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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE CHANGE TOWARDS ARABS AS REFLECTED IN SELECTED AMERICAN NEWS MAGAZINES, 1966-1975

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It is with pride and deep humiliation that I dedicate this thesis to the Palestinian People.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to measure for changes in attitude towards Arabs and Arab countries by content analysis. It is assumed that the mass media, specifically the printed quality media, can help bring about changes in the attitude of society through the introduction of new knowledge which contradicts with the old stereotypes and attitudes. This occurs in conjunction with social, political and economic developments and needs.

The universe selected for the study consisted of four news magazines: Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic for the years 1966-1975. Articles were analyzed for positive and negative assertions in relation to Arabs and Arab countries. The analysis yielded 1,365 articles and 815 assertions.

It is found that coverage of Arabs increased as a result of political and economic events; that the magazines varied in their stereotyping of Arabs, that negative stereotyping of Arabs did not cease but an increase in objective and positive reporting is in evidence; and the magazines engaged in differential treatment of Arabs, depending on the foreign policy of the United States with the Arab countries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
II.	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE	6
	The Nature of Prejudice and Stereotypes	7
	The Acquisition of Prejudice	8
	Changing Attitudes of Prejudice and Stereotyping	10
	The Arab: Characteristics and Attributes	13
III.	METHODOLOGY	21
	Content Analysis	21
	Sample	23
	Unit of Analysis	26
	Categories	29
	Coding	32
	Reliability and Validity	34
	Hypotheses	36
IV.	PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	39
	Hypothesis 1	39
	Hypothesis 2	47
	Hypothesis 3	54
	Hypothesis 4	60
V.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	72
	Summary	72
	Discussion	78
	Suggestions for Further Research	80
LIST OF REFERENCES		81
APPENDIX		89
VITA		93

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Frequency of Articles on the Arab Middle East in Four News Magazines, 1966-1975	40
II.	Frequency of Articles on the Arab Middle East by Magazine and Issue-Defined Periods	42
III.	Frequency and Rank of Referent Coverage by Issue-Specific Periods	44
IV.	Frequency and Percentage of Subject Matter by Issue-Specific Periods	45
V.	Frequency and Percentage of Articles by Overall Classification and Magazines	48
VI.	Positive and Negative Assertions by Magazines	49
VII.	Frequency and Rank of Specific Assertions by Magazines	51
VIII.	Frequency of Article Directionality by Issue-Specific Period	55
IX.	Negative and Positive Assertions by Year	56
X.	Frequency and Rank of Specific Themes by Issue-Specific Periods	58
XI.	Classification of Articles by Subject Matter	61
XII.	Frequency and Percentage of Assertions by Subject Matter and Magazines	63
XIII.	Frequency of Specific Assertions by Subject Matter	65
XIV.	Frequency of Overall Classification by Referents	67
XV.	Frequency and Percentage of Negative and Positive Assertions by Referents	68
XVI.	Frequency of Stereotyped Assertions about Specific Referents by Magazines	70

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It has long been recognized that difficulties in international understanding may be attributed, in part, to the cognitive dimension of prejudice or stereotyping (Murphy, 1945). These attitudes or modes of labelling are manifested in the behavior of members of one nation towards foreigners or strangers and are reflected through the media of mass communication. These so-called "hidden persuaders" in the selling of kitchen utensils and political candidates, through the use of their depth probes and symbol manipulation, have also applied their power and influence to the selling of social, political, and religious beliefs (Baha el-Din, 1971).

It is reasonable to assume that the media, as a means of communication have served as agents in reflecting existing attitudes of prejudice and negativity towards one group and at the same time behaving positively towards another, e.g., it is as selective as society (Martell and McCall, 1964; Albrecht, 1956; Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1957; Suleiman, 1965, 1974; Terry, 1971; Baha el-Din, 1971). Another function that the media performs, according to Berelson (1954) and Klapper (1963), is that they act as innovators helping to bring about social change.

A number of studies have been done on national stereotypes and the fading or change of prejudicial labelling. These include changing attitudes of Americans towards Russians (Kriesberg, 1946), European stereotypes of Hungarians (Den Hollander, 1948), African

conceptualizations of Europeans (Jahoda, 1961), and Arab attitudes towards Americans (Diab, 1963).

In the last couple of years, interest has shifted towards the Middle East as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the indebtedness of the West to the oil reserves of this region. The significance of the Middle East cannot be easily overlooked. Geographically, it is the link between the continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa, constituting a crossroads of world communication; culturally, it is the cradle of European and Asiatic civilization. It is also an area rich in natural resources, possessing more than half the total oil reserves of the world. Longrigg (1966:104) claims that the proved reserves of this region add up to 60 to 65 percent of these of the entire world, and will, in the long run, outlast by decades those of all other regions, not excluding North America.

The Middle East is also the center of ideological controversy having within its boundaries the ideologies of Zionism, Islam, and Communism, as well as the influence of the West.

The news media prior to the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict and thereafter, have been instrumental in creating negative images of the Arabs, through the use of negative stereotypes and prejudicial statements (Suleiman, 1965; Terry, 1971; Baha el-Din, 1971). The Arabs have been depicted and labelled as "treacherous, incompetent, cowardly, blood-thirsty, Communistic, and anti-American." Henceforth, whatever little the American news media wrote concerning the Arabs carried a negative connotation and probably led to hostility and bias towards them.

Bias against Arabs stems from many sources. Professor Nabih Faris (1960:116) asserts that this negativity towards Arabs is religious in origin. He claims that this occurred as a result of (1) the mutual suspicion arising from the struggle between the followers of Christianity and those of Islam, (2) the Bible, (3) the defeat of Christianity in its birthplace, and last (4) the missionary traditions and outlook that strives to claim the Muslim world to Christ and, hence, its "Achilles Heel."

Ahmad Baha el-Din (1971:79) attributes this bias as originating out of the Zionist "control" of the media in the United States, as well as being political in orientation, arising from the era of decolonization, when the Arab countries gained their independence. He also points out that this bias was generated from the misconception that the Arab countries are similar to third world countries and are more completely underdeveloped.

> The Westerner can believe that Nazism and gas chambers were just a passing blot in European history and civilization, but he is firmly convinced that any act of cruelty committed in an underdeveloped country is due to the nature of the people of that country, that they are born with a cruel streak (1971:80).

The American media has payed little attention to the cultural and historical richness of the Middle East, to the ties between Islam and Christianity, and to the heritage of western civilization preserved by Islam during the Middle Ages. Reflecting American foreign policy, the media has also been more partial to the traditional Arab regimes, rather than the revolutionary, progressive ones who support and advocate

change. This is due to the influence of the larger social structure on the media (Baha el-Din, 1971).

News relating to the Middle East is often slanted by editors and publishers, contributing to the prejudicial effect. There is also an uneven concentration on events, with a tendency to overemphasize politics, while social and economic matters are ignored. Even background information of relevance to political news is not given, due to the remoteness of the area, and lack of journalists with knowledge of that region and its inhabitants.

> American media coverage of the Middle East lacks an adult intelligent comprehension of the fundamental movements that are leading to an economic, social, and political renaissance in that vital part of the world. Proof of that statement is the frequency with which some reports in the Middle East are cloaked with "Arabian Nights Atmospheres" (Lilienthall, 1960:218).

Questions have been generated as to the persistence and change of stereotypes as a result of historical, political, and economic changes (Gilbert, 1951). Terry (1974) and Suleiman (1974) claim that there has been a change in the portrayal of Arabs in the mass media. This is the result of the Arab-Israeli conflict that resurfaced in 1967, the October war of 1973, and the oil embargo.

This study was undertaken to measure these changes in attitudes. One medium, the news magazines, was chosen. It was expected that they, as a means of mass communication, would reflect the attitudes of the society in which they are published and would help to integrate new ideas into society (Berelson, 1954; Klapper, 1963; Martel and McCall, 1964). It is difficult to detect significant changes from a short-term

study. However, through a content analysis of four news magazines over a ten-year period, it is hoped that conclusions could be drawn as to whether there has been a changing trend and its direction.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature on stereotypes and prejudice in relation to national and cultural diversity. The value system of the Arabs is also discussed in detail. This is considered relevant to the proposed study since value systems differ from culture to culture; and what may be regarded as acceptable and natural in one society may be considered highly unacceptable and negative in another. Hence, caution should be exercised when dealing with cultural variation, since contradictions are bound to be numerous; and there is difficulty in distinguishing between attributes which are justifiable on the basis of cultural differences and those that can only be attributed to prejudicial labelling.

Allport (1958:115) warns against confusing national value systems and peoples' images of them. He states that members of a nation are bound together by the same patterns of conduct and beliefs which are unique and bear no resemblance to any other nation. These beliefs and patterns of behavior may be viewed as strange and alien by another group who do not hold similar beliefs. Lack of direct contact, supportive facts, and an understanding of the significance of cultural diversity contribute to an exaggerated classification which places great significance on a few characteristics, usually negative. A group or nation is forced into this exaggerated picture without room for individual variation.

The Nature of Prejudice and Stereotypes

It is a well-supported fact (Gilbert, 1951; Murphy, 1945; Diab, 1963; Jahoda, 1961; Simpson and Yinger, 1972) that national groups hold stereotyped and prejudicial conceptions of one another, often resulting in international hostilities and misunderstandings. These misconceptions or as Lippman (1922:425) and Clarke (1949) term them "myths in our heads," serve as effective weapons in the realm of international tension. As Bogardus (1950:286) claims, "a stereotype becomes relatively fixed in a person's thinking and especially in his emotional life. It becomes something that can be changed only with difficulty."

Stereotypes are attitudes of prejudice and are undue generalizations about the attributes of nations and their people. They are not based on empirical data and observations, and are the results of invalid interpretations (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1949:291). Stereotypes lack support from facts and are often accompanied by feelings of negativeness and hostility. Hatred and dislike towards a group needs justification and, hence, negative stereotyping results. Allport (1958:18) defines a stereotype as an "exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category."

La Violette and Silvert (1951:259) claim that stereotypes are special attitudes directed against objects and accompanied by a great deal of emotionalism. This idea is supported by Blumer (1966:107) who explains that the emergence of stereotypes as a product of prejudice by asserting that prejudice is an attitude which is marked by images of the

object towards which the attitude is directed. By allowing the image to become "fixed," the stereotype emerges. He, therefore, conceives of stereotypes as being "attitudes of prejudice." Blumer (1958:7) claims that four types of feelings accompany prejudice: a feeling of superiority, a feeling that a subordinate group is different and alien, a superior group claims advantages and privileges, and a superior group feels threatened that the subordinate group will rise against them.

Ackerman and Jahoda differentiate distinctly between prejudice and stereotypes:

> Prejudice . . . is a terms applied to categorical generalizations based on inadequate data and without sufficient regard for individual differences . . . But inherent in the process of forming prejudgment is the danger of stereotype thinking. The stereotype is distinguished from the prejudgment by a greater degree of rigidity. Prejudgment occurs where facts are not available (1950:40).

In this thesis no strong distinction will be made between the two. Since we have no operational measure, we will assume that stereotypes are a manifestation of prejudice.

The Acquisition of Prejudice

Prejudice or attitudes of hostility are culturally derived and learned in the process of socialization (Bettelheim and Janewitz, 1950; Adorno, 1950; Simpson and Yinger, 1972; Bogardus, 1950). An individual is taught the proper prejudices for his culture through interaction with his in-group. As Robert Merton (1957:42) points out:

> Superficial appearances notwithstanding, prejudice and discrimination aimed at the out-group are not the result of what the out-group does, but are rooted deep in the structure of our society, and the social psychology of its members.

La Violette and Silvert (1951:260) also support this view and state that specific stereotypes held by individuals express his group affiliation and the expectations imposed by his culture.

Allport (1958:287) describes the process of the acquisition of prejudicial attitudes via socialization. He claims that a person becomes predisposed to prejudice in early childhood if he is raised in an authoritarian atmosphere which condones these attitudes. In order to conform to his peer-groups (parents and siblings), the child learns to project his fears and distrust onto others. Racial awareness develops when he begins to associate color with ethnicity and attach moral judgments to them through the process of labelling. It is at this stage that the child adds prejudicial labels to his vocabulary.

