

THE PARK51 PROJECT: HOW MEDIA CREATED THE GROUND ZERO MOSQUE

by

EMILY SAEGER JARVIS

(Under the Direction of Elli Lester Roushanzamir)

ABSTRACT

This study tests Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model by examining newspaper and television coverage of the Park51 controversy through textual and content analyses. Although this case study did not produce sufficient evidence that sourcing and anti-otherness were used consistently as propagandizing tools, the sheer amount of coverage is propagandistic in itself. The government has a vested interest in maintaining an invisible enemy. Park51, a seemingly innocuous community center, transformed into "the ground zero mosque" in a media firestorm that questioned the motives of the imam, invoked the victims of September 11 and created a clear dichotomy of us *versus* them by insinuating a false equivalence of *terrorist* with *Muslim*. Even those outlets that emphasized support for Park51 perpetuated the story, the crux of which is dichotomy, imbedding it in the public consciousness. Using this propagandistic message, hegemony is maintained by the manufacture of consent.

INDEX WORDS: propaganda, propaganda model, hegemony, political economy, anti-otherness, media ownership

THE PARK51 PROJECT: HOW MEDIA CREATED THE GROUND ZERO MOSQUE

by

EMILY SAEGER JARVIS

A.B.J., The University of Georgia, 2009

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2011

© 2011

Emily Saeger Jarvis

All Rights Reserved

THE PARK51 PROJECT: HOW MEDIA CREATED THE GROUND ZERO MOSQUE

by

EMILY SAEGER JARVIS

Major Professor: Elli Lester Roushanzamir

Committee: Janice Hume
 Barry Hollander

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2011

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my father, Richard Saeger, who encourages me every day to write for the love of writing, and who taught me to view the world with a critical eye. He gave me the gift of higher education and the wisdom to enjoy every minute of it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my husband, Morgan, for his support through the agony and joy of graduate school. His affirmations and stern encouragement helped me keep my perspective throughout this journey. I thank my mother and father, Deborah and Richard, for giving me the foundation for success. I thank Dr. Elli Roushanzamir for her expertise and kind words. I thank Dr. Janice Hume for guiding me through this program from beginning to end, and for being a mentor whom I strive to emulate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | Page |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | | v |
| LIST OF FIGURES | | viii |
| CHAPTER | | |
| 1 | INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| | History of Park51 | 1 |
| | Media in Periods of Conflict..... | 5 |
| 2 | LITERATURE REVIEW | 7 |
| | Development of the PM | 12 |
| | Criticism of the PM..... | 14 |
| | The Liberal Media: Myth? | 17 |
| | Theoretical Justification..... | 20 |
| 3 | METHODS | 22 |
| | Data Collection and Analysis..... | 25 |
| | Expectations | 27 |
| 4 | FINDINGS | 29 |

| | | |
|---|------------------|----|
| | Analysis..... | 51 |
| 5 | CONCLUSIONS..... | 56 |
| | REFERENCES | 60 |
| | APPENDIX..... | 68 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Figure 1: Number of articles/programs by outlet..... | 30 |
| Figure 2: Frequency of Park51 coverage over time..... | 44 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On December 8, 2009, the *New York Times* published a story about a group of local Muslims' plans to renovate a downtown Manhattan retail space into an Islamic community center. The story was optimistic, touting the project as a symbol of rebirth and unity in an area still deeply affected by the September 11 attacks. The project was mostly neglected by the media for the five months following until the Associated Press ran a story on May 6, 2010 that featured the opinions of September 11 victims' family members regarding the proposed community center, which were overwhelmingly negative. The AP story sparked a media frenzy largely characterized by suspicion and anger.¹ This use of emotional rhetoric in news stories exemplifies the propaganda function of media. This study will explore the mediated controversy surrounding the Park51 project and how that coverage serves to propagandize the news.

