

INFORMATION CENSORSHIP: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE

JYLLANDS-POSTEN EDITORIAL CARICATURES IN CROSS-CULTURAL SETTINGS

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The identification and examination of cultural information strategies and censorship patterns used to propagate the controversial issue of the caricatures in two separate cultural contexts was the aim of this dissertation. It explored discourse used for the coverage of this topic by one newspaper in a restrictive information context and two newspapers in a liberal information context. Message propagation in a restrictive information environment was analyzed using the English daily *Kuwait Times* from the Middle East; the liberal information environment of the US was analyzed using two major dailies, the *New York Times* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The study also concurrently identifies and elaborates on the themes and frames through which discourse was presented exposing the cultural ideologies and premises they represent.

The topic was approached with an interdisciplinary position with the support and applicability testing of Chatman's insider-outsider theory within information science and Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory and Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model based in the area of mass communication. The study has also presented a new model of information censorship – circle of information censorship, emphasizing conceptual issues that influence the selection and censorship of information.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
Chapters	
I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i> and the Cartoons.....	2
Statement of the Problem	6
Kuwaiti Exposition.....	8
Kuwaiti Media and Political Environment	11
Purpose of the Study.....	14
Significance of the Study.....	15
Limitations of the Study.....	16
II. RELEVANT LITERATURE REVIEW	18
Freedom of Expression vs. Censorship	18
Three Theoretical Frameworks of the Study	21
Information Censorship and Selectiveness.....	32
III. RESEARCH APPROACH: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	36
IV. FINDINGS AND DELIBERATION.....	41
Explicatory Critique of the Newspapers	43
<i>New York Times</i> News Coverage and Editorials.....	46
<i>Kuwait Times</i> News Coverage and Editorials.....	51
<i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> News Coverage and Editorials.....	60
Visual Description and Interpretation of Editorial Cartoons in the <i>Kuwait Times</i>	69
Cartoon 1: February 4, 2006	69
Cartoon 2: February 4, 2006	70
Cartoon 3: February 5, 2006	71

Cartoon 4: February 7, 2006	72
Cartoon 5: February 8, 2006	72
Cartoon 6: February 11, 2006	73
Cartoon 7: February 11, 2006	74
Cartoon 8: February 12, 2006	74
Cartoon 9: February 14, 2006	75
Definition Statements	76
Hell/Satan/Judgment: <i>Kuwait Times</i>	78
Solidarity between the West and Jews: <i>NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer, Kuwait Times</i>	79
Scriptures/Religion.....	79
Nationalism/Multiculturalism.....	81
Victimology/Non-Assimilation	82
Pencil/Ink-Tip Pen	82
Defenders of Free Speech/Freedom of Speech.....	83
Justification/Motivation for Printing or Censoring: <i>NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	85
Islam as Radical	86
Appeasement/Political Correctness	87
Condemning Cartoons/Apologetic	88
Clash of Cultures/Culture Wars/East vs. West	89
Self-Blame/Self-Culture Dissection: <i>Kuwait Times</i>	91
Democratic/Theocratic	92
Information Censorship Model.....	93
The Three Theories and This Study: Incompleteness in Applicability	99
V. CONCLUSION.....	110
REFERENCES	116

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Tables

4.1	Categorization of articles from the <i>Kuwait Times</i>	102
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Figures

4.1	Information censorship model	94
4.2	Pie-chart representation of articles in the <i>Kuwait Times</i>	109

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

...we must supervise the makers of tales; and if they make a fine tale, it must be approved, but if it's not, it must be rejected.

Plato

This is an extract from Plato's Republic of where Socrates argues about the importance of censorship in the education of children. Censorship can be weighed differently by separate cultures and understanding and revealing the grounds behind the treatment of censorship of information is the primary motive of this dissertation. If the censorship of tales that mothers narrated to their children was important to Socrates in the Republic of Plato then where does censorship rank in the modern day? The comprehension of the functioning of crucial information dispensers or propagators such as the media, specifically print media, is the mission undertaken in this dissertation: whether or not they censor information and images, how they bring it into effect and the motives behind the censorship. Albeit information censorship is not limited to media sources and definitely includes school textbooks, school, homes, parenting, homeschooling and multiple other sources; this study is focused exclusively on media discourse, censorship within the media and especially on the *Jyllands-Posten* Mohammed cartoons context and censorship and clamor in the media over the cartoons in separate cultural contexts.

The contrasting information environments incorporated in this dissertation are contained in the U.S. and in the Middle Eastern country of Kuwait. These information contexts are exclusively their press environments and their response to the Prophet's caricatures.

Academic scholars have examined information censorship although the realm of research material with respect to information censorship in the Middle East is scarce and also what is atypical are comparative studies related to censorship in opposing information environments such as these. As an information scientist and journalist the analysis of information censorship in the case of the cartoon was seen as intriguing to comprehend how different factors and circumstances such as religion, laws, self-censorship and others that this study unveils influence information propagation.

Jyllands-Posten and the Cartoons

The setting for this dissertation commences in Denmark. The *Jyllands-Posten*, a Danish newspaper, published editorial cartoons making satirical depictions of the Prophet Mohammed. The cartoons were published on September 30, 2005 by Flemming Rose, culture editor of the newspaper in an article entitled “Muhammad’s ansigt,” translated as the “Face of Muhammad.” *Jyllands-Posten* is the largest circulation newspaper in Denmark, a right-wing daily of liberal persuasion. Even though the cartoons were published on 30 September, 2005, it wasn’t until late January and February of 2006 that they were unveiled and escalated globally. Islamic communities around the world expressed anger at the pictorial representation of the Prophet. Visual representation of the prophet Mohammed or any other prophet is theoretically forbidden in the Islamic faith. Some of the caricatures gave the picture of the Prophet and Muslims in general as possessing violent qualities and having affiliation to terrorism. Demonstrations broke out in Denmark and worldwide, the Danish embassies in Syria, Lebanon and Iran were attacked and set ablaze. The Islamic community in Denmark demanded apologies

from Denmark. The *Jyllands-Posten* issued an apology all the while defending its right to publish:

...we cannot apologize for our right to publish material, even offensive material. You cannot edit a newspaper if you are paralyzed by worries about every possible insult. (Rose, 2006)

The Danish Prime Minister at the time of the cartoon controversy, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, had been recently nominated as NATO's next secretary general where he was expected to make an apology for the cartoons. He emphasized that he condemned the "demonizing of cultural groups" but did not apologize for the cartoons as was the expectation – "Everyone knows that a prime minister cannot apologize for something a newspaper has done" (The Copenhagen Post, 2009). Generally, comments about the immigrant Muslim community in the press were taboo until the wake of attacks on American targets on September 11, 2001. This kind of rhetoric also began to emerge when Anders Fogh Rasmussen's government decided to implement new procedures that would affect the immigrant community like raising the threshold necessary to obtain Danish citizenship (Pernille & Lorenzo, 2007). The caricatures themselves were reprinted by only a handful of newspapers worldwide irrespective of the fact that they are copiously available on the Internet. Among Muslim media outlets Egyptian newspaper Al-Fajr and an Indonesian news website published the cartoons to show that the illustrations were in poor taste (Pernille & Lorenzo, 2007).

In an article in the Washington Post entitled "Why I published those cartoons," the culture editor provided his explanation for publishing the cartoons: "I commissioned the cartoons in response to several incidents of self-censorship in Europe caused by widening fears and feelings of intimidation in dealing with issues related to Islam" (Rose, 2006). Rose reasoned

his actions by revealing the “series of disturbing instances of self-censorship” (Rose, 2006) that inspired him to publish the cartoons. One example was that of a Danish writer who was writing a children’s book about the life of Mohammed and could not find an illustrator for the book. That was just one of the “cases of self-censorship, pitting freedom of speech against the fear of confronting issues about Islam,” that prompted Rose to ask members of the association of Danish cartoonists to draw Mohammed as they perceived him. Out of the 40 requests he sent, 12 responded. According to an article in the *Jyllands-Posten* on how the cartoon crisis unfolded, the cartoonists association had 25 active members and three members out of that were illustrators for the newspaper. One of the cartoonists had an illustration that prodded *Jyllands-Posten* editors themselves. The cartoon had a school boy named Mohammed writing “*Jyllands-Posten*’s editors are a bunch of reactionary provocateurs” on a chalkboard. This study however does not seek to further elucidate the caricatures since visual analysis of the caricatures is not the desired objective.

According to the 2006 International Religious Freedom Report (2006) by the U.S. State Department, the Muslim community in Denmark is the second largest religious community in the country, approximately 3.7% of the population. And according to the State Department’s recent report in 2009, all the major newspapers in the country reprinted cartoonist Kurt Westergaard’s caricatures of the Prophet on February 17, 2008 (“International Religious Freedom Report,” 2009). This was the newspapers response to foiled attempts against the cartoonist’s life. The reprinting once again led to riots in immigrant neighborhoods in Denmark and embassy closings and demonstrations in Muslim-majority countries worldwide. The riots in 2006 took over 50 lives (Nizza, 2008). Kurt Westergaard is one of the 12 cartoonists who

responded to the request to illustrate the Prophet. Westergaard's cartoon depicted the Prophet wearing a lit bomb turban with Arabic letters written on the turban. According to an article in the *Jyllands-Posten* (2008), the intention of the cartoon was to say that "many people exploit the prophet to legitimize terror. However, the cartoon was widely seen as a depiction of the prophet as a terrorist" (*"Jyllands-Posten,"* 2008). Three Muslim men were arrested for conspiring to kill Westergaard and he now lives under police protection. Newspapers in Sweden, the Netherlands and Spain were also reported to have reprinted the cartoon as part of their coverage of the arrests. The Danish Free Press Society was selling 1000 reprints of Kurt Westergaard's cartoon signed by the cartoonist. The organization was founded in 2005 to defend the freedom of speech in society (*"The Copenhagen Post,"* 2009). The hesitation to illustrate the Prophet was related back to the murder of Dutch film director Theo Van Gogh in Amsterdam. The director was murdered for the making of a movie "Submission" written by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali born Dutch author, an outspoken critic and defender of women's rights in Islamic culture as well as a former elected member of the Dutch parliament. The film revolved around the oppression of women in Islamic societies. Flemming paraphrases for Ali in his article as having said that "the integration of Muslims into European societies has been sped up by 300 years due to the cartoons" (Rose, 2006). In his article explaining the intention of the cartoons in the Washington Post Rose (2006) said that the cartoons have place in two narratives one being Europe and the other the Middle East. And the manner in which that narrative plays out in the U.S. and Kuwaiti media is the destination of this dissertation.

Statement of the Problem

" . . . the closer we are to some feature of social life . . . " the bigger "the sense of... significance, and the more it occupies a larger share of attention" (Wilson,1983, p. 4). This notion of proximity advocated by Patrick Wilson is what drew this researcher to further explore the topic of information censorship. This researcher has been affected by various norms of information censorship on repeated occasions and has had to alter understanding and knowledge in order to conform to these norms. Norms that altered maps in a geography textbook, norms that eliminated parts and phrases textbooks in English literature classes. This pattern of information censorship was observed in a Middle Eastern setting and was perceived to be attributed to just that setting due to the lack of absolute democratic principles in that state specifically with regard to freedom of information and existing guidelines mandated by the government. The factors that would prompt contexts like those in the Middle East and contexts that have freedom of information and communication as in this country to silence themselves and succumb to information censorship is what intrigued and subsequently translated into the rationale behind this study.

The culture editor of *Jyllands-Posten* literally bombarded the newspaper with the twelve cartoons when he felt suffocated by the restrictive information environment "after decades of appeasement and political correctness" (Rose, 2006). He was not restricted by press laws of the nation per se but by underlying dominant societal inhibitions in the form of self-censorship and political correctness. Self-censorship was defined by Hayes, Glynn and Shanahan (2005) as the "withholding of one's opinion around an audience perceived to disagree with that opinion" (Hayes, Glynn, Shanahan, 2005, p. 298). The results of this study will shed light on information

editorial cartoon censorship and information propagation in limiting information environments as well as moderate information environments. The contexts that were studied to address the above mentioned restrictive information environment was that of the country of Kuwait where media functions under guidelines mandated by the government controlled Ministry of Information. The *Kuwait Times*, an English daily that is privately owned was the newspaper evaluated in Kuwait, where a majority of the print media outlets are privately owned. The non-restrictive information environment in the U.S. was analyzed by undertaking case studies of two newspapers in the U.S. namely the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *New York Times*. Besides the aspect of the representation of the information contexts of the two cultures, the three specific newspapers were pre-selected on the basis of observation of the three newspapers handling of the editorial cartoons, in that, who decided not to publish and who published the images and also considering the wide circulation of the three newspapers.

Another reason the study of the issue of censorship in these contexts especially the Middle Eastern context is valuable is because research and information on this topic is scarce.

This dissertation acknowledges the application of the combination of three models namely Elfreda Chatman's (1996) insider-outsider theory, Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann's (1993) spiral of silence theory and Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's (2002) propaganda model of "news filters," as it explores the following research questions within the two information environments being analyzed in this study. These queries provided the parameters within which analysis was conducted:

1. What information strategies are the newspapers propagating through their discourse in response to censoring the images or printing the images?
2. What were the emerging themes and frames in the newspaper coverage?

3. What elements of the Chatman, Noelle-Neumann and Chomsky's theories are applicable to information censorship in the liberal information context in this study? And where in the context are these theories not sufficient?
4. What elements of the Chatman, Noelle-Neumann and Chomsky's theories are applicable to information censorship in the limited information context in this study? And where in the restricted context are these theories not sufficient?

Kuwaiti Exposition

The pursuit of information censorship as the topic for this dissertation was instigated by several combined experiences of censorship encountered in the U.S. and in the Middle East. Primarily motivating was an investigative article rendering evidence of censorship in school textbooks in Kuwait and the government guidelines that required the deletion or blacking out of words, lines and any connotations that were considered offensive to the Islamic faith, political policies and social convictions of the country. This investigative article provided illustrations to several aspects of Elfreda Chatman's (1996) insider-outsider theory. Chatman (1996) relates the world of the information poor which is that of the outsiders with the world of the insiders within a society and the factors that cause this information poverty. This concept of information poverty is aptly correlated with information censorship in this research, as it builds the validation that any withholding of information exhibits censorship which in turn leads to information poverty. The article revolved around censorship of imported English curriculum textbooks in English medium schools in Kuwait. This censorship is required by the Ministry of Education in the country. The textbooks include works of prominent authors like Mark Twain and Shakespeare among others. However, even while importing and using foreign books in their curriculum, before handing out these textbooks to the students, the Ministry of Education

requires words like pork and wine to be blackened out from these books because they are offensive to the Islamic faith. Words like 'hug' and 'embrace' are blackened out. Texts that refer to Jewish and Christian celebrations and religious occasions are also removed among other censorships (George, 2002). This intentional withholding of information or censorship is relevant to Chatman's concept of secrecy as elaborated later in the literature review. Education ministry guidelines also forbid the mention of contraceptives, gambling, sexual abnormality and romantic associations or friendship between the two genders in books. Political and geographical boundaries and restrictions also apply to textbooks. For instance the guidelines require that "Text describing Israel as a state with geographic, political and economic features should be omitted" (George, 2002, p. 2). A background on the nation under scrutiny in this research for its media and censorship in the media is optimal to this dissertation and its readers. Kuwait is one of the smallest and wealthiest states in the Middle East. It is an Islamic state with a minority Christian population and Arabic is the major language. The country shares its borders with Saudi Arabia in the South and with Iraq in the North. Kuwait was invaded by an Iraqi army on August 2, 1990 under the leadership of the Iraqi President at the time, Saddam Hussein. A U.S. led coalition Operation Desert Storm liberated Kuwait on February 26, 1991. Kuwait has provided the staging ground for the U.S. operations of Operation Iraqi Freedom since 2003. The two countries have maintained an amicable affiliation following the war.

Kuwaiti newspapers are mostly family owned. There are 19 dailies, out of which 17 are Arabic language dailies and two are English language dailies. The *Kuwait Times* that is being explored in this dissertation is one of the English dailies. The Arab Times is the other English daily. Both these dailies are privately owned and operated. The other main Arabic dailies are Al-

Qabas, Al Rai Al-Aam, Al-Anba, Al-Watan and Al-Seyassah. Electronic media in Kuwait is state owned and operated under the guidelines of the Ministry of Information. Kuwait also has one English government operated news agency called the Kuwait News Agency or KUNA. Broadcast media is operated under the specifications of the Ministry of Information. The 1961 Press and Publishing Law (PPL), issues fines and punishments for criticism of the government or the Emir of Kuwait. Section III of the PPL prohibits:

- Criticism or comment over God, other religious personalities and the Emir of Kuwait
- Publishing official state secrets not previously published unless permission is granted by the department of prints and publications
- Writing that may jeopardize relations between Kuwait and other Arab countries or friendly countries
- Any news or information that may affect the value of the national currency
- Publishing any news or information that violates public morality or persons' dignity or personal freedoms as well as any secrets which might affect the reputation of an individual, their wealth or commercial name. (Kuwait, 2005).

But the transparency of the fact that censorship is also subject to cultural convictions, individual awareness and beliefs all highlight the quality of selectiveness which has emerged repeatedly in the ponderings of this study. FM radio stations in Kuwait censor Western hip-hop and rap songs by bleeping out words that are considered inappropriate, keeping aside the ironic fact that this kind of music is popular among Kuwaiti youth. These include songs by artists like Nelly, 50 cents, Fat Joe and several others. Songs like "Lean Back" by Fat Joe and "My Band" by D12 played on FM stations in Kuwait have the word "pants" bleeped out (Boone, 2005). However, what is ironic that while curse words and harmless words like pants get censored, sexually explicit lyrics often get away from the censors. Whether it is unawareness that let

these sexually suggestive words get through or even if it is not, it was the selective judgment of the censor that ultimately drove censorship of these popular songs.

Kuwaiti Media and Political Environment

Article 6 of the Kuwaiti Constitution states that “the system of government in Kuwait shall be democratic, under which sovereignty resides in the people, the source of all powers. Sovereignty shall be exercised in the manner specified in this Constitution” (Kuwait Information Office, 2003). Kuwait is the only Arab Gulf state with an elected parliament. It was the first state to set up an elected parliament in the Arab Gulf region in 1963. The country’s political system has a written constitution that empowers the National Assembly to overturn any decree from the Amir. The Amir is the head of the monarchy that governs the country. The country has an Islamic committee that oversees public affairs called the Higher Consultation Committee. This committee is entitled to review the current laws in all fields and suggest means of making them conform to the rules of Islamic Sharia (Higher Consultation Committee (HCC) for complementing the application of Islamic laws). There are an additional six sub-committees under this including an educational committee and a media committee. The media committee “aims at considering all aspects of Islam with regard to mass media by preparing alternative development and appropriate media projects Thus, the media will pave the way for the application of the rules of Islamic Sharia by illustrating the impact of Islamic Sharia on social welfare” (Higher Consultation Committee (HCC) for complementing the application of Islamic laws). This can be a disadvantage to making democratic progress as Merrill (2004) suggests because according to him, in societies where religion takes precedence over free press, there

are those who see press freedom as destroying religious integrity and endangering civil morality. Despite this monitoring figure over the press in Kuwait, print media has been successful in remaining outspoken. The editorials have maintained a level of being able to critique or comment on several political, social and religious issues. From here it only becomes a matter of how far they can push this line of outspoken critique. The line in this case is controlled by the law of the land and religious laws. Therein lays the limit of freedom of expression and the propelling of censorship.

And although Kuwait holds parliamentary elections the ultimate decision power lies with the Amir and citizens do not have the power to change government and forming political parties is banned. Again regardless of the boundaries that enclose political freedom, the parliament does challenge the government on issues. In a case like Kuwait Tibi (2008) makes the relevant observation, “they will compete in elections for instrumental reasons, but they refuse to accept the full measure of democracy, including the political culture of democratic pluralism...” (Tibi, 2008, p. 47). The prime minister in Kuwait holds his position permanently. Women were not permitted to vote until recently. Al Naqeeb (2006) calls all these aspects “workings of the technology of control” (Al Naqeeb, 2006, p. 136). And “while Kuwait may manifest the trappings of democracy, it clearly lacks the participation of a democracy” (Al Naqeeb, 2006, p. 136).

Censorship is a prevailing matter in the Middle East and qualitative, substantial research material in this area is amiss. Ergo, the Middle East is fertile ground for research in the area of censorship. The fact that Middle Eastern states are regulated by press laws or press guidelines is undoubtedly evidence of prevalent media censorship. Newspapers are obliged to comply

with these laws or are subject to fines and other consequences for non-compliance. For violation of the press and publishing laws, the editor and writer of a newspaper story are subject to imprisonment from 6 months to three years and fines that can range from \$3300 to \$9780, with possibilities of the publication being suspended for up to one year, confiscation of the issue in question and revoking of the publications permit. Television shows would positively fall under the rating “general.” Television shows imported from Western countries are censored to exclude any sexually provocative language or pictures or offensive curse words. The Ministry of Communication has also imposed regulations on Internet providers to block immoral websites and some political sites (George, 2002). The press has succeeded in remaining outspoken despite the regulations and fines. Kuwait continues to enjoy a more or less liberal media system when compared to other Islamic countries, however, under the umbrella of press laws and regulations. This is reflective of the authoritarian climate in the Middle East that “seeks to restrict the distribution of oppositionist views to maintain the status quo and solidify the power of the privileged few who control the affairs of the State” (Al-Obaidi, 2007, p. 11).