Allport's (1958) main focus is on the fact that prejudice occurs as a result of personality. He points out that there are different types of prejudicial personalities, i.e., the intolerant, the tolerant, and the conformist, who feels no antipathy but behaves in accordance to the norms and mores of society. This latter type represents half the American population.

Blumer (1958), on the other hand, rejects Allport's notion that prejudice is fixed within the individual's personality. He asserts that the formation of prejudice is a collective process in which a body of sentiments becomes crystallized into various racial attitudes and identities. This process occurs through the public media, in which individuals of one group publicly characterize another group in an inferior manner because they are opposed to the social position of that

group. As he states, "it is the sense of social position emerging from this collective process of characterization, which provides the basis of racial prejudice" (1958:7). Group position is defined as a process in which a dominant influential group forces negative connotations on a weaker or alien group. Gilbert (1951) and Child and Doob (1940) indicate that there are differences in the degree of generalizations in regards to different groups or nations. Countries that are held in low esteem are categorized negatively, while countries favored are depicted positively. Blumer believes that prejudicial characterizations through the use of the media is a function of power. Henceforth, stereotypes and prejudice are supported by the actions of the "hidden persuaders" or the media of mass communication. They are reinforced with time and perception.

Changing Attitudes of Prejudice and Stereotyping

Sherif and Nebergall (1965:11) noted that:

> Attitudes prevalent among the individuals in various groups are derived from the value sets and special concerns of their groups. Many reflect conditions that prevailed in the past when their groupings were relatively less interdependent with others, when they were closed systems to a greater degree than now. In a rapidly changing and increasingly interdependent world the reciprocal attitudes among peoples, with their stereotypic attributions, come into their way and enter into their power, negotiations, and handling of differences.

Gordon Allport (1935:798) defines an attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a direction or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." An attitude,

therefore, is a state of readiness leading the individual to perceive things and people around him in certain ways; that is, to be more ready with certain categories and interpretations than with others. Attitudes are dynamic. They have motivational qualities and can lead a person to seek or avoid the objects about which they are organized (Halloran, 1967:14). This leads to a "tendency to act."

Katz (1955) distinguishes between the functions of attitudes, namely the utilitarian and the knowledge function. In regard to the utilitarian function, Katz suggests that change may take place if the individual's aspirational level has changed and new needs have developed, since new needs are constantly developing in society. Knowledge functions arise when there are inadequacies in the existing attitudes to deal with new and changing knowledge. New knowledge, perceived through the media about issues, objects, people, and events may produce conflict with the old attitudes (stereotypes which have no relation to reality, or which were once considered appropriate but are not any longer), which are then perceived inadequate in a changing situation.

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) suggest that attitudes and values are key factors in the media's ability to innovate change. Schramm (1954) claims that for attitudes to change through mass communication, the following conditions must prevail:

> 1. In order to produce change, a suggestion for change must be perceived and accepted.
> 2. Reception and acceptance are likely to occur when the suggestion meets existing personality needs or drives. It is necessary to know what particular motive is behind it.
> 3. The suggestion is more likely to be accepted if it is in harmony with valued group norms and loyalties, if the

source of the message is perceived as trustworthy or expert, and if the message follows certain rules of rhetoric regarding order of presentation, organization of content, nature of appeal, etc. An appeal to the emotion is more effective than a rational appeal and a positive one more than a negative one.

4. Change in attitude is likely to occur if it has social support, especially that of the opinion leaders.

5. Change in attitude is more likely to occur if the suggestion is accompanied by other factors underlying beliefs and attitudes.

Klapper (1969:140) asserts that change through the media may be facilitated if mediating factors and influences are inoperative; if they have been abandoned by the reference group; or if the mediating factors themselves are moving towards change as a result of newly perceived knowledge and norms; or if a change in the group's loyalties or a dis-function of group norms has occurred.

Stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes do not disappear suddenly but weaken gradually with time. (National samples of Jews and blacks support this.) This "fading effect" (Gilbert, 1951) is the result of needs, whether psychological or otherwise, social and historical events and newly acquired knowledge that can shape or alter pictures or images that people have of one another.

Gilbert (1951:250) in a follow-up study that had been previously conducted by Katz and Braly (1933) on Princeton University students, found that hostilities towards Germans and Japanese increased as a result of World War II. In the 1933 study, the Japanese had been labelled as intelligent and industrious, but these characterizations changed to "imitative, sly, treacherous, and extremely nationalistic." He attributed these changes to political and historical events as well as the effects of the media.

Gilbert also noted a positive shift towards the Chinese in the 1940's brought about by the introduction of the social sciences in colleges and the gradual disappearance of stereotype characterization in the media.

Williams (1964), Fishman (1956), Vinacke (1957) and Simpson and Yinger (1972) all advocate the importance of contact as a criteria for better understanding of nations and groups. Allp9rt (1952:262) goes even further by claiming that it is the quality of contact which leads to a decrease in prejudicial labelling. Other factors, such as the quantity of contact, status and social aspects surrounding the contact also play a major role in the alleviation of prejudice.

The Arab: Characteristics and Attributes

It is not unusual for people in one region or cultural group to have erroneous ideas about one another; many of the tensions of the world arise from this. The West has had fallacies and misconstrued ideas about other non-Western, nonwhite people who, in turn, have misconceptions about Westerners.

Vinacke (1956) states that stereotyping is a process that occurs both ways. This is supported by a survey (Diab, 1963) conducted on 50 Arab-Moslem students at the American University of Beirut. As a result of the "Hollywood images" seen in movies and magazines, the students labelled Americans as rich, materialistic, luxury-loving and selfish. Jahoda (1961) in describing African attitudes towards Europeans also found contradictions in the images described, i.e., scheming, imperialists, utopian ideals.

But, in this study, we will focus on Western images of the Arabs, images which have been developing longer and possibly more negatively than for any other cultural group challenging the West. The Western world has had an awareness of the Arabs in an antipathetic way. The Arabs are thought of as barbaric; that they are the enemies of Christianity not only because they preach heresy but also persecuted Christians as indicated by the Crusades (Childers, 1960). From the nineteenth century onwards, another image emerged, that of the Arabs as wandering nomads, mounted on camels and driving their flocks of goats and sheep over vast desert lands. (Fewer than 5 percent of all of the people in the Middle East are now nomadic (Peretz, 1963:11.) This image was enhanced through mass popularization of Lawrence of Arabia. Then came the age of colonization, and any Arab country rebelling against Western domination began to be identified as anti-Western and Communistic, "forcing" the colonies to resort to police-state expression. Henceforth, even the very character of the regimes the Western powers established continued to reinforce the wrong attitudes and impressions (Childers, 1960:85).

To claim that the West is different from the Middle East would entail making an understatement. Language and cultural differences are most apparent. Religion, diverse social patterns, climate, and geography are not far behind. These can and do lead to differences in behavior. Phillip Mason (1970:54) points out that differences in human behavior are attributed to history, reaction to the environment, tradition and customs, rather than inherent differences.

Social structures and value systems also differ from one culture to the other. Certain values or beliefs may be considered essential and natural in one society, while in a different cultural context, they are received negatively. Attitudes and values that are considered normal and conforming in one society may be viewed as deviant in another. Rose (1962:5) points out that values are attitudes considered subjectively from the standpoint of the individual. The individual evaluates these attitudes in a favorable or unfavorable manner in accordance with his own standards and the standards of his in-group.

In American society, for example, achievement and success are highly valued; in the Arabian society, initiation is discouraged and apathy prevails. This, from the American viewpoint, contradicts the Protestant-work ethics and strengthens and reinforces the negative stereotypes concerning the Arabs. It must be pointed out, however, that this apathy and the discouragement of initiation is considered normal and acceptable in Arabic societies.

Fishman (1956:54) stipulates that it is important to study the "nature of the object," or the referent group of the stereotype. Hence, it is considered essential in this study to delineate some of the traits and values of Arabs, which have been misinterpreted and misunderstood by being received negatively in the American society and have resulted in the distorted imagery and stereotyping of the Arabs in the West (Suleiman, 1965, 1974; Bah el-Din, 1971).

An Arab is defined, according to the Charter of the Arab League, as "whoever lives on our lands, speaks our language, and shares our

culture, is one of us" (Lilenthall, 1960:269). This is noteworthy in the sense that there is no mention of racial or religious discrimination. Arabism does not deal with race, but with those who speak the Arabic language, share the cultural heritage and tradition, as well as the religion. But this does not, by any means, imply only the Moslem faith, but also the followers of Christianity and Judaism who reside in the Arab countries and consider themselves to be Arabs.

Arabs inhabit that area of the Middle East that Baer (1964) calls the "Arab East"; comprised of the area extending from the Atlantic shores of northeast Africa to the Persian (Arab) Gulf opening onto the Indian Ocean, and from North Africa to the southern Mediterranean shores and stretching to the southern borders of Turkey. This area comprises the states of Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Saudia Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrayan, Oratar, Trucial Srtates, Oman, The Federation of South Arabia, and Aden, Yemen, Egypt, and the Sudan.

Middle Eastern life has always been marked by its "oasis character" (Peretz, 1963:8). Families and tribes would gather in groups around river banks or fertile regions, creating isolated geographic pockets, having little knowledge of their neighbors, as a result of being cut-off or isolated by natural barriers. The social organization of the community or tribe was based on the close association of individuals in the face of common difficulties. This association occurred on four levels: first, the family of three or more generations; then, the lineage or association of several families who claimed a common ancestor; then, the subtribe, which was comprised of two or more lineages; and finally, the tribe (Furlonge, 1971:487).

This structure of close kin network was the fundamental social unit. This, perhaps, explains the reason why the Arabs have been slow in developing a sense of responsibility towards the larger out-group or nation. Another reason for this apathy in loyalty to their nation is attributed to an inadequate system of communication; the people thought of themselves as being citizens of their self-sustaining tribes or communities rather than the country or nation. Hence, the Arabs experience no difficulty to mobilize for collective action, but as Sayegh (1953:28) points out, they lack coordination in mobilizing and harmony in organizing.

It is a fact that over 90 percent of the Middle East is arid and uncultivated because of adverse climatic conditions; half of the land of the Arab East is desert and is classified under the region of constant drought (Childers, 1969:12). Water is the scarcest and most valuable resource of the Middle East as a result of poor distribution. Peretz (1963:5) claims that most of the approximately three million square miles in the Middle East will remain unproductive desert and mountains.

Arab society was originally characterized by tribal, sectional, and functional differences. As a result of this, aggression and hostility were common and based upon ". . . friction resulting from closeness in association and on the fact that Arabs express aggression in an external form" (Hamady, 1960:39).

Rentz (1966:118) states that tribal loyalties and rivalries were so intense that even closely related tribes were often in constant struggle with each other, either raiding one anothers' property as a

result of scarcity of resources (water and grazing rights) or protecting their personal honor. Blood feuds were also common.

In more modern times, Arab aggression is expressed verbally and in emotional rhetoric Arabic, which is highly charged and reactive. Eli Shouby advocated that this is due to the "musicality of the Arabic language," as a result of the linguistic structure of the language.

> The endless rules of inflection and agreement, changing vowels and consonants as well as the ubiquitious accent marks according to the meaning, make the musicality of the language an inherent part of it. Thus, the simple act of reading or speaking in Arabic involves numerous voice changes which carry with them the psychological components of emotions (1951:296).

The Arabic language also provides the people with tools for assertions, Tawkid and exaggeration or mubalagha. An American used to precision, modesty and efficiency, who witnesses an Arab politician "shouting, gesturing, and exaggerating," finds this behavior impulsive and deviant. To an Arab, it is normal and acceptable. Rhetoric and mubalagha or exaggeration is even taught in schools as a required subject.

Another attribute which the Arabs possess is that whenever failure or insult is experienced, their reaction is offensive. This arose with the establishment of Islam, where the caliph or religious leaders shifted the inter-tribal warfare to the outside world, or to the enemies of the new religion. This is where the concept of Jihad or holy war arose.

The Arab as a defense mechanism to the hostility of his environment developed a deep sense of individualism which led to his mistrust of others and resulted in a quarrelsome disposition. He learned endurance and patience, but his total personality was dominated by resignation and

fatalism generated by a subsistence economy which deprived him of the material comforts of life.