History of Park51

In July 2009, a group of Muslim Americans bought a retail space severely damaged by the September 11 attacks. The derelict former Burlington Coat Factory two blocks from what has become known as ground zero had been abandoned for the past eight years. Its location in central Manhattan was ideal for local businesspeople to gather for daily prayers, and for several months hundreds of Muslims gathered in the modest building, faced Mecca, and prayed. Imam Feisal

¹ Justin Elliott for online magazine *Salon* devised a timeline of early media coverage of Park51. *Salon* has been criticized for its tabloid-like reporting, but is generally regarded to be fair and accurate, and it does not claim a partisan affiliation.

Abdul Rauf and his partners intended for the building to become a more permanent prayer space and Islamic community center. The location was not selected by coincidence: Imam Rauf told the *New York Times* that its proximity to the World Trade Center “sends the opposite statement to what happened on 9/11.”

Park51’s mission statement emphasizes service to the community through recreational, cultural and social programs “to integrate the Muslim-American identity into the fabric of the United States.” Facilities include a swimming pool, basketball court, culinary school and a library, as well as a September 11 memorial and a prayer space. The Cordoba House is the central religious component of the larger community center. All things considered, Park51 resembles more closely a YMCA than a mosque.² The site was used as an overflow prayer space for the over-crowded mosque Al Farah in TriBeCa several blocks away, and the nearby Manhattan Mosque stands five blocks from the former World Trade Center site—Park51 is not the first mosque this area has seen. Why then did this seemingly innocuous project draw such media fury?

Critics in the mainstream and right-wing media³ view the project as a symbol of victory for the extremists who orchestrated the September 11 attacks, calling Park51 “a monument to the 9/11 Muslims;” “a triumphal mosque” on “conquered lands;” “a monument to the terrorists;” and an act of “planting the flag of victory.” They suggest that the project harbors terroristic activities:

² Imam Rauf said in a Reuters interview that he modeled the Park51 concept on the Young Men’s Christian Association, particularly New York’s 92nd Street Y (Heneghan 2010).

³ Condemnation of Park51 abounded from media outlets, beginning with right-wing blogger Pamela Geller’s post—the first following the *New York Times* story--which paints Park51 as an act of jihad. Geller’s blog post was the catalyst for larger media outlets to voice disdain for the project. The incendiary remarks quoted are attributed to conservative talk radio hosts Rush Limbaugh, Mark Williams, Michael Barry, Jay Sekulow, Doug Urbanski and Mark Davis; Fox News commentators Glenn Beck, Brian Kilmeade and Dick Morris; *Washington Post* columnist Cal Thomas; former congressional candidate George Demos; Geller and others.

“a beachhead” from which to launch new terror attacks; a “recruiting tool for domestic extremists;” “an actual danger;” “a command center for terrorism;” and “an ‘Allah tells me to blow up America’ mosque.” It is seen as an affront to American values and an insult to September 11 victims, like a “Japanese plan to build a cultural center at Pearl Harbor;” a stab to the eye of Americans; “humiliating” at the “cemetery of ground zero where they’re still finding remains;” “gloating” and “taunting;” an attack on Christian values; and a “slap in the face.” Talk radio host Michael Barry went so far as to say, “I hope somebody blows it up.”

Debates of Park51’s constitutionality were quickly dispelled. The only legal hurdle the project faced was with the zoning board. According to the New York City zoning codes for commercial districts, the Park51 location is zoned for community facilities. On August 3, 2009, the NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission voted unanimously to deny granting historic protection to the building that would become the site for the proposed Park51 project. On May 25, 2010, Imam Rauf and his wife Daisy Kahn brought their proposal before the Manhattan community board to gauge community sentiment. The board’s vote was only advisory, but the 29-to-1 vote, with 10 abstentions, appeared to be a positive endorsement of the project.

