41: المصدر المستخدم من المصادر القبلية

Q42: المصدر المستخدم من مجلس التعاون الخليجي

Q43: المصدر المستخدم من جامعة الدول العربية

Q44: المصدر المستخدم مصدر عسكري يمني رسمي

Q45: المصدر المستخدم مصدر عسكري يمني غير رسمي

Q46: المصدر المستخدم مصدر رسمي من الحكومة اليمنية

Q47: المصدر المستخدم مصدر غير رسمي من الحكومة اليمنية

Q48: المصدر المستخدم من قوات التحالف

Q49: المصدر المستخدم من الحوثيين

Q50: المصدر المستخدم من أي منظمة من منظمات حقوق الإنسان

Q51: المصدر المستخدم من مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي

Q52: ذكر أي مصدر آخر لم يكن موجوداً بالاختيارات

Q53: التعليقات

Appendix (B): Coder Instruction Sheet (EN/AR)

Code any news piece that covered the Yemen war in the selected 4 YouTube channels *(Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, RT Arabic and BBC Arabic)* during the two key operations in the war. First is *Operation Decisive Storm*, starting 26th of March 2015 until 21st of April 2015. Second is *Operation Restoring Hope*, starting 22nd of April until 13th of May 2015. Hence, the total time frame is three weeks and six days. Complete one sheet for each news piece to be coded.

Q1: Coder, code a number to refer to the name of the coder.

Q2: Choose a name of the channel according to the chosen valid sample:
5- Al Arabiya
6- Al Jazeera
7- RT Arabic
8- BCC Arabic

Q3: Please write the headline of the news piece.

Q4: Please copy and paste the URL (Uniform Resource Locator) of the news piece

In order to minimize subjectivity and avoid any bias while analyzing the selected content that covered the Yemen war, clear operational definitions were defined to illustrate the unit of analysis which was the news story, clearly.

Q5: Please write down the date of publish of the news piece.

Q6: Choose the type of the news piece:
1- **Straight News:** the most serious news type as it presents hard news and they are meant to inform viewers.
2- **News Analysis:** pieces that contain formal and professional analysis of a certain situation.
3- **Feature:** stories that are written in an individual style.
4- **Interview/ Profile:** profile stories are stressing on giving specific information or an outline about a specific person. Interview pieces have a commentator/professional to talk about a specific event.
5- **Other:** any other form of pieces that is not listed in the choices.

Story size refers to the length of a story in terms of seconds. Please multiply the duration by 60. For instance, if a story's duration is 1:45, calculate 1.45x60.

Q7: Please write down the time code of the news piece.

Q8-Q27: Choose the appropriate answer after watching the news piece carefully, where 1=Yes and 0=No.

Q28: Choose the appropriate dominant form of presentation:
1- **Episodic:** It focuses on unique cases or recalls associative examples that describe a larger trend.

2- **Thematic:** It focuses more on the general picture, it considers "larger social and political trends" (Morris in Wiggins, 2013).

Q29: Choose the appropriate primary mode of presentation:

1- **Read:** having the anchor as a talking head without any video, yet it can have a picture or graphics.

2- **Voice over/anchor:** the anchor is reading over video, or he/she reads over video with some sound bites from different sources.

3- **Package:** a reporter is narrating over tape with him/her present in the location.

4- **Live location report:** reporter is on air from the live event that is happening in the moment.

5- **Live location/no action:** reporter is on air in the location after events have occurred. Or he can be in other locations that are related to the event to an extent (police station or a hospital).

6- **Live location/go to video:** reporter narrates over recorded footage while being live on location.

7- **Question/Answer, panel discussion, speech, other:** content of planned event.

8- **Editorial/Commentary:** opinion piece.

9- **Reporter live in newsroom:** anchor sends story to another location in studio where a reporter is on air.

Q30: Please select an answer if there was an official source used in the news piece.

Q31: Please select an answer if there was a non-official source used in the news piece.