The adverse geographical and climatic conditions are not the only factors that have affected the Arab character traits and value system. Centuries of foreign occupations, wars, disasters, and religion have left the Arabs with an unintegrated personality.

The temperament of the Arabs is usually nervous and given to outbursts of anger. On the other hand, Arabs possess an extreme self-control which is expressed in discretion, endurance, introversion, and restraints of joy and fear. Therefore, an Arab personality contains elements of extrovertness and introvertness.

> On occasion, the Arab is seen as outgoing, relating himself to others, quarrelling, yelling, haggling, and widely gesticulating. On other occasions, the same person is found sitting in solitude, unmindful of time, waiting patiently for days for some trifling thing to happen (Blauler, 1953:113).

From the above, it can be surmised that the Arab is concerned with feelings rather than the facts in giving an impression.

Arabs are culturally conditioned to be both emotional and vengeful. These characteristics are reinforced by socialization and education.

The chief means of training or socialization of children is through being initiated into their households; they emulate and imitate the behavior of their parents and siblings. The Arabs are indulgent towards infants and young children; a great deal of care is given to the child when he is born, in the form of swaddling, pampering, and cuddling. However, as soon as the child begins to grow up, he is left on his own. Boys and girls are separated at the ages of five and six, and

are expected to obey adult rules of behavior, and are being constantly reminded of these rules. They are given a great deal of responsibility, and there is no sharp division between children and adults.

When a child approaches school age, he is encouraged to be submissive and is rigidly disciplined; corporal punishment is often used. Among their own peer groups, they are taught competition and rivalry, instead of cooperation. This is carried over to the school environment, where rigid discipline is used, and competition, respect and idealization for Islam and the traditions of the past are taught. Creativity, questions and an experimental attitude, which are necessary criteria in the socialization of American children are discouraged. American children are taught to be innovating and enterprising, while the Arab child is disciplined to conform and to emulate the behavior of adults, since they are expected to carry out the responsibilities of their elders. Rebellion in families is unheard of, and children never leave their families except for marriage and work.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Arab individual differs in his behavioral patterns from his Western counterpart. Lack of interaction, of contrast, of true and factual reports, have further widened the gap between the two, so that negative stereotypes arose, distorting the true essence of the Arab individual.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Since the purpose of this study is to measure attitude change towards Arabs in the four news magazines, Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic, 1966-1975, content analysis was considered the most adequate research technique available to test the hypothesis under investigation. Content analysis, according to Holsti (1969), is appropriate since major changes in attitude over a long period of time can be detected and identified through the use of this technique.

Content Analysis

Numerous definitions have been proposed and put forth to identify this process. Holsti (1969:3) defines it as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specific characteristics of messages." Budd (1967:2) claims that "it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communication." His definition is elaborated upon by Kerlinger (1964: 544) who states that "content analysis, while certainly a method of analysis, is more than that. It is . . . a method of observation. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the investigator takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of the communicator." This facilitates observations, without confronting the observed; hence, alleviating the bias of situationally induced response.

Thus, the purpose of content analysis is to describe characteristics of communication while meeting the following conditions: First, it must be objective or capable of being repeeated by another researcher. Secondly, it must be systematic. This provides an accurate, precise picture of the communication and guards against "proof testing" to prove a point. Lastly, the analysis must be generalizable; it must have theoretical relevance.

A continuous issue of debate involving content analysis has been that of qualitative and quantitative analysis. However, this dichotomy is misleading, since both supplement each other as Holsti (1969:11) points out, both attributes fall along a continuum. Even the most expert of statisticians cannot arrive at a hypothesis or itemize categories using only quantitative methods. And, the qualitative analyst who ignores objectivity and systematic analysis is not a scientist. Hence, it is only by moving back and forth between these approaches that the investigator may be successful in gaining insight into his data.

> It should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed (Pool, 1959:192).

The real argument behind quantitative and qualitative debates is the issue of manifest versus latent content. Berelson's definition of content analysis resulted in a great deal of disagreement. He defined the procedure as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"

(1952:18). Thus, his main focus of interest was exclusively on a description of content.

Gerbner (1964:482), on the other hand, explicitly states that the analysis should bring out "latent properties of content which escape ordinary awareness, as well as conventional formal meaning or manifest content." Stone (1966) also agrees with Gerbner and suggests that inferences from the content is the primary function of content analysis.

In this study, both manifest and latent interpretations will be utilized in order to draw out inferences from the communication content.

Sample

After the hypotheses have been chosen (specific hypotheses appear at the end of the chapter) the next step involved in content analysis is choosing the sample (Budd, 1967:6). Both Kerlinger (1964) and Lasswell, et al. (1952) recommend that a large volume of material be sampled for the communication source and the specific content be analyzed.

> Use as large a number of samples as possible. Large numbers are not advocated because large numbers are good in and out of themselves. They are advocated in order to give the principle of randomization or simply randomness, a chance to work . . . (Kerlinger, 1964; 1964:61).

In this study, we did not engage in random sampling of the communication sources, but instead selectively and purposely chose our communication material.

The next stage involved in the process is the selection of the communication source, the documents within the source, and then certain aspects within the documents. Sellitz (1962:338) refers to this phase

as sampling the source, sampling of dates, and sampling of units. It is significant to mention that the definition of the universe of communication material should be stated.

The universe of relevant communication chosen for use in this study is the printed quality media, specifically news magazines. They are important, according to Ibrahim (1974:69) because "they play an active role in structuring foreign policies." One must keep in mind, however, that in relation to foreign news, it is only 50 percent of the adult population who reads this type of news; the average time spent reading it is two minutes; the impact, however, is substantial. [The American mass public is composed of 75 to 90 percent of the adult population who read or listen to one or more of the news media (Rosenav, 1961).]

The news magazines that served as communication sources were Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic. Time and Newsweek were selected because they are thought to represent the mainstream of American thought and policy. Both magazines cover important world news and events and both have similar formats. According to Katz and Gargal (1972:586), Time is distinguishable from Newsweek only by its style of writing and its use of adjective-loaded sentences, which are not only nonobjective but are also biased. Circulation for Time as of June 30, 1975, was 4,437,864; for Newsweek, it was 2,984,383.

The New Republic and the National Review were chosen because of their editorial direction and political affiliation, left and right wing, respectively. The New Republic established in 1914 is the best-known American liberal magazine, with a tendency to be oriented to the left.

It considers most important aspects of current American and international events. "The general tone is liberal, the style lucid, the total effect one of hard hitting editorial policy aimed at reform at any level" (Katz and Gargal, 1972:592). Walter Lippman, one of the original editors of The New Republic, stated the magazine's guidelines.

> A journal of unopinionated opinion—one that would be informed, disinterested, compassionate, and brave. The paper was to be an organ of no party, of no faction, of no sects, and of no cause, concerned not with liberalism and progressivism and conservatism as ideologies, but with all of them in the perspective of the tradition of civility in our Western society (The New Republic, March 23, 1976).

The circulation for the magazine as of June 30, 1975, was 89,181.

The National Review, established in 1955, is a journal of conservative opinion and is published bi-weekly. Christopher Lasch (New York Times Magazine, July 18, 1965:33) remarked on the fact that there are a dozen liberal magazines to one National Review.

> There are so few because the opinion represented by the National Review are not dissenting opinion at all, but are opinions which are readily endowed, in whole or in part, by the mass media, and on at least one occasion by one of the major political parties.

The circulation of the National Review as of June 30, 1975, was 96,222.

The sampling period for analysis of all magazines is January 1, 1966 to December 31, 1975. We divided the ten years into five periods. Period one, January 1, 1966, to May 31, 1967, represented the prewar stage; period two or the war and postwar period was represented by June 1, 1967, to December 31, 1968; period three is comprised of January 1, 1969 to December 31, 1970; period four included January 1, 1971, to September 30, 1973, and period five represented the October

1973 war and the oil embargo (October 1, 1973, to December 31, 1975). All issues of the selected magazines were included in the analysis, with the exception of the year (1975) of the National Review, which was unavailable. All articles pertaining to the Arab countries under the title of World and World Business in Time, and International and Business or the Economy in Newsweek were analyzed. In regards to the National Review and The New Republic, all the pages were scanned for items, columns and articles dealing with the Arab countries, because, in these two magazines, the proportion of articles on the Arab Middle East is small, and it is difficult to distinguish between editorial and news items.

Unit of Analysis

After choosing the sample, the next step in the research process is selecting the unit of analysis for studying the hypotheses of the proposed study.

Budd (1967:33) defines the recording unit as the segment of content that is to be scored or counted. Holsti (1969:116) defines it in similar terms and states that it is the segment to be placed in a given category. The recording unit may be as short as a syllable or as long as an article (Pool, 1959:203). Berelson makes a distinction between the recording unit and the context unit. He states that the recording unity, which he defines as the segment being analyzed, is included in a larger unit called the context unit. The recording unit is the one being classified, but the context unit is needed to give it meaning. The recording unity, according to Budd, may be a word; a theme, or an assertion; an item; a group or time (1967:34).

In this study the assertion was selected as the recording unit of analysis. It must be pointed out, however, that the article served as the context unit, in order to provide the background for accurate judgment of the material. Rosenav (1961:197) also claims that it is the overall tone of the article and not mere content that influences opinion. The use of the article as the context unit also provides an adequate means of evaluating subject matter, as well as the themes and assertions.

Berelson (1952:18) defines a theme as "an assertion about a subject matter; the subject matter must have a referent which must be implied in the assertion." Budd defines an assertion as "a single thought unit or idea that conveys a single item of information extracted from a segment of content." An assertion could be a sentence, a part of a sentence, or a single world. Brown (1961:16) states that an assertion may be designated by an adjective, an adverb, or a verb, and it may be found in compound, complex, or simple sentences. Whenever the assertion recurs, it is called a theme. It must be stipulated that it is not necessary for the same assertion to recur. Different assertions connoting the same meaning may be classified under one theme. The placement of assertions into themes and the determination of the target of the themes relies, to some degree, on subjective judgment. Klapper and Glock (1949:18) have elaborated on this problem:

> Despite the pains taken to insure the highest possible degree of consistency, accuracy, and objectivity, it must be remembered that we are here dealing not with the relatively stable phenomena of the physics laboratory, but with the phenomena of language which is as variable as human beings. Some degree of flexibility and interpretative inconsistency is therefore, inevitable.

In this study, before the assertions were classified into thematic categories, intensive pretesting was conducted on the communication sources over a three-year period; namely, 1968, 1969, and 1970, in order to discover the themes or assertions dealing with the Arabs and Arab countries. Each theme or assertion discovered was put on a 3 by 5 card with the title of the sources, the date, and the direction of the assertion. The cards were examined and sorted according to evaluative terms based on directionality, which is linked to thematic analysis. Directionality of the themes was assigned by positive (+) or negative (-) valences; the neutral themes, which composed the majority of the assertions were ignored because of their quantity. Directional schemes were based on the following definitions: A favorable or positive valence was assigned to those themes or assertions that reflected good or acceptable traits or values of Arabs, as well as their willingness to cooperate with the United States and Israel. These assertions or themes were indicated by such words as "persistent," "progressive," "rational," "agreeable," or "coopertive," or "Communistic," etc. A negative or unfavorable valence was used to denote the negative characteristics of the Arabs, their social conflict and disorganization, as well as their political and economic instability. Indicators for this directionality included such words as "backward," "quarrelsome," "fanatics," "black-mailers," "irrational," "hostile," "volatile," "fulminating," etc. Hence. assertions similar to the following, "Nasser's fiery words"; "Iraq is a xenophobic nation"; "the Arabs huff and puff, they bluster, and blunder, uttering blood-curdling injunctions"; "the anemic Jordanian army";

"Shukairy is a fire eating boss of the PLO"; "Arafat should put mortar where his mouth is"; or "his speeches are nothing but disorganized rabble," were all given negative valences.

Assertions such as "sympathy offered to the refugees"; "Sadat's rationality in accepting peace proposals"; "Egypt cooperating with the U.S."; "Faisal is a conservative," and "Faisal is friendly to the United States" were assigned positive valences.