Park51’s proximity to ground zero was clearly the sore spot for most of the project’s critics. There has been no agreement as to how far away the project should be to render it harmless, but two Manhattan blocks is clearly not far enough. In a segment on Jon Stewart’s mock news program *The Daily Show*, he notes that new mosques as far away as Tennessee and California have been faced with protests, sometimes violent. These anecdotes seem to suggest that the larger issue is not Park51’s alleged insensitivity to September 11 victims’ families, but a latent Islamophobia among the general populace. Suspicion of foreign entities is not new in the United States, but September 11 stirred a rampant sense of hostility toward Islam and Muslims,

and, due to unfamiliarity and ignorance, anyone who resembled the stereotypical “Arab.” Resentment toward “the other” is not an individual phenomenon; popular media have fueled the misperceptions and myths surrounding Islam that have become the singular source of knowledge of the religion in America. “Islamophobia is a heavily mediated/mediatised construct. The phenomenon has taken birth in ‘a global media environment where media hold a power position capable of representing or misrepresenting a social group or minority’” (Iqbal, 2010, p. 578, quoting Cottle, 2000, 2006). Images and discourses of Islam and Muslims in Western media are overwhelmingly negative and hostile (Poole & Richardson, 2006); Gottschalk and Greenberg (2008) point to political cartoons to demonstrate that violence and vengeance are the primary characterizations of Muslims and Arabs employed by both the news and entertainment industries.

The stereotypes perpetuated in the media have manifested in acts of symbolic violence, namely vandalism. The Quran burning campaign by Pastor Terry Jones in Florida is the most notable demonstration of anti-Muslim sentiment since Park51’s beginning, and will be examined as part of this case study. The pastor staged a public burning of the Islamic holy book on the ninth anniversary of the September 11 attacks as a response to the proposed “ground zero mosque.” The fear of backlash from terrorist groups sparked a public outcry for an injunction against the demonstration. Jones cancelled the event less than 24 hours before its scheduled start, but copycat groups staged their own burnings across the country. The construction site of a new mosque in Murfreesboro, Tenn., was vandalized in protest, and mosques in Wisconsin and California have been picketed. It would be speculative to say that Park51 sparked such hostility, but it is not beyond reason.

These images and stereotypes have equated *Islam* and *terrorism* in the American mindset. The media show us that the two cannot exist separately; if we do witness a non-terrorist Muslim,

that person requires a disclaimer or qualifier, for he is assumed to be violent (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008). “There are two ways to approach the study of terrorism. One may adopt a *literal approach*, taking the topic seriously, or a *propagandistic approach*, construing the concept of terrorism as a weapon to be exploited in the service of some system of power (Chomsky, 1991, p. 12).” When the concept of terrorism is used to serve domestic interests, it is called “constructive terrorism” (Herman, 1982). During wartime—particularly controversial conflicts like those the United States faces—it is useful to develop the caricature of an enemy, an easily-identifiable target to rile and maintain public support. Fighting a concrete evil like terrorists and terrorism is a more enticing war goal than an abstract concept like democratization. Scarce resources and dated conventions of newsgathering lead journalists to gather information about the outside world within a framework dominated by government policy (Said, 1997).

Constructive terrorism is a means for the media to meet the ends of the state.

Media in Periods of Conflict

The media’s role in times of war and international conflict has varied throughout history. During World War II the press toed the establishment line, promoting patriotism and encouraging each person to contribute to the war effort. Images of Rosie the Riveter and posters for victory bonds are iconic examples of war propaganda, imbedded deeper in collective memory than support for internment camps, another historical propaganda campaign of that era. Even pop culture reflected the effort with comics that featured superheroes fighting Nazis and Japanese forces. On the other hand, the Vietnam War got a mixed reception from the press that reflected the non-consensus among elites. Media tends to reflect the patterns of discourse that flow from the state and corporate establishment, and tends to be even more constrained during wartime.

“People rally to the flag, and wartime leaders—some more than others—seek to mute critics by charging them with a lack of patriotism” (Lang & Lang, 2004a, p. 97). War has a chilling effect on the range of media discourse when journalists fail to question or criticize elites to avoid seeming unpatriotic. The media’s role in wartime becomes not one of reform or truth-seeking, but of parroting elite consensus and reflecting patriotic fervor (Aday, 2010; Scatamburlo-D’Annibale, 2005).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The propaganda model (PM) was proposed by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in 1988 to explain how the structure of the media institution affects news content. Propaganda is easy to identify in countries where the media are state-owned and operated; however, in the United States, consumers assume that the media operate under the same free market principles as other businesses. Herman and Chomsky do not contend this point. In fact, they note, it is market forces that facilitate the production of propaganda, requiring very little coercion by state or corporate forces. “Censorship is largely self-censorship” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. lx), resulting from a trickle-down effect of personnel and news ritual. The PM describes the American media market as a “guided market system,” where state and corporate interests are responsible for selecting right-minded people who will produce the desired product. The PM focuses on the inequality of wealth and power in the command of resources, and the ways that disparity affects media behavior. “It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 2). The PM is composed of five filters—ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak and anticommunism—through which news passes to be cleansed and altered for print. The filters “fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the basis of operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 2).