Q32: Please select an answer if there was a known source used in the news piece.

Q33: Please select an answer if there was an unknown source used in the news piece.

Q34: Please select an answer if there was no source mentioned at all in the news piece.

Q35: Please select an answer if there was a source related to the United Nations used in the news piece.

Q36: Please select an answer if there was a political affairs analyst used as a source in the news piece.

Q37: Please select an answer if there was a strategic expert used as a source in the news piece.

Q38: Please select an answer if there was an official military source used in the news piece.

Q39: Please select an answer if there was a non-official military source used in the news piece.

Q40: Please select an answer if there was a witness used as a source in the news piece.

Q41: Please select an answer if there was a tribal source used *"tribe is a big family, this is common in the Yemen community, sometimes media use tribal sources"* in the news piece.

Q42: Please select an answer if there was a source from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) used in the news piece.

Q43: Please select an answer if there was a source from the League of Arab States used in the news piece.

Q44: Please select an answer if there was an official Yemeni military source used in the news piece.

Q45: Please select an answer if there was a non-official Yemeni military source used in the news piece.

Q46: Please select an answer if there was an official source from the Yemeni government used in the news piece.

Q47: Please select an answer if there was a non-official source from the Yemeni government used in the news piece.

Q48: Please select an answer if there was a source from the coalition forces used in the news piece.

Q49: Please select an answer if there was a source from the Houthis used in the news piece.

Q50: Please select an answer if there was a source from any human rights organizations used in the news piece.

Q51: Please select an answer if social media was used as a source in the news piece.

Q52: If the source used in the news piece is not listed, please write it down.

Q53: Please write your comments if you have any. For instance, if the footage is repeated or any issue happened that is not listed.

ورقة التعليمات للمُحلل

قم بتحليل أي خبر يتناول حرب اليمن في 4 قنوات مختارة على اليوتيوب (العربية، الجزيرة، آر تي بالعربية، بي بي سي عربي) خلال العمليتين الرئيسيتين في الحرب. العملية الأولى هي عملية عاصفة الحزم، تبدأ من 26 مارس 2015 حتى 21 أبريل 2015. والثانية هي عملية إعادة الأمل، بدءاً من 22 أبريل حتى 13 مايو 2015. وبالتالي، فإن الإطار الزمني الإجمالي هو ثلاثة أسابيع وستة أيام. أكمل ورقة واحدة لكل قطعة إخبارية لتحليلها.

Q1: المُحلل، أكتب رقم يشير إلى رقم الشخص الذي يقوم بالتحليل

Q2: اختر اسمًا للقناة وفقًا للعينة الصالحة المختارة

1- العربية

2- الجزيرة

3- روسيا اليوم العربية

4- بي بي سي عربي

Q3: يرجى كتابة عنوان الخبر.

Q4: الرجاء نسخ ولصق URL (محدد موقع المعلومات) للقطعة الإخبارية من أجل الحد من الذاتية أو غير الموضوعية وتجنب أي تحيز أثناء تحليل المحتوى المحدد الذي غطى حرب اليمن، تم تحديد تعريفات عملية بينة لشرح وحدة التحليل بوضوح وهي القصة الإخبارية.

Q5: يرجى كتابة تاريخ نشر القطعة الإخبارية

Q6: اختر نوع القطعة الإخبارية

6- **أخبار مباشرة:** أكثر أنواع الأخبار أهمية لأنها تقدم الأخبار الجادة وتهدف إلى إعلام المشاهدين.

7- **تحليل الأخبار:** القطع التي تحتوي على تحليل رسمي ومهني لحالة معينة.

8- **فيتشر:** قصص مكتوبة بأسلوب فردي.

9- **مقابلة / بروفيل:** قصص الملف الشخصي تؤكد على إعطاء معلومات محددة أو مخطط حول شخص معين. قطع المقابلة لديها معلّق / شخص مهني للحديث عن حدث معين.

10- **أخرى:** أي شكل آخر من القطع غير المدرجة في الاختيارات.

يشير حجم القصة إلى طول القصة من حيث عدد الثواني. يرجى مضاعفة المدة في 60. على سبيل المثال، إذا كانت مدة القصة هي 1:45 ، فاحسب 1.45 × 60.

Q7: يرجى كتابة رمز الوقت للقطعة الإخبارية

Q8-Q27: اختر الإجابة المناسبة بعد مشاهدة القطة الإخبارية، حيث 1=نعم و0=لا

Q28: اختر شكل العرض السائد المناسب

3- **عرضي:** يركز على حالات فريدة أو يتذكر أمثلة ترابطية تصف اتجاهًا أكبر.

4- **المواضيعية:** إنها تركز أكثر على الصورة العامة، فهي تضع في الاعتبار "الاتجاهات الاجتماعية والسياسية الأكبر"

Q29: اختر الوضع الأساسي المناسب للعرض التقديمي:

10- **قراءة:** وجود مذيع كرئيس الحديث دون أي فيديو، ومع ذلك يمكن أن يكون لديه صور أو جرافيكس.

11- **VO / مذيع**: المذيع يقرأ عبر الفيديو، أو أنه يقرأ على الفيديو مع بعض مقاطع الصوت من مصادر مختلفة.

12- **الباقة**: يقرأ المراسل على الصورة مع شريطه مع وجوده في الموقع

13- **تقرير الموقع الحي**: المراسل على الهواء مباشرة من الحدث المباشر الذي يحدث في الوقت الحالي.

14- **الموقع المباشر / عدم اتخاذ إجراء**: يكون المراسل على الهواء في الموقع بعد وقوع الأحداث. أو يمكن أن يكون في أماكن أخرى مرتبطة بالحدث إلى حد ما (مركز شرطة أو مستشفى).

15- **موقع حي / الانتقال إلى الفيديو**: يروي المراسل عن اللقطات المسجلة أثناء وجوده في الموقع.

16- **سؤال / جواب، حلقة نقاش، خطاب، مواضيع أخرى**: محتوى الحدث المخطط.

17- **الافتتاحية / التعليق**: قطعة رأي.

18- **مراسل في بث حي من غرفة حي من الأخبار**: المذيع ينقل القصة إلى موقع آخر في الاستوديو حيث يتواجد مراسل على الهواء.

Q30: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان هناك مصدر رسمي مستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية.

Q31: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان هناك مصدر غير رسمي مستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية.

Q32: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان هناك مصدر معروف مستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية.

Q33: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان هناك مصدر مجهول مستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية.

Q34: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا لم يتم استخدام أي مصدر في القطعة الاخبارية.

Q35: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الإخبارية من الأمم المتحدة.

Q36: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية محلل للشئون السياسية.

Q37: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية خبير استراتيجي.

Q38: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر عسكري رسمي.

Q39: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر عسكري غير رسمي.

Q40: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية من شهود العيان.

Q41: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية من المصادر القبلية.

Q42: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية من مجلس التعاون الخليجي.

Q43: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية من جامعة الدول العربية.

Q44: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر عسكري يمني رسمي.

Q45: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر عسكري يمني غير رسمي.

Q46: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر رسمي من الحكومة اليمنية.

Q47: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر غير رسمي من الحكومة اليمنية.

Q48: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر من قوات التحالف.

Q49: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر من الحوثيين.

Q50: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر من أي منظمة من منظمات حقوق الإنسان.

Q51: يرجى تحديد الإجابة إذا كان المصدر المستخدم في القطعة الاخبارية مصدر من مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي.

Q52: من فضلك قُم بكتابة أي مصدر آخر لم يكن موجوداً بالاختيارات.

Q53: من فضلك قُم بكتابة أي تعليقات إن وجدت.