Categories

Coding categories are formulated after the unit of analysis has been chosen. Categories differentiate and describe the content that is to be investigated; they are the link between the meaning or counting of the material and the theory or hypotheses of the research. In more common terminology, they are the backbone of content analysis. Concerning categories, Berelson (1952:148) states:

> Since content analysis is only a technique applicable to communication materials and can contain almost everything people say or do, the production of relevant categories is limited only by the analyst's imagination in stating a problem for investigation and designing categories to fit the problem.

North (1963:41) claims that the purpose of defining a category is important because it classifies data on the basis of selected concepts. Sellitz, et al. (1962) point out two important determinants of the relevant categories: the purpose of the research and the nature of the material. Categories must meet the tests of validity, reliability, and objectivity. They may deal with the subject matter or theme (Berelson, 1952:149).

In our study, a number of categories were devised, with each defined in specific terms. Berelson (1954:510) places special emphasis upon the subject matter categories, indicating their importance in determining the emphasis of different topics in the communication processes. The function of subject matter categories simply put is to determine what the communication is about. They were considered useful in this study for evaluating the linkage of themes to the subject matter. The subject matter categories employed in this study are found in the Appendix.

A referent or target group category was also set up to determine who was referred to in the particular assertion. The referents were obtained from a preliminary reading of the four selected magazines over a chosen three-year period, namely, 1968, 1969, and 1970. To qualify for this category, a word must be a proper name of an Arabic country or any head of state or prominant minister. This category was expanded to include OPEC, commandos, socialist countries (Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Libya, etc.) and nonsocialist countries (Saudia Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, etc.). We point out that this category was expanded whenever a new referent meeting the above condition appeared (a list of the referents appears in the Appendix).

Thematic or directional categories also were used in this study. After the major themes were detected (from the preliminary reading of articles and detection of assertions), they were placed in a theme category which is a larger "compartment" or unit. A group of different themes having the same meaning may be placed under one single theme

category (Budd, 1967:47). Themes are found in the content, but this does not mean that their categories have to be derived from such. Theme categories are outlined by the analyst, who detects them from the ideas presented in the content, and who is able to recognize them in their different statement forms.

The use of thematic categories involves the directionality or the valence of the themes. We, therefore, created a positive and a negative category, ignoring a neutrality category because of the quantity of neutral assertions. A positive category is defined as being favorable or depicting the Arabs in favorable terms. A negative category is defined as being derogatory to Arabs or portraying the Arabs in negative terms. Definition of categories was based on the coder's subjective judgment concerning the connotations implied in the normal American usage.

Subcategories were also devised for the direction categories and were composed of specific terms.

As we mentioned previously, different assertions having a similar meaning may be placed under one theme category. This is exemplified by the following theme that holds a negative connotation. "The Arabs are volatile." This was indicated by such assertions as "the Arabs are belligerent," "the Arabs are hot-headed," and "the Arabs are impulsive and unruly." Henceforth, whenever one of these assertions occurred, it was classified under the theme, "the Arabs are volatile."

A theme similar to the following, "the Arabs are rational," was set up to include assertions as "the Arabs are pragmatic and flexible,"

and "they are willing to bend." Whenever one of these assertions occurred, it was placed under "the Arabs are rational." Henceforth, assertions with similar meaning were placed under one theme category. A record was kept of the assertion coded in each category.

We also devised an overall classification category which was based on the number of valences (+ and -) in each article. This was defined in the following manner: An article was classified as being positive if there was, at least, one more positive assertion than negative. An article was classified as negative if there was, at least, one more negative assertion than positive. "Both" was the classification given to the article if there was an equal number of positive and negative assertions. A "neutral" classification was designated to an article when it was factual and there was no positive or negative assertions.

Time categories were also set up, comprised of the years, 1966-1975; they were divided into five specific periods.

In order to devise realistic, discriminating themes and referent categories, we reiterate that we engaged in preliminary reading of the articles in the selected news magazines over a three-year period, namely, 1968, 1969, and 1970. We also point out that our categories were constantly reevaluated and expanded.

Coding

After the categories were selected, a Master Coding Book was constructed with the magazine, date, year of publication, month, page, overall classification of the article, and a complete list of referents

and direction categories, with some subcategories of positive and negative themes. A coding sheet was then devised with the above information. The article, the subject matter, theme or assertion, and the referent group comprised the system of enumeration.

Each article was given a first reading in order for the coder to become familiar with it. Then, the article was reread in order to find the major motifs or themes and assertions. Each assertion found was coded according to the definition found in the Master Coding Book (see Appendix). No more than one referent (subject) was coded per assertion. The referent and directionality of the theme was derived from the assertion, the subject (object) from the article.

After this has been done, the analyst fills out a coding sheet with the date, the source or specific magazine, the overall directionality of the article as a whole, the referent or object(s) (subject) towards which the assertion is directed, e.g., specific Arab nations, leader or decision maker, the Palestinian and the Commandos. Similar assertions or themes within the article or items that appeared more than once were ignored so that only different assertions were coded.

In cases where there was massive coverage in a magazine as a result of a specific event, as the October, 1973, war, the news items were grouped and coded as one article.

When all of the articles had been read and the themes placed in their proper categories, the information was transferred from the coding sheet to IBM punch cards. The computer was then fed the information and

was programmed to tally the number of articles by specific periods, magazines, overall classification, number and type of assertion. The number or frequency of referents by specific periods, subject matter and themes; frequency of assertions by referents, subject matter, directionality and specific sources; and other cross-tabulations were also obtained.

Reliability and Validity

A problem that confronts the researcher engaged in content analysis is that of reliability, whether at the stage of category formation or evaluation. Holsti (1969:135) points out the research is reliable if "repeated measures with the same instrument on a sample of data should yield similar results. Hence, reliability means repeatability with consistency of results."

Budd (1967:67) suggests that there are standard tests of reliability. The test-retest method uses the same test twice on the same population or data; if the results are similar, then reliability has been established. Budd also recommends the use of correlation coefficient of the results of the two coders, or analyzing the material using the split half reliability. These tests of reliability require more than one coder. Although more than one coder increases reliability, this project is limited to one coder because of lack of time.

A test-retest method was conducted on the pretest material. This was done by rereading and recoding the articles from the four news magazines over a one-year period (1969). The results of the two tests

were compared to see if there was discrepancy in the theme categories and the overall result. The test-retest method proved that both sets of material were similar and, hence, reliability (stability) was established.

Other ways of increasing reliability have been suggested by Sellitz, et al. (1962:34); this is clearly specifying the characteristics of statements that are to be placed in a given category and to give examples drawn from the material. Holsti (1969:136) also states that reliability may be increased by vigorously and exhaustively defining categories. Since there was only one coder for this study, these techniques for improving reliability were used in this study.

In the formulation of categories, considerable care was taken to insure that they were exhaustive and well defined. Definitions of the categories chosen are specified in the Appendix.

Another problem confronting the researcher involved in content analysis is validity. In simple terminology, validity is measuring exactly what the researcher says he is measuring. The choice of units, formation of categories, and evaluation of the data, influence the validity of the study and the ability to make inferences from data. Validity, as Budd (1967:69) points out, can be assessed by the jury method and by construct validity.

The jury method of validation requires that another coder be asked to judge relevant points of the methodology, choice and definition of the variables, for example, or measuring techniques.

Construct validity, according to Kerlinger (1964:448) "unites psychometric notions with scientific theoretical notions." This implies

that the coder has relied on theories and should have constructed hypotheses, for one means of assessing validity is the empirical testing of hypotheses.

In this study, the validity of the research rests on the care taken in choosing the units (articles and themes) and in the formation of categories. In addition, we engaged in careful construction of hypotheses and exhaustive evaluation of our data.

After the units were chosen, the categories formulated from a preliminary reading and the hypotheses formed, another coder was asked to evaluate them to insure their definitions and validity. The specific definition of themes and the directionality were also reevaluated on the basis of clearly favorable or unfavorable statements, or cited as having elements of both or none (neutral). The evaluation of data is considered valid because the hypotheses were constructed carefully and were supported by extensive evaluation of the data. When a null hypothesis is disproved, substantial evidence is provided in support of the refutation.

Hypotheses

Based on the assumption that stereotypes, as reflected in the attitudes of society and the media change or fade as a result of political, social, and economic events, the following hypotheses are introduced:

1. There is a change in the coverage of Arabs in the selected news magazines (Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic).

A. There is a change in the number of articles on Arabs and Arab countries as a result of political and economic events.

1. The 1967 war
2. The commando activities
3. The October War of 1973
4. The oil embargo

B. The same pattern of change in coverage is found in all four magazines.

2. There is no difference in stereotyping by magazines.
3. Changes have occurred in the stereotyping of Arabs and Arab countries. Changes in directionality are related to specific events.

A. There is an increase in negative stereotyping after the 1967 War.

B. There is an increase in negative stereotyping as a result of commando activities.

C. There is a decrease in negative stereotyping as a result of the Arabs' stand in the 1973 October War and the lifting of the oil embargo.

4. There is differential treatment of Arabs in the magazines. This is related to the foreign policy of the United States with the Middle East.

A. There is differential treatment of Arabs in relation to specific subject matter.

B. There is differential treatment of Arabs in relation to specific referents.

   1. Arab nations and/or heads of state favoring a pro-American stance are viewed positively.
   2. Arab nations and/or heads of state identified as being anti-American are viewed negatively.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In Chapter II, it is noted that the media act as agents in helping bring about changes in attitudes and values. In order for this to occur, a suggestion for change must be received and accepted (Schramm, 1951). Katz (1955) states that the media provides the key factors by introducing new knowledge about issues, people, objects, and events which conflict with the old attitudes and stereotypes prevalent in the society. It is also pointed out that these stereotypes and negative attitudes fade with the amount and quantity of contact. This is substantiated by a number of studies (Williams, 1964; Fishman, 1956; Vinacke, 1956; Simpson and Yinger, 1972; and Allport, 1952).

Studies by Suleiman (1965, 1974), Ibrahim (1974) and Terry (1971) all indicate that a change had occurred in the portrayal of Arabs in the media, and that this change has been brought about by social, political, and economic events.

Hypothesis 1

From the above findings, we introduce Hypothesis 1, in which we postulate that there has been a change in the coverage of Arabs in the four selected news magazines; namely, Time , Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic. Table I supports this hypothesis. We found that a total of 70 articles were coded in 1966 for the four magazines, while in 1975, the number had tripled to 203 articles. Although there has been considerable fluctuations in the amount of coverage, the general trend has been upward.

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES ON THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST IN FOUR NEWS MAGAZINES, 1966-1975[a]

Year	Number of Articles	
	No.	%
1966	70	5
1967	152	11
1968	77	6
1969	131	10
1970	167	12
1971	119	9
1972	104	8
1973	168	12
1974	173	13
1974	203	15
Totals	1,364	101

[a]One year (1975) of the National Review was not coded.

We further hypothesized that coverage on the Arabs and Arab countries changed as a result of political and economic events, namely the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the commando activities, the October 1973 War, and the oil embargo. Table II supports our postulation. During the prewar period, there was a total of 102 articles, and during the 1967 war and thereafter there was a total of 198 articles. In Periods 3 and 4, the number of articles increased to 298 and 306, respectively, as a result of commando activities and the threat of an impending oil embargo. In Period 5, the total number of articles was 463 articles or 34 percent of the entire articles coded. This was attributed to greater interest in the Arab countries as a result of the Arab stand in the October 1973 War, the oil embargo which threatened the United States, and the even-handed policy of the United States towards the Arab countries. Other factors included the "opening up" of the Arab countries to U. S. journalists, the relaxing of censorship by Arab leaders, and the increasing number of journalists in the Arab countries. Time, for example, during the 1967 conflict, had only reporter in Beirut, who also covered Jordan and Syria (Suleiman, 1970:140). What distinguished the coverage of the October War and thereafter, according to Ibrahim (1974:72), was "the media's self-battling with myths, stereotypes, competing perceptions, and the usage of conflicting interpretations of the October events and their aftermath." Newsweek's cover story of October 22 was headlined, "A War That Broke the Myth." The Arabs' military success was also acknowledged as an essential factor in the change to an even-handed approach of coverage.