The first filter—*the size, ownership and profit orientation of the mass media*—centers on the idea that ownership of substantial media outlets is limited by the requisite cost of investment (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). Media messages with any considerable outreach capability are limited to those individuals and corporations with the solvency to cover the exorbitant cost of doing business. The PM argues that “regularities of misrepresentation on news accounts flow directly from concentration of private power in society” (Klaehn, 2002, p. 157). American media corporations are interlocked with other major corporations, and “fewer and fewer corporations control more and more of the American news media” (Schudson, 1989, p. 269), and although some media of note are state or publicly owned, even these outlets are increasingly obliged to follow big business models and are characterized by the same systems of hierarchical control as their privately-owned counterparts (Sparks, 2007).

Karl Marx, from whose own theories of class relations the PM developed, wrote of media ownership a decade prior to the PM’s inception, stating, “the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force” (Marx & Engels, 1976, p. 39). The class with the means of material production consequently controls its audience’s means of mental production, “so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it” (Marx & Engels, 1976, p. 39). The business elite who own the private media are a capitalist class, distinct from the proletariat laboring class who do not possess productive power, and the capitalists share a common, class interest: to maintain their unchallenged right to “dispose of the means of production as private property and to ensure that they are able to expropriate the surpluses generated in production” (Sparks, 2007, p. 72).

Goodwin (1994) proposes two effects of this concentrated ownership: first, the enormous and ever-rising costs of operating media outlets with the capacity to reach mass audiences have

long since overridden the working-class press and “these costs remain an effective barrier to the establishment of new media to all but those who possess the enormous requisite sums of investment capital” and second, the managers of mass media take their cues from wealthy individuals, families and corporate boards who have “an enormous vested interest in the ‘free enterprise’ economy with predictable results for the sort of people who will be retained for these sorts of positions” and for the sort of journalists these managers will subsequently hire (p. 105).

The second filter—*the advertising “license to do business”*—is based on the economic principle that the price of copy is insufficient to cover the cost of media production. Outlets earning advertising revenue can lower the cover price to encourage sales, and earn surplus to improve the paper’s marketability. “With advertising, the free market does not yield a neutral system in which final buyer choice decides. The *advertisers’* choices influence media survival and prosperity” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 14). Advertising is a primary source of revenue for media outlets. Advertisers have a bias toward audiences with buying power, and they discriminate against media programming that they find politically incorrect (e.g., liberal) and not optimal for reaching that target audience (Goodwin, 1994; Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

The third filter—*sourcing mass-media news*—describes the reliance of media on government and corporate sources. Public information officers and public relations practitioners specialize in producing ready-made news items in the forms of press releases and press conferences. They are seen as credible merely by their status and prestige, and they are easily accessible: The White House, the Pentagon and the State Department, and local city halls and police departments, are central hotbeds of newsworthy activity and house the people who provide authoritative statements (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). “In effect, the large bureaucracies of the powerful *subsidize* the media, and gain special access by their contribution to reducing the

media's costs of acquiring the raw materials of, and producing, news" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 22). Goodwin (1994) attributes bias in the news to the fact that it comes "straight from self-interested sources" (p. 106), a suggestion echoed by Klaehn (2002). Bennett (1990) offers three explanations for the dominance of official sources in the news. The first is that granting public officials a "virtual news monopoly" restricts the marketplace of ideas, "thereby safeguarding the business climate in which media conglomerates operate." A second explanation regards the structural institution of newsgathering: journalists and officials share a "symbiotic" or "transactional" relationship whereby officials hone their publicity and journalists reliably fill the daily "news hole." The daily news cycle also restricts reporters' ability to seek out alternative sources: the pressures of time and a relative lack of resources available to most journalists lead to some level of source dependence (Sparks, 2007, p. 78). The third interpretation, which is at odds with the first but can work in tandem with the second, is that the press are acting in a "democratically responsible fashion," favoring the views of the representatives of the people and reporting the "official" versions of events (Bennett, 1990, p. 103).