The U.S. government is making attempts to improve media freedom in Kuwait by arranging journalist exchange programs to enable Kuwaiti journalists to understand journalistic practices in the U.S. According to U.S. State Department report on “Advancing freedom and democracy reports” on Kuwait, a U.S. grant helped the Kuwait Journalists Association (KJA) to draft an amendment to the press law based on international norms from the UN and European conventions. The KJA drafted an amendment to the law for the future to advise the government to advance public and government support for passing the amendment (Bureau of Democracy and Human Rights, 2008).

Purpose of the Study

The context for this dissertation was inspired by the response that catapulted around the world on account of these cartoons. The response per say, this study would classify specifically as having two approaches. The first kind of response being the reaction from Islamic communities throughout the world expressing frustration at the publication of the cartoons: the why and wherefore being on the grounds that Islamic faith does not approve of pictorial representation of the Prophet and secondly some of the cartoons depicted the Prophet as having extremist attributes. The second response or lack of thereof being from media outlets worldwide that censored the images. Essentially, the series of censorship patterns that emerged in newspapers and news networks worldwide including self-proclaimed democracies is what motivated this research endeavor. This debate has often been addressed in articles and research from a position of freedom of expression. This dissertation concedes with that approach but will address the debate by setting and examining the situation within the framework of information censorship.

This research sought to identify and analyze the following aspects:

To perceive how the selected elite newspapers in the U.S. and the Middle East censored or propagated the controversial issue of the cartoon depictions of Mohammed in Danish newspapers that ignited tumultuous events around the globe, specifically with regards to image management. Secondly, to identify major themes and frames used in these news reports to present the controversy and the rationale used to explain censorship of the cartoons, specifically to understand the behavior of the decision makers and their information strategies in the handling of this topic. This research also aims to identify and comprehend commonalities

and differences in coverage between the two countries media outlets. The discourse used within the articles was explored in search of the information strategies used by the newspapers through themes, frames and also in search of the factors that distinguish the nature of censorship. These editorial cartoons will be used as instruments of inquiry to comprehend the conflict of cultures with regard to these images.

The study also submits to approach this topic with an interdisciplinary position in information science and mass communication. Hence adopting Chatman's "insider-outsider" theory based within information science and Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory and Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model based in the area of mass communication will foster this interdisciplinary approach. In addition to working with the above mentioned models, this study has presented a new model of information censorship in the light of the research results of the study.

Significance of Study

This research examines, identifies and understands the factors that steer the use of incomplete information in a limited information environment, for example, a Middle Eastern country. The study also examines the use of incomplete information in a liberal information environment, using a democratic country like the U.S. as a model. By "incomplete information" this dissertation is referring to the act of "information censorship." Analyzing these newspaper articles and editorials from these two ends of the world will reveal how ideologies and contentious issues like censorship are discussed and treated through media discourse within

two cultures. The contrasting ideology of the two countries in which the situation of censorship is being analyzed is the main challenge to comprehending the reasons behind the censorship.

This study examines the applicability of three models of information reception and propagation to this information context– Elfreda Chatman’s (1996) insider-outsider theory, Herman and Chomsky’s (2002) propaganda filters model and Noelle-Neumann (1993) spiral of silence theory.

Limitations of Study

The qualitative feature of this study enabled a thorough capacity of analysis of the articles that were used for research. And while every effort was made to ensure that every article published by the three papers under analysis, especially those that fall within the time period analyzed in this study, a few may have been erroneously missed. Nevertheless, since the focus of the dissertation was the editorial articles and opinion pieces, these have been all almost positively gathered and used towards this study. The articles that were primarily used for analysis in this dissertation were the ones published following the publication of the initial *Jyllands-Posten* publication of the caricatures on September 30, 2005 and also articles published from January 2006 through March 2006, since the majority influx of reports were during this time frame. Furthermore, among these articles the primary spotlight was thrown on the articles that were actually written and published by local sources for the newspapers, in view of the fact that these carry the official standpoints of the three newspapers themselves. The articles imported by the papers from outside sources like Reuters, Associated Press were accounted for in this dissertation but not analyzed. This was done to keep up with the

qualitative nature of the dissertation and contribute to thoroughness in revision of the topic at hand rather than focusing on the quantity of data gathered. The articles were gathered from the print sources of the three specific newspapers and also their online counterparts

CHAPTER II

RELEVANT LITERATURE REVIEW

Freedom of Expression vs. Censorship

The annual survey report on global press freedom released by Freedom House (2008) in 2008 indicates a decline in press freedom worldwide. This trend continues for the sixth consecutive year in their survey findings. The factors contributing to this decline in freedom were violence against journalists, shutting down of media outlets and other forms of censorship in the midst of political conflicts and new punitive laws against journalists and media outlets. This dissertation does not seek to weigh the scales between information censorship and freedom of expression as its ultimate objective, nevertheless would like to explore the correlation between the two in a few passages. Defining the limits of free expression remains an often-contentious process of balancing that interest against conflicting social and individual values (Lambe, 2002. p. 187).

Freedom of expression in the case of this study is a case of conflict between two cultures, two worldviews, two separate sides for which this freedom of expression does not translate into the same. Freedom of expression is selective for the respective cultures. In this research freedom of expression is looked at through the lens of censorship where expression is analyzed between democratic societies or a non-restrictive information environment and a restrictive information environment. *Jyllands-Posten* utilized freedom of expression that was available to them in their society. And the Muslim community represented in this expression is offended and subscribes to the thought and practise that expression of any form is restricted by guidelines. In the case of the cartoons not all democratic societies exercised their right to

expression. Their reasons for not doing so may be multiple. “Most democratic governments can, in fact, prevent publication, and some do so routinely. It is done in the name of national security, protection of privacy or maintenance of social order” (Stevenson, 2004, p. 67). In other words, in the name of national security and order democratic societies end up exercising self-censorship. How does one create equilibrium between free expression and ethical journalistic responsibility? The line of equilibrium can be almost invisible when considering two cultural contexts that are contradictory in their individual, cultural and societal values. Free expression for one translates as blasphemy for the other. As mentioned earlier *Jyllands-Posten* editor Flemming Rose reason for publishing the editorial cartoons were a “series of disturbing instances of self-censorship” (Rose, 2006). Calling for the responsible use of freedom of expression can lead to self-censorship (Sturges, 2006) and limiting free speech can ultimately lead to silence.

Al Naqeeb (2006) recommends that it is not the process of democratization that is important or if a country is ruled according to Western standards but it is the “technologies of control and the mechanization of social power that is important” (Al Naqeeb, 2006, p. 137). The implementation of laws and guidelines for the functioning of media, education and other structural aspects of a government can translate as technologies of control. According to Article 36 of the Kuwaiti constitution, “Freedom of opinion and scientific research is guaranteed. Every person shall have the right to express and propagate his opinion verbally, in writing or otherwise, in accordance with the conditions and procedures specified by the law” (Ministry of Planning and Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 1995). Freedom in this Islamic

country is evidently accorded with restrictions and the Arab press and media in general are obliged to comply with these laws conveying through their medium the views of the State.

The U.S. administration assumed a critical stance towards the publication of the cartoons while concurrently maintaining its stance for freedom of expression. In a press briefing by the U.S. Department of State regarding the Prophet Mohammed caricatures spokesman, Sean McCormack spoke against the publication of the cartoons calling them “offensive” and “unacceptable.” He also said that the government understands why the images may be offensive and called for “appreciating differences” and “respect” the fact that people around the world may find the images offensive. The spokesman simultaneously defended freedom of expression in America, calling it “the core of our democracy.” In view of that, he elaborates on the “other aspects of democracy,” democracy in the U.S. and around the world to “promote understanding, to promote respect for minority rights, to try to appreciate the differences that may exist among us.” Flemming Rose (2006) acknowledged the offense taken to the cartoons and stated that *Jyllands-Posten* did not intend to disrespect Islam. Nonetheless he draws a contrast between respect and submission holding that he shows respect at a mosque by taking off his shoes just as he would due to any other faith while conversely observing that asking him as a non-believer to follow religious taboos in public is not asking for respect but rather submission and that this anticipation is “incompatible with a secular democracy” (Rose, 2006). Unanticipated, a Saudi daily printed 3 of the 12 caricatures and was shut down for the act. According to an article in the *Kuwait Times* on February 22, 2006 an editor at the newspaper claimed that the cartoons were printed in a faded-over form so that readers would not be offended and that the aim was to expand the boycott of Danish products. The publication of

the cartoons was an unforeseen move in Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam. The newspaper apparently published opinions from influential clerics along with the cartoons stating that “information which is offensive to Muslims can still be printed if it helps acquaint them with an issue” (*Kuwait Times*, 2006, p. 1).

Three Theoretical Frameworks of the Study

This chapter addresses three theories that provided the pillars to this research topic. This includes one information science theory that is Elfreda Chatman’s (1996) insider-outsider theory and two theories from the discipline of mass communication that comprise Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann’s (1993) spiral of silence theory and Noam Chomsky’s and Edward Herman’s (2002) propaganda model of “news filters.”

One of the scholars in the area of information science who examined not information censorship per say but information poverty and information avoidance through her insider-outsider theory is Elfreda Chatman (1996). Chatman’s theory and research however was found highly suitable in applicability to the study of information censorship. Chatman’s (1996) theory of the insider and outsider was considered as relevant to this study since it brought to the forefront significant facets that are relatable to the study of censorship and those aspects have been expounded upon as this theory is being addressed in this research. Insiders are those individuals whose “lived-experiences are shaped by the fact that they share a common cultural, social, religious, etc., perspective” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194). And these common experiences provide expected norms of behavior and ways to approach the world. Chatman highlighted one aspect of insiders that is relevant to information censorship i.e. they “define those things that

are important to pay attention to and those things that are not” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194).

Chatman (1996) explains that commonalities that insiders share are what leads its members to have doubt about the ability of outsiders to comprehend their culture and hence leads to a condition of secrecy and protection. Insiders shield themselves from needed information and although this restricts them to limited information it shields “the worldview of insiders from contamination by outsiders” (Chatman, 1996, p. 195).

And Chatman addresses secrecy with regards to information poverty. Information poverty or failure to satisfy information needs despite information availability is attributed by Chatman to aspects like secrecy, deception, risk-taking and situational relevance.

- Secrecy: The pattern of censorship observed in the case of Kuwait is well exhibited in four of the elements that Chatman identified under the concept of secrecy i.e. intentional concealment, separation mechanism, control and deception:
 - Intentional concealment: Intentional concealment of the Danish cartoons is what transpired in the case of this study. Chatman uses Bok’s (1983) definition of a secret, where anything is a secret if its intent is concealment. Although Bok’s angle is that of sharing of secret information, the intentional concealment definition of secrecy is applicable to information censorship in this case of newspaper reproduction or lack of thereof of the images or cartoons.
 - Separation mechanism: In this separation aspect is displayed the insider mentality where information from the outside is viewed as an intrusion and hence they protect themselves or separate themselves from the source of information through censorship

- Control: Chatman explains that control has an influence on the communication process. She talks about control in small worlds as a need to protect their secret information. In information censorship withholding information can be viewed as controlling the information communication and reception process. In the case of the Middle East as discussed earlier this control happens through rules and regulations mandated by the government. In the case of the Danish cartoons, there were no rules to mandate the reproduction of the images specifically in the unrestricted information environment and yet the images were reproduced by only a handful of college newspapers highlighting the element of control in this case.
- Deception: This factor of information poverty is closely associated with secrecy except that deception involves disseminating false and misleading information. There couldn't be a better example of this as in the case of school textbooks in Kuwait where the words "wine" and "pork" are usually replaced with "water" and "beef." That is, they use water in place of wine and beef in the place of pork. In the media, Kuwait imports shows from the West for their English channel and all the shows are censored before they are aired on television. Scenes that are considered provocative or words that are considered inappropriate are all edited from the original footage.
- The other two factors Chatman (1996) observes under secrecy are risk-taking and situational relevance. Risk-taking is self-protective information behavior to either protect someone at risk through secrecy and deception or someone who thinks that revealing information about oneself is potentially dangerous. Situational relevance is addressed in terms

of the utility of information. She addresses it as the “ability to shape a collective perception about ways in which new knowledge is brought into a social system” (Chatman, 1996, p. 202). Even information that is useful is rejected if the source is not collectively validated by others in the information context or else if information did not respond to a concern, problem or provide value to the situation or the search for the sources, that information lost its relevance to the situation. “Relevance judgments were seen as users' decisions to accept or reject information based on the extent of its relevance to the situation” (Schamber, 2000, p. 735).

Although Chatman’s definition of secrecy as “a deliberate attempt not to inform others about one’s true state of affairs” may be in a different context, these concepts and elucidations by Chatman can be applied anew to information censorship. Chatman’s insider concept is also compatible with Lindlof’s (2002) notion on community. Lindlof classifies a community based on four characteristics. He emphasizes the need for solidarity in a community. “Community is based on a *unity* of shared circumstances, interests, customs, and purposes” (2002, p. 3). This is the first characteristic of a successful community. The second characteristic, Lindlof states, is “the moral obligations that members share, manifested in social rules, etiquette, and ethical codes” (Lindlof, 2002, p. 3). Thirdly, he recommends the stability that a community must attain to form unity and moral obligations. “This stability is usually aided by the establishment of sacred icons, canonical texts, rituals, and myths, whose symbolic potency for directing core values outlasts the coming and going of individual generations of community members. Stable communities also rely on an adequate material base and favorable political conditions” (Lindlof, 2002, p. 3). Finally, social networks equip the community with the “communicative occasions and codes that enable social actors to coordinate their action...” (Lindlof, 2002, p. 3). The

characteristic of community that leads members or insiders to have doubt about the ability of outsiders to comprehend their culture leads to a condition of secrecy and protection. Their social rules are what tie them together and protect their autonomy. The insiders or a community can shield themselves from needed knowledge and although they only receive limited knowledge or no knowledge like Chatman's theory holds and as mentioned earlier it shields "the worldview of insiders from contamination by outsiders" (Chatman, 1996, p. 195). The article on censorship of textbooks from the *Arab Times* mentioned in the section on Kuwait had this quote to speak to Chatman's (1996) statement: "'In their attempt to protect their own culture, they interfere with other cultures and they do not want anyone to interfere in their own culture. That is a contradiction,' noted Dr. Shamlan" (George, 2002, p. 7).

The spiral of silence theory by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann and the deductions she makes also presented a suitable premise for this research. She highlights significant theoretical perspectives that are relevant to this study in addition to her spiral of silence theory. Noelle-Neumann (1993) refers to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's definition of the censor as an instrument of public opinion: "The censorship preserves manners and morals by preventing opinions from growing corrupt, by preserving their rectitude through wise applications, sometimes even by making them definite when they are still uncertain" (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 82). Rousseau distinguished public opinion as "a compromise between social consensus and individual convictions" (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 87). Noelle-Neumann (1993) also emphasized on the media's capability for agenda-setting through Luhmann's perception of public opinion. Luhmann "highlights the importance of structuring attention, of selecting, issues, as a phase in the public opinion process, and he leaves no doubts about the significance of the mass media,

which, more than any court, take it upon themselves to select these issues” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 153). The media emerge as “gatekeepers” in the case of the Danish cartoon censorship, when they (the media) decided not to publish those cartoons. The term “gatekeeper” was coined by social psychologist Kurt Lewin. Gatekeepers make the decision to reveal or withhold information from the public. Leon Festinger’s (1962) theory of cognitive dissonance explains the behavior of selective exposure and selective avoidance. All people have a strong need to maintain consistency between their beliefs, values and behaviors, according to the dissonance theory. Dissonance is an emotional distress that occurs when inconsistencies occur in this pattern and dissonance motivates them to restore consistency. “The more important beliefs and behaviors are to an individual, and the stronger commitment to them, the greater the dissonance created by inconsistent information and the stronger the drive to restore consistency” (McFarland, 1996, p. 174).

One central aspect that Noelle-Neumann (1993) addresses in her book *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion-Our Social Skin* is the connection between the process of selection and reality: “What does not get reported does not exist, or, stated somewhat cautiously, its chances of becoming part of ongoing, perceived reality are minimal” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 150). The images that were censored or not published in newspapers worldwide because its gatekeepers decided otherwise did not expose its reality to readers and viewers even though many of them were exposed to the social consequences of the images in the form of riots and other responses both rational and irrational. “Media culture is what the media select from the world and offer us; insofar as the actual world lies outside one’s reach, outside one’s sight, the former one is usually our only view of the world” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 150). In the case

of this study, censorship of the images manifestly happened even in liberal information environments under no pressure from governance or law, rather through self-censorship. The correlation that Noelle-Neumann (1993) draws between laws and public opinion can be applied to the context of censorship, especially in the case of the Middle East where censorship is mandated by law . For example, according to Article 37 of the Kuwaiti Constitution, “Freedom of the press, printing, and publishing shall be guaranteed in accordance with the conditions and procedures specified by the law” (Ministry of Planning & Center for Research and Studies on Kuwait, 1995, p. 33). And according to Neumann (1993) “...laws can be enacted or changed in order to influence public opinion in the desired direction” (p. 130).

Noelle-Neumann (1993) highlights Nikolas Luhmann’s (1971) notion that public opinion can select the issue and be the gatekeepers as well, when typically this function of selection is attributed to the media. The spiral of silence theory makes the assumption that individuals, who believe they are part of a minority become hesitant to voice their opinions in public because of fear of social isolation, then the interpersonal environment and perceptions of the overall climate of opinion, begin to change and this gradually results in the spiral of silence. Society threatens with “isolation and exclusion those individuals who deviate from the consensus...This fear of isolation causes people constantly to check which opinions and modes of behavior are approved or disapproved of in their environment, and which opinions and forms of behavior are gaining or losing strength” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 202). The fear of disapproval could lead to censorship, as in seeing in the case of the cartoons. The spiral of silence deals with fear of disagreement or fear of expression in an interpersonal context. This study examines its applicability in a context where silence or censorship occurs to avoid

offending a larger social context, where censorship occurs so that political correctness or appeasement prevails like in the case of the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons. The argument of the paper's culture editor Flemming Rose was the "decades of appeasement and political correctness" in Europe that keeps Muslims there above criticism and satire and he justifies the cartoons as an act of inclusion and suggests that Europe "shed the straitjacket of political correctness" (Rose, 2006). Fairclough (2003) addresses the issue of political correctness as a "political controversy in which both those who are labeled 'PC' and those who label them 'PC' are engaged in a politics that is focused upon representations, values and identities....a cultural politics," wherein "the objective on both sides is cultural change...as a trigger for broader social change" (p. 17). The spiral of silence theory considers the concept of public opinion as social control, wherein it affects all members of society. "The concept of public opinion as social control is not concerned with the quality of the arguments. The decisive factor is which of the two camps in a controversy is strong enough to threaten the opposing camp with isolation, rejection and ostracism" (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 228). Therefore, in order not to be isolated individuals watch both sides of the camp to monitor strength and weakness and incrementally based on progression in a social process shift sides towards the stronger side.

The third model that is considered in this study is Herman and Chomsky's (2002) propaganda model. This model puts forward and expounds on the correlation between media and propaganda sources. This five-filter propaganda model applies itself to the state of the media in the U.S. and breaks down the media's propaganda role through selection and framing of topics and also censorship of topics. The model elaborates on the demands of the elite system that governs the media, how media personnel acclimatize themselves with the methods

of this system and the filters that are used to achieve the desired concluding message that is communicated to the public. The media meet these demands by selection and framing of topics, filtering or censoring information and keeping contentions regarding an issue within permissible boundaries. "Censorship is largely self-censorship, by reporters and commentators who adjust to the realities of source and media organizational requirements, and by people at higher levels within media organizations who are chosen to implement, and have usually internalized, the constraints imposed by proprietary and other market and governmental centers of power" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 9). The model includes the following "news filters":

- The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms
- Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media
- The reliance of the media on information provided by government, business and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power
- "Flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and
- "Anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism

Boyd-Barrett (2004) added a sixth filter to Herman and Chomsky's (2002) propaganda model: the buying out filter, which is the "buying out of individual journalists or their media by government agencies and authorities" (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 436). Boyd-Barrett (2004) expands on the penetration of the media by the CIA and the level of control and filtering of information that takes place. He quotes a CIA memo that states that the agency keeps in touch with reporters from major wire services, newspapers and TV networks, influencing reporters to censor or edit stories that "could have adversely affected national security interests or jeopardized sources or methods" (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 437). He also provides details on the

ensorship of war images of the Iraq war stating that journalists collaborate with “third parties, whether these be government agencies or public relations/disinformation agencies” (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 437). During the 2003 Iraq War, 600 U.S. journalists were embedded in coalition military units across Iraq. Media members were trained on how to cover the war in Iraq in a 7-day Joint Military Contingency Training for Media course. According to an American Forces Press Service article on the U.S. Department of Defense website, nearly 60 reporters, wearing military protective equipment and carrying 25-pound packs spent a week training with the Navy and Marine Corps to familiarize themselves with military operations. According to the article, the military wanted media members embedded under the protection of military units rather than cover the war on their own. “It’s safer for the media and safer for the military,” the article said (Rhem, 2002). In addition to this, according to another article by the American Forces Press Service, these embedded news reporters and news organizations were required to agree to follow certain ground rules in return for “access, cooperation and protection” (Rhem, 2003). According to Dudge (2006), background briefings have been used regularly by the Bush administration during the Iraq war. He argues that “the background briefing is a secure delivery system for ‘spin’; it ensures that the government can introduce information into the media sphere without having to go on the record” (p. 127). Boyd-Barrett (2004) suggests that filters like the third filter in the propaganda model, dependence of official sources, might seem to be a harmless collaboration between journalists and official sources. But buying out implies the “exercise of direct but covert control of news media, not simply as cover for intelligence activity, but for the purposes of state manipulation of public opinion and propaganda, a degree

of fusion between state and news media practices that goes beyond the dynamics of everyday political economy” (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 437).