TABLE II

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES ON THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST BY MAGAZINE AND ISSUE-DEFINED PERIODS[a]

	Periods										Totals	
	1		2		3		4		5			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Time	57	10	75	13	107	19	134	24	191	34	564	41
Newsweek	27	5	80	14	140	24	147	25	195	33	589	43
Nat'l Rev.	7	7	24	22	29	27	22	20	26	24	108	8
New. Rep.	11	10	19	18	22	21	3	3	51	48	106	8
Totals	102	8	198	15	298	22	306	22	463	34	1,367	100

[a]Period 1 = January 1, 1966, to May 31, 1967.
Period 2 = June 1, 1967, to December 31, 1968.
Period 3 = January 1, 1969, to December 31, 1970.
Period 4 = January 1, 1971, to September 30, 1973.
Period 5 = October 1, 1973, to December 31, 1975.

Referent coverage also increased as a result of issue-specific events (see Table III). It is noted that coverage of certain referents is low or absent in Period 1, but this changed in the following periods. Egyptians, Commandos, and Palestinians, as separate entities, were rarely mentioned in Period 1. However, they were substantially covered in the later periods. This is due to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

OPEC, too, which was not mentioned in Periods 1 through 3, received a total of (52) mentions in the remaining two periods. This was attributed to interest in oil and the oil embargo. Lebanon was referred to a total of (25) times in the first four periods as contrasted with (28) times in Period 5 alone. This is the result of the commando presence in Lebanon and the Lebanese Civil War.

Subject matter coverage also indicates an increase as a result of issue-specific events (see Table IV). In the period of normality (Period 1), there are 9 mentions of Israel in the journals, while this number constantly increased in Period 2 through Period 5 as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although there is fluctuation in the five periods in reference to Arab domestic and inter-Arab affairs, we state that there is a constant, gradual increase. This indicates that, as attention is focused on the Middle East, more emphasis is placed on social, political, and economic matters of the Arab countries, in order to familiarize the American people with the background information of the area. In regards to Arab domestic affairs, there are (43) mentions in Period 1, or the period of relative normality. This number had increased to (81) mentions by Period 5. In Period 1, there are (20) mentions of

TABLE III

FREQUENCY AND RANK[a] OF REFERENT COVERAGE BY ISSUE-SPECIFIC PERIODS[b]

	Periods											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
Referents[c]	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Iraq	7(5)	7	2	1	6	2	6	2	4	2	25	2
Syria	11(4)	11	5	3	11	4	3	1	24	5	54	2
Algeria	3	3	13(5)	7	6	2	6	2	1	.2	29	2
Palestine	0	0	13(5)	7	13(4)	4	14	5	12	3	52	4
Lebanese	6	6	1	1	12	4	6	2	28(5)	6	53	4
Egyptian	4	4	21(3)	11	48(3)	16	45(2)	15	86(2)	19	204	15
Arabs	13(3)	13	65(1)	33	80(1)	27	37(3)	12	138(1)	30	333	24
Commandos	3	3	16(4)	8	56(2)	19	54(1)	18	39(3)	8	168	12
OPEC	1	1	2	1	0	0	13	4	39(3)	8	55	4
Socialist Countries	15(1)	15	13(5)	7	3	1	4	1	5	1	40	3
Non-Socialist	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	.3	1	.2	5	.4
Hussein	5	5	11	6	13(4)	4	10	3	7	2	46	3
Gaddaffi	0	0	0	0	1	.3	31(5)	10	15	3	47	3
Nasser	14(2)	14	23(2)	12	13(4)	4	1	.3	2	.4	53	4
Sadat	0	0	0	0	3	1	36(4)	12	18	4	57	4
Others	19	19	21	2	31	8	39	12	43	8	44	12
Totals	101	7	198	15	298	22	306	22	462	34	1,365	100

[a]Rank frequency numbered (1-5).

[b]See Table II.

[c]When multiple referents were found, they were coded under the heading "Arabs," except when more than one assertion was detected. In the latter cases, the article was coded by the first assertion.

TABLE IV

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECT MATTER[a] BY ISSUE-SPECIFIC PERIODS

	Periods											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
Subject	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Israel	9	9	89	47	124	43	72	25	165	38	459	35
Oil	3	3	6	3	0	0	29	10	66	15	104	8
Arab Domestic	43	43	34	18	60	21	60	21	.81	19	278	21
Arab External	12	12	10	5	24	8	20	7	53	12	119	9
U.S.S.R.	4	4	14	7	19	7	25	9	10	2	75	6
Inter-Arab	20	20	26	24	26	9	36	12	37	8	145	11
Terrorism	8	8	10	5	35	12	48	17	26	6	127	10
Totals	99	8	189	15	288	22	290	22	438	34	1,304	100

[a]See Table II.

inter-Arab affairs, and by Period 5, this number had increased to (37) mentions. Although this is not a notable difference, it is enough to indicate that change in coverage is taking place.

Period 3 and Period 4 are characterized by high coverage of commando activities. The increase in coverage is notable. In Period 1, there are (8) mentions; Period 2 has (10) mentions; Period 3, a total of (35) mentions; and Period 4, a total of (48) mentions. Terrorist coverage, however, dropped in Period 5 as the commandos began to curtain their activities. Arab external affairs and the U.S.S.R. relations with the Arabs were relatively constant throughout the periods, and they were also characterized by relatively low coverage.

We also stipulated as a subhypothesis to Hypothesis I that the same pattern of change in coverage is found in all magazines. In a noticeable sense, this subhypothesis is supported. Time and Newsweek do show increases in coverage from one period to the next. The National Review and The New Republic, however, deviate from this pattern. Referring back to Table II (p. 42), some interesting differences in coverage across time by the various magazines is revealed. Prior to the 1967 war, Time's coverage of Arab-related issues was more extensive than that of Newsweek. Since then, the allotment of space has been quite similar. The extent of coverage by National Review has been quite consistent in each period since the 1967 war. On the other hand, The New Republic seems to have interest in Arabs in 1971-1973 but has provided very strong coverage since the crises of late 1973. During this last period, The New Republic actually carried almost half of all of its articles on Arabs for the entire decade.

Hypothesis 2

In Hypothesis 2, we proposed that there is no difference in stereotyping by magazines. The results presented in Table V indicate that this null hypothesis has been refuted. The number of articles classified as pro-Arab in Time is (47) as compared with Newsweek's (30) articles. Newsweek contained the most anti-Arab articles, with a total of (209), half of all the anti-Arab articles coded in that category. It was also found that the more liberal magazines, Newsweek and The New Republic, were more anti-Arab, having a higher proportion of anti-Arab articles. The National Review was not opinionated, as was expected on Arab matters. This was indicated by its coverage. The New Republic was the least objective of the four magazines, leading both in the proportion of positive and negative articles. All magazines, however, had a substantial amount of neutral articles, with Time leading, a total of (364) articles or 45 percent of the articles coded under that category.

The data in Table VI is further evidence bearing on our hypothesis; the four magazines do vary somewhat in regards to the proportion of stereotyped assertions. Time had more positive assertions, a total of (74), than any other magazine. Newsweek, on the other hand, had the greatest number of negative assertions, a total of (313). It had been thought that Time would contain the greatest amount of negative assertions, because of its style of writing and adjective-loaded sentences. It is relevant to point out that negative and positive assertions, however few, may have a more substantial impact upon their

TABLE V

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES BY OVERALL CLASSIFICATION[a] AND MAGAZINES

	Overall Classification									
	Pro-Arab		Con-Arab		Both		Neutral		Total	
Name of Magazine	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Time	47	8	136	24	16	3	364	65	563	41
Newsweek	30	5	209	36	23	4	325	55	587	43
National Review	8	7	29	27	2	2	69	64	108	8
New Republic	11	10	43	41	3	3	49	46	106	8
Totals	96	7	417	31	44	3	807	59	1,364	100

[a](1) Pro-Arab - At least one more positive assertion than negative.
(2) Con-Arab - At least one more negative assertion than positive.
(3) Both - An equal number of positive and negative assertions.
(4) Neutral - Absence of negative and positive assertions.

TABLE VI

POSITIVE[a] AND NEGATIVE[b] ASSERTIONS BY MAGAZINES

Magazine	Direction					
	Negative		Positive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Time	212	74	74	26	286	35
Newsweek	313	83	63	17	387	46
National Review	47	76	15	24	62	8
The New Republic	73	80	18	20	91	11
Totals	645	79	70	21	815	100

[a]Positive assertions describe Arabs in favorable terms.

[b]Negative assertions describe Arabs in unfavorable and derogatory terms.

readers than factual or assertion-free sentences. The total number of negative assertions (645) in comparison with the total number of positive assertions (170), a ratio of nearly four to one, may indicate a strong American hostility towards Arabs and/or attempts to raise the level of hostility. In a technical sense, the null hypothesis must be rejected; there are notable differences in bias across the four magazines. But, in a larger sense, these differences may be considered of little importance, as none of the magazines gave the Arabs an even break in terms of value loaded assertions.

Analysis of specific thematic assertions across the magazines reveals a number of interesting similarities and differences (see Table VII). The two most commonly used stereotypes, the image of Arabs as "fanatics" and "volatile" are equally common to all four journals. Other themes of less frequent but relatively equal usage in all of the magazines were "irrationality," "uncooperativeness," and "backwardness." The similarity of such bases seems to provide support for the null hypothesis of no difference between sources.

On the other hand, certain negative themes were definitely the favorites of particular magazines. The stereotype of the Arabs as "hostile" was lowest in Time (3), while it is widely used in Newsweek (20). "Braggart," while low in the opinion magazine (1) and Newsweek (5), is high in Time, a total of (19) mentions or 7 percent of the total. "Talkative" is highly used in Newsweek, comprising a total of (48) mentions. This is relatively high, taking into consideration that the total mentions of this theme in the four magazines is (75). Newsweek

TABLE VII

FREQUENCY AND RANK[a] OF SPECIFIC ASSERTIONS BY MAGAZINES

Specific Assertion	Magazines									
	Time		Newsweek		Nat. Rev.		New Rep.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unreliable	6	2	9	2	0	0	2	2	17	2
Unorganized	6	2	4	1	2	3	1	1	13	2
Uncooperative	13	5	15	4	1	2	5	15	34	4
Weak	5	2	15	4	3	5	2	2	25	3
Blackmailing	9	3	11	3	3	5	12	13	35	4
Volatile	32(2)	11	48(2)	13	6(2)	10	6	7(2)	92(2)	11
Fanatics	45(1)	16	53(1)	14	8(1)	13	19	21(1)	125(1)	15
Hostile	3	1	20(4)	5	5	8	5	6	33	4
Irrational	15	5	20(4)	5	4(5)	7	6	7(4)	45(4)	6
Cruel	6	2	9	2	0	0	0	0	15	2
Braggart	19(3)	7	5	1	1	2	0	0	25	3
Talkative	18(4)	6	48(2)	13	3	5	6	7(3)	75(3)	9
Conniving	9	3	13	4	2	3	4	4	28	3
Disunity	3	1	18	5	1	2	1	2	24	2
Backward	12	4	15	4	5(3)	8	2	2	34	4
Schizophrenics	11	4	10	3	3	5	1	1	25	3
Persistent	8	3	2	1	0	0	1	1	11	1
Progressive	17(5)	6	10	3	1	2	2	2	30	4
Rational	13	5	7	2	1	2	2	2	23	3

TABLE VII (continued)

Specific Assertion	Magazines									
	Time		Newsweek		Nat. Rev.		New Rep.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooperative	12	4	9	2	1	2	4	4	26	3
Pro-Western	11	4	8	2	4(5)	7	0	0	23	3
Conservative	2	1	6	2	2	3	2	2	12	2
Agreeable	11	4	18	5	5(3)	8	5	6(5)	39(5)	5
Wronged	0	0	3	1	1	2	2	2	6	1
Totals	286	35	376	46	62	8	91	11	815	100

[a]Rank frequency numbered (1-5)

also differs from the other magazines in the use of the theme, "disunity," there is extremely high usage of this, (18) mentions, or 5 percent of the total (34). The stereotyping of the Arab as "uncooperative" is lowest in National Review, (1) mention out of a total of (34). The New Republic is unique in the usage of "blackmail," comprising a total of (12) mentions or 13 percent of the total number of assertions found in the magazines. It is hard to know if anything should be made of these differences. It seems plausible that, in a minor way, the magazines of opinion are more objective than the straight news magazines in avoiding such global character-type biases as the attribution of braggodocio and garrulousness. The New Republic's emphasis of "blackmail" apparently stemmed from a hard line editorial position against OPEC.