The fourth filter—*flak and the enforcers*—refers to negative responses to news programming in the form of letters, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, congressional bills, and other forms of complaint, threat and punitive action (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). On a large scale or by those with substantial resources or clout, flak can be damaging and costly to the media. Being primary sources of news, the government is also a primary source of flak, "regularly assailing, threatening, and 'correcting' the media, trying to contain any deviations from the established line" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 28). The reciprocal relationship shared by media outlets and government officials fuels the power of flak by allowing informal government sanction of the news: sources may deny information and "insider status" to reporters and editors who fail to "toe

the line” (Goodwin, 1994, p. 106-7). Through the power of flak, dominant social institutions are able to pressure the media to assume a propagandistic role (Klaehn, 2002).

The fifth filter—*anticommunism as a control mechanism*—describes the way American anti-other ideology “helps mobilize the populace against an enemy” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 29). By identifying an abstract evil force, and by pigeonholing dissenters into that group, state and corporate powers can stifle dissent and keep so-called radicals on the defensive. At the time of *Manufacturing Consent’s* first edition in 1988, anti-communism was an appropriate fifth filter: it just preceded the fall of the Berlin Wall when the Reagan Doctrine stirred a red scare mentality residual from the Cold War. Anti-Communism had its roots in the 1930s, when “religious absolutism had begun to fuse with the political absolutism of the radical right in response to their mutual fear of godless Communism” (Rigney, 1991, p. 438). However, in the third edition of *Manufacturing Consent* in 2002, Herman and Chomsky noted that in place of anti-communism, a general sense of “otherness” made the filter relevant to contemporary media practices (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Scatamburlo-D’Annibale, 2005). Several scholars in recent years have suggested anti-terrorism as the modern fifth filter (Brahm, 2006; Lang & Lang, 2004a; Sparks, 2007). The “other” is characterized by one distinct quality: it threatens the demagogue (Herman, 1982). Above all, the purpose of the creation of an “other” is to “engender fear and hatred, to channel the kind of fear and rage—or even just discontent—that’s being aroused by social and economic conditions” (Chomsky, 1998, p. 41) to prevent people from paying attention to what’s really happening to them. It is manipulation of consent through fear.

Herman and Chomsky (2002) develop a formulaic approach to identifying propaganda, by which the propaganda model may describe any number of phenomena. They make several predictions regarding the evolution of propaganda: first, stories that prove useful to elite interests

will develop from a series of government leaks, press conferences, white papers, etc., or with a seminal article from one or more of the mass media. Other major media then follow up with their own versions of the story, quickly establishing newsworthiness. “If the articles are written in an assured and convincing style, are subject to no criticisms or alternative interpretations in the mass media, and command support by authority figures, the propaganda themes quickly become established as true even without real evidence” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 34).

Contradictory facts—no matter how well-documented—are petered out, unable to disseminate widely enough to gain support or even plant seeds of doubt. These constitute the first-order predictions of the PM.

Development of the PM

The PM has its roots in Marxist theory. The Marxist account of media posits that it is a stage on which class struggles are fought out, though in the context of certain dominating classes:

ultimate control is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital: media professionals, while enjoying the illusion of autonomy, are socialized into and internalize the norms of the dominant culture; the media, taken as a whole, relate interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant classes, and media audiences, while sometimes negotiating and contesting these frameworks, lack ready access to alternative meaning systems that would enable them to reject the definitions offered by the media in favour of consistently oppositional definitions (Gurevitch et al., 1982, p. 2).