Herman and Chomsky (2002), however, do emphasize on the fact that the media in the U.S. do not have the bearings of a totalitarian state and do promote critique and debate, again however as long as they restrict themselves to the policies and system of the elite. The first filter describes the commitment media companies render to the market which includes stockholders, directors and bankers. Dichotomization of messages from dissenting and smaller sources against those from powerful sources is another accusation against the media in the propaganda model. The charges are that the preferred news stories differ in quality in terms of placement, usage of words and headlines in order to mobilize interest in the story.

Flak is the fourth filter in the propaganda model and refers to “negative responses to a media statement or program” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 26). This could be letters, phone calls, speeches, petitions, bills before Congress and several forms of complaint and threat. Herman and Chomsky discuss the financial risks to media organizations if flak involves individuals or groups with substantial resources. Advertisers demand suitable programming to avoid offending constituencies that might create flak. They associate the producing of flak with power; power in the form of government and financial sponsors. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* took some flak in the form of Muslim protesters outside their office for the publishing of the *Jyllands-Posten* caricatures in their newspaper. A group representing the area mosques had called for a boycott of the newspaper until it issued an apology. The term flak is also a slang term used to refer to a public relations person, not in a positive sense. Flak or flack is also an anti-aircraft gun. The origin of the term is also made to the “early years of the last century

when *Variety* magazine, recognizing the outstanding ability of Gene Flack in promoting films, began promoting his skills by using “flacking” instead of “publicizing” (Pedersen, 2006, p. 4).

Information Censorship and Selectiveness

Censorship can likely be implemented by simply choosing the structure around which one would like to communicate a message. In the study of communication, this characteristic has been labeled as framing. Gormly (2004) defines frames as “the focus—a parameter or boundary—for discussing a particular event” (p. 223). Frames can “exert their power through the selective description and omission of the features of situation” (Entman, 1993, p. 4).

Entman (1993) classified framing into two concepts: selection and salience. “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 for treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 2). This is an important validation for the reason behind the search for the themes and frames within the data collected for this research, seeing as the cultures examined in the study are in contrast to each other and what one selectively promotes as important is likely to show up in the discourse on their newspaper pages. “News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events” (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003, pp. 10-11). Framing strategies used by newspapers can “determine a news event’s political importance” (Entman, 1991, p. 10).

The propaganda model by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002), stresses the need for structural and organizational changes in media to bring about a more democratic media by “democratization of media sources” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). This model calls the media on its purpose, which is exposed as communicating the economic, social and political interests of the elites that dominate society and the media. Ryan, Carragee and Meinhofer (2001) also maintain an identical mindset. They state that news stories are influenced by several social actors like corporate elites and social movements turning news stories into a “forum for framing contests” (p. 176) which they believe will work in favor of the economic and political elites.

Competition between news networks and revenue factors can also contribute to biased coverage. “Agenda-setting theorists contend that political views of mass audiences and elites about the relative importance of political events and about the characteristics of political actors and political situations are shaped by information made available by the mass media to which they are exposed directly, or through reports from other sources” (Graber & Smith, 2005).

The occurrence of hostile media bias can also be attributed to comprehending censorship queries. Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985) use three different theories to explain the tendency of hostile media bias and manner of information processing by partisans: Different standards, selective categorization and selective recall.

- Different standards: This suggests that partisans would be able to perceive a perfectly balanced newscast that has an equal number of facts and images to support both sides of a news story. However, because they believe that their side’s claim is more accurate than the other, they think balanced coverage is inappropriate.

- Selective categorization: Partisans supporting two different sides may recall identical facts, images or arguments from a news piece. But, they categorize it based on their own position and classify a predominance of individual items as hostile to their own side. D'Alessio (2003) classifies this kind of bias as "subjective. Different people looking at identical context can come to idiosyncratic, often opposing judgments" (p. 282).
- Selective recall: In selective recall, partisans may remember attitude-incongruent material especially well rather than categorizing neutral material as hostile. For example, a pro-Arab may remember reports of Arab misdeeds and a pro-Israeli may remember reports of Israeli misdeeds from a balanced newscast.

In a study of partisans conducted by Giner-Sorolla and Chaiken (1994), people on both sides of the Israel-Palestine conflict and abortion were observed on the basis of television news coverage of both issues. They found that prior beliefs of media bias, together with issue attitudes rather than partisanship may lead people to prejudge a program as biased, thus accounting for hostile media judgments. This kind of perception of bias, according to D'Alessio (2003) is relativistic, where "biased" often means "disagrees with us, the users," regardless of users' awareness of any of their own biases or the overall balance of the content (p. 282).

Eveland and Shah (2003) say that hostile media phenomenon need not be attributed completely with individual information processing differences but, may be at least partially related to biases social sampling that occurs before the information is processed. Individuals who are part of a social network are likely to have a social norm and are likely to judge within that social norm.

Chatman's (1996) insider-outsider theory suggests that informational barriers arise because individuals may not be able to comprehend a world that is different from their own.

Eveland and Shah (2003) suggest that an individual's opinion of news bias is related to interpersonal environments. They suggest that "individuals may in part be using their

interpersonal environments, and the information conveyed to them, to infer reality. This interpersonally generated reality is then compared to news media content, and the individual defines inconsistencies as “bias” (Eveland & Shah, 2003, p. 106). In order to understand the causes for misperceptions of news content and the connection of bias perceptions to interpersonal communication environments, they consider the spiral-of silence theory. When individuals who believe they are part of a minority become hesitant to voice their opinions in public because of fear of social isolation, the interpersonal environment and perceptions of the overall climate of opinion, begin to change and this gradually results in the spiral of silence. They suggest that the “potential lack of representativeness of the resulting interpersonal communication environment is central to this theory of perceptions of social reality, and may be applied to perceptions of media reality” (Eveland & Shah, 2003, p. 105). According to Noelle-Neumann (1993), the media themselves influence the individual’s perception of what is appropriate to say or do without facing the risk of isolation. She refers to repetitive stereotypes in the media that “intervenes between people and the objective external world to serve as their pseudo-reality” highlighting the agenda-setting characteristic of the media (p. 156). McFarland (1996) observed two psychological processes that religious individuals use to uphold their faith: selective exposure and selective avoidance. When the individual is strongly committed to beliefs, there is a greater possibility that one will selectively (selective exposure) look for information that supports his belief because that information will decrease dissonance. Similarly, one will also try to avoid (selective avoidance) information that contradicts beliefs because that information increases dissonance.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH APPROACH: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter expounds on the data collection and data analysis methods employed in this dissertation. The data gathered were analyzed using the qualitative research method of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis was considered the ideal method to layout this research topic because of its social constructivist nature. Context is critical to understanding any discourse, the participants of the context itself, and all the actions that lead to coverage in the media will enable better comprehend media discourse in this study. And discourse analysis “views discourse as constitutive of the social world...and assumes that the world cannot be known separately from discourse” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 6). Media does not exist independent of the environment in which it exists but rather represent the “form and coloration of the social and political structures” (Siebert et al., 1993, p. 1)

Data for the study were gathered from editorials and news reports from newspapers in the U.S. and Kuwait on the cartoon controversy in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. The articles were gathered from the following three English dailies; two newspapers from the U.S. and one from the Middle East state of Kuwait. The English dailies selected from the U.S. are the *New York Times* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* as representative of the non-restrictive information environment and the respective culture. The *Kuwait Times* was chosen as the representative newspaper from the Middle Eastern country of Kuwait for the restrictive information environment in the Middle East and its respective culture.

The rationale behind the choice of these specific newspaper sources is as follows:

- The *New York Times* and *Philadelphia Inquirer* were selected as sample newspapers from the U.S. because of their wide circulation and diverse readership. It may be argued that the study cannot be based on just two newspapers in a country with such a wide conglomeration of press and media sources. However, this expansive range of circulation and readership is a significant factor in representing the topic of information censorship as in it renders the results of this study with validity and the results can be fairly generalized because of the population representativeness of these newspapers. Furthermore, it was an educated choice to pre-select these newspapers in order to portray who published and who censored the cartoons. And in this case, it was the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that published the caricatures and the *New York Times* that chose otherwise.

- Wide circulation was one of the reasons behind the pre-selection of the *Kuwait Times* from the Middle East for analysis. Besides that, Kuwait has a fairly opinionated press environment even while operating under press regulation mandated by the government. Therefore, the aim was to understand how the press environment in this Middle Eastern country treated the cartoon controversy in comparison to a theoretically liberal press environment in the US.

The resources that were utilized for access to these newspaper sources were microfilm reels of the *New York Times* that were readily accessible at the University of North Texas library. The microfilm reels for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Kuwait Times* were accessed from the Library of Congress using the Interlibrary Loan Service at the University of North Texas.

The collected data were used to compare the censorship patterns in the three

newspaper environments and the contexts surrounding them. This research also gathered and analyzed editorial articles and cartoons surrounding the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoon controversy. The newspapers from the U.S. would be representative of the unrestrictive information environment and the paper from the Middle East would be representative of the restrictive information environment.

The three news contexts were treated as case studies that enabled comprehension of the ways in which these three separate papers justified printing or censoring the cartoons. The time period that was selected for this research were the three years following the first publishing of the cartoons on September 30, 2005 in the *Jyllands-Posten*, until December 31, 2008. This duration was selected to ensure capturing the repercussions, immediacy of events and other relevant aspects following the publication of the cartoons in the Danish newspaper. The inclusion expansive time period until 2008 also enabled the inclusion of recent developments involving the cartoon crisis, which includes the reprinting of the cartoons in 2008 and further happenings surrounding the reproduction of the images. The articles that were primarily analyzed were the editorial articles since these would be the voice of the newspapers and represent what their editors have to say. The other reports were mostly adopted from outside news sources such as Associated Press, Reuters, Deutsche Presse Agentur, Agence France Presse etc. The study also considered in the analysis the editorial cartoons that exhibited connection to the cartoon controversy. An exploratory approach was applied for the cartoons using qualitative interpretation to comprehend the potential meanings behind the cartoons by combining Western and Muslim perspectives.

A comparative discourse analysis approach was applied to the data from the newspapers in order to:

- a. Identify the themes and frames in the newspaper articles:

Themes are recurring typical topics that appear in multiple texts. And frames are a parameter or framework for discussing a particular topic- suggesting what will be discussed, how it will be discussed and how it will not be discussed (Gormly, 2004, p. 223). Entman's (2003) classifies frames as performing four functions often alternately: Defining effects or conditions as problematic, identifying causes, conveying a moral judgment of those involved in the framed matter or endorsing remedies or improvements to the problematic situation. Looking into the frames used by the newspapers will enable identifying and examining the implications of the frames in the coverage of the caricature controversy.

- b. To comprehend the information strategies used in the articles for censoring or publishing the cartoons –the discourse employed by the newspapers. Discourse refers to the words and images used to communicate these themes (Gormly, 2004, p. 223).

The role of media discourse in the two social contexts is essentially the key function assumed by this study. Newspaper discourse portrayed a good understanding of the respective cultures in both the information contexts – media culture and social culture. "Discourses include not only representations of how things are, they can also be representations of how things could be, or 'imaginaries'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 23). This approach would also enable the comprehension and analysis of the factors that relate to each other and reveal the distinctive nature of the phenomenon of censorship that is being examined (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It can highlight the role of media discourse in dictating informational and social parameters.

Structures like media structures can “develop internal rigidities that can make them resistant to any form of change and resistant...to cultural and discursive change” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DELIBERATION

The primary aim of this study was to identify and examine the elements that aid information flow and information censorship in a restrictive and a non-restrictive information environment simultaneously. The research questions posed in the study have been deliberated in this section. This research is driven to a considerable extent in unanimity with Chatman (1996) to illuminate “how people use information to reshape, redefine or reclaim their social reality” (p. 195). The information strategies used, structures that organize information transfer, the process of transfer and the forces governing the flow of information; the findings of this study reveal these factors, enabling a sound understanding of a positively intertwined concept in information- censorship.

The relevance and applicability of these aspects to the three theoretical models – Elfreda Chatman’s (1996) insider-outsider theory, Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann’s spiral of silence theory and Noam Chomsky’s propaganda theory, has also been identified and analyzed in this section. Although these newspaper texts and editorials were produced in two separate cultural contexts the common circumstance that is the caricatures that led to the production of these texts makes their analysis constructive. The European context, specifically the Danish context is understandably imperative to this study and this section permits analysis of relevant materials, although that analysis is given secondary consideration to that of the U.S. and Middle Eastern milieu.

In an opinion piece in the *New York Times* “Opinion; Why I Published the Muhammad Cartoons,” the newspaper provides the cultural editor of *Jyllands Posten* Flemming Rose ground

to offer his own explanation for printing the caricatures. Rose (2006) elaborates on multiculturalism in Europe. He labels it as “Europe’s failed experiment” (Rose, 2006). Rose expresses his dissatisfaction with “appeasement,” “political correctness” and “a posture of moral relativism” that is undermining “the liberal values of Europe.” He states that Denmark’s immigrant Muslim population which he quotes at 200,000 in 2006 is not willing to “adapt culturally to their adopted country.” He underscores a “politics of victimology” that the Islamic culture within Europe uses to perpetuate “national and religious differences.” Rose (2006) contrasts the state of multiculturalism in Europe to that of the United States. He believes that Europe’s attitude toward the immigrant population and their assimilation to the European culture is “rooted in its historic experience with relatively homogenous cultures”; while in the United States allegiance or nationality is primarily political. He contrasts the economic productivity status of the Muslim community in Europe to that of the Hispanic community in the U.S., where (according to statistics he presents) tax payment by immigrants in the U.S., is approximately equal to that paid by native-born Americans while in Denmark there is a delta of 41% between the tax contribution of a local and an immigrant. He comments on the “demographic revolution” that is changing the cultural facet of Europe. He posits that Europe must set aside political correctness and resist considering the ‘illiberal values of conservative Islam” and the “liberal traditions of the European Enlightenment” with an even posture. According to him the even stance should be in the treatment of natives and Muslim immigrants through “the act of inclusion.” Criticism would be included in this approach both to Danes and Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. And hence in the light of this argument he makes, Rose calls the 12 caricatures an “act of inclusion, not exclusion”

Explicatory Critique of the Newspapers

As stated earlier, Rose (2006) blames the lack of integration of the Muslim population in Europe on the “victimology” concept and the hesitation to adapt. He also calls out Europe’s nationalistic mentality for the lack of assimilation of its immigrant population. In an editorial article in the *Kuwait Times* on February 4, 2006, a similar account is drawn in connection with the cartoon, which is identifying the two similar reasons for the non-assimilation factor: closed nature of the Muslim community and multiculturalism versus nationalism in Europe. However, the scale on which each of these two issues is weighed by the editorials is dissimilar: the Kuwaiti editorial mentions the ‘closed nature of many Muslim societies’ but blames it “just as much-if not more” on the “national self-determination” of the Europeans. Evidently here, each side inclining support towards their individual cultures. The Kuwaiti editorial also draws a comparison between American multiculturalism and European nationalism. He compares the naturalization process in the U.S. to that in Europe. The editorial represents the view that once naturalized in America the citizen is accepted while in Europe an “ethnic-based” identity leads to not accepting a Muslim immigrant into the fold of European society. The Kuwaiti editorial was authored by a “staffer.” The editorial primarily discusses the issue of the actual publication of the cartoon calling it in actual quotes the “blasphemous” cartoons. The editorial expresses a concern for the issues of violence beyond the “charges and counter charges of cultural insensitivity (on both sides), blasphemy and cultural immaturity...” (*Kuwait Times*, 2006, p. 18). This Kuwaiti editorial came alongside an editorial cartoon which portrays hell and the devil stirring European editors in a big black cauldron. This cartoon has been expounded on in the separate section afterward analyzing the editorial cartoons in the *Kuwait Times*.

In an opinion article containing a decomposition of the *Jyllands-Posten* controversy from Kuwaiti eyes, Al-Sharikh (2006) offers an evenhanded approach from the Islamic world's point of view as well as from the European point of view. He highlights the inherent issues within the Islamic culture, the Kuwaiti culture specifically, corresponding with the cultural aspects of the European society all of course in light of the topic under discussion here: the cartoons. The issues he indicates are facts like women were not permitted to vote until 2005, music being *haram* or prohibited, and universities being gender segregated, etc. Al-Sharikh (2006) does condemn the uproar over the matter by stating that "we are looking at this issue through our own Muslim eyes, and not through the eyes of the citizens that produced these cartoons" (Al-Sharikh, 2006), even while expressing offense at the publication of the cartoons as a Muslim. In the article by Flemming Rose (2006) in the *Washington Post*, he calls it "editing" and exercise "restraint because of ethical standards and taste" when he decided to "censor pornographic images or graphic details of dead bodies." Meanwhile, Al-Sharikh (2006) in the *Kuwait Times* highlights Danish "liberalism" and equates this liberalism's allowing of "child pornography" with "derogatory cartoons" of "revered characters" both Muslim and non-Muslim. This difference reflects a clash of cultural mindsets, a clash of ideologies between the cultures under examination in this study. *Jyllands-Posten* is not part of analysis in this study. It is only the context for discussion in this study. Nevertheless, it seems worth mentioning in this paragraph of analysis that when *Jyllands-Posten* considered publishing pornographic images as distasteful and publishes the cartoons to "push back" against "self-imposed limits on expression," the *Kuwait Times* article by Al-Sharikh puts publishing child pornography and insulting religious figures on the same weighing scale. This comparison underlines the element of "selectiveness,"

censoring or publishing selectively. And this quality of selectiveness emerges from being representative of separate cultures and cultural mindsets. Situational relevance, a feature discussed by Chatman (1996) in the social context of the poor is relevant in the broader realm of comprehending cultural information exchange. It can shape the “collective perception” (Chatman, 1996, p. 202) in the social system which defines which piece of information makes sense in their system or which piece of information to select. Alrabaa (2006) in an opinion piece right alongside Al-Sharikh’s article in the *Kuwait Times*, comments on the aspect of “selective” freedom of speech among Arabs:

Arabs demand freedom of speech as long as it is convenient to them. By the same token people they disagree with, or enemies must be muzzled. For Arabs freedom of speech is not universal and does not apply to everybody and everywhere. They go selective about it. (Alrabaa, 2006, p. 6).

Chatman’s (1996) underscores the notion of “localized integration” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194) reflected in the *NY Times* piece where Flemming talks about the lack of integration of the Islamic society into the European society. The article brings out the “expected norms of behavior” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194) the insiders expect from the outsiders in this case the Muslim community, as much in the information realm as it is expected in the cultural realm. In the Middle East too social norms influence information propagation which includes common cultural, social and religious perspectives they share. The further result of this concord is the selective treatment of information by defining “those things that are important to pay attention to and those things that are not” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194) and by setting “parameters around the communication process” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194).

Al-Sharikh (2006) also mentions a 2005 survey by Reporters without Borders for countries that have freedom of speech, where Denmark and Norway rank number 1, the U.S.

ranks at 44 and Kuwait ranks 85. This 2005 report would definitely have an updated status but these rankings were considered to be more relevant to this study and the time period factored in this study.

New York Times News Coverage and Editorials

A *New York Times* opinion editorial titled “Those Danish cartoons” on February 7, 2006, supported the *Jyllands-Posten’s* “experiment” recognizing it as “within the speech protected by our First Amendment.” The *New York Times* however refrained from printing the cartoons and their information strategy or rationalization for not printing or self-censoring in their own words would be “a reasonable choice for news organizations that usually refrain from gratuitous assaults on religious symbols, especially since the cartoons are so easy to describe in words” (February 7, 2006). The cartoons resurfaced in a left-wing Danish newspaper *Politiken* in February of 2008. The newspaper’s rationale for reprinting the cartoons was its protest against the murder attempt against Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard who illustrated the Mohammed caricature with the bomb for a turban. In an editorial article on the *New York Times* blog page called the “The Lede” about this encore, they again explain their approach on not printing the cartoons as the lack of space and to elude worldwide fury:

So many things to report, so little space. That’s chief reason newspapers aren’t usually in the business of reprinting things. Here’s another: To avoid worldwide fury. (Nizza, *NY Times*, 2008)

Four reasons provided as rationale in these *NY Times* editorials were: to refrain from attacking religious symbols, to avoid worldwide fury, not enough space to report and the cartoons are easy to describe in words- “...a consortium of opinion regarding what is important

to know and what is irrelevant” (Chatman, 1996, p. 195). These pretexts used to censor the images tie in with Chatman’s (1996) small world concept of secrecy or intentional concealment, applicable to this broader liberal information context. Conceivably implied in the rationale used by the newspaper are the media filters of the propaganda model. Chatman (1996) brings out the element of control used in the communication process in small worlds. Control is used as an element of secrecy by small worlds to protect their information. Media filters like ownership and advertising can bear control on the decision to print or not to print. Fear of flak from ownership and revenue sources, and also flak in the form of negative responses from readers, complaints and protests could have courted the decision. “To avoid worldwide fury” – apprehension or fear or a consequent event caused the decision to censor, causing the decision to “attend to the social dimension” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 62) around them. Noelle-Neumann (1993) applies this facet of public opinion in relation to the individual, but this research believes that its applicability is relevant to this context as well. It is the need for consensus, the fear of unpopularity leading to “an awareness of the “public eye” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 62).