The results in Table VII also indicate that the magazines vary slightly regarding the use of positive assertions. "Rational," for example, was used more often in Time than in the other sources. "Progressive" was used the most in Time, a total of (17) times or 6 percent of the total number of assertions found in that magazine. The National Review has the lowest overall number of assertions of any magazine, a total of (62); yet, it has the highest proportion of certain positive assertions, as "pro-Western" (4) or 7 percent of the total number and "agreeable" (5) mentions or 8 percent of the total assertions used by that magazine.

From the above, we conclude that Time tends to view the Arabs more favorably than the other magazines. Newsweek and The New Republic, as was mentioned before, tend to be more anti-Arab and to use more negative than positive assertions to describe them.

Hypothesis 3

In Hypothesis 3, we stated that changes have occurred in the stereotyping of Arabs and Arab countries, and that this change in directionality is related to issue-specific events. This hypothesis is supported by Table VIII.

In the period of normality (Period 1), there is a total of (12) pro-Arabic articles. In Period 5, this number had almost tripled, (34) articles in favor of the Arabs. There was also an increase in the number of neutral articles. In Period 1, there were (45) neutral or factual articles. This number increased to (315) in Period 5, indicating that the magazines are presenting more factual material regarding the Arabs. In reference to the anti-Arab articles, Period 3 had the highest proportion of negative articles because of the commando activities, specifically the hijacking of airplanes. Another factor contributing to this high number of anti-Arab articles was the continuous threat of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which threatened to result in a third world war.

From the above analysis, we conclude that the magazines did not, by any means, stop criticizing or condemning the Arab states; the amount of pro-Arab reporting did not come close to the amount critical of the Arabs. However, it can be said that an improvement is indicated by a more neutrally balanced stance on the Arab issues, and a beginning in presenting the Arabs as human beings.

Further support for the stipulation that changes in directionality are related to specific events is provided by Table IX, in which

TABLE VIII

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLE DIRECTIONALITY[a] BY ISSUE-SPECIFIC PERIOD

	Overall Directionality									
	Pro-Arab		Con-Arab		Both		Neutral		Total	
Period	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-66 to 5-67	12	12	39	39	5	5	45	45	101	7
6-67 to 12-68	13	7	68	34	11	6	106	54	198	15
1-69 to 12-70	21	7	122	41	5	2	150	50	298	22
1-71 to 9-73	16	5	91	30	7	3	191	63	305	22
10-73 to 12-75	34	7	97	21	16	4	315	68	402	34
Totals	96	7	417	31	44	3	807	59	1,364	100

[a]See Table V (p. 48).

TABLE IX

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE ASSERTIONS BY YEAR

	Direction					
	Negative		Positive		Total	
Year	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1966	46	70	19	29	65	8
1967	100	75	33	25	133	16
1968	34	85	6	15	40	5
1969	79	79	21	21	100	12
1970	104	89	13	11	117	14
1971	43	75	14	25	57	7
1972	31	89	4	11	35	4
1973	86	86	14	14	100	12
1974	56	75	19	25	75	9
1975	66	71	27	29	93	11
Totals	645	79	170	21	815	100

directionality by positive and negative assertions is presented. Regarding an increase in negative stereotyping in 1966, the total number was (46) negative assertions. In 1967, this number had doubled. Negativity reached its peak in 1970, the year of the airplane hijackings and the Khartoum incident. Another factor attributed to this rise in negativeness was the Arab staunch refusal to cooperate with Israel and the United States. The number of negative assertions decreased in 1971 and 1972. It rose again in 1973, nearly tripling as a result of further commando activities and the threat by the Arabs to use oil as a political weapon. Negative assertions dropped to (56) in 1974 as a result of the Arabs' stand in the October 1973 War. In the final stages of the war, the Arabs were presented negatively (as indicated by the number of negative assertions in 1973) but as the Arabs "proved themselves," they were seen in a different light. Americans identify with the ideas of achievement and persistence and respect for the Arabs grew as their success in the war became apparent.

As was the case in the examination of specific themes by magazines, the analysis of these themes by period reveals a number of interesting similarities and divergences (see Table X). Just as the stereotyping of Arabs as fanatical and volatile was constant across magazines, it is stable across periods over the decade. There was considerably more variation in the attributes of other characteristics, according to the circumstances of the times.

The negative stereotype of "unreliable" was highest in Period 1, a total of (5) mentions. Although this is a small number, it is 29 percent of the total usage of this theme in the five periods. "Unorganized" was

TABLE X

FREQUENCY AND RANK[a] OF SPECIFIC THEMES BY ISSUE-SPECIFIC PERIODS

Specific Themes	Periods 1 No.	2 No.	3 No.	4 No.	5 No.	Totals No.
Unreliable	5	1	4	2	5	17
Unorganized	5	1	5	0	2	13
Uncooperative	5	10(5)	6	7	6	34
Weak	2	3	14(5)	3	3	25
Blackmailer	1	3	1	6	24(2)	35
Volatile	12(1)	15(2)	29(2)	19(2)	17(2)	92(2)
Fanatics	10(2)	17(1)	36(1)	28(1)	34(1)	125(1)
Hostile	4	5	8	8(5)	8	33
Irrational	6	11(4)	5	11(4)	12	45(4)
Cruel	2	3	4	2	4	15
Braggart	3	6	9	7	0	25
Talkative	3	13(3)	26(3)	18(3)	15(5)	75(3)
Conniving	2	7	5	8(5)	6	28
Disunity	3	6	8	3	4	24
Backward	1	6	15(4)	6	6	34
Schizophrenic	7(4)	2	8	5	3	25
Persistent	1	4	2	1	3	11
Progressive	10(3)	4	7	5	4	30
Rational	3	7	3	6	4	23
Cooperative	3	2	7	2	12	26

TABLE X (continued)

Specific Themes	Periods 1 No.	2 No.	3 No.	4 No.	5 No.	Totals No.
Pro-Western	7(4)	6	4	2	4	23
Conservative	2	0	2	1	7	12
Agreeable	2	6	8	6	17(3)	39(5)
Wronged	0	1	1	0	4	6
Totals	99	139	217	156	204	815

[a]Frequency of rank numbered (1-5).

also high in Period 1, having a total of (5) mentions. The stereotyping of the Arabs as "blackmailers" occurred (24) times in Period 5, while in Periods 3 and 4, there is a noticeable lack of emphasis on this theme. This is attributed to the threat of an impending oil embargo and its actualization. The stereotyping of Arabs as "fanatics" reached its peak in Period 5, a total of (34) mentions. This, too, is attributed to the oil embargo and the unstable situation in the Middle East. The theme of the Arabs "irrationality" doubled from Period 1 (6) mentions to Period 5 (12 mentions. "Talkative," low in Period 1 (3 mentions, increased to (26) mentions by Period 3. However, a decrease is apparent in Periods 4 and 5 as a result of the Arabs curtailing their rhetoric and verbosity and resorting to action instead of talk.

Contrary to expectations, "progressive," high in Period 1 (10 mentions, dropped noticeably in the four remaining periods. Positive themes such as "conservative" or "anti-Communistic," "agreeable" and the belief that the Arabs had been "wronged," increased markedly in Period 5, indicating that the actions of the Arabs were reported with greater understanding, and if not with less negativism, at least with increasing favoritism.

Hypothesis 4

In Hypothesis 4, we stated that differential treatment of Arabs (in the magazines) has occurred in relation to specific issues or subject matter. Table XI is presented as a test of this hypothesis. Regarding article directionality in relation to the issues, more than half of the

TABLE XI

CLASSIFICATION[a] OF ARTICLES BY SUBJECT MATTER

Subject Matter	Overall Classification									
	Pro-Arab		Con-Arab		Both		Neutral		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Israel		4	132	29	14	3	294	64	459	35
Oil	2	2	35	34	1	1	66	64	104	8
Arab Domestic	27	10	82	30	9	3	159	57	277	21
Arab External	26	22	25	21	4	3	64	54	119	9
U.S.S.R.	5	7	10	14	3	4	54	75	72	6
Inter-Arab	9	6	82	57	9	6	44	31	144	11
Terrorism	4	3	42	33	4	3	77	61	127	10
Totals	92	7	408	31	44	3	758	58	1,302	100

[a]See Table V (p. 48).

articles were neutral. But, there was a wider range of variation, depending on the topic under discussion. Israel's relationship with the Arabs stimulated the largest amount of anti-Arab articles (a total of 132), but the most distinctive topic for negatively-biased articles was inter-Arab relations, taking into consideration that over half of the articles contained slanted statements. The only topic that showed a relatively positive bias was Arab external affairs (mostly in reference to the United States).

The issues of the U.S.S.R.-Arab relations and oil, surprisingly, had more neutral coverage than was expected, and the volume indicated the informative nature of most of the articles regarding these issues. Equally surprising coverage of the Palestinian armed activities or terrorism was not as negatively viewed in the articles as Arab domestic affairs. There was a total of (42) articles classified as anti-Arab for this issue. The communication source also showed differential treatment of specific issues or subject matter (see Table XII).

Arab-Israeli relationships were the topic which elicited the most biased assertions in all four magazines. On this issue, the two "magazines of opinion" were, indeed, more opinionated than the two news magazines. Similarly, The New Republic and, especially, the National Review, produced a higher proportion of slanted statements when the subject was other Arab external relations. Oil was a topic that drew The New Republic into stereotyping in an especial way. The areas in which Time and Newsweek were most notably biased were Arab domestic affairs, inter-Arab relationships and terrorism.

TABLE XII

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF ASSERTIONS BY SUBJECT MATTER AND MAGAZINES

Subject Matter	Magazines									
	Time		Newsweek		New. Rev.		Nat. Rep.		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Israel	82	29	98	26	22	37	33	38	235	29
Oil	10	4	24	7	5	8	15	17	54	7
Arab Domestic	55	20	97	26	8	13	8	9	168	21
Arab External	33	12	18	5	16	27	14	16	81	6
U.S.S.R.	7	3	11	3	1	2	2	2	21	3
Inter-Arab	64	33	88	24	6	10	13	15	171	21
Terrorism	30	11	35	9	2	3	2	2	69	9
Totals	281	35	371	46	60	8	87	11	799	100

What is more striking about these data is the very similar patterns of Time and Newsweek across subject matter topics. The ideologically conflicting magazines of opinion are more similar than different in the patterns of stereotyping. From these patterns, we may conclude that issues that stimulate assertions in the news magazines, Time and Newsweek differ from that that stimulate the opinion magazines. The news magazines also have more assertions because there is ample space in these two magazines to denote to Arab domestic affairs and inter-Arab relations.

The distinctive use of specific value-biased assertions according to the particular topic at hand is illustrated in Table XIII. Looking at specific assertions by subject matter indicates that 77 percent of the references to Arabs as "blackmailers" were in relation to the oil issues. Arab domestic affairs also received a large proportion of a number of specific negative assertions. The Arabs, in relation to this issue, were stereotyped as "unreliable," "unorganized," "schizophrenic," and "cruel." They were labelled "braggarts," "talkative," "hostile," and "weak," disporportionately in their relations with Israel. References to "fanaticism" and "disunity" were extensively used in references to inter-Arab relations. Acts of terrorism were condemned as "cruel" and "fanatical."