The natural progression of theory development led some to relinquish Marxist theory, giving rise to political economy of mass communication studies, of which the PM is a part. Previous theories “offer reductionist explanations which favour either a simple economic determinism or an ideological autonomy, thus failing to analyse and explain...the relationship between the economic and the ideological” (Garnham, 1986, p. 232). Political economy studies

examine how media structure and content “reinforce, challenge, or influence existing class and social relations” and “looks specifically at how ownership, support mechanisms (e.g. advertising), and government policies influence media behavior and content” (McChesney, 1998, p. 3). However, political economy also had its shortcomings, particularly that media effects are not easy to demonstrate, nor examine empirically (Curran et al., 1982), leading Herman and Chomsky and others to focus on media behavior rather than its effects (Mullen, 2010). Indeed, the political economy’s focus on controls ignores the facts that reporters maintain some level of autonomy in initiating stories, that editors rarely meet with publishers, and that most working journalists are utterly unaware of who comprises their institution’s board of directors (Schudson, 1989). Herman and Chomsky (2002) argue that journalistic autonomy is more illusory than Schudson would lead us to believe: much of the media’s bias can be attributed to the pre-selection of right-thinking people. Journalists are rewarded for their obedience, and the would-be radical voices rarely make it into print (Chomsky 1998).

The PM is often compared to--even confused for--the gatekeeper model of media structure. Unlike the gatekeeper model, “the PM does not assume that news workers and editors are typically coerced or instructed to omit certain voices and accentuate others. Rather, the model outlines circumstances under which media will be relatively “open” or “closed” (Klaehn, 2002, p. 150). Though the gatekeeper model may be regarded as overly simplistic (Klaehn, 2002), the PM is not unquestionably superior. The extent to which media are open to alternative or oppositional accounts of news events is dependent on “the political and economic frameworks within which the journalism is pursued (public service or commercial, a more or less strict censorship regime, etc.); the extent to which elites are united behind one particular reading of an

event; the skill of the source-strategies employed by the protagonists competing for access to the media” (McNair, 1994, p. 75).

Research dealing with the PM within media studies is limited. Mullen (2010) addresses academia’s rejection of the propaganda model with several suggestions. First, Herman and Chomsky were considered “outsiders” to the field of communications, and their work was thus neglected. Second, Chomsky was seen as a controversial figure, critiqued for his apologist stance on totalitarianism and attacked as a “self-hating Jew.” Third, the propaganda model emerged at time when political economy studies were not in *vogue*, which leads to Mullen’s fourth suggestion, that this neglect became a self-reinforcing negative cycle over the next decades. The propaganda model essentially faded from radicalism into oblivion. Fifth, Mullen suggests that the propaganda model was rejected by liberal academics because it “effectively demolished their worldview of how media and political systems operated” (Mullen, 2010, p. 680-1). Because the PM challenges both media practitioners’ and academics’ ideas of how the industry operates, it has been excluded from debates on media bias. “Such debates typically include conservatives, who criticize the media for excessive liberalism and an adversarial stance toward government and business, and centrists and liberals, who deny the charge of adversarialism and contend that the media behave fairly and responsibly” (Herman, 2000, p. 101).

Criticism of the PM

Herman and Chomsky’s second-order prediction concerns how the PM would be received. They predicted quite rightly that the PM would remain outside of the spectrum of media debate. Media scholars and practitioners found little use for such a radical critique. “Plainly it is either valid or invalid. If invalid, it may be dismissed; if valid it *will* be dismissed”

(Chomsky, 1989, 11, emphasis in original). In the rare instances where scholars have grappled with the PM, it has been widely criticized. Many of these critiques are dealt with in *Manufacturing Consent's* (2002) new introduction, but they deserve mention nonetheless. The PM appears to deny journalistic autonomy, a repeated criticism. “The propagandist, unlike the journalist (at least under ordinary circumstances), sets out with the deliberate intention of deceiving the public. To make the point bluntly, then, journalists are not propagandists” (Allan, 1999, p. 60). Allan goes on to say that journalists appear as “little more than well-intentioned puppets” (p. 60). Boyd-Barrett (2004) extends the discussion of autonomy by suggesting that journalists are “bought out” by government agencies and other powerful sources, a supposed fact that Herman and Chomsky eschew. This is in opposition to Allan’s suggestion that journalists do not intend to deceive: in Boyd-Barrett’s view, deception is systematically incentivized. Entman (1990a), on the other hand, takes an apologist stance for journalists, stating that the institution denies them autonomy, a fact that Herman and Chomsky ignore in favor of a focus on elites: “[Journalists] have neither the training, time, nor incentive to devise their own interpretations of treaty language and other technical matters, however important these may be to a genuine understanding of policy” (Entman, 1990a, p. 126).” A related criticism is that of the active construction of news. Goodwin (1994) argues that the PM is too easy on journalists, that they do not simply “filter out” dissenting views, but actively construct “specific ensembles of facts (or pseudo-facts) and opinions as ‘newsworthy’” (p. 109). The filter metaphor is criticized for being too passive to convey the generation of news (Goodwin, 1994); it implies a modification of facts by a process of selection (Corner, 2003) rather than a conscious production of stories.

The sourcing filter is called into question for being media-centric: “that is, it fails to focus upon the source-media relation from the standpoint of the *sources* themselves” (Schlesinger,

1989, p. 284). Schlesinger challenges the PM's assumption that official sources' access to media is guaranteed, giving them the "primary defining" role without regard to inter-source competition. Scholars charge that the PM is weakened by its assumption that elite sources are unified, rendering the model overly deterministic (McNair, 1994, p. 73). When elite interests are disarticulated and divided, the fissure opens a space for alternative, non-corporate and non-state sources (Mullen, 2010; Sparks, 2007). As Schudson (1989) points out, "The behavior of the American press in questioning the Vietnam war can be understood as happening only because the political elite was divided much more profoundly than it ordinarily is" (p. 268). It may be the case that journalists go about business as usual citing official sources, but when officials are at odds and no elite consensus is established, the opportunity arises for interpretive frameworks within the newsroom (Schlesinger, 1989). Herman (2000) maintains that *Manufacturing Consent* acknowledges occasional differences within the elite: "These structural factors that dominate media operations are not all-controlling and do not always produce simple and homogenous results" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. ii).

Other criticisms of the PM include the notions that it neglected the audience (Allan, 1999); that it was narrow in its range of hypotheses tested (Entman, 1990b) and those hypotheses were tested only anecdotally (Lang & Lang, 2004a, 2004b); that it was limited to the United States (Goodwin, 1994; Schlesinger, 1989); that it ignored the existence of alternative media (Salmon, 1989); that it was overly predictive and functionalist (Schlesinger 1989); and that it was methodologically flawed (Lang & Lang, 2004a, 2004b; Salmon, 1989), among others.⁴

⁴ See Mullen, 2010: 678.

Despite an overwhelmingly negative reception, the PM is regarded by some to be relevant and effectual. Predictably, Herman (2000) himself touts the continued and enhanced relevance of his model. The decline of public broadcasting, the increase of corporate power and globalization, and the mergers and centralization of media, as well as the weakening boundaries of the bifurcate news structure have further legitimized the first two filters—ownership and advertising—in recent years. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 further concentrated corporate ownership. Fewer than 10 major media corporations now control American news and information systems (Bagdikian, 2004; Phillips, 2008). Professional journalistic autonomy has been reduced as a result of the corporatization of media: resources devoted to investigative reporting dwindle while the public relations industry has boomed to manipulate press coverage on behalf of corporate America, thereby enhancing the effects of sourcing and flak. Additionally, the War on Terror provides perpetual enemies and “others” as prescribed by the fifth filter. Others have also reaffirmed the central hypotheses of the PM (Lester, 1992; Sparks, 2007), echoing Herman’s assertions that ownership has never been so concentrated (Klaehn, 2002; Scatamburlo-D’Annibale, 2005); that public relations industries are expanding and advertising interests dominate news production (Klaehn, 2002); and that the globalization of media gives the PM “a much wider, perhaps near-universal, application” (Mullen, 2010, p. 681).

The Liberal Media: Myth?

The central tenets of the PM, particularly the ownership filter, challenge the enduring myth of the liberal media. Political scientist Robert Lichter’s 1981 survey of the “media elite” (Lichter, Rothman & Lichter, 1986) is considered the originator of the charge (Thimmesch, 1985); the study found that media people are indeed socially liberal, but the allegation that their

ideological leanings affect content is speculative at best, and paranoiac at worst. Despite many media outlets' best efforts to remove themselves from a partisan or ideological viewpoint, and despite the boom in conservative media, the myth endures. Lee (2005) attributes the consistent accusations of liberal media bias to three factors: first, that because most American media are corporate-owned (as posited by the PM), conservative voices dominate, repeating their complaints with great frequency; second, conservative politicians' and commentators' attacks put journalists on the defensive, resulting in self-censorship to avoid the appearance of dissent from the "rightist agenda"; and third, reporting on social realities such as government or corporate wrongdoing, or poverty and pollution, seems liberal or even radical to conservatives. Media consumers have been indoctrinated to suspect liberal bias in the news: interestingly, conservatives are twice as likely to rate mainstream media as biased (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Lee, 2005). These charges of liberal bias reinforce the flak filter as well: "The attacks leveled against the media as liberal and adversary... have the important effect of driving the media even more closely toward the state party line and away from facts and analyses that would call it into question" (Herman, 1992, p. 13-14). Finally, the sourcing filter further weakens the myth: "[Lichter] offers no convincing evidence that the news product reflects the personal views of journalists rather than the views of officials whose positions they are reporting" (Schudson, 1989, p. 274).

Discussing the myth of liberal media invariably invokes the debate of objectivity, on which only a few points can be made here. Brent Cunningham's (2003) essay tackles the objectivity problematic:

Reporters are biased, but not in the oversimplified, left-right way that Ann Coulter and the rest of the bias cops would have everyone believe... Reporters are biased toward conflict because it is more interesting than stories without conflict; we are biased toward sticking with the pack because it is safe; we are biased toward

event-driven coverage because it is easier; we are biased toward existing narratives because they are safe and easy...Herbert Gans defined what he called the journalist's 'paraideology,' which, he says, unconsciously forms and strengthens much of what we think of as news judgment. This consists largely of a number of 'enduring values'—such as 'altruistic democracy' and 'responsible capitalism'—that are reformist, not partisan. This 'paraideology,' James Carey explains, can lead to charges of liberal bias. 'There is a bit of the reformer in anyone who enters journalism,' he says. 'And reformers are always going to make conservatives uncomfortable to an extent because conservatives, by and large, want to preserve the status quo.' (p. 29-30)

It is, as the PM suggests, the nature of the industry that fuels propagandistic news production, not any partisan doctrine. The "scoops" mentality and the economic necessity for the splashiest front page (Boyd-Barrett, 2004; Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, 2005), combined with dwindling resources dedicated to reportage and fact-checking in deference to crippling source dependence, form the nexus of the crisis of modern journalism. To counter accusations of bias, journalists are strongly incentivized to employ "rituals" of objectivity (Tuchman, 1972; Baum & Groeling, 2008). Reporting both sides of an argument is the basis of objectivity and the journalistic oath, but it has become a "particular failure of the press," an excuse for repeating officials' "facts," even when they are untrue (Cunningham, 2003, p. 25-26). However, grappling with truth is the journalist's (as well as the scholar's) pitfall: "Whose definition of what is true is being upheld as 'the truth'?" (Allan, 1999, p. 48) Normative perspectives of communications abound: "the 'whole truth' is a corollary to 'nothing but the truth'" (Herman, 1985, p. 135) and "some facts are always better than no facts" (Kuklinski et al., 2000, p. 791), are among them. Realistically, if the PM's central theses are accurate, the published "truth" is that of the state and the corporate sphere

Theoretical Justification

This study questions how media propagandize news events. I will examine news coverage of the Park51 project, the proposed Manhattan Islamic cultural center pejoratively dubbed the “ground zero mosque,” