

English Abstracts

Christiane Eilders / Lutz M. Hagen: War Reporting Seen from a Communications Research Perspective. An Overview of the Current Research and the Papers Presented in this Special Issue, pp. 205–221

War has always been an important topic for media because of its high level of news values. At the same time, media become more relevant for war because they increasingly become useful instruments for those who act in war situations. War, thus, is mediatized – which in turn earns war the attention of Communications Studies. This special issue presents current papers from German communications studies. These papers take a look at the changing conditions of war reporting or analyze patterns and effects of war reporting in German media. This introductory essay gives an overview of this issue's papers and situates them within current relevant research.

Keywords: War Reporting, Mediatization, News Values, Gulf War

Andrea Szukala: Information Operations and the Fusion of Military and Media Instruments in the USA. The Attempt of a Military Answer to New Threats, pp. 222–240

The present article proposes a change in perspective regarding the relation of the military and the media: relevant studies in the field of news management research focus on control of media reporting by the executive. The premise of these considerations is the change in international politics: globalization and acceleration of information, increasing numbers of actors and the growing demand for a legitimization of foreign politics in the own country make news management necessary if the governments are to maintain their ability to act in the international sphere. A similar development can be observed in the armed forces: with the redefinition of the information space of international security, the spectrum of instruments is expanding towards an inclusion of the military use of information. Using the example of new developments of American information doctrines and their implementation during the Iraq War, first conclusions for a redefinition of the relation between media and military actors are drawn.

Keywords: Information Operations, News Management, US Information Doctrine, Iraq War, Propaganda, Public Diplomacy

Oliver Hahn: Arab Satellite News Television. Evolution, Structures and Consequences for the Conflict Reporting in the Middle East, pp. 241–260

This paper gives an overview of the evolution and structures of the Arab satellite news television stations Al-Jazeera, Abu Dhabi TV and Al-Arabiya as well as the Arab-speaking US-foreign television station Al-Hura and discusses their influence on conflict coverage in the Middle East. First, the article will review the existing research. Analyzing the available papers and documents as well as interviews with station managers make it possible to locate these stations within the traditional Arab media system. The main focus lies on the development of Al-Jazeera. A systematic object typology provides a basis for further research. While Al-Jazeera, Abu Dhabi TV and Al-Arabiya without a doubt revolutionized the media orient, the quality of their influence on international communication after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 remains to be discussed

critically. Western media regard the new generation of Arab news television as a reliable source but use it as source for visuals only. The paper also discusses the innovation potential of Arab satellite news television in the transformation and democratization processes that may lead to a modernized and professionalized Arab media landscape.

Keywords: Arab Satellite Broadcasting (ASB), News Television, Al-Jazeera, Abu Dhabi TV, Al-Arabiya, US-Foreign Television, Al-Hura, September 11, 2001, International Terrorism, Conflict Reporting, Middle East

Adrian Pohr: Indexing in Use. A Content Analysis of Commentary on Afghanistan War in German National Newspapers, pp. 261–276

The paper analyzes the position of the media in the 2001 Afghanistan War. This analysis is based on Bennett's indexing-hypothesis according to which mass media follow the opinion climate in parliament. Based on the consensus agreement of German political parties on the war issue, uncritical coverage regarding the war had to be expected. Due to country-specific system differences, the original hypothesis developed for an US-American context needs to be adapted to the characteristics of the German system. The content analysis of press commentaries on the Afghanistan War in German national quality newspapers shows a predominance of war-supporting over war-critical statements. This was found especially in conservative newspapers. Hardly any criticism of the Afghanistan operation was found in the debates on the appropriateness of the war or its legitimization. Yet, some criticism was detected in the discourse on strategy and performance of the anti-terror coalition.

Keywords: Press Commentaries, Afghanistan War 2001, Indexing, Media Coverage, War Coverage, Bias

Helmut Scherer / Romy Fröhlich / Bertram Scheufele / Simon Dammert / Natascha Thomas: Bundeswehr, Alliance Politics and Foreign Operations. Reporting of German Quality Newspapers on Security and Defense Politics 1989 to 2000, pp. 277–297

After the end of the Cold War, the reunified Germany had to redefine its defense options and goals in the 1990s. The present article aims at analyzing the media reporting on this topic in the time period between 1989 and 2000 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Reporting patterns (frames) are identified, their mutually influenced sequences are analyzed and interpreted. Four frames can be identified that show an interesting temporal relation. »German defense acting« closely follows »German debates on defense policy«. These are – although with a significant time lag – triggered by »Bundeswehr Operations«. »Alliance Policy« can be seen as the permanent foundation for reporting. It is found to be addressed parallel to the other frames.

Keywords: Bundeswehr, Media Coverage, Quality Papers, Security Politics, Defense Politics, Frames, Coverage Sequences

Wolfgang Donsbach / Olaf Jandura / Diana Müller: War Reporters or Willing Propagandists? How German and American Print Media Saw »Embedded Journalists« in the Iraq War, pp. 298–313

During the last Iraq War, »embedding« presented a new possibility for journalists to report the war. As »embedded journalists«, they could join the American troops. Inside and outside the field of journalism it was discussed whether the concept of »embedded journalism« could be reconciled with the role and function of journalism. In the present study, we used comparative quantitative content analysis to analyze how embedded journalism was presented and evaluated in German and American news media regarding the role concept of journalists. In German media, the work of embedded journalists was seen more problematic and was evaluated more negatively. Embedded journalists were likely to be presented as a threat rather than as a chance for independent reporting (59 % in German vs. 35 % in US-media). They were more likely to be seen as propagandists for the US-army (55 % in German vs. 29 % in US-media), and the legitimacy of embedded journalism was likely to be seen as not reconcilable with the role of journalists (18 % in German vs. 2 % in US-media). The results of the comparative content analysis are interpreted against the background of the role concept and the different ideological positions of the German and US-American journalists.

Keywords: Embedded Journalism, War Coverage, Iraq War

Frank Esser / Christine Schwabe / Jürgen Wilke: Meta-Reporting during War. How Newspapers Frame the Role of News Media and Military PR during the Iraq Conflicts in 1991 and 2003, pp. 314–332

Meta-reporting is seen as a consequent reaction of professional journalism to changing conditions in modern war coverage. It is defined as reporting about mediatized events in which the role of news journalism (including media actors, media practices, media norms, media products, media organizations) or PR/publicity (including actors, practices, strategies, products and organizations of political and military information politics) within political processes and conflicts (media politics, media wars) is addressed using certain frames. These media and PR frames are termed 'mediation', 'strategy', 'responsibility', and 'personalization'. A content analysis of the coverage during the Iraq War by Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, Die Welt and taz shows that – parallel to the increasing mediatization of war – meta-reporting has increased significantly between 1991 and 2003, and that the media have inscribed themselves into the events in a more active and less passive role. The consequences for journalism research and political communication research are shown.

Keywords: Meta-Reporting, Media Criticism, Iraq War, War Reporting, Frames

Christiane Eilders: »Amis brauchen Umerziehung«. Insights and Argumentation Patterns of German Media Criticism during the Third Gulf War, pp. 333–351

The starting point of this paper is the question, whether public debates about media can help to secure professional standards of reporting and promote a public reflection about media by society. The paper presents content-analytical findings on media criticism by German print media during the third Gulf War. 13 weeks of media-related war coverage in national newspapers and two weekly news magazines were analyzed. The results show a great deal of criticism, mainly carried by the national quality newspapers, with

predominantly negative evaluations, and a strong focus on concrete media content. Media criticism was focused on television reports and the US-media. This mostly regarded bias, mediated uncertainty and the dominance of adventure and technology aspects as well as the particular presentation of this content. The more general role of media in wartime was hardly an issue. The argumentation did not stimulate a self-reflection of the media society, since the media criticism did not explain the relevant mechanisms and structures.

Keywords: media criticism, war coverage, gulf war, self-reflection, functions of the public sphere

Bertram Scheufele: How Media Legitimize War by Attributing Roles. An Exploration of German News Magazines' Coverage of the Kosovo War, pp. 352–368

Using the example of the Kosovo War, the article discusses how media create legitimacy for war and politics in wartimes. The two aspects of political legitimacy – substantiation and approval – will not be examined with respect to issues or arguments in coverage. Instead, the article is interested in the way how media ascribe roles to actors. Based on this theorizing, we analyzed coverage of the Kosovo War by coding role attributions in the German news magazines 'Der Spiegel' and 'Focus' in 1999. The empirical study examined how magazines supported the argument for NATO military action and how they expressed (dis)approval by ascribing roles.

Keywords: Politics, Media, Legitimacy, Roles, Kosovo, War

Evelyn Bytzek: Kosovo War, War Reporting and the Popularity of the German Governing Political Parties and Politicians, pp. 369–388

Using the example of the 1999 Kosovo War, this paper analyzes the question of the effects that wars have on the popularity of the German government, focusing on a »rally« (from »rally round the flag«). It is assumed that a rally, i.e. positive media coverage for the government, arises from the fact that the government has an information monopoly on rally-events. Based on a thematic content analysis of the newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, I develop hypotheses on the effects of the Kosovo War at varying points in time and regarding varying parts of the electorate. Employing a factor analysis of poll-based evaluations of German political parties and politicians it can be shown that the popularity of government actors increases. This increase, in the first war month, April 1999, is based on the predominance of media coverage on topics supporting the government. However, with the appearance of media coverage on themes with which the government is associated negatively, the popularity decreased. After the end of the war in June 1999, the popularity of government actors was back at the pre-war level. Thus, one can use the term rally only for the first month of the war.

Keywords: Rally, War, Information Monopoly, Government Popularity, Media Coverage