Positive stereotypes in the form of assertions were used when the magazines discussed Arab external relations. "Rational" was used a total of (7) out of (23) times, "cooperative" was used (15) out of (26) times, "pro-Western" was used (7) out of (23) times, and "agreeable," (10) out of (38) times. Interestingly, "uncooperative" is the one negative

TABLE XIII

FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ASSERTIONS BY SUBJECT MATTER

Specific Themes	Subject Matter: Israel No.	Israel %	Oil No.	Oil %	Arab Dom. No.	Arab Dom. %	Arab Ex. No.	Arab Ex. %	U.S.S.R. No.	U.S.S.R. %	Inter-Arab No.	Inter-Arab %	Terrorism No.	Terrorism %	Totals No.	Totals %
Volatile	29	32	1	1	22	24	5	6	4	4	21	23	8	9	90	11
Fanatics	33	27	6	5	10	8	2	2	1	1	43	36	26	22	121	15
Irrational	16	36	1	2	8	18	2	4	0	0	13	29	5	11	45	6
Braggart	14	56	0	0	3	12	0	0	0	0	7	28	1	4	25	3
Talkative	31	42	57	7	8	11	5	7	1	1	18	24	6	8	74	10
Uncooperative	12	38	20	6	4	13	8	25	1	3	4	13	1	3	32	4
Hostile	14	42	2	6	5	15	3	12	2	8	6	18	1	3	33	4
Conniving	8	31	2	8	4	15	3	12	2	8	6	23	1	4	26	3
Weak	16	67	0	0	3	13	1	4	1	4	3	13	0	0	24	3
Unreliable	3	18	0	0	5	29	2	12	3	18	3	18	1	6	17	2
Unorganized	2	15	0	0	10	77	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	13	2
Backward	9	27	2	6	16	47	3	9	1	3	1	3	2	6	34	4
Schizophrenic	5	20	3	12	10	40	3	12	0	0	2	8	2	8	25	3
Blackmailer	2	6	26	77	0	0	3	9	0	0	1	3	2	6	34	4
Disunity	1	4	0	0	6	25	0	0	0	0	16	67	1	4	24	3
Cruel	3	20	0	0	6	40	0	0	0	0	2	13	4	27	15	2
Persistent	3	27	0	0	2	18	0	0	1	9	4	36	1	9	29	4
Progressive	5	17	0	0	21	72	0	0	1	3	1	3	1	1	29	4
Rational	5	22	0	0	9	39	7	30	1	4	1	4	0	0	23	3
Cooperative	5	19	0	0	1	4	15	58	0	0	5	19	0	0	26	3
Pro-Western	4	17	0	0	5	21	7	30	1	4	5	22	1	4	23	3
Conservative	1	8	2	17	2	17	2	17	0	0	4	33	1	8	12	2
Agreeable	11	29	1	3	7	18	10	26	1	2	4	11	4	11	38	5
Wronged	.3	60	1	20	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Totals	235	29	54	7	168	21	81	10	21	3	171	21	69	9	799	100

assertion which is distinctive to this topic. The above substantial numbers are the result of the media reflecting shifts in foreign policy towards the Arab countries. Other positive assertions which were associated with particular topics were "progressive" and "rational" with particular topics were "progressive" and "rational" with domestic affairs, and "persistent" with inter-Arab relations.

We also stated in a subhypothesis to Hypothesis 4, that there is differential treatment of specific referents in the magazines. Tables XIV and XV are presented as a test to illustrate this treatment by overall directionality. Egyptians, Palestinians, Iraq, OPEC, Sudan, and Ethiopia are viewed more objectively than the other referents as indicated by a higher proportion of neutral articles; however, when using adjective-loaded assertions, they are viewed more often negatively. Egyptians, for example, have a higher proportion of mentions under the classification of the neutral category; however, looking at the assertion (Table XV) we see that there are (43) negative assertions out of a total of (53) directed at the Egyptians. Jordan, Syria, Nasser, Libya, Gaddaffi, Socialist countries, and the commandos were treated in a nonobjective manner (low percentage of articles in the neutral categories). This is fully substantiated by the large percentage of negative statements among stereotypical assertions. Syria, Libya, and Gaddaffi are the most notable targets of such statements, at least 95 percent in each case. In addition, only four out of 46 articles about Gaddaffi were written without bias. Hussein, Sadat, Tunisia, and Faisal are treated in a positively biased manner, more so than the

TABLE XIV

FREQUENCY OF OVERALL CLASSIFICATION BY REFERENTS

Referent	Overall Classification									
	Pro-Arab		Con-Arab		Both		Neutral		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Egyptian	8	4	28	14	2	1	166	81	204	81
Saudis	2	15	2	15	1	8	8	62	13	1
Lebanese	5	9	13	25	0	0	35	66	53	4
Palestinians	2	4	11	21	0	0	39	75	52	4
Commandos	3	2	71	42	7	4	87	52	168	12
Sheikdoms	0	0	4	36	0	0	7	64	11	1
Iraq	0	0	5	20	1	4	19	76	25	2
Jordan	1	9	5	46	0	0	5	46	11	1
Syria	1	2	26	48	1	2	26	48	54	4
Hussein	13	28	6	13	6	13	21	46	46	3
Sadat	19	33	14	25	4	7	20	35	57	4
OPEC	0	0	12	22	0	0	43	78	55	4
Tunisia	6	55	2	18	0	0	43	78	55	4
Algeria	1	3	9	31	2	7	17	59	29	2
Faisal	11	48	1	4	2	9	9	40	23	2
Libya	1	3	14	48	1	3	13	45	29	2
Sudan	0	0	2	13	0	0	14	88	16	1
Morocco	2	20	2	20	0	0	6	60	10	1
Socialist Countries	1	3	21	53	2	5	16	40	40	3
Non-Socialist Countries	2	40	2	40	0	0	1	20	5	0.4
Arabs	8	2	95	29	9	3	221	66	333	24
Gaddaffi	3	7	40	87	1	2	2	4	46	3
Ethiopia	0	0	4	24	1	6	12	71	17	1
Idris	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.1
Nasser	5	9	28	53	4	8	16	30	53	4
Totals	96	7	417	31	44	3	806	59	1,363	100

TABLE XV

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE ASSERTIONS BY REFERENTS

Referent	Assertions					
	Negative		Positive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Egyptians	43	81	10	10	53	7
Saudis	3	33	6	67	9	1
Lebanese	16	73	6	27	22	3
Palestinians	19	79	5	21	24	3
Commandos	119	93.6	8	6	125	16
Sheikdoms	4	68	2	33	6	1
Iraq	10	91	1	9	11	1
Jordan	6	86	1	14	7	1
Hussein	6	15	33	85	39	5
Sadat	20	43	27	57	47	6
Nasser	48	86	8	14	56	7
OPEC	18	100	0	0	18	2
Tunisia	1	7	13	93	14	2
Algeria	14	88	2	13	16	2
Faisal	3	14	18	86	21	3
Libya	18	95	1	5	19	2
Sudan	4	100	0	0	4	1
Hassan	2	50	2	50	4	1
Socialist Countries	35	94	2	6	37	5
Non-Socialist Countries	2	40	3	60	5	1
Arabs	140	90	15	10	155	19
Aden	4	100	0	0	4	1
Gaddaffi	61	95	3	5	64	8
Ethiopia	6	86	1	14	7	1
Idris	1	33	2	67	3	0.4
Habash	9	100	0	0	9	1
Total	645	79	170	21	815	100

other referents. This is substantiated by looking at Hussein who is mentioned in a positive manner 33 times out of a total of (39) assertions. Sadat is handled in a somewhat more "balanced" way than the other three examples. In all cases, this treatment is attributed to the referents pro-Western tendencies and their anti-Communistic policies. Such differential treatment certainly demonstrates the media's capacity to avoid pan-Arab stereotyping and may be taken as evidence of the planned rationality of biased assertions about Arabs.

We also pointed out that there is differential treatment of specific referents by magazines (see Table XVI). As might be expected, the largest number of biased assertions were in reference to the Commandos; but there was no indication of special hostility or favoritism from any one magazine. The same may be said of Jordan and Hussein, as well as a number of less newsworthy referents. With the exception of the National Review, each of the magazines had its favorite "whipping boys." For Time, they were the Socialist States, in general, and Libya and Nasser in particular. For Newsweek, Gaddaffi was the bête noire. The New Republic's favorite distinctive target of opprobrium was OPEC and the Palestinians. The most notable example of reticence was The National Review's failure to make even a single biased assertion against OPEC.

The magazine also employed distinctive use of specific value-biased assertions, according to the particular referent. Arabs (in general), Gaddaffi, Nasser, and the Commandos were described as "volatile," "fanatics," "weak," and "talkative." "Blackmail" was the favortie term

TABLE XVI

FREQUENCY OF STEREOTYPED ASSERTIONS ABOUT SPECIFIC REFERENTS BY MAGAZINES

Referents	Time		Newsweek		Nat. Rev.		Nat. Rep.		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Egyptian		26	29	55	3	6	7	13	53	7
Saudis	2	22	2	22	2	22	3	33	9	1
Lebanese	9	41	10	46	2	9	1	5	22	3
Palestinians	4	17	12	50	1	4	7	29	24	3
Commandos	55	43	59	47	8	6	5	4	4	127
Sheikdoms	0	0	6	100	0	0	0	0	6	1
Iraq	2	18	6	55	2	18	1	9	11	1
Jordan	2	29	3	43	2	29	0	0	7	1
Syria	17	36	23	49	3	6	4	9	47	6
Hussein	14	36	19	49	2	5	4	10	39	5
Sadat	16	34	23	49	2	4	6	13	47	6
Nasser	27	48	18	32	4	7	7	13	56	7
OPEC	3	17	8	44	0	0	7	39	18	2
Tunisia	5	36	7	50	2	14	0	0	14	2
Algeria	5	31	8	50	2	13	1	6	16	2
Faisal	8	38	9	43	2	10	2	10	21	3
Libya	10	53	5	26	1	5	3	16	19	2
Sudan	1	25	2	50	0	0	1	25	4	1
Morocco	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0	4	1
Socialist Countries	18	49	16	43	1	3	2	5	37	5
Non-Socialist Countries	0	0	3	60	1	20	1	20	5	1
Arabs	51	33	60	39	18	12	26	17	155	19
Gaddaffi	19	30	38	59	4	6	3	5	64	8
Ethiopia	1	14	6	86	0	0	0	0	7	1
Idris	1	33	2	67	0	0	0	0	3	.4
Totals	286	36	376	46	62	8	91	17	815	100

of the magazines in reference to OPEC. Sadat, unlike Nasser, was more favorably viewed; the only quantitatively negative adjective used against him was "talkative."

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

It was stated and substantiated by a number of studies (Martell and McCall, 1964; Albrecht, 1956; Lazaresfeld and Merton, 1957; Suleiman, 1965, 1974; Terry, 1971; and Baha el-Din, 1971) that the media reflect the attitudes and prejudices prevalent in society. By reiterating and supporting these negative stereotypes, the media helps to implant them more solidly in the structure of society.

Stereotypes and negativity toward national groups arise out of misconceptions, myths, and lack of true or factual knowledge. By not exercising caution when dealing with cultural variation, numerous contradictions arise, distorting attitudes and values which are justified on the basis of cultural differences and "peoples'" images of them which can only be attributed to prejudicial labelling.

It is significant to note that cultures are different and, therefore, nationality differences should be taken into account in describing social, political, and economic development. Impressions formed by casual contact or knowledge may not be typical of the nation as a whole. Furthermore, since the impressions are usually given in qualitative terms, e.g., "the Arabs are conniving" by Western standards; it is incorrect to make a stereotyped comparison because it may be a normal attribute in a particular culture.

The American media, according to Baha el-Din (1971), Terry (1971), and Suleiman (1965) have been responsible for propagating myths about the Arab Middle East. They have labelled the Arabs as "treacherous," "incompetent," "cowardly," "blood thirsty," "Communistic," and "anti-American." Bias in regards to Arabs and Arab countries is found in valuative-loaded words, misleading or emotional titles, "carefully selected" size of type for titles and erroneous stories (Abu-Laban and Zeadey, 1975).

It was also stated in the literature that the media can help bring about changes in the attitudes of society through the introduction of new knowledge which contradicts with the old stereotypes and attitudes (Katz, 1955). This occurs in conjunction with social, political, and economic changes, events, or needs (Gilbert, 1951).

Terry (1971, 1974) and Suleiman (1974) point out that changes have occurred in the media in regards to the negative stereotyping of Arabs and Arab countries. This was our reason for conducting the study. In order to measure these changes in attitudes and their directionality, we employed content analysis as our research instrument. We analyzed articles for assertions which depicted the positive and negative attributes of Arabs and Arab countries. The printed quality media, specifically the news magazines, Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic, served as our communication sources. We coded 1,364 articles and 815 assertions over a ten-year period, 1966-1975. The following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1

There is a change in the coverage of Arabs in the selected news magazines (Time, Newsweek, National Review, and The New Republic).

A. There is a change in the number of articles on Arabs and Arab countries as a result of political and economic events.
   1. The 1967 War
   2. The commando activities
   3. The October War of 1973
   4. The oil embargo

B. The same pattern of change in coverage is found in all four news magazines.

This hypothesis was supported by our results. We found that despite fluctuations in the number of articles coded for each year, the general trend is upward. Coverage of Arabs and Arab-related matter also increased as a result of political and economic events; the 1967 War, the commando activities; and the oil embargo. The October 1973 War also played a significant role in helping to bring focus on the Middle East as an "area of interest."

Referent coverage also increased as a result of issue-specific events. The Palestinians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Commandos, and OPEC had rarely been mentioned in the period of normality or Period 1. However, reference to them in later periods was substantial.

An increase in the amount of subject-matter coverage was also detected from the evaluation of the data. Coverage of Arab domestic affairs and inter-Arab relations refute the idea of a gradual increase.

The data also indicates an increase in coverage of the oil issue as the Arabs utilized it as a political weapon and threatened to jeopardize Western industry. This is indicated by mass coverage and continuous interest in Middle Eastern affairs. However, Arab external relations and U.S.S.R. relations with the Arabs did not show an increase in coverage.

The data also indicated, in a gross sense, that the same pattern of change in coverage is found in all the magazines that served as our communication sources. Time and Newsweek show an increase in coverage which we attributed to greater interest in the "Arab East," as a result of the specific events and the ample space present in these magazines to denote to international and world events. The data also revealed that The New Republic is unique in the sense that the increase in coverage occurred within the last period of our analysis. The National Review, however, deviated from this pattern, since its coverage has remained consistent, without any indication of fluctuation.

Hypothesis 2

There is no difference in stereotyping by magazines. Contrary to our hypothesis, it was revealed that, in the data, magazines do vary in their stereotyping of Arabs and Arab countries. Newsweek was found to be more anti-Arab than Time, while the latter had the most positive assertions in regards to the Arabs. The New Republic was the most biased of the magazines, while the National Review did not propagate an opinion in relation to the Arabs. This was indicated by the limited amount of coverage on the Middle East in this magazine.

Other evidence for the rejection of our hypothesis was provided by the analysis of the thematic assertions. It was found that certain magazines favored certain themes over others. We state that our hypothesis was supported in a gross sense, because certain select themes were used similarly by all four magazines.

Hypothesis 3

Changes have occurred in the stereotyping of Arabs and Arab countries. Changes in directionality are related to specific events.

A. There is an increase in negative stereotyping after the 1967 War.

B. There is an increase in negative stereotyping as a result of the commando activities.

C. There is a decrease in negative stereotyping as a result of the Arabs' stand in the 1973 October War and the lifting of the oil embargo.

The evaluation of the data indicated that the magazines did not end their negative stereotyping of the Arabs, supporting Gilbert's (1951) thesis that the fading of stereotypes occurs gradually. However, a change is in evidence and this is supported by the magazines taking a more neutrally balanced stance on the Arab issues. The Arabs were depicted in unfavorable terms when their actions contradicted with the foreign policy of the United States. They were labelled "blackmailers" and "fanatics" when they threatened to use oil as a weapon, or when they engaged in armed activities against Israel.

The positive labelling of Arabs reached its peak in late 1973, 1974, and 1975, indicating that a change is in progress. They were depicted

as "anti-communists," "agreeable," and "wronged." This indicates a marked favoritism toward the Arabs.

Hypothesis 4

There is differential treatment of Arabs in the magazines. This is related to the foreign policy of the United States with the Middle East.

A. There is differential treatment of Arabs in relation to specific subject matter.

B. There is differential treatment of Arabs in relation to specific referents.

1. Arab nations and/or heads of state favoring a pro-American stance are viewed positively.

2. Arab nations and/or heads of state identified as being anti-American are viewed negatively.

It was revealed in the data that more than half of the articles were neutral in relation to the issues. But variation was present, depending on the topic under discussion. Inter-Arab relations, for example, had the most negatively biased articles, while the issue of the U.S.S.R. and oil stimulated a more neutral classification.

The topic which drew the most biased assertion in the four magazines was the issue of Israel. Time and Newsweek were also biased in regards to Arab domestic affairs, inter-Arab relationships and terrorism. The New Republic was particularly hostile to the oil issue.

Variation in the assertion was also found in regards to certain issues. "Blackmail" was overwhelmingly used in reference to oil. Arab domestic affairs was characterized by "unorganized" and "unreliable."

"Fanaticism" and "disunity" were used simultaneously with inter-Arab relations. Arab external relations, however, was characterized by positive labelling such as "rational," "cooperative," "agreeable," and "pro-Western."

Differential treatment of the referents was also indicated by the data. Egyptians, Palestinians, Iraq, Sudan, Ethiopia, and OPEC were viewed objectively; however, they were treated in a negative manner when adjective-loaded assertions were analyzed. Jordan, Syria, Nasser, Libya, Gaddaffi, Socialist countries, and the commandos were treated negatively, by analysis of the overall directionality and the adjective-loaded assertions. The treatment of Hussein is favorable, and this is substantiated by the use of positive labelling. He is depicted as "agreeable," "rational," "cooperative," and "pro-Western." Faisal and Tunisia are treated in a similar manner. Sadat, however, is viewed in a more "balanced" manner.

Discussion

Concerning the coverage of the "Arab East," it is our belief that the segment of the quality media examined reflected the policy of the decision maker. The coverage within the different periods, 1966 to 1975, has been contrasted in view of any changes in the media approach which appears to correspond to apparent shifts in foreign policy emphasis in the Nixon Administration. In 1967, Newsweek, followed by Time, The New Republic and the National Review demonstrated an anti-Arab attitude. This corresponded to a period of committment to Israel and its Zionist goals.

The most serious attack in this period was directed in subtle attacks on the Arabs as a people, on their culture, and on their religion. This defamation of Arab character was achieved through the select use of adjective loaded assertions and ethnic jokes. Time of June 16, 1967, had a section under the heading of "Blitzreig," full of ethnic anti-Arab jokes. The message conveyed was clear; the Arabs are not worth dignified treatment. They were referred to as "flaccid, placid birds"; Nasser was labelled as a "hostile idiot"; the Egyptian army was referred to as "papyrus tigers inspired by hashish"; the Egyptians themselves were referred to as "stooges" and at "loggerheads with one another"; and the Jordanian Army was described as "anemic."

We have also detected a change in the stereotyping of the Arab Middle East in the selected news magazines and a beginning of a "shattering of the myths," which was partly attributed to the Arabs stand in the October War. The news magazines have toned down their anti-Arab lines markedly and have adopted an even-handed approach. They have, as was mentioned previously, reflected the official U. S. foreign policy of the Arab Middle East. After the October 1973 War, they have reflected a growing respect for the Arabs, their culture, and rise to prominence. Compared to the coverage of 1967, this represents a substantial qualitative shift.

The media was also affected by the overall economic conditions in the United States, which was extremely affected by the oil embargo. Leaders of the economy and business community have pressured the Administration into establishing a stable relationship with the Arab world.

As new knowledge begins to infiltrate through the American media, questions will begin to be generated and the myths of Arab deficiency as a result of their psychological make-up will be denounced. It will no longer be conceivable to view the Arabs' sense of individualism, loyalty to their tribes, and lack of organization as negative qualities.

Suggestions for Further Research

The volume of material available presents numerous possibilities for grouping and analysis, while the coding form allows for many other questions to be programmed; additional cross-tabulation of the coding material can be made by controlling for variables that were not utilized in this study. It is ideal for future research to have two coders going through the same material as a reliability check.

Magazines which are more extreme right and left, as Human Events and The National Guardian, can be analyzed in accordance to our categories and compared with the results of the National Review and The New Republic. Another research project suggested by this research could include the comparison of stereotyping of Arab countries and other countries (e.g., South American countries toward which the United States maintains distinctively different foreign policy).

A much broader range of research is also suggested by this study. For example, who controls the media; what are the background of reporters on Arab countries; and what is the impact of editorial policy on the prejudicial content of Arab-related news stories? Finally, more studies are needed to demonstrate the precise impact of prejudicial accounts of Arabs on the behavior and attitude of the readership.

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APPENDIX

DEFINITION OF CATEGORIES

(N=6)

Category	Definition
1. Time	Includes dates and months, January through December and years, 1966-1975.
2. Referents	Includes proper names of Arab countries and Arab heads of state, as well as prominent politicians and political groups. The referent is the subject toward whom the action is directed. Includes: 1. Egyptians 2. Saudis 3. Lebanese 4. Palestinians 5. Commandos 6. Sheikdoms (Qatar, Oman, Muscat, Abu-Dabi, Kuwait) 7. Iraq 8. Jordan 9. Syria (Amir) 10. Hussein 11. Sadat 12. Nasser 13. OPEC (include Yemani) 14. Faisal 15. Libya 16. Sudan 17. Morocco (include Hassan) 18. Algeria (include Bourghiba) 19. Scoialist Countries (include Yemen, Aden, Syria, Libya, Algeria, Sudan, Egypt) 20. Non-Socialist Countries (include Jordan, Saudia Arabia, Morocco, Tunisia) 21. Arabs (in general) 22. Gaddaffi 23. Ethopia 24. Idris

Category	Definition
3. Subject Matter	Political issues of relevance to the referents. The subject matter is the object of the assertion. Includes: 1. Israel 2. Oil 3. U.S.S.R. 4. Arab Domestic Affairs 5. Arab External Affairs (U.S. non-oil) 6. Inter-Arab (includes Aden war, independence and unity) 7. Terrorism (includes political activities of the commandos 8. Miscellaneous (includes defection and the UN)
4. Negative Themes	Includes words which describe the Arabs and Arab countries in unfavorable and derogatory terms. Includes: 1. Unreliable (frivolous) 2. Unorganized 3. Uncooperative (intransigent, stubborn) 4. Weak (defeated, impotent, inefficient) 5. Blackmailer (robbers, pinprickers) 6. Volatile (belligerent, hot-headed, unruly, impulsive, mercurial) 7. Fanatics (extreme, radical) 8. Hostile (defiant) 9. Irrational (unrealistic, bizarre, emotional, squabbling 10. Cruel (blood-thirsty, aggressive) 11. Braggart (breast beating, over-assertive) 12. Communistic (militant, anti-American) 13. Talkative (rhetoric, verbal, fulminating, fiery) 14. Conniving (hawkish, cocky, conspirators) 15. Disunity 16. Backward (inferior, barbarious 17. Schizophrenics
5. Positive Themes	Includes words which describe Arabs and Arab countries in favorable terms.

Category	Definition
	1. Persistent 2. Progressive (reform-minded) 3. Rational (realistic, pragmatic, flexible) 4. Cooperative 5. Pro-Western (anti-communist) 6. Conservative 7. Agreeable (amenable, accommodating, malleable, moderate) 8. Wronged
6. Overall Classification	Categorizing the articles according to the number of positive and negative assertions found in them. Includes: 1. Pro-Arab--at least one or more positive assertions than negative. 2. Con-Arab--at least one or more negative assertion than positive. 3. Elements of both include--an equal number of positive and negative assertions. 4. Factual or objective is used when there is no positive or negative assertion.

VITA

Laila Abed Ahed was born in Bireh, Jordan, on November 12, 1952, She attended Friends Girls School in Ramallah, Jordan, and graduated from there in the summer of 1971. The following October, she entered Beir-Zeit College in Beir-Zeit, Jordan, and after her freshman year, transferred to The University of Tennessee, where she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology in December, 1974. The following year, she began graduate school in the same institution to study for a Master's degree. In June, 1976, she received a Master of Arts degree in Sociology.