Conversely another editorial in the *New York Times* on February 12, 2006, is of the conviction that, “What is important is that you let it all hang out” (Fish, 2006, p. 15). This includes everything from opinions about a religion to opinions about your wife’s new dress. The article was titled: “Our Faith in Letting it All Hang Out.” He backs *Jyllands-Posten* culture editor and desires to put “self-censorship on the agenda” (Fish, 2006, p. 15). Fish (2006) speaks for *Jyllands-Posten* editor Rose and himself and Rose as adherents of “the religion of letting it all hang out, the religion we call liberalism” and in this liberal religion all ideas and expressions are

“to be permitted, but nothing is to be taken seriously” (Fish, 2006, p. 15). He adds that religious views must be expressed which is what separates democratic societies from theocratic and tyrannical ones while simultaneously religious beliefs are owed “respect”: nothing less, nothing more” (Fish, 2006, p. 15). Fish (2006) argues that while strong faith is appreciated, asking for “deference rather than mere respect” (p. 15) will be met with a influx of “platitudinous arguments” (p. 15) which comprises the argument that cartoons “vilifying” Christianity and Judaism are out by Muslim countries, all the while believing that Jews and Christians follow wrong religions and “are proper objects of hatred and obloquy” (p. 15). Fish (2006) defends the editors who published the cartoons saying that they do not believe that Muslims are “infidels” who must be “converted or vanquished” (p. 15) and they do not publish the “offending cartoons to furor some religious or political vision” but rather do it “almost accidentally” only to stand up for “an abstract principle -free speech” (p. 15). He theorizes that these proponents of free speech take hold of examples that should protect this principle, irrespective of the content, irrespective of the “fact that for others the content maybe life itself...” (Fish, 2006, p. 15).

Martin Burcharth’s (2006) editorial had a markedly polar outlook compared to Fish (2006) in which the publication of the cartoons had little to do with self-censorship and freedom of expression but rather is viewed in the “context of a climate of pervasive hostility toward anything Muslim in Denmark” (p. 15). He associates the publication of the cartoons with xenophobia and “Denmark’s uneasy relationship with Islam” as the caption within the article reads. His deduction is that it is a cultural war which was marked by the fact that the Danish minister for cultural affairs that belonged to the Conservative People’s Party, asked Danish

artists and writers to create a “canon of Danish art, music, literature and film” (Burcharth, 2006, p. 15). And according to Burcharth (2006) although the seeming reason was to “preserve our homegrown classics” the veritable motive was revealed before the release of the canon by Mr. Mikkelsen which according to Burcharth (2006) was to “create a last line of defense against the influence of Islam in Denmark” (p. 15). The minister’s actual words were quoted as “In Denmark we have seen the appearance of a parallel society in which minorities practice their own medieval values and undemocratic views,” and “This is the new front in our cultural war” (Burcharth, 2006, p. 15). Burcharth (2006) also derived from the expression a war against the flag of Denmark and also against the symbol represented on the flag; the cross, the symbol of Christianity. He said that Danish media began referring to the white cross on the Danish flag as a Christian symbol after Danish flags were being set ablaze worldwide. He calls out the irony in referring to the Christian symbol seeing as only 3% of Danes went to church once a week and also because Denmark is one of the most secular countries in Europe. Nevertheless, he remarks that “the news media were right” about relating the symbol on the flag to Christianity (Burcharth, 2006, p. 15) and recalls a legend that narrates the Danish flag as having fallen from heaven at a battle between Denmark and the Estonians almost 800 years ago, “a sign from God, and it led the Danes to victory” (Burcharth, 2006, p. 15): “Now that flag has become a symbol around the world of Denmark’s contempt for another world religion” (Burcharth, 2006, p. 15). And fittingly with the tone of the article the title reads “Capture the Flag.”

These articles came as part of a three-part editorial page entitled “A Cartoon in 3 Dimensions.” Encompassed by the three editorials was a cartoon that sketched a sword with a ink-tip from ink-pen for the tip of the sword. This “ink-sword” looks like it is engulfed in what

looks like flames. The observation derived from this cartoon would be the flames that arose on account of the caricatures because the pen took on the posture of a sword. The flames would be depictive of everything that was set on fire worldwide as a result of the caricatures.

Alternatively, it could be the pen from hell that acted as a sword perhaps suggesting that the pen used as a tool for the freedom of expression was in actuality a sword that provoked emotions. In this case the pen presumably turned out to be mightier than the sword.

Qureshi (2006) in the other article that was part of this three dimensional editorial, called "The Islam the Riots Drowned Out," puts both the "Western champions of freedom" (p. 15) and Muslim radicals on the trial stand. The Westerners for trivializing freedom of speech "by deriving pleasure from their ability to gratuitously offend Muslims" and for viewing it "as the ability to offend" (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15). Qureshi (2006) accuses these advocates of freedom of expression of "handling Muslim radicals a platform from which to pose as defenders of the faith against an alleged Western assault on Islam" (p. 15). The fundamental Muslim leaders he holds responsible for "the stereotyping of Islam" and for seeming "unable to formulate an ethical response to the challenges of the modern world" (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15). The caption inset within the article reads "How the cartoons were used to silence dissent." He notes that the "proposed solution" in some Western Muslim areas is "more censorship- that these cartoons and similar expressions should be banned as hate speech" and he proposes that "No, the answer is not more censorship" (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15). According to him, if censorship is used as the solution then works of prominent Islamic authors that he cites as examples in the editorial would have to be banned for being "suffused with an intolerant and anti-Western

hate” (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15). “The answer is not more violence and censorship, but rather, peace, mercy and compassion” (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15).

This three-dimensional perspective in these *New York Times* opinion page on February 12, 2006 evidently adapt an insider-outsider perspective to their coverage. All three editorials defend freedom of expression by using newspaper discourse to “reclaim their social reality” (Chatman, 1996, p. 195). The majority of this discourse to keep with expression of freedom and speaking out against self-censorship as observed in the paragraphs above was employed by Fish (2006) and Burcharth (2006). Qureshi’s (2006) article takes on a three dimensional approach within this three dimensional opinion perspective. He speaks out against censorship, accuses Westerners for “trivializing” freedom of speech and chides the “authoritarian voices that claim to speak and act in the name of Islam” (p. 15).

Kuwait Times News Coverage and Editorials

“Here’s what we think of your Prophet,” is the title of Cobb’s (2006) opinion piece on the editorial page of the *Kuwait Times* on February 7, 2006. Cobb (2006) states that she deliberately chose the provocative title as a “wake-up call” (p. 18). The wake-up call: it is not always a good idea to use freedom of speech to say that things that are “pointless, needlessly hurtful and counterproductive” (Cobb, 2006, p. 18). This article in the *Kuwait Times* opinion page was adopted from a blog: ginacobb.typepad.com. Cobb (2006), disconcerted over the publication of the cartoons, expresses dissatisfaction over the insulting of important allies in the war against terrorism. She gathers that “the product of years and decades of diplomacy and negotiation” will be undone and “rapidly evaporate if the West engages in pointless attacks on

the religion and culture of our Islamic allies, rather than on our real enemy, terrorism” (Cobb, 2006, p. 18). She infers the cartoons as a blow of the West against the East. According to her not many in the Muslim world will see the distinction between the US government or any other Western nation or their media for that matter. On the other hand, she maintains that she does not stand for censoring or appeasing:

Appeasement means avoiding confrontation at any cost. We don't need appeasement: we need to directly confront and defeat terrorism, period. But we would be wise to choose our battles. Petty insults are not worthy of us. (Cobb, 2006, p. 18)

This article also came with an editorial cartoon in relation to the cartoons. Comments on the cartoon are provided in the cartoon section later under Cartoon 4. The other point that Cobb (2006) makes is that the peaceful Muslims in the world are “outshouted by Muslims who seem to support violence” (p. 18) and that some of them have cherished religious beliefs that when troubled by events in the world “they quietly look to their religion for comfort” (p. 18).

Both the points she makes, one about looking to religion for comfort and the insult that was rendered were affirmed in the article by Siddiqui (2006) in the *Kuwait Times* editorial page on February 8, 2006, called “We won't cow down before the insulters.” Siddiqui (2006) refers to several scriptures from the Quran that exalt the Prophet Mohammed and at the same time take offense at the “perpetrators” (p. 20) who “talk of rights and freedom of speech” (p. 20) for having “insulted us Muslims with this great insult to our Prophet (PBUH)” (p. 20). As a matter of fact the editorial cartoon in this issue has the caption “The right to insult others' religion” next to an outstretched arm in a hailing position, with an arm patch resembling the Nazi regime arm patch that says “Press Freedom” on it and also with an ink-point pen in the hand. Siddiqui (2006) points out the caricature that showed the Prophet standing at the gates of heaven and

saying “Stop, stop, we have run out of virgins” to a queue of men who appear to be suicide bombers and states how it criticizes “the rewards Allah has promised in Paradise” (p. 20), how it picks out and isolates this one from among other rewards, how this is “the result of the analogy they have drawn of the Muslims, out of themselves” (p. 20) and that this “...shows the European and Western mentality...” (p. 20). He calls on Muslims on to be “courageous enough to end our dependence on the West, their products and everything from them” (p. 20).

Discourse of this nature displays a mentality of shielding and protecting oneself from information from outsiders, an informational barrier that as Chatman (1996) describes likely caused by apprehensions insiders have about the ability of outsiders to understand their world and the “sense that outsiders cannot comprehend a world different from their own...” (Chatman, 1996, p. 194). This is reflected in discourse like – “They should stop imposing their way of thought on other people” and “they have to stop expecting others to behave in a way that suits them...” (Siddiqui, 2006, p. 20), when referring to the West.

This call and several others from Islamic states bore economic ramifications for Denmark. Danish products were boycotted from Middle Eastern shelves including Kuwait. The Confederation of Danish Industries faced product boycotts and dropped orders. According to the confederation the Middle East accounted for annual sales of approximately \$816 million (*Kuwait Times*, January 28, 2006). Arla Foods, a Danish dairy company that had been operating in the Middle East for decades, lost millions of dollars due to boycotts. The company’s corporate communications issued a press release to *Kuwait Times* announcing a loss of \$2 million a day due to boycotts in the Middle Eastern market, stating that they have more Muslim consumers than Danish consumers: “...Obviously Arla Foods cannot support anything that

offends people's religion or ethnic background. Arla Foods calls for the parties involved to find a solution through dialogue" (*Kuwait Times*, January 29, 2006). What is ironic in the case of the boycotts is that a local Kuwaiti dairy company called –Kuwait Danish Dairy Co. (KDD) took the brunt as well. Although the name implies otherwise, KDD had not had ties with Denmark for over 20 years at the time of the conflict. Although losses within Kuwait were marginal for the company, they took a 95% hit in sales outside Kuwait. They made advertising campaigns with testimonials from the government and Muslim clerics to assure clients that the Danish in KDD was only in the name. Even though the company considered a name change, the KDD chairman thought that would be a "wrenching" switch after 44 years of business (*Kuwait Times*, February 22, 2006, p. 1).

The other article in the editorial pages on February 8, 2006, adopted from the Deutsche Press Agentur was called "Muslim rage spontaneous or political calculation?" claims that the conflict over the cartoons was promoted by Danish imams that toured the Middle East with the caricatures and several others that had not been published by the *Jyllands-Posten*. It also claims that "it took four months before Muslims around the world began protesting against 12 cartoons..." (Classman & Borchert, 2006, p. 20) and that "these were four months in which Islamic preachers and diplomats spread the word from Copenhagen to the villages of Upper Egypt and Afghanistan..." (Classman & Borchert, 2006, p. 20). The article also mentions three separate newspaper reports to make their point: a Saudi newspaper that called for the boycott of Western goods, a pan-Arab newspaper that said that the initial protests are now being used by extremists and that it made no sense to smash things blindly and also an English-language Lebanese newspaper that reported on damage done to the Danish consulate and a Christian

area of Beirut by stating that the damage done by the rioters to Lebanese property and the image of Islam was worse than the damage done by the cartoons.

The *Kuwait Times*' editors criticized these reactions by stating that "with us Arabs, reaction is usually uncalculated, extreme, lacks logic and is ultimately damaging to Islam" (Alyan, 2006, p. 3), in a response titled "Follow the Prophet in your reactions and deeds." Alyan (2006) initially talks about the "responsibility, and respect to other beliefs, traditions and religions" (p. 3) that comes with freedom of expression. He states that being in a Western democracy does not mean that one can walk around calling every black person or Asian a racist remark. He calls it "one of the worst cases of double standards" (Alyan, 2006, p. 3) when insulting Jews is "labeled anti-Semitic and unacceptable. But when it comes to Islam, you can express your opinion of Muslims freely..." (Alyan, 2006, p. 3) in the name of freedom of expression. He then continues on to say that although the cartoons were meant to "desecrate" (Alyan, 2006, p. 3) the Prophet, scripture from the Quran, "Surat Al-Ma'eeda says an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and so on. It does not say a life for an insult or a knife for a word" (Alyan, 2006, p. 3). He used an example of the Prophet where he ignored abuse from a Jewish neighbor who used to throw trash at the Prophet's doorstep and visited the man when he fell ill wishing him well. The editors next musing was that "If this had happened to one of these modern day mullahs, he would have killed any Jew that passed down the road (innocent or not), burned American and British flags and probably bombed a Western city "in retaliation" to the insult" (Alyan, 2006, p. 3). He points out the consequences faced by Muslims because of actions by Bin Laden and now consequently boycotting a whole country for the actions of a handful of cartoonists in Denmark saying it is "...really unfair" (Alyan , 2006, p. 3). He talks

about his Danish friend who converted to Islam and lost business in the Middle East because of such boycotts. He disapproves and says that the Prophet would also disapprove of these actions.

In light of the blog by Cobb (2006) another *Kuwait Times* article on February 8, 2006, "Cartoons and the clash of 'freedoms'" talks about the disparity caused by the cartoons between the West and the Muslim world. Ahrari (2006) refers to Samuel Huntington's book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order." According to him the September 11 attacks may have widened the gap between the West and the Muslim world but refers to a larger struggle taking place in the Islamic world -the gap between the West and the Islamic world that is becoming more apparent. Ahrari (2006) feels there is little prospect for political progress among Muslim countries because of the atmosphere of authoritarianism. He states that the West appears "stubborn" to Muslims on compromising on freedom of speech. He accuses the West of treating freedom of expression as an "absolute" and Muslims at the same time of being "equally uncompromising and 'absolute'" (Ahrari, 2006, p. 20) to anyone treating their religion with disrespect.

"Kuwait Urges Calm in Cartoon Protests" was the headline on the front page of an article in the *Kuwait Times* on February 9, 2006. The article mentions the Kuwaiti National Assembly asking Muslims worldwide to protest against the cartoons in a calm way. The article brings up the peaceful demonstrations that were carried out in Kuwait, the ban of Danish goods in the country's state-supported supermarkets and the Kuwaiti legislature's appeal to all nations to pass laws that would protect religions and religious figures.

The Friday edition of the Kuwait on February 10, 2006, which is a weekend edition had a point/counter-point take on the issue of the caricatures. The weekends fall on Friday and Saturday in this region. The “point” take was made by Reshamwala (2006) in the article “Freedom Comes with Responsibility.” He expresses resentment at the disparity shown by world leaders in their condemnation of the protests worldwide and when the Iranian president “called for Israel to be wiped off the face of the earth and doubted the Holocaust” and their surprise when “Muslim sentiments are trampled upon roughshod” and “Muslims refuse to take it lying down” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 2). He expresses satisfaction to see that the “...Gulf States, including Kuwait, have shown remarkable ‘spine’ by boycotting Danish products and condemning the cartoons” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 2). He too like Alyan (2006) mentioned a little earlier expresses dissatisfaction at the double standards in the Western media that ridicules Islam but “any move that even remotely targets Jews is labeled as anti-Semitic” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 2). He challenges the West on their free speech lectures to Muslims, while they “cannot dare print a single cartoon denying - or even trivializing the Holocaust.” Reshamwala (2006) states that if countries whose media printed the cartoons do not apologize then it “must no longer be a crime to doubt or ridicule the Holocaust or other such ‘sensitive’ subjects. The bottom line is that freedom comes with responsibility” (p. 2). Sturges (2006) sees the call for “responsible” use of freedom of expression as a “pressure for self-censorship” to the individual and in situations where government requires “responsible” use “this is essentially a basis for a system of formal censorship” (p. 183).

The “counterpoint” take by Darwish (2006) was titled “This isn’t Protest, This is Hooliganism.” “There is a thin line between protesting and hooliganism,” Darwish (2006)

remarked and according to her the Muslim world has “stepped over it” (p. 2) She is regretful over the violence on behalf of the Prophet’s cartoons and says it not reflective of his teachings. She thinks the violence will result in allies in the West getting angry at the Muslim world and has done damage to “the reputation and image of Muslims and Islam in the Western world” (Darwish, 2006, p. 2). “I want people to know that these hooligans do not represent Islam,” she states when describing the events that unfolded internationally. She was referring specifically to events in the UK where protesters carried placards reading “Europe your September 11th is coming,” “Kill the enemies of Islam.” “We all felt angry and insulted by these cartoons. But violence is not the right response” (Darwish, 2006, p. 2).

“Conflicting Images of Cartoon Furore” was the headline for the article that appeared on the editorial pages of the *Kuwait Times* on February 14, 2006. The article by Jeffrey Weiss (2006) of KRT (Knight Ridder Tribune) essentially outlines the conflicts spurred by the cartoons saying, both sides, the European editors who published the cartoons and the Muslims who started the protests “should have known better” (p. 18). “The latest round of culture wars does neither side any good” (Ali, 2006, p. 18), was the opinion in another article entitled “Tragedies Suffered by Muslims.” The self-proclaimed atheist author proclaimed not knowing the “meaning of the ‘religious pain’ that is felt by believers...” (Ali, 2006, p. 18) when they are insulted. But still empathizes with Muslims and said they are within their rights to protest without unnecessary “overreaction” (Ali, 2006, p. 8). Ali (2006) questions these reactions to a “tasteless cartoon” while ignoring the “real tragedy” (p. 18):

Did the Danish imam who travelled round the Muslim world pleading for this show the same anger at Danish troops being sent to Iraq? The occupation of Iraq has cost tens of thousands of Iraqi lives. Where is the response to that or the tortures in Abu Ghraib? Or

the rapes of Iraqi women by occupying soldiers? Where is the response to the daily deaths of Palestinians? These are the issues that anger me. (Ali, 2006, p. 18)

He likens the “anti-Muslim ravings” in modern day media with what he calls “the darker side” of the Enlightenment era using the following discourse:

Voltaire: “Blacks are inferior to Europeans, but superior to apes.” Hume: “The black might develop certain attributes of human beings, the way the parrot manages to speak a few words.” There is much more in a similar vein from their colleagues. (Ali, 2006, p. 18)

Ali (2006) questions how this will all end. He adds with criticism “Like all these things do, with no gains on either side and a last tango in Copenhagen around a mountain of unused butter” (Ali, 2006, p. 18).

This next editorial in the *Kuwait Times* on February 15, 2006, titled “Cartoon Battle Lines not Black and White but Grey” applauds the “good sense” of western leaders Tony Blair and George Bush in condemning the cartoons. Steele (2006) uses their position as a “useful antidote” to those like *Jyllands Posten* who claim that this is to break away from self censorship and the fear of publishing anything that upsets the Muslims. He claims that it is hard for these editors to maintain this claim because these are the men who send troops into the Arab World “and still keep them there on an open-ended basis in spite of opposition from a majority of Iraqis” (p. 20). He applauds American multiculturalism while Denmark is still a “mono-ethnic country that has not yet accepted the new cultures in its midst” (Steele, 2006, p. 20). He calls out the wrong in the publication of the cartoons and also calls out the wrong in the over reaction to the cartoons. He calls out the Fatah movement in Gaza and the Iranian President for having a “gamut of special agendas” and manipulating the cartoons to their advantage by

calling it a Western conspiracy. This article in the Kuwaiti editorial was an adopted article from the UK newspaper *The Guardian*.

In the restrictive information environment in Kuwait – restricted due to laws mandated by government and faith, newspaper discourse reveals the “us versus them” sentiment or East versus West or insider-outsider outlook, distinguishable by the fragments of discourse elaborated above. Although there is a certain element of self-critique through discourse like – “With us Arabs, reaction is usually uncalculated...” (Alyan, 2006, p. 3) the bulk of the discourse characterized the insider-outsider outlook. Several articles on the cartoon issue that made appearance on the *Kuwait Times* opinion pages were from outside sources and authors, mostly Western sources, The *Kuwait Times* does provide a statement disassociating itself from the articles appearing on their opinion pages stating that they are not responsible for the views expressed on these pages. They do however specify that the editor reserves the right to edit material as necessary. Since editors have the final say, newspaper editorials, more often than not, represent the voice of the paper.

Philadelphia Inquirer News Coverage and Editorials

The other newspaper under analysis in this study, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* did publish one of the most controversial cartoons among the twelve caricatures, which depicted the Prophet with a bomb for a turban, in its Saturday edition on February 4, 2006. The paper provided a link to the rest of the cartoons on their online edition. The cartoon was printed under the front-page story headlined “A Media Dilemma” underlining the divisiveness of the U.S. media regarding the reprinting of the cartoons. The cartoon itself did not make front page.

It was printed along with the continual part of the story on page A6. The article explains the discussions that took place between the editors of the paper regarding the publishing of the cartoons. The cartoon was printed with a note alongside explaining the rationale behind the printing:

The *Inquirer* intends no disrespect to the religious beliefs of any of its readers. But when a use of religious imagery that many find offensive becomes a major new story, we believe it is important for readers to be able to judge the content of the image for themselves, as with the 1987 photograph by Andreas Serrano of a crucifix in urine. On that basis we reprint this cartoon. (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6)

The vice president of the Poynter Institute is quoted in the article on communicating a “legitimate story” knowing that publishing them will cause offence and hurt credibility – “...if you restrain yourself, then you’ve not fully informed your audience on something of interest and importance” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6). Noelle-Neumann (1993) concludes that not reporting something makes it non-existent or the likeliness of the event being perceived as reality is minimal. The article states that only a few American media outlets are showing the images because they are “...caught in a dilemma between showing controversial cartoons of the prophet Muhammad and offending the religious sensibilities of Muslims...” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6). Noelle-Neumann (1993) enumerates repeatedly on the concept of public opinion and the connection it draws to silencing oneself or censoring; in that public opinion can be forced upon us or in applying that to a case like this context – the media. The facts may be censored on account of public disapproval or facts can be filtered “in a moral sense” by stereotypes that dictate when to speak and when to silence oneself or self-censor – “Stereotypes are indispensable in getting conformity processes in gear” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 151).

The article also provides examples as explanation for printing the cartoon about controversial photographs printed by the paper in the past such as the “bodies of burned Americans hung from a bridge in Iraq” as well as the example of the crucifix used by the *Inquirer* next to the cartoon as rationale for printing the cartoon. Within the fold of this article in the *Inquirer*, the *Inquirer* takes satisfaction in mentioning the fact that its decision to print the cartoon places the paper among a “minority of American publications to publish the cartoon.” It also positions its stance by elevating its decision for freedom of speech against that of other agencies like the Associated Press that apparently denied the editor of the *Inquirer* the photographs of the cartoons “because they didn’t meet AP standards for acceptable content” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6).

The *Inquirer*’s decision to print the cartoon met with reactions from the Muslim community in Philadelphia. “Muslims Picket the *Inquirer*” was the title of an article in the paper on February 7, 2006. This article was a report on the reaction of the Muslim community in Philadelphia to the *Inquirer* reprinting the cartoon and the editors’ stance on standing by their decision to do so. The editor of the newspaper Amanda Bennett expressed satisfaction at the Muslim community exercising their right to freedom of speech and said that the paper did not intend any disrespect to the religion or the Prophet. The article additionally describes one of the caricatures without the image. It describes the caricature that shows what appears to be Mohammed stopping a line of suicide bombers at the gates of heaven saying “Stop, stop, we have run out of virgins.” They also provide the interpretation as being the “belief by Islamic extremists that those who die in a holy war are rewarded with virgins in the afterlife.”

The primary theme emerging behind the coverage of the cartoons in a number of articles by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* besides the fact that they reprinted the cartoons is in their own words “the political manipulation of the cartoons” (Rubin, 2006, p. A11) by Islamic clerics. And this is reflected in the headlines or titles of their news stories in the coverage of the cartoons. The headline on the first page for February 7, 2006, was “From Heat to Flames-Anger Long Festered. Did Other, Unprinted Cartoons Fan Fires?” The headline on the continuing page for the same article was “A Long Simmering before Violent Turn.” The title for a commentary on February 8, 2006, was “Radicals’ Role In A Riotous Rage.” Putting these titles together and the text within appear to reflect the *Inquirer’s* belief to be that the outrage and violence surrounding the cartoons were fostered by sources more than just the cartoon themselves. They focus more on the “extra” cartoons that were circulated by Islamic clerics. The extra cartoons that were not published by the *Jyllands-Posten* along with the initial 12 caricatures reportedly depicted the Prophet “with a pig’s face or in sexual congress with animals” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A14). The article reports on the Danish Imam Abu-Laban and other imams who took the additional cartoons to Islamic leaders in Arab countries like Egypt and Lebanon. In another article expounding on Abu-Laban on February 8, 2006, the lead reads “He spread word of the cartoons, but he blames Denmark for ignoring initial complaints” (Schofield, 2006, p. A4). The commentary by *Inquirer* columnist Trudy Rubin (2006) on February 8, blames the riots also on the Islamic clerics:

The whole drama has been stage-managed by radical Islamists who want to provoke a clash of civilizations. Without such intervention, this minor tiff wouldn’t have grown into a worldwide conflagration. (p. A11)

According to Rubin (2006) Europe needs to be concerned about a “radical Muslim minority from expanding small community conflicts into a broader war” (p. A11). And then the question on the opposing side (Muslim side) would be why our religion is stereotypically represented as having terrorist affiliations. Is the media “painting with a too-wide brush?” (Satullo, 2006, p. A4). This was a rhetorical question in an interview session between the *Inquirer’s* editorial page editor Chris Satullo and cartoonist Tony Auth. Their discussion about the role of political cartoons in newspapers was printed on February 8, 2006, in the *Inquirer*. Auth, a political cartoonist said he did a cartoon post 9/11 with a caption saying “Islam is a tolerant religion” and “We tolerate fanatics, mass murders, suicide bombers and persecution of women.” He said that there was worldwide response condemning the cartoon. The question above was posed to Auth: “painting with a too-wide brush?” He disagreed saying that the cartoon was not an accusation against Muslims but rather “was about the tolerance of mass murders...” (Auth, 2006, p.A4), by the religion.

The column by Rubin (2006) defended *Jyllands-Posten’s* expression in these words: *Jyllands-Posten* was responding to a real issue in Europe: media self-censorship because of fear of Islamist violence. The paper may have offended, but the violent reaction confirms the problem it meant to expose. (p. A11)

The *Inquirer’s* articles on the cartoons also focus on what is out there, what is being expressed about Islam rather than on what has been forbidden or censored. The front page headline for one such article on February 9, 2006, was “Muhammad’s Image is Far from a Rarity – He is Portrayed in Western and Islamic Art. Not All Muslims Say It’s Wrong” and another one on Islamic humor said “Muslims Laugh, but Not at Religion.” The latter one published on February 12, 2006, had a lead saying “While furor rages over cartoons, comedians are testing the boundaries of Islamic humor” (Allam, 2006, p. A2). This article presents examples of Islamic

humor the dispensers of which happen to be Muslims. The examples included Muslim comedians who poke fun at their “faith’s stereotypes” (Allam, 2006, p. A2). The article uses illustrations of humor used by a Muslim Indian American comedian who “...tests his Western audience’s tolerance with skits about suicide bombings, airport security, bad beard days, and other aspects of Muslim life” (Allam, 2006, p. A2). The article goes on to say that the comedian’s comedy comes with limits and that is why he did not find the Danish caricatures funny and he remarks: “There have to be some boundaries. The butt of the joke cannot be God or the prophet or the religion itself.” And the article says that to many Muslims, the caricatures test “the boundaries of humor in the Islamic world” (Allam, 2006, p. A2). The report talks about Albert Brooks’ movie, *Looking for Comedy in the Muslim World*, and states that the scenes of Muslims torching the Danish flag and other furious reactions “reinforce the futility implied” in the title of the movie. The article on the other hand also writes that:

A new generation of Muslims is testing those rules with dark, post September 11 humor that plays on the stereotype of Islam as a religion for gun toting terrorists and oppressed veiled women. (Allam, 2006, p. A2)

The article goes on to say that when it comes to religious jokes limits are stretched more on the Internet than anywhere else:

Nowhere are the limits stretched more than they are on the Internet, where young Muslims share political and religious jokes. One Web site that compiles Islamic jokes warns readers not to enter if “such musings are hazardous to your spiritual health.” (Allam, 2006, p. A2)

Inexplicably, this same article was also published on the editorial pages of the *Kuwait Times* on February 12, 2006. Along with this article was an editorial cartoon strip that unfolded a conversation between a Western man and a Muslim man, examined as Cartoon 8 in the cartoon interpretation beneath. Allam (2006) also used illustrations of humor by various

comedians all poking fun at Muslims and Arabs and as the article says in the controversy unfolding the caricatures “they squabble over where to draw the line between humor and sacrilege” (Allam, 2006, p. A2).

“Most weren’t very funny. One was clearly offensive” (Harding, 2006, p. 18) was the remark in a *Kuwait Times* editorial entitled “Child’s Tale Led to Clash of Cultures.” This article was written by Luke Harding from the *Guardian*, a newspaper from the United Kingdom, nevertheless appeared on the Opinion page of the *Kuwait Times* on February 5, 2006. This page also held an editorial cartoon with twelve slashed hands dripping blood and holding pencils hanging from a bar. This cartoon has been expounded on in the section ahead that details the cartoons.

The article in the *Inquirer* about the Prophet’s images not being a rarity by Andrew Maykuth (2006) had a compilation of illustrations where he has been illustrated, beginning with one in the highest court in America- the Supreme Court. It gives an account of the carved marble frieze in the grand courtroom portraying “18 great lawgivers from all the ages” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A1) among which one is the Prophet Mohammed. There is also a picture of this carving in the Supreme Court as an inset along with the report. This article too as mentioned above provides examples of what is or has been expressed or illustrated about the Prophet:

In the furor caused by the Danish cartoons of Muhammad, many stories have circulated about Islam's prohibitions about artistic depictions of the prophet, or any human figures. But Muhammad's image is portrayed far more widely than many believe, and not just in the West... (Maykuth, 2006, p. A1)

Subsequently the article provides examples of where the Prophet has been illustrated in Islamic world and in museums including one from Iran where “images of Muhammad are

widely circulated among the predominantly Shiite population” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A1). Maykuth (2006) further adds that there does not appear to be “uniform prohibition” against representing the human figure in Islam and provides attestation that he has been portrayed in Islamic art of old in Persia and Turkey (p. A6). He quotes a Harvard scholar saying that the caricatures were meant to offend while the art that passed without causing pandemonium was because it was portrayed respectfully. Maykuth (2006) remarks on the conflicting point of this quote saying: “But even the respectful images have proven sensitive” (p. A6). And goes on to mention the occasion where the Council on American-Islamic relations asked for the image of Mohammed on the frieze in the Supreme Court be removed and that this request was rejected by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist because the artwork "was intended only to recognize him, among many other lawgivers, as an important figure in the history of law; it is not intended as a form of idol worship" (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6). The opposition to the carving also arose on the grounds that the Prophet’s image has been carved with him holding a sword and the Quran and the council found fault with this because it underlined “...long-held stereotypes of Muslims as intolerant conquerors" (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6).

While the *Inquirer* rationalizes the expression of the caricatures at hand with examples and evidences of other similar existing images a *New York Times* piece under Critics Notebook invalidates this rationalization with the argument that “The mix of technology and incendiary art proves dangerous” (Kimmelman, 2006, p. E1). The article by Kimmelman on February 8, 2006, titled “A Startling New Lesson in the Power of Imagery” calls the cartoons “callous,” “feeble,” “cooked up as a provocation,” “to score cheap points about freedom of expression” (p. E1). He thinks that the newspapers that printed them was assuming that the Muslim world

would not react to the cartoons like the West where the Metropolitan Museum's exhibit of Max Ernst's painting showing Mary spanking the infant Jesus "didn't raise an eyebrow" (p. E1) whereas the "Muslim world has no tradition of, or tolerance for, religious irony in its art" (Kimmelman, 2006, p. E1). Kimmelman (2006) assumes that like most pictures that were made to be noticed by offending someone, the cartoons would have "disappeared into deserved oblivion had not their targets risen to the bait" (p. E1). According to him secular Westerners miss or do not see the force religious images can have because they have been raised on "modernism" which has an abstract inclination, with "gamesmanship" and a "knee-jerk baiting of traditional authority" (p. E1). The article describes the two most noted among the Mohammed caricatures which includes the one with the prophet wearing a turban with a ticking bomb and also the one which shows him at the gates of heaven with arms raised, saying "Stop, stop, we have run out of virgins" to a line of men. He then goes to describe the protests that erupted worldwide. Kimmelman (2006) muses over this reaction:

Over art? These are made-up pictures. The photographs from Abu Ghraib were documents of real events, but they didn't provoke such widespread violence. What's going on? (p. E8)

Alongside the article is a picture of demonstration in the West Bank town of Aram with a sign that says "Danish people not welcome here" next to the Danish flag crossed out. Kimmelman (2006) cautions about neglecting of the pain visual images can cause "its totemic power: the power of representation" (p. E8).

In the light of images and specifically editorial cartoons that is the pivot of this dissertation, the *Inquirer's* column by Trudy Rubin (2006) detailed earlier came along with a cartoon sketch that has a crescent moon with a star inside the curve which is an Islamic symbol

and is a symbol represented on the flags of several Muslim countries. There lies a broken pencil atop this symbol probably suggesting the broken state of freedom to sketch or express anything related to Islam. In the next section this dissertation provides interpretation of several such editorial cartoons that were printed in the *Kuwait Times* in relation to the controversy surrounding the Danish caricatures. These cartoons were analyzed and construed along the lines of the cultural, religious and political symbolisms that became apparent within them.

Visual Description and Interpretation of the Editorial Cartoons in the *Kuwait Times*

The editorial cartoons in the *Kuwait Times* provided a visually intriguing response to the Prophet Mohammed caricatures. These cartoons weren't printed until early February; five months after the original cartoons were published and spanned approximately from February 4 to February 17, 2006. The following is an illustratory description and interpretation of the cartoons. The interpretation of the cartoons has been carried out in a three-phase course: the connotation they have in the context that they were published, the connotation they have in a general context and symbolic connotations. Identifying the underlying themes within these was also an objective.

Cartoon 1: February 4, 2006

The setting for this cartoon is visibly hell. There is the devil in a black cape with horns on his head, bat like wings and a furry long tail with a spear tip. The talk bubble above him reads "Of course, your 'right to blasphemy' is undeniable." "Right to blasphemy" is in bold letters. The devil has a long staff in his hands with a fork tip. He is using this fork to stir a black cauldron

with boiling liquid and three European editors in the cauldron. The fact that they are European is evident from the name tags on their shirts which states "Editor in Chief" in 3 different European languages namely, Danish, German and French. The scene is engulfed in flames, there is also a news stand carrying news papers from these respective countries: *Jyllands Posten*, *Die Welt* and *France Soir*. The newsstand has a placard over it that says "European newspapers now available in hell!" Behind the cauldron there is a fire oven in the wall resembling a pizza fire oven. From the oven there emerges the letters "AARGH" indicating some kind of pain or torture. The arrow shaped signage pointing towards the fire oven reads "killing innocent civilian section." There is another smaller devil like figure hovering over this pit carrying a fork tip as well. The supposition would be that hell in this cartoon is divided into sections for specific crimes. One section for editors who sketch blasphemous caricatures and the other which is the section for killing innocent civilians would likely be for those who portray Islam as violent religion and kill innocent civilians. The weighing balance for both "crimes" is equally shown as hell only in this cartoon the caricaturists are in the fore front and the civilian killers are in the back drop. This renders itself to have two notions, one is that hell would be the judgment or outcome these editors receive for their actions and their newspapers will receive the same reward as they are visibly available in hell as well. Second notion would be the cartoonist personal judgment of the editors portraying hell as the outcome they deserve.

Cartoon 2: February 4, 2006

This is the second cartoon on February 4. This one appears on the analysis page while all the other cartoons discussed here were on the opinion page. This cartoon had a devil cum

Dracula like persona holding up his arm with a clenched fist and claw like nails. The character is wearing a black cape that resembles a typical Dracula cape. His teeth are clenched, his eyes have a soulless appearance, just white without eyeballs and his eyebrows are arched above his eyes in an angry expression. On his forehead there is a pencil protruding from above his right eyebrow and an ink-tip pen from above his left eyebrow. The dialogue bubble above him says "Freedom of expression" and the title of the cartoon is "The Satanic Caricatures." This is associated with the book *The Satanic Verses* by Salman Rushdie that caused uproar globally quite similar to that caused by the Prophet's caricatures. The cartoonist is probably trying to link *The Satanic Verses* and the Prophet's caricatures the evil results produced under the cause of freedom of expression. And the cartoonist is using a caricature of Satan to personify this evil.

Cartoon 3: February 5, 2006

This cartoon portrays a row of 12 slashed hands, dripping blood and holding a pencil each hanging from a long crossbar. The headline above the cartoon says "12 caricatures..." This image could have two interpretations. The 12 hands could represent the 12 cartoonists who made the Prophet's caricatures as having their hands cut off for caricaturing the prophet, since any representation of the Prophet is considered blasphemous in the Islamic faith. So this could possibly be a likely verdict that could be handed out to the caricaturist for sketching the prophet. It could also signify the blood that was shed in the consequent violence that broke out worldwide on account of the cartoons.

Cartoon 4: February 7, 2006

This cartoon shows an editor sitting at his desk that has “European Newspapers” printed in bold on the front of his desk. The editor is represented as an avid smoker with lit cigarettes in his mouth, both his hands and in his ashtray all at the same time. The designation or name plate at his desk states “Smoker-in-Chief.” The cloud of ashy smoke above him and all over the room has “Press Freedom” printed also in a dark cloud like font. The signage behind the editor reads “Smoking Daily News.” There is also in the room a bearded Arab man wearing a traditional Arab long garb called the *dishdasha* and a white round cap called the *taqiyah*. The top half of the man’s body is engulfed in the cigarette smoke looming in the room and he appears teary-eyed, choking and coughing. The words “Muslim World” are printed on the bottom half of his *dishdasha*. The Arab man has been labeled “Muslim World” to represent the Muslim World. His choking shows the Muslim World as choking on the excessive smoke put out by the European newspapers because of the chain smoking nature of their editors. Smoking, in general is viewed as a bad and unhealthy habit and this has been used to characterize European editors, that is, their unhealthy habit of choking the Muslim world with their editorials and in the current scenario the Danish caricatures. The exaggerated aspect of this cartoon may be generalizing of all European newspapers as having this quality.

Cartoon 5: February 8, 2006

This cartoon has been sketched on comparative grounds. This time the comparison appears to mirror the Nazi regime. The cartoon shows an outstretched arm, with an ink-point pen in its hands dripping a drop of ink. There is an arm patch in a design that resembles the arm

patch worn by German soldiers in WWII. This patch has the word "PRESS FREEDOM" printed on it, with the letters "SS" standing out bigger and in bold. The "SS" resembles the lightning bolt symbol of the Schutzstaffel or SS or Waffen-SS, a combat arm of the Nazi army and a dictatorial battalion. The presumption here would be that press freedom is being used in a dictatorial form to insult other religions as it says in the quote above the hands "The right to insult others' religion." The outstretched arm is a comparison to the Nazi salute or the Hitler salute which is a symbol declaring solidarity to the tyrannous regime. The analogy here would be that European press is declaring solidarity to an expression of freedom that is almost tyrannical in nature. It could also signify that the cartoonist believes that European press is reverting to a Nazi mentality.

Cartoon 6: February 11, 2006

This cartoon had a Hollywood cinematic approach. The cartoon was printed on the Opinion page. In this cartoon we see what appears to be Darth Vader from Star Wars at a cartoonists table holding a laser pen in his hands instead of a regular pencil. The laser pen is seen as striking the cartoonists desk, there are sparks and then black smoke emanating from it. The headline over the sketch reads "The Dark Side of Editorial Cartooning." The analogy here would be the comparison of the evil side of editorial cartooning to the dark side or evil representation of Darth Vader in Star Wars; this symbolizes the dark side in the movie. Darth Vader also has a dialogue bubble next to him that says "Why should I care about others' religious beliefs?" This discourse represents the sentiments of the offended Muslim population and their view of the Danish cartoonists as disrespectful or insensitive to their "religious

beliefs.” The persona of Darth Vader was characterized in the movie as an individual that was ruthless and would not let anyone or thing get in the way of his conquest. And using him to personify the editors reflects the sentiments of the Muslim world towards the cartoonist.

Cartoon 7: February 11, 2006

This editorial cartoon shows a prohibition sign, which is the circle with a diagonal line running through it from the top left to the bottom right. The diagonal in this cartoon is running over a cow wearing a black cape with a face that looks like the devil and a spear-tip for its tail. Over the black cape reads “Danish Dairy Products,” representative of the boycott of Danish products in Kuwait and all over the Middle East and creating the figurative illusion that Danish Dairy products are from the devil himself, that these products are a derivative of hell. Kuwaiti Danish Dairy which is a Kuwaiti Muslim owned dairy company which has not had ties with Denmark for over 20 years. Reportedly KDD’s sales dropped 95% in Middle East markets outside Kuwait (Pfanner, 2006).

Cartoon 8: February 12, 2006

This three cartoon strip features an ensuing dialogue after the publication of the caricatures, between a Muslim man dressed in Muslim garb and a man dressed in casual Western attire, assumed to be from the West. The first dialogue box has the Western man saying to the Muslim man who has his arms crossed with a grim expression, “What’s all the fuss about these caricatures? I wouldn’t mind if you wanted to draw some cartoons about my religion...” The word “my” is in bold and has been underlined twice. This statement symbolizes

the casual attitude of the West regarding its religion, which is usually presumed to be Christianity. The Muslim man appearing cross speaks in the next dialogue box, “But I wouldn’t do that! You still don’t get it, do you? In Islam, it’s forbidden to represent all prophets including Jesus Christ!!!” The word “all” is also underlined twice in this dialogue box. It is a fact that Jesus is considered a prophet in the Islamic faith. The repeated use of exclamation marks in his statements signifies passion towards his faith. The final statement in the third cartoon strip is made by the Western man who says, “Jesus Christ? Actually, I was talking about football...” The whole cartoon characterizes the man from the West as having a casual attitude towards his religion and the Muslim man as being zealous about his religion. This is symbolized even in the attire of the two men. The Western man is wearing a sweat shirt, jeans and a baseball cap worn backwards, while the Muslim man is wearing a *taqiyah*, a traditional round prayer cap worn by Muslim men, a *shalwar kameez* which is traditional attire typically worn by Muslim men from Southeast Asia and a zipped up casual jacket over the *kameez*. The *kameez* is the top portion of the outfit and is usually knee-length and the *shalwar* is the pants. The observation here would be that the west considers sports as their God and religion is viewed with passivity while in the Muslim world religion is treated with fervor and that is the opinion they have of the West – a casual attitude towards their religion commonly perceived to be Christianity.

Cartoon 9: February 14, 2006

Another editor’s room is the scene for this cartoon. The editor is seated at his desk, he has his teeth clenched and his arms are elongated with clenched fists as in a boxing stunt. The dialogue box above him reads “Your nose is too long!!!” At the end of the clenched fists is a

Muslim man with an elongated bruised nose. The man has an angry expression on his face as though he were yelling. The man is holding up his hand in between his nose and the editor's clenched fist and the dialogue box above him reads "Your right to punch the air ends where my nose begins!" The editor who portrays the west appears to be reaching out of his way, signified by the elongated hands to punch the Muslim man's nose, signified as hurting the man or insulting him/Muslim World. The Muslim world's anger is personified in the man's expression and his dialogue indicates that he wants the western world to keep their insults outside their (Muslim) space. And the West's response to this reaction is that "Your nose is too long!!!" which likely means the West also views the Muslims as interfering in their business, all the while failing to realize that they (the West) are also doing the same and this is symbolized in the elongated arms.

Definition Statements

This section provides the response to the second research question in the study in identifying the themes and frames that emerged in newspaper coverage from the three newspapers.

From concurrent and repeated study of the data gathered from the newspapers several themes emerged in the discourse in the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Kuwait Times*. The most prevalent frame within which discourse from both sides flowed was the insider-outsider framework. This was identified in keeping with Chatman's (1996) insider-outsider concept. This research is using her concept to show that there was an evident dualism in the framework used in the articles. Dualism is referring to the "us versus them" mentality

and is reflected in the discourse gathered in this study through descriptors like the West and the Islamic world or vice versa, freedom of speech and self-censorship, democracy and theocracy. These dichotomies were reflected in the arguments surrounding the caricatures in opinion pages on both sides. One side was concerned with protecting their way of life from Western hegemony and democracy and the other side concerned with the protection of freedom of expression and the ideals of their democracy. The other overarching frames, well within the context of the topic under study were “freedom of expression” and “censorship” or “self-censorship.” And discourse revealed how the newspapers framed arguments either defending or questioning these aspects. The competing perspectives on aspects like freedom of expression can be understood because of conflicting cultural values and was visible in the contrasting articulations from both sides. It would be simplistic to assume that the West defended freedom of expression and the Muslim world did not. As made evident in the earlier critique section there were instances where in the West the *NY Times* did not always take that stance. Discourse from the Middle East framed arguments to protect core values like religion, made visible in the reference to scriptures. Clearly, religion also takes the forefront in this discussion and several themes denoting religion manifests itself in the discourse used in the articles. Discourse from the Middle East made arguments that their culture needed protection from secular Western influences. Satanic inferences were also made through visual representations in editorial cartoons in the *Kuwait Times*. The discourse used by the three newspapers both text and images in the form of editorial cartoons were examined exhibiting these explicit themes:

Hell/Satan/Judgment: *Kuwait Times*

Hell and satanic inferences and descriptors took the stage for three out of the nine editorial cartoons within the *Kuwait Times*. The caricatures and freedom of expression along with it were portrayed as a creation from hell. The *Kuwait Times* cartoon on February 4, 2006, had a caricature of an angry devil with pencils instead of the typical horns sticking out of his forehead. The dialogue bubble above the devil said “freedom of expression” clearly citing demonic forces behind the caricatures. The other cartoon that depicted the devil was the one with the cow that resembled the devil with a black cape draped over the cow that read “Danish Dairy products,” indicating that the Danish products were from hell, also relevant to the boycotts of Danish products in the Muslim world. The devil and hell also appear in the second cartoon on February 4, 2006, elaborated in the cartoon section, showing the devil stirring a black cauldron on fire with three European editors in the cauldron insinuating the consequences awaiting the publishers of the cartoons. Muslims believe in the existence of Satan and judgment day and consequences for sins committed. The *Kuwait Times* editorial on February 5, 2006 depicted 12 slashed hands, dripping blood with each hand holding a pencil and hung from a long horizontal crossbar. The cutting of hands is the judgment rendered on the crime of stealing in Islamic law (Souryal et al., 2002). The applicability of this verdict to the context of the cartoons seems far-fetched, however, it is still indirectly implied that the hands that caricatured the cartoons deserved the like. Siddiqui ‘s(2006) judgment refers to scripture that says those who “annoy the Prophet” ...will have “a painful torment” (p. 20).

Solidarity between the West and Jews: *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer, Kuwait Times*

The articles from the *Kuwait Times* point fingers at the solidarity between the West and Jews. They accuse the West of appeasing Jews and being politically correct when it comes to addressing them or their religion, while insulting the Muslims with cartoons like the 12 caricatures. Alyan (2006) and Reshamwala (2006) address this as a double standard in the *Kuwait Times*. Reshamwala (2006) expressed dissatisfaction at the Western media for ridiculing Islam while offending Jews is labeled as “anti-Semitic” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 2). He expresses frustration at the West for giving Muslims lectures on free speech while not daring to print “a single cartoon denying – or even trivializing the Holocaust” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 20). Alyan (2006) calls it “one of the worst cases of double standards” (Alyan, 2006, p. 3) when insulting Jews is “labeled anti-Semitic and unacceptable” (Alyan, 2006, p. 3). But in the name of freedom of expression opinions about Muslims can be expressed freely – “God help you if you ever insult Jews...” (Alyan, 2006, p. 3).

Scriptures/Religion

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*: Fish (2006) conveys his moral judgment that religious views are due “respect: nothing less, nothing more” (p. 15 and strong faith is appreciated but one can only demand “respect” for faith and not “deference.” Fish (2006) points finger at Muslim countries for publishing cartoons “vilifying” Jews and Christians. Burcharth (2006) employs bold discourse in speaking of the Danish media affiliating the burning of Danish flags as an attack against Christianity because of the white cross on the flag – “Now that flag has become a symbol around the world of Denmark’s contempt for another world

religion” (p. 15). Qureshi (2006) in the *NY Times* makes scriptural references condemning the “loudest and most murderous forces” in the Muslim world for having “chosen to forget the spirit of the Koran, which opens with an invocation of God’s mercy and compassion and which repeatedly urges believers to practice patience and kindness” (p. 15).

- *Kuwait Times*: Referring to the scriptures is another theme that emerged from the articles in the *Kuwait Times*. There seemed to be logic of almost taking comfort in the scriptures from the Quran as they were quoted in these articles in dealing with the insult to their religion. Thematic elements related to religion like hell, Satan and judgment visible in the *Kuwait Times* editorial cartoons were elaborated previously in the Hell/Judgment/Satan section. The additional cartoon making allusion to religion in the cartoon section on February 12, 2006, was the dialogue strip between the Western man and the Muslim man where the Muslim man is portrayed passionately telling the Western man that, “In Islam it’s forbidden to represent all prophets including Jesus Christ” (p. 20). Cobb (2006) makes reference to the “peaceful Muslims living in many other countries on earth, including the United States” who have “deeply held religious beliefs” and “quietly look to their religion for comfort” when troubled by events around the world. She also discusses the “pointless attacks on the religion and culture of our Islamic allies” that she fears may compromise the goodwill of the West in the Muslim world that “was won at such a high price” (p. 18). Siddiqui (2006) begins the article “We won’t cow down before the insulters” by praising God and his Prophet Mohammed using several scriptures and by praising God for “giving strength to the Muslims for having stood against this insult to the Prophet...” (p. 20). Al-Sharikh (2006) asks to inform “Western friends...about the beauty of the Prophet, the peacefulness of His demeanour, and the complete disassociation He

would have had with the violence done in His blessed name” (p. 6). Alyan (2006) too asks to “Follow the Prophet in your reactions and deeds” as was the title of his article. He uses scripture in his discourse saying it says “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth...It does not say a life for an insult or a knife for a word” (p. 3). He also talks about judgment -“God is going to judge is individually for our sins” and that “He will not punish nations as group depending on whether their good deeds are more than their sins...” (Alyan, 2006, p. 3). The illustration for judgment used here can also definitely be represented under the theme for judgment (but will not be used there for the sake of avoiding inundation of the same examples). Darwish (2006) also shares the opinion that “what the protesters are doing does not reflect the teachings of the Prophet (PBUH) or his message” and wanted ‘people to know that these hooligans do not represent Islam” (p. 2).

Nationalism/Multiculturalism

- *NY Times-Philadelphia Inquirer*: The theme in some of the editorials was drawing a link between the caricatures and cultural precepts like nationalism and multiculturalism. The connection was made by linking the attitude of nationalism, their insider-outsider mentality to the creation of the cartoons. Rose (2006) the culture editor of *Jyllands-Posten* calls Europe’s blames Europe’s nationalistic American successful multiculturalism while Europe rooted in national identity.

- *Kuwait Times*: A Kuwaiti editorial on February 4, 2006 makes appreciative remarks of American multiculturalism and naturalization process while accusing European culture as being “ethnic-based” (p. 18).

Victimology/Non-Assimilation

- *NY Times-Philadelphia Inquirer*: Rose (2006) in his editorial in the *NY Times* states that the Muslim community in Denmark assumes a posture of “victimology” as an excuse for their non-assimilative behavior. Treat “natives and Muslim immigrants through the act of inclusion.” Burcharth (2006) associates the assimilation factor with the Denmark’s xenophobia or “Denmark’s uneasy relationship with Islam” and “pervasive hostility towards anything Muslim in Denmark” (p. 15). Qureshi (2006) takes the same stand.

- *Kuwait Times*: “[C]losed nature of many Muslim societies” (February 4, 2006) is to blame for the lack of assimilation but this article also plays ‘victimology’ by saying it to be blamed “just as much if not more” on the “national self-determination” (p. 18) of the Europeans. The article says the Muslim immigrant is not accepted into society because of the “ethnic-based” (p. 18) identity culture in Europe. Referring to Muslims as the “largest religious minority” in “Christian Europe” the article states that “No European state...has been particularly successful in integrating those minorities into their cultural mainstream (*Kuwait Times*, 2006, p. 8).

Pencil/Ink-Tip Pen

- *NY Times*: The pencil or ink-point pen used by cartoonists appears in one editorial cartoon in the *NY Times* analyzed in this research, noticeably depicted as a culprit because of the settings in which it appears. In the *NY Times* editorial the pen tip was at the edge of the sword that lay in the flames. In the *Inquirer* there lies a broken pencil a top of a drawing of a crescent and star, which is a symbol associated with Islam.

- *Kuwait Times*: Here it appeared as horns for the devil, the 12 slashed hands had a pencil each and the ink-tip pen was also in the hand of the outstretched arm with the arm-patch resembling that of the Nazi regime. It appears in settings associated with evil or judgment likely for the outcome caused by the pencil, the caricatures. In the *Kuwait Times*, one more related association to evil appears in the form a laser pen in the hands of Darth Vader seen at a cartoonists table. The pen strikes the table producing smoke and sparks and the title over the cartoon reads “The Dark Side of Editorial Cartooning.”

Defenders of Free Speech/Freedom of Speech

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*: The instances expounded in this section are the articles that had a tone of assuming the role of protectors of free speech and liberal values Rose (2006) “...undermining the liberal values of Europe. Fish (2006) sided with *Jyllands-Posten* to say that the “offending cartoons” were not published to “furor some religious or political vision,” rather they do it “almost accidentally” to stand up for “an abstract principle – free speech” (p. 15). The title for this article was “Our faith in letting it all hang out.” Qureshi (2006) in the *NY Times* had the opposite viewpoint and although did not agree with “more censorship” had the notion that both Westerners and Islamic fundamentalists viewed freedom of speech “simply as the ability to offend-rather than as the cornerstone of a liberal democratic polity...” (p. 15). The “Western champions of freedom of speech” are lectured for trivializing freedom of speech and “deriving pleasure from their ability to gratuitously offend Muslims” (Qureshi, 2006, p. 15). The *Inquirer*, the paper that did publish one of the cartoons quotes their editor’s decision to stand by printing the cartoons despite Muslim protesters outside their office – “But Bennett stood by

the decision to publish the cartoon saying it ‘is one of the things newspapers do to communicate directly with people’ about issues important to all communities” (Bahadur, 2006, p. A14). Rubin (2006) in the *Inquirer* also rose to defend “the real issue in Europe” that “*Jyllands-Posten* was responding to” – “media self-censorship because of fear of Islamist violence” (p. A11).

“Americans still recognize it as within the speech protected by our First Amendment” – this statement was made in the *NY Times* article “Those Danish Cartoons.” The “still” in the statement above was referring to the possibility suggested by the editorial that it may sound “juvenile” to conduct the experiment that was done by *Jyllands-Posten* as they were testing to “see whether political satirists were capable of being harsh to Islam as they are to other organized religions.” “Juvenile” as the cause may sound, “still” it is recognized and protected by the First Amendment. Although the next paragraph in the article does go on to provide the excuse for not printing and refraining from “gratuitous assaults on religious symbols.”

- *Kuwait Times*: Alrabaa (2006) criticizes Arabs for being selective about freedom of speech. He says they demand freedom of speech “as long as it is convenient to them” while at the same time “enemies” or “people they disagree with” must be “muzzled” and “they go selective” about it. (Alrabaa, 2006, p. 6). Siddiqui (2006) labels the free speech advocates as “perpetrators” and that their “talks of rights and freedom of speech” is “vain talk,” the “rights they boast of” is of “no consequence ” and “neither is talk on drawing lines between freedom of speech and hurting religious sentiments” (p. 20). Siddiqui (2006) accuses the West of undermining the Muslims for not understanding what “they are crying out for” (the West) rather claims that Muslims know “freedom and people’s rights much better...” (p. 20). Al-

Sharikh (2006) states that “Liberalism is about personal freedom and tolerance of others, not offending others and personal prejudice” (p. 6).

Justification/Motivation for Printing or Censoring: *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*

Rose’s (2006) in the *NY Times* clarifies the cartoons as an “act of inclusion not exclusion” asserting that they are treating Muslims the same as they would Danes by including them in the literature of criticism as they would any other religion. Fish (2006) justifies the cartoons as a cause for putting “self-censorship on the agenda” in the Times (p. 15). The *NY Times* however refrained from printing the images and as quoted in the earlier section the reasons were – “So many things to report, so little space” and “To avoid worldwide fury” (Nizza, 2008). The article goes onto say that “the risk of a backlash” was not sufficient to prevent an encore appearance in 2008 of the cartoon of the Prophet with the ticking bomb in his turban. The *NY Times* also puts itself on the shelf with “the rest of the nation’s news media” that “refrained” from showing the cartoons and labels this as a “reasonable choice” for news organizations “that usually refrain from gratuitous assaults on religious symbols.” The other explanation was that “the cartoons are so easy to describe in words”

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* printed the cartoon with the bomb-turban and justified the paper’s decision to print along with the article “A media dilemma.” The sub-title read “U.S. media declining divisive cartoons.” The editor of the *Inquirer* Amanda Bennett remarks – “We’re running this in order to give people a perspective of what the controversy’s about, not to titillate...” (Maykuth, 2006, p.A6). The editor was also quoted in the article saying – “This is the kind of work that newspapers are in business to do” and “You run it because there’s a news

reason to run it” (Maykuth, 2006, p.A6). “Muhammad images are not a rarity” was the title of an *Inquirer* article providing a chronicle of the times and events in history that produced images of the Prophet also stating that there not “appear to be any uniform prohibition against portraying the human figure” and that “...Muslims held a variety of beliefs about religious imagery” (Maykuth, 2006, p.A6). In another article covering the picketing of the *Inquirer* by Muslims in the community, at again quoted editor Amanda Bennett defending the printing of the Mohammed cartoon saying the *Inquirer* covered “...more than just the cartoon. ...It’s been very thorough and very wide-ranging” (Fifield & Bahadur, 2006, p.B6)

Islam as Radical

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*: The concept of Islam as radical is represented as an opposition to freedom of expression. In the *Philadelphia Inquirer* this is presented through the “radical” Imams that toured the Middle East with the caricatures. “Radicals’ role in a riotous rage” was the title of Rubin’s (2006) article. Some of the discourse used regarding the cartoons and the “radicals” were – “The whole drama has been stage-managed by radical Islamists...” without whose “intervention, this minor tiff wouldn’t have grown into a worldwide conflagration,” or when referring to a Danish imam “with radical Islamic contacts” who “helped ignite the current violence,” or talking about *Jyllands-Posten* responding to the “real issue in Europe: media self-censorship because of fear of Islamist violence” also “the question haunting Europe is how to prevent a radical Muslim minority from expanding small community conflicts into a broader war,” and “the broader threat posed by a small Muslim minority to wider European publics” and “this minority also endangers moderate European Muslims who

will be the victims of any anti-immigrant backlash provoked by Islamist violence”(Rubin, 2006, p.A11).In the other *Inquirer* article “From Heat to Flames-Anger long festered. Did other unprinted cartoons fan fires?” Maykuth (2006) points finger at the Danish Imams and their manipulation of the extra cartoons too saying” the extent to which those caricatures influenced the outrage against Denmark and the West is impossible to measure” and “The extent to which the anti-Western Muslim sentiments were initially stirred up..” (p.A14). The lead to this front page article in the inner page reads – “a long simmering before violent turn.” Qureshi (2006) addresses “the power of the radicals” as “ugly” and condemns their ability to “trample and blaspheme a more humanistic Islamic tradition,” their “recourse to violence” and their “anti-intellectualism” (p. 15).

- *Kuwait Times*: A *Kuwait Times* article on February 13, 2006, on the analysis page was titled “Cartoons Row ‘Veritable Gift’ to Islamist Radicals.” Moutot (2006) calls the cartoons a “welcome ‘gift’” to the radicals giving them an “extraordinary chance” to advance their “propaganda and radicalize still further anti-Western feeling in the Arab and Muslim world” (p. 25).

Appeasement/Political Correctness

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer* – Rose’s (2006) dissatisfaction with “appeasement” and “political correctness” in Europe was what he claims his motivation for the cartoons, wanting to set aside “political correctness” because it “makes it impossible to criticize minorities for anything. According to Kimmelman (2006) Westerners are trained to see pictures as symbols or concepts and “often overlook the way images may not just symbolize but actually

‘partake of what they represent’” (p. E8) and said that the conservative Danish newspapers “provoked Muslims” (p. E8). The *Inquirer* reports the American media debatably being “overly cautious about publishing the cartoons,” that most American outlets “have declined to publish the drawings” because they are “caught in a dilemma” between printing the cartoons and “offending the religious sensibilities of Muslims” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A1). The *Inquirer* also places a statement with the image stating that it “intends no disrespect to the religious beliefs of any of its readers” (Maykuth, 2006, p. A6). A *NY Times* editorial was of the opinion that Muslim organizations were “certainly within their rights” to “stage peaceful marches” or “organize boycotts of Danish goods” with the exception of going “on a rampage and burn down buildings” because “people are bound to be offended if their religion is publicly mocked.”

- *Kuwait Times*: “But we would be wise to choose our battles. Petty insults are not worthy of us” (Cobb, 2006, p. 18). Cobb (2006) is addressing the cartoons and the fear of losing the goodwill the Western world has in the Muslim world and fears that the “hard-won diplomatic gains” are “being squandered.” She condemns the cartoons and the mocking but at the same time believes “It doesn’t mean we need to censor or appease” (Cobb, 2006, p. 18). Cobb establishes that she understands the reasons why the original cartoons were published but “republishing numerous and increasingly insulting cartoons and images of Muhammad (PBUH) at this point does not advance our goals in the war on terrorism, unless one of our goals is to show that we couldn’t care less about the religious sensibilities of Muslims” (p. 18).

Condemning Cartoons/Apologetic

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer* – Kimmelman (2006) in the *NY Times* calls the

cartoons “callous,” “feeble,” “cooked up as a provocation by a conservative newspaper exploiting the general Muslim prohibition on images of the Prophet Muhammad to score cheap points about freedom of expression” (p.E1) Rubin’s (2006) *Inquirer* article on the role of radicals who took advantage of the cartoons, suspends the accusations for musing “Maybe” the cartoons deserved “a newspaper apology for insensitivity” and “Sure” they “...protests or meetings with newspaper editors.”

- *Kuwait Times*: “What the Danish publication has done is equivalent to drawing offensive cartoons of Jesus Christ, just because the Ku Klux Klan claim him as their Lord and Savior” states Al-Sharikh (2006, p. 6) in his opinion piece, adding that a society that is “obsessed” with sustaining its “culture of liberalism at the expense of offending other cultures, it loses sight of what it truly means to be liberal” (p. 6). One editorial page article titled ‘Of cartoons and what it means to be ‘European’” the cartoons were labeled as “blasphemous” with blasphemous in quotes (February 4, 2006). Cobb (2006) called the publication as a “senseless ridicule of Muhammad (PBUH)...” (Cobb, 2006, p. 18). Steele (2006) calls the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons their “anti-Muslim error” and that the Danish editors “made a major error of judgment” (p. 20). “Whether rightful or legal an insult is an insult” states Siddiqui (2006) calling the published caricatures “adamance” (p. 20).

Clash of Cultures/Culture Wars/East vs. West

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*: In an article dissecting the issue at hand Burcharth (2006) claims that “Islam has come to be viewed by many as a threat to the survival of Danish culture” (p. 15) and talks about the attempt by Danish minister of cultural affairs to “preserve

homegrown classics” by prompting artists to create a canon of Danish art calling it “...the new front in our cultural war” (p. 15). And the article quotes the minister’s reason as “...the appearance of a parallel society in which minorities practice their own medieval values and undemocratic views” which Burhcarth (2006) calls the “last line of defense against the influence of Islam in Denmark” (p. 15). The discourse in this article assumed the role of the insider attempting to protect its norms from the immigrant community viewed as the outsider. Qureshi (2006) in the *NY Times* implies that the cartoon controversy came at an unsuitable time “when many in the Islamic world view the war on terrorism as a war on Islam” (p. 15). Rubin (2006) called the controversy as “drama” which has been “stage-managed by radical Islamists who want to provoke a clash of civilizations” (p. A11). Kimmelman (2006) states that in this culture war “choosing sides can be exasperating.”

- *Kuwait Times*: Editorial places both sides “charges and counter charges” of “cultural insensitivity,” “blasphemy” and “cultural insensitivity.” Ahrari (2006) in his comparison of freedom of expression for the West and adherence to Islam for those of the Muslim faith states that “the long standing chasm between the West and the world of Islam is getting wider....and may even be heading toward a ‘civilisational war’” (p. 20). “They should stop imposing their way of thought on other people” said Siddiqui (2006) when referring to all issues that “Europeans or the West brings out” including “social matters, decency, political matters, democracy, religious matters or anything else” (p. 20). Siddiqui (2006) is of the opinion that the West must realize that insulting the Prophet “is not something they can expect the Muslims to take, in the same humour as they did. They may do it with their own gods and religious identities...not with our Prophet (PBUH)” (p. 20).The anti-imperialistic tone takes precedence in

the article asking Muslims to be “courageous” and “end our dependence on the West, their products and everything from them” and “definitely not the food and products that are imported” (p. 20). Siddiqui (2006) also makes the accusation that “Social justice is something the West does not actually have” (p. 20). Reshamwala (2006) states it is “heartening” to see the boycotts, to never “whole-heartedly” accept products from Denmark or “other offending nations” – “The capitalistic and money-worshipping West will only sit up and take notice when hit where it hurts most- their pockets” (Reshamwala, 2006, p. 2).

Self-Blame/Self-Culture Dissection: *Kuwait Times*

In his dissection of the cartoon controversy “through Kuwaiti eyes” pointing blame at both sides, Al-Sharikh (2006, p. 6) scrutinizes his country’s “civil-minded Constitution” that is “struggling to remain intact against those who want to change the second clause in it to state that the Sharia is the only source of our legislation” (p. 6). He reasons that if Kuwait sees religious extremists “as backwards and trying to keep us in the dark ages” it is “unrealistic” to expect “that the Danes and Norwegians see them as vital engines of progress within the Islamic world, especially when they misuse the Prophet’s name in their political causes” (Al-Sharikh, 2006, p. 6). He lays out the factors that are considered *haram* in “our own country” – “did not allow women to vote” until 2005, “we are made to believe that music is *haram*” and “to allow young men and women to mix in a co-ed atmosphere is *haram*” resulting in segregated universities. Darwish (2006) renders an apologetic tone for the violence calling it “hooliganism” and takes a tone of chastising the response to the cartoons – “we never serve our own cause but act irrational and tarnish the image of Islam by ourselves” (p. 2). Alyan (2006) also

expresses concern towards the image of Islam saying “With us Arabs, reaction is usually uncalculated, extreme, lacks logic and is ultimately damaging to Islam” (p. 3).

Democratic/Theocratic

- *NY Times/Philadelphia Inquirer*: The insider-outsider perspective summons itself in one more theme within the discourse in these articles. This was visible predominantly in the discourse from the Western newspapers – the West taking the stance that being expressive is permitted in democratic societies. Fish (2006) in the *NY Times* holds that expressing religious views separates democratic societies from theocratic societies – “...the religion we call liberalism” (p. 15). He says “strongly held faiths are exhibits in liberalism’s museum,” that they are appreciated and “we congratulate ourselves for affording them a space” (p. 15).

- *Kuwait Times*: Al-Sharikh (2006) is of the opinion that while “all democracies allow freedom of speech” when it comes to “matters of faith” some exercise “self-censorship,” except Denmark whose “liberalism” allows “child-pornography, racist/anti-Semitic humour...even derogatory cartoons against one of the most revered characters in human history, Muslims and non-Muslims” (p. 6). He also states that the “interpretation of liberalism” in a European nation like Scandinavia is very different from “any acceptable definition” in the Muslim world. According to Sharikh (2006), when liberalism occurs at the “expense of offending other cultures, it loses sight of what it really means to be liberal” (p. 6). Liberalism he states is “about personal freedom and tolerance of others, not offending others and personal prejudice” (Al-Sharikh, 2006, p. 6). Alyan (2006) points out that “freedom of expression” is an important

“sought after” right in a democracy. In talking of the Danish cartoons he questions the “right to express” opinion in a democracy with the discourse –

So does that mean I can walk around in a western democracy and randomly call every black person I come across a “nigger” or every Asian “Paki” and start making racist remarks to every other every other person I see in the name of freedom? In many democracies this would be considered racist abuse... (p. 3)

Siddiqui (2006) believes the West should “stop imposing their way of thought on other people,” be it “social matters, decency, political matters, democracy, religious matters or anything else” (p. 20).

Information Censorship Model

This dissertation has come to recognize information censorship as a social and cultural phenomenon that is driven by the inherent nature of selectiveness. This dissertation has relied on the given data to work out a model – circle of information censorship. The data collected reveal that both sides of the camp in this study use information in the form of news discourse to reclaim and affirm their social reality by censoring information. This censoring is done through selection of information. The information propagators relied on certain elements to filter or in the context of this research to censor information identified as relational to the quality of selectiveness. And solely in the light of this study the conceptual issues influencing the selection of information and eventually censorship of information were identified as: political correctness or appeasement, self-censorship or individual values, religion, laws or press laws, propaganda and flak. It was typically these censors or an interplay of these censors that was used to dispense information in the restrictive and non-restrictive information environment.

The three theories used in this study displayed a significant capacity of suitability to the context and data gathered for this research. The interweaving of these models together worked out a relevant association to the findings of this research. And this model is the derivative of the combination of these three theories. The spiral of silence theory's pertinence although in the individual context, nevertheless was simultaneously found applicable in the study of media discourse in a restrictive and non-restrictive context.

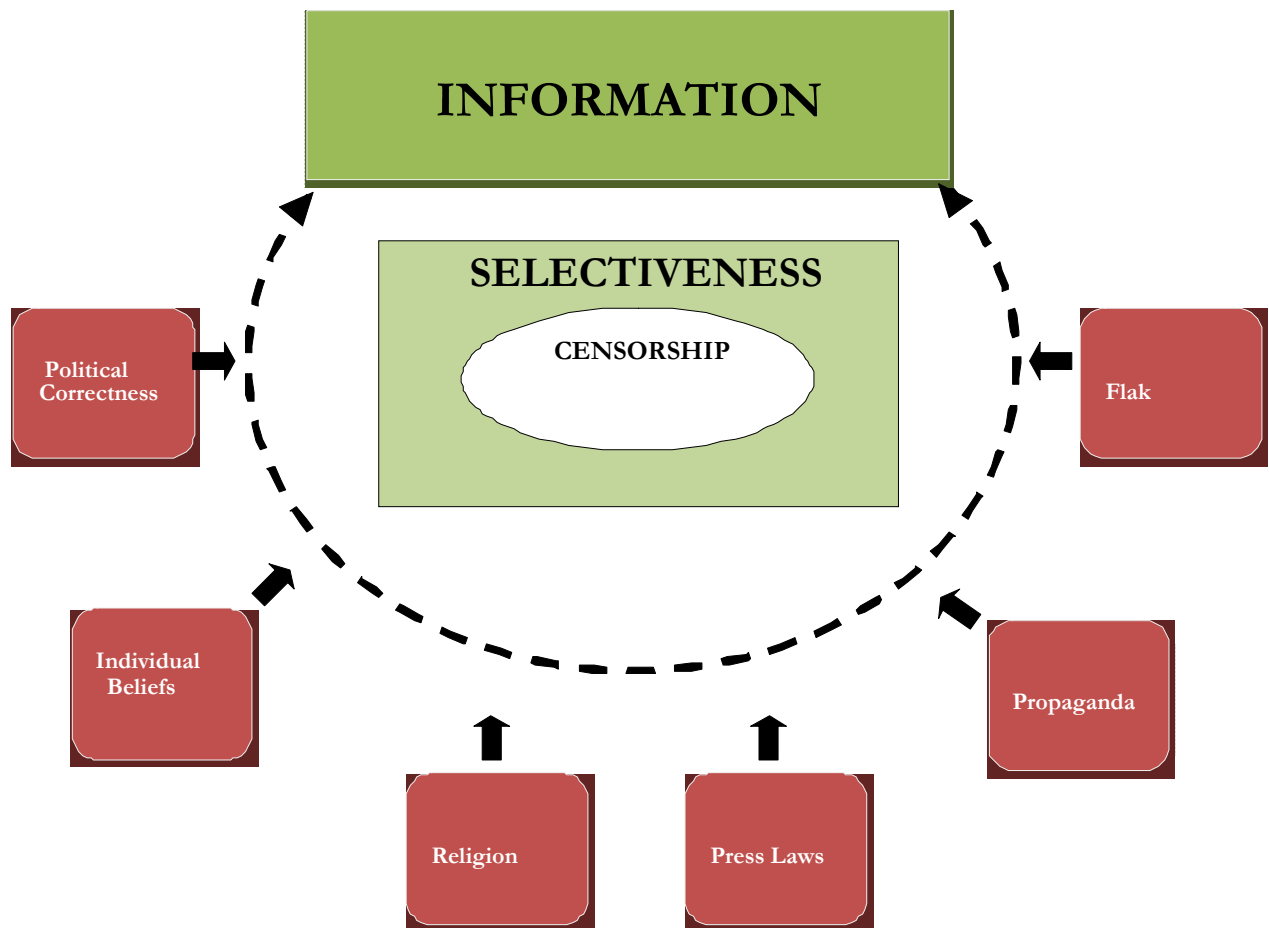


Figure 4.1. Circle of information censorship.

“The spiral of silence is a reaction to openly visible approval and disapproval among shifting constellations of values” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 64). The approval and disapproval is a likely factor in the decision to censor. The theory addresses the relation between the fear of isolation and the fear of expressing opinion. The fear addressed here is the fear that causes people to check opinions and behaviors that are approved or disapproved in their environment because of fear of deviating from consensus. Noelle-Neumann labels approval and disapproval as the “moral nature of public opinion” (p. 151). Media decisions to censor can be affected by public opinion, negative public opinion to be precise. This bears similarity to the flak concept in the propaganda model. The media resort to censoring on account of political correctness or appeasement so as to not offend a constituency or patronage employing discourse like “a reasonable choice for news organizations that usually refrain from gratuitous assaults on religious symbols” (*NY Times*, February 7, 2006). Noelle-Neumann (1993) notes that the observation of facts is filtered by selective viewpoints directed by “stereotypes or ‘codices’” (p. 151) and these stereotypes that are lucid enough that “whether positive or negative...it lets everyone know when to speak and when to keep quiet” (p. 151).

The propaganda model made a likewise contribution to the conception of this model. The traits of the media filters elaborated by Herman and Chomsky (2002) also appeared in the findings of this study. The reasons provided by media conglomerates like the *New York Times* was observed in “dichotomized choices of story and in the volume and quality of coverage” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 35) - “So many things to report, so little space. That’s chief reason newspapers aren’t usually in the business of reprinting things. Here’s another: To avoid worldwide fury” (Nizza, *NY Times*, 2008). Herman and Chomsky (2002) provide likely

explanation for pretexts like these in the media through their dichotomization and propaganda filter:

Messages from and about dissidents and weak, unorganized individuals and groups, domestic and foreign, are at an initial disadvantage in sourcing costs and credibility, and they often do not comport with the ideology or interests of the gatekeepers and other powerful parties that influence the filtering process. (p. 31)

The fourth filter in the propaganda model, flak and the enforcers, conjures negative responses to a media program or statement or other forms of complaint. Flak has been considered a conceptual factor in the constructed model, based on the reasons provided for not printing, which is “so little space.” The propaganda model considers advertisers in the media as a prime enforcer of flak. “Advertisers are still concerned to avoid offending constituencies that might produce flak, and their demand for suitable programming is a continuing feature of the media environment” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 27). Since flak from constituencies they might offend was one of the reasoning behind not reprinting and flak in the form of negative responses – “To avoid worldwide fury” (Nizza, *NY Times*, 2008) as stated in their discourse was their concern, self-censorship was the resulting answer. The authenticity of the quality of selectiveness is underlined in the discourse used by the newspaper – “So many things to report, so little space,” drawing attention to the “chief reason” that they selected one story over the other or self-censored on behalf of these pretexts.

Chatman (1996) links the process of information-seeking with social norms because this will provide explanation for the reasons that some sources are selected and why other sources are ignored. “Social norms affect the exchange of information because they set parameters around the communication process” (Chatman, 1996, p. 204). Social norms could include values, traditions, religious beliefs, all becoming as Chatman (1996) suggests reference points

along which information exchange happens for individuals. And individuals use these reference points as expanded earlier in the literature to selectively expose, avoid or categorize their information because of the dissonance it might cause to their beliefs and values. Religion was identified as a significant reference point in the results of this study apart from the fact that the basis of the study which is the cartoon controversy, evolved on account of censorship related to religion. In the *Kuwait Times*, religion was used several times in the discourse, specifically in the editorial cartoons as seen in the analysis specifically in the form of quoting and relating to scriptures. As discussed earlier in the discourse analysis of the editorial articles by Siddiqui (2006), Alyan (2006) and Darwish (2006) incorporated scriptures from the Quran as part of the discourse within their articles. Siddiqui (2006) quotes five scriptures from the Quran, three of which are verses exalting the Prophet. Alyan (2006) uses an incident from the scriptures about the Prophet and his Jewish neighbor encouraging peaceful responses to the cartoons. He advises to not judge based on nationality, because the Prophet did not do so and that God will judge for individual sins and not nations for their sins. Darwish (2006) also refers to an incident where the Prophet responded in forgiveness to people who stoned him. These examples are separate from the broad references to religion throughout the discourse in all three newspapers causing this research to call out religion as one of the conceptual factors in the composition of this model.

The influence of press or media laws on the media is a given in the case of Kuwait. The printing and publishing laws specified in the literature review have a bearing on the media in the country because non-compliance is subject to fines, imprisonment and suspension of licenses. The decision to censor the caricatures is evidently in compliance with religious

convictions but also in compliance with the law. Religion and laws are used to maintain the element of control in the propagation of information. According to Noelle-Neumann (1993) “...laws can be enacted or changed in order to influence public opinion in the desired direction” (p. 130). The fourth filter in the propaganda model states speculates that media information can be funded and approved by government sources, which is considered applicable in the case of Kuwait based on the existence of the printing and publishing laws and a media committee to oversee media affairs as discussed earlier in the background. These control elements enable the propagators of information to selectively introduce information into their world. Chatman (1996) theory of information poverty proposes that “Information poverty is determined by self-protective behaviors which are used in response to social norms” (p. 197). In the context of this study and coverage by the Kuwaiti newspaper, censorship through the process of selectiveness emerges as a self-protective behavior in complying with their religion and supreme laws. Chatman (1996) suggests that the role of such social norms is “to aid and define things that are legitimate to seek and appropriate to share” (p. 197).

The in depth exploration of the information environment of the two cultures – restrictive and non-restrictive; through the discourse in the respective media enabled identifying these conceptual issues. The concepts identified in this study have provided the casing within which to submit this model. This research commenced with isolated understanding of these concepts. These and the added others that were revealed in the findings have contributed collectively in understanding the social and cultural phenomenon of information censorship.

The Three Theories and This Study – Incompleteness in Applicability

This section provides response to the second half of Research Questions 3 and 4. The applicability of the three theoretical frameworks was established repeatedly throughout the course of the study and in the findings. These three theories that provided the backbone for the progress of the study also facilitated the scoping of the concept of censorship. Chatman's (1996) insider-outsider theory although dealing with life-world of the information poor played a significant role in terms of applicability to the media milieu unraveled in this study. Her study examined the information world of poor people that choose to live in shielded or impoverished information environments by ignoring information not relevant to their world. But the concepts were concrete enough for adoption into the contexts here enabling a broader applicability to her theory and also enabling a sounder comprehension of information strategies and concepts like secrecy, deception, control, situational relevance and their utility by the separate information cultures. These concepts were picked from the mold intended for the social context of the poor and applied comprehensively to discern information propagation in the restrictive and non-restrictive information environments.

Clearly conceived on the underpinnings of the American media but some aspects of the propaganda model were applicable to the Kuwaiti context as well, as elaborated during the course of writing. The influence of the propaganda system of the media in this country to create apathy among audiences was affirmed through the discourse of appeasement and self-censorship as illustrated in newspapers like the *NY Times*. Flak was identified not merely as an attribute related to elite influence but was seen as an attribute of the audiences as well. Although the propaganda model was considered in this debate of media censorship, the

structural factors that were presented as filters or reasons for dominant propaganda cannot (in the context of this study) be applied in restrictive information environments. The model does not serve a perfect fit in every information context because media behavior varies within their context and culture. The relation of corporate hegemony made in the case of American media for instance cannot be directly made to the restrictive information context where the influence on the media is oftentimes governmental, authoritarian or religion. The spiral of silence theory was repeatedly deemed fitting to multiple instances throughout the study although the conception of theory was to comprehend individual censorship or silence in a context of disapproval. The theory to some extent facilitated understanding censorship or avoidance of communication of information by the media when facing an antagonistic social context and disapproval therein. The theory could be employed and reformed further to contribute to wholly understanding media behavior when faced with an antagonistic or censorious environment.

One concept that was not wholly and neatly addressed by the theories was political correctness – a concept that has also been explained as “intellectual censorship and silencing” (Tibi, 2009, p. 159). The spiral of silence theory addresses the “approval and disapproval” nature of public opinion which can indirectly lead to self-censorship or appeasement on account of political correctness. The theory does not however entirely address political correctness. Tibi (2009) talks about a shift in the West’s assessment of Islamism, a shift that is “underlain by a spirit of political correctness” (p. 135). He calls on scholars and policy makers to avoid engaging in political correctness but let “unfettered analyses” (Tibi, 2009, p. 159) guide the assessment of Islamism and democracy. Engaging in political correctness can lead to self-

censorship and “politically correct ethics insist on the need to be nice and accommodating, not to provoke controversy, not to utter harmful opinions...” (Sonderling, 2008, p. 305). If it was political correctness or appeasement that produced discourse like “avoid worldwide fury” (Nizza, 2008) and “refrain from gratuitous assaults on religious symbols” (*NY Times*, 2006, February 7), then the persuasion of this kind of discourse demands consideration. Discourses that circulate through the media and the representations they make are a salient feature of a cultural setting, especially since the media have become a prevalent feature of social life. And the three theoretical frameworks were deficient in addressing this concept for this study. This argument is made in light of the awareness that no one information theory can wholly address an information context. This response was provided in perspective of the topic and in response to the research questions looking for the insufficiency of the theories and in providing premises for their augmentation.

The following table is a breakdown and categorization of articles from the *Kuwait Times* from November 2, 2005 (the first report on the caricatures) to March 11, 2006 (since it has been observed that this is the prime time period during which reporting on the issue was extensive).

Table 1

Timeline of Kuwait Times Coverage from November 2, 2005 to March 11, 2006

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Cartoons	Photo Source
Nov 2	Deutsche Presse Agentur	Muslims slam cartoons of Prophet Muhammad		*			
Nov 24	Reuters	Nordic views of Islam sour after global attacks		*			
Dec 10	Associated Press	Cartoons of Prophet draw ire	*				
Jan 28	Agencies	Cartoon row hits Danish products	*			Employee renaming Danish products from grocery store shelves	AP
Jan 29	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Kuwait ups heat on Denmark	*			Removing Danish products from shelves grocery store – sign in Arabic “our boycott of Danish products”	<i>Kuwait Times</i>
Jan 30	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Polemic against the Prophet through Kuwait eyes			National		
Jan 31	Agencies	Danish News Paper apologizes	*			Palestinian militant group burns a Norwegian Flag bearing a footprint of European Commissions building	
Jan 31	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Danish ambassador tries to solve cartoon controversy			National	Grocery store shelf sign in Arabic “Ban Danish products”	
Jan 31	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Some Kuwaitis disagree over Danish ban			National	Grocery store removing Danish products	
Jan 31	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Awqaf lashes out at Danish press mockery (Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs)			National		
Feb 1	Agencies	No let-up in Muslim anger over cartoons	*			Militants from Islamic Jihad group pray as demonstrators hold Arabic labeled pictures of George Bush “the biggest devil,” Ehud Olmert “the Zionist Olmert,” Anders Fogh Rasmussen “Shame on you loser”	

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Cartoons	Photo Source
Feb 1	Kuwait News Agency	New wave of reaction against Danish cartoon in Arab capitals			National	Kuwait Sheikh shops for cheese in supermarket near Arabic sign "We have stopped dealing with Danish products"- Board of directors of Surra-Cooperative Society	
Feb 2	Agencies	Europe adds insult to injury	*			Paris- Muslims pray at city hall square. Inset- Man looking at front page of French daily France Soir "Yes we have the right to caricature God"	AP
Feb 2	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Egypt coordinates with Kuwait over offensive caricatures			National	Egyptian ambassador to Kuwait speaking to reporters	
Feb 2	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Statement of Danish premier on cartoons			National		
Feb 2	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Danish goods stay off shelf			National		
Feb 4	?	Angry Muslims march worldwide	*			Egyptians in Kuwait demonstrating outside UN building Veiled Muslim protestors in London marching towards Danish embassy. Sign "Be prepared for the Real holocaust"	<i>Kuwait Times</i>
Feb 4	Kuwait News Agency	Protests against 'hate cartoons'			National	Bahraini women demonstrating against Denmark and calling for boycott of all Danish products	AFP
Feb 4	Kuwait News Agency	Kuwait leads delegation to discuss cartoon crisis			National		
Feb 4	Reuters	Iraq Christians on edge as cartoon row escalates			Gulf		
Feb 4	Agencies	Iraq's top cleric blasts Prophet caricatures			Gulf	Muslim worshippers in Baghdad gather after Friday prayers to beat and strangle an effigy of a Danish national denouncing Denmark for cartoons at the Abu Hanifa mosque; Demonstration against cartoon in Abu Dhabi. Sign "Dose your freedom allow you to talk about holocaust?? At least it allows you to offense Muslims!"	AP & AFP
Feb 4	Associated Press	Angry Palestinians protest against Prophet's cartoons			International	Islamic Hamas supporters demonstrating against cartoons in Gaza city holding up copies of Holy Quran	AFP

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Cartoons	Photo Source
Feb 4	Agence France Presse	Syria Imam urges Christian support in cartoon row			International	Muslim Sheikh in Beirut burns a Danish flag during a demonstration A Palestinian girl holds up a Holy Quran at a sit in called by Islamic Jihad protesting cartoons	AFP & AP
Feb 4	Associated Press	Furore widens cultural struggle in Europe			Special page – Cartoon row	Four pictures of protesters in Dhaka, Jakarta, Tehran and London Five pictures. Khartoum, Istanbul, Fallujah, Cairo and Amman	AP & AFP
Feb 4	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Of cartoons and what it means to be 'European'		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 4	Deutsche Presse Agentur	Iran, cartoon anger eclipse security meet		Analysis		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 5	Guardian	Child's tale led to clash of cultures		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 6	Agencies	Lebanese torch Danish mission	*			Protesters in Beirut wave black and green Islamic flags in front of burning Danish mission building	AP
Feb 7	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Finnish premier calls for dialogue, calm	*			Finnish Prime Minister being received at Kuwait airport by officials	<i>Kuwait Times</i>
Feb 7	Agencies	Cartoon fury rages on	*			Iranian protesters in Tehran burn Danish and French flags in front of the Austrian Embassy	AP
Feb 7	Associated Press	US urges EU, Muslim nations to tackle religious tolerance freedoms			Internat'l		
Feb 7	Agencies	Catholic priest killed in Turkey 'Cartoon row claims first victim'			Internat'l	Turkish police officers carry body of Italian Roman Catholic priest Andrea Santoro, 60, who was shot in the chest Italian Roman Catholic priest Andrea Santoro, 58, praying at local cemetery	AP
Feb 7	Agence France Presse	British press calls for action against cartoon demonstrators			Internat'l	Palestinian policemen prevent students from protesting outside European union headquarters	AFP

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Cartoons	Photo Source
Feb 7	Agence France Presse	Denmark tells nationals to avoid Muslim nations			Internat'l	Denmarks Foreign Minister Perstig Moeller speaks to the press regarding the burning of Denmark's embassy in Syria and consulates in Lebanon. "We are trying to explain to everyone that enough is enough." Moeller said "This situation must not be talked up"	AP
Feb 7	Ginacobb.type pad.com	Here's what we think of your Prophet		*		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 7	Deutsche Presse Agentur	Cartoon protests lay bare old fears in Europe		*		Turkish nationalist holding banner "Muhammad is our Prophet, Moses is our Prophet, Jesus is our Prophet too. Be respectful to other" during demonstration near Danish consulate in Istanbul	AP
Feb 8	Agencies	Cartoon protests turn deadly	*			Afghan police officers beats a protester outside the Danish Embassy	AP
Feb 8	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Costs of cartoons rises but Danes feel safe in Kuwait			National		
Feb 8	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	We won't cow down before the insulters		*		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 8	Deutsche Presse Agentur	Muslim rage spontaneous A political calculation?		*			
Feb 8	Independent writer- Ehsan Ahrari	Cartoons and the clash of 'freedoms'		*		Police stopping Muslim protesters outside Danish embassy in Kabul	AP
Feb 9	Agencies	Kuwait urges calm in cartoon protests	*			A Bangladeshi Muslim burns a symbolic Danish flag	AP
Feb 9	Agencies	French weekly reprints controversial cartoons			Internat'l	Philippe Val, Executive Director of satirical weekly "Charlie Hebdo" ponders a question during an interview yesterday	AP
Feb 10	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	This isn't protest, this is hooliganism			Local		
Feb 10	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Freedom comes with responsibility			Local	Muslim cleric calms protesters outside the burning Danish embassy in Europe	AFP

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Caroons	Photo Source
Feb 10	<i>Kuwait Times</i> – Editor’s desk	Follow the Prophet in your reactions and deeds			Local		
Feb 10	<i>Kuwait Times</i> – Friday Spotlight	A new era with thoughts			Local		
Feb 11	Agencies	Cartoon anger rages unabated	*			Muslims in Macedonia march peacefully with green and black Islamic flags chanting “Allah is one”	AP
Feb 11	Guardian	Journalists and truth		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 11	Reuters	Cartoons row finds fertile political soil		Analysis		Palestinian Muslims, many holding up Hamas flags, protest inside Jerusalem’s Al-Aqsa mosque compound after Friday prayer	AFP
Feb 12	Agencies	Denmark pulls ambassadors from Syria, Iran, Indonesia	*				
Feb 12	<i>Kuwait Times</i> – Hannah Alam (KRT)	Can’t Muslims take a joke, some ask		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 13	Agence France Presse	Cartoons row ‘veritable gift’ to Islamist radicals		Analysis			
Feb 14	Jeffrey Weiss (KRT)	Conflicting images of cartoon furore		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 14	Guardian	Tragedies suffered by Muslims		Opinion			
Feb 15	<i>Kuwait Times</i> ?	Cartoon protests take a deadly turn in Pakistan	*			Pakistan protesters smash glass windows of a bank building after setting a vehicle on fire	AP
Feb 15	Guardian	Cartoon battle lines not black and white but grey		Opinion		Editorial cartoon	
Feb 17	Agencies	More than 50,000 Pakistani Islamists protest cartoons			Internat’l	Pakistani protesters hold a poster with caricatures portraits of Western leaders during rally in Karachi	AP

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Caroons	Photo Source
Feb 17	Agence France Presse	Israeli cartoonist organizes counter cartoon contest			Internat'l		
Feb 18		Boycott of Danish products costing companies millions	*				
Feb 18	Associated Press	Iran renames Danish pastries in new protest over cartoons			Gulf	Iranian baker adjusts "Danish pastries in his shop in Tehran, Iran renaming "Danish Pastries" into "Roses of Prophet Mohammed"	AP
Feb 18	Associated Press	Prophet's caricature, Hariri top agenda as Pope, Saniora meet			Internat'l	Pope Benedict XVI poses with Lebanese Prime Minister Fawad Saniora and wife Huda Bsat during private audience at Vatican	AFP
Feb 18	Reuters	Danish Muslims see silver lining to cartoon crisis			Internat'l		
Feb 18	Associated Press	Pakistani cleric offers \$1m bounty for killing cartoonist			Internat'l	Pakistani police officer arrests a protester during rally against cartoons	AP
Feb 19	<i>Kuwait Times</i>	Boycott of Danish products to boost Muslim development			National		
Feb 19	Associated Press	Cartoons, terrorism top agenda at US-Islamic World Forum			Gulf	Iranian woman passing an anti-Israel banner "Israel must be wiped out the world" more...	
Feb 20	Agence France Presse	Full page 'apology' from Danish daily for caricatures			Gulf		
Feb 20	Agence France Presse	Saudi king calls for respecting religions			Gulf		
Feb 20	Associated Press	Prophet's cartoons in response to self-censorship: Danish editor			Internat'l		
Feb 20	<i>Kuwait Times</i>			*		Cartoon editorial	
Feb 22	Associated Press	KDD getting milked over non-existent Danish connection	*				

(table continues).

Table 1 (continued).

Date	Source	Headline	Front Page	Editorial	Other Pages	Photos/Cartoons	Photo Source
Feb 22	Agencies	Saudi daily shut down for printing caricatures	*				
Feb 22	Associated Press	Annan to head to Qatar to calm cartoon controversies			Internat'l		
Feb 22	Reuters	Shopkeepers strike in Pakistan, protesting cartoons			Internat'l		
Mar 2	Agencies	Question of cartoon dialogue pits Muslim against Muslim			Internat'l		
Mar 2	Associated Press	Showing Prophet's cartoons rites California campus			Internat'l	Protester against discussion session and unveiling of cartoons holding a sign "Free speech not hate speech"	AP
Mar 11	Agencies	Muslims call for Danish cartoon apology	*			Kuwaiti scholar talks to a fellow scholar at a religious summit	AP

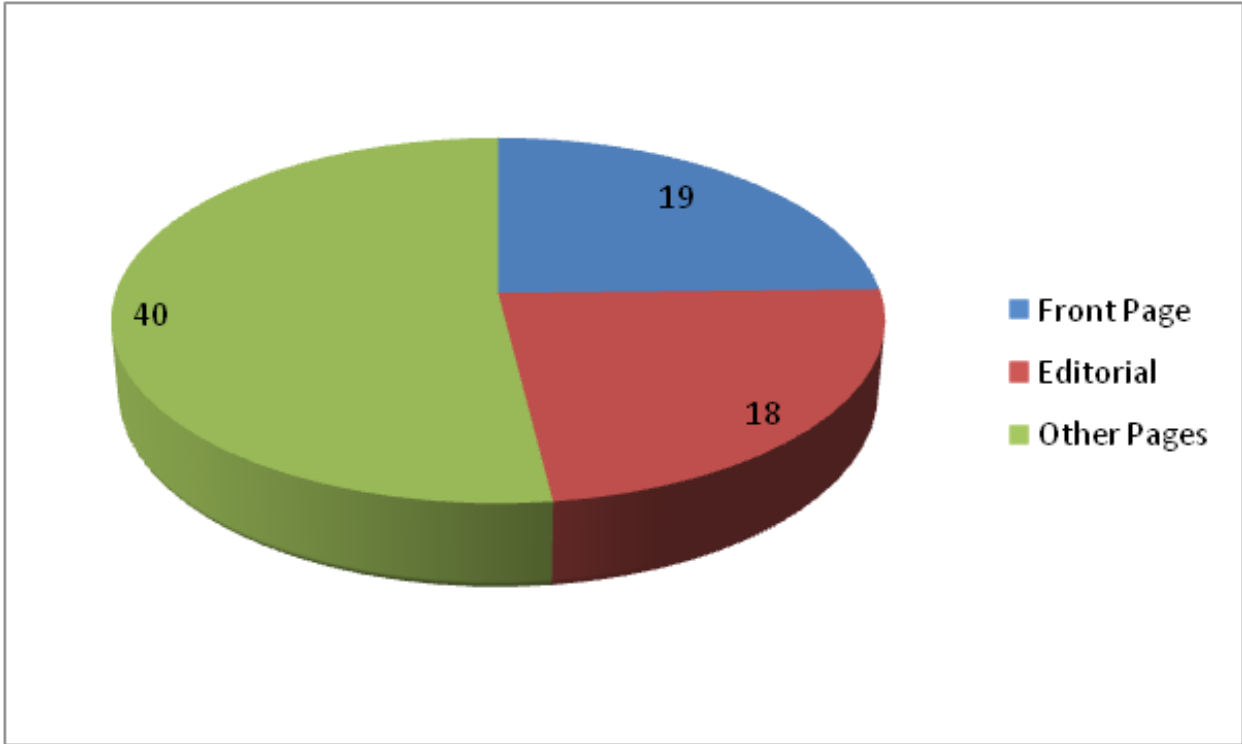


Figure 4.2. Pie-chart representation of the articles related to the Danish caricatures that were published in *Kuwait Times* from November 2, 2005 until March 11, 2006.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The response the Danish caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed have spurred has been discussed over and over again in the media including the virtual realm. The cartoons themselves have also been at the least discussed if not portrayed in a majority of the media worldwide. This incident was used as a vehicle in understanding of the different levels of interpretation and the different bearing the cartoons have had on the two separate cultures under analysis in this study, specifically in light of media coverage of the issue. The discourse-analytical perspective adopted in the dissection of the newspapers discourse produced the themes and frames with which the media of the respective cultures presented the issue. The results presented have applicability to the broader context of understanding global media discourse and the cultural information strategies adopted by the respective propagators. The applicability is compelling because it broadens understanding of the “articulation function” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 156) of the media and its capacity to select and present issues to audiences. If not through personal observation information is often obtained through “the eyes of the media” and their “observation of reality” (Noelle-Neumann, 1993, p. 159).

In the separate newspapers discourse analyzed in this research information censorship took on different faces and these were illustrated through the facets identified in the information censorship model. These facets were distinguishable independently and often times simultaneously in all three newspaper contexts. The distinction between the two information contexts was made known from the beginning of this research paper – the restrictive and non-restrictive information contexts. For the Kuwaiti context the controversy

certainly had a profound personal effect on the culture, invariably reflecting in the media discourse. This was reflected in the responses like the boycott of Danish goods and in the context of newspaper discourse, it was reflected in the use of scriptures from the Quran as a frame to not only denounce the cartoons but to also draw examples from the Prophet's life on how to react to the cartoons and gather solace from scripture verses. Another frame rising from their discourse was the theme that things coming from the West both tangible and abstract are Satanic or evil and this was reflected mostly in their editorial cartoons. The images were censored in keeping with the level of religiosity that is safe-guarded within this culture. The element of control propagated by Chatman (1996) reveals itself in the form of censorship -the self-protective behavior of this insider world to "insulate and protect" (p. 195) their worldview from outsiders. Government control of press is a dominant factor in the media in Islamic countries, advancing government propaganda through established set of rules and as Sturges (2006) suggests this essentially makes for a system of formal censorship nevertheless making it apparent that the right to freedom of expression is conditional outside the most extreme libertarian settings.

In the libertarian information environment of the West, freedom of expression and freedom of press are values that theoretically are absolute. Of the two actors from the West that were considered in this study, one rationalized their way to self-censorship of the images while the other provided rationale for having printed one image. The correlation between "absolute" and freedom of expression draws stark contrast and information barriers between the two cultures. To the Muslim world the West's places freedom of expression on the platform of "sacred" or "absolute," viewed as uncompromising. They view this as a form of

“propaganda” from the West to “hurt religious sentiments” in the name of freedom of expression (Siddiqui, 2006, p. 20).

The *Kuwait Times* article – “Cartoons and the clash ‘freedoms,’ the argument made presents the West as stubborn and hypocritical for pretending that freedom of expression is absolute – “nothing in human affairs can be ‘absolute’” (Ahrari, 2006, p. 20) is the argument. Keeping this argument in contemplation, press freedom even in Western democracies is “balanced against other social values” (Stevenson, 2004, p. 68). The press in America is free from government control, there is no law stipulating censorship, but, freedom nevertheless “stops at the law” (Stevenson, 2004, p. 68).

In the US, there is a level of comfort with parodies of religious icons, which is oftentimes unseemly. In this case, however, majority of the press opted for self-censorship, confirming that we’re not so far removed from yielding to censorship even with the option to freely express and seem to be edging closer to appeasement. Tibi (2009) attributes this trait to Western decision-makers who according to him “restrict their efforts to a policy of appeasement” (p. 142). Recently, the animated sitcom “South Park” which is run on the Comedy Central television network had a lineup of prominent religious figures in their 200th episode, including Jesus, Moses, Buddha, and Krishna all alongside the Prophet Mohammed. The paradox is unveiled in the veiling of the Prophet, because in this lineup of religious figures the Prophet is not illustrated but behind a black bar that says “censored.” Paradoxical it is because the depiction or rather non-depiction of the Prophet is all the more distinguishable. They also illustrate or rather non-illustrate the Prophet in a bear suit and inside a moving truck.

“Culture industries” like the media are “ increasingly important domains of social practice, and their networking with other domains of social practice...has become an increasingly significant feature of social life” and the “representations, values and identities constructed in and projected and circulated through them are uncontroversially of increasing social significance”(Fairclough, 2003, p. 19). The challenge to future researchers on the topic would be unveiling the conceptual issues surrounding the phenomenon of censorship in the virtual world. The images that were the center of discord and mostly censored in the print media are liberally available on the Internet. Since the Internet structure is not centrally controlled, it enables free flow of information. It has brought about a change or revolution that removes information controls like the government and corporate media owners that have been long manipulating the mass media (Beacham, 1995). It would also be intriguing to conduct simultaneous examination of information censorship in other environments other than the ones considered in this dissertation. Opportunity for further research on coverage of the same topic is presenting itself everyday even to this day at the composition of this research paper five years later. In response to Comedy Central’s censorship of South Park Seattle artist Molly Norris sketched a cartoon herself with six random objects like a teacup, a cherry, a box of pasts etc claiming to be Mohammed. The cartoon was titled “Will the REAL likeness of Prophet Mohammed please stand up?!” This further instigated an ‘Everybody draw Mohammed day’ on the social networking website Facebook in late April 2010 and further led to a “Ban everybody draw Mohammed day” page on Facebook. The Pakistani government banned Facebook in the country on account of this and although the ban was lifted it was not without restrictions to block any “blasphemous” material.

The coverage on the issue was wider in the *Kuwait Times* for the period examined and that this research believes is related to situational relevance of the topic for the culture it represents. The Prophet's name has been spelt as "Mohammed" throughout the paper except in cases where quotes from the American newspapers have been used where the tendency is to spell the name as "Muhammad." The choice to use the spelling "Mohammed" in this research was made on the basis of authenticity in how the name is typically spelt in Arab countries. The images for the editorial cartoons interpreted did not accompany their descriptions because of rigid copyright protection of images, although the intention for utilizing the images in this study was solely scholastic. The analysis of information propagation and the communication of propagation though a qualitative research approach is a challenge posed to a topic of sensitive nature such as the one addressed here. The focus of this study however was not to evaluate the sensibility of the topic at hand but rather to isolate and comprehend the workings that steer and specifically censor information when encountering an information environment of sensibility.

The caricatures were printed on September 30, 2005 and up until 2008 there were definitely reports on several controversies and ensuing developments; like death threats received afterwards by cartoonist Kurt Westergaard. Seventeen Danish newspapers that did not reprint the caricatures at the height of the crisis decided to express their solidarity with Westergaard and printed the cartoons two years later in 2008. "Outrage at Cartoons Still Tests the Danes" was the title for the *NY Times* story that reported the current incidents unfolding on behalf of this continuing saga.

Noelle-Neumann (1993) discusses and exhibits a cartoon in her book of a little boy asking his father who is sitting on a chair reading a book, this question – “Dad, if a tree falls in the forest, and the media aren’t there to cover it, has the tree really fallen?” (p. 150). The cartoon example is used to conclude that media culture selects information from the world “which usually is our only view of the world” and censoring information makes it non-existent and “its chances of becoming part of “ongoing, perceived reality are minimal” (p. 150). The verity of this conclusion would be absolute if it were not for the virtual realm with its vast capacity for global communication and information propagation, making it almost futile for traditional media to censor information. Information censorship then boils down to becoming a matter of ‘selection’ – selection of what not to censor and what to censor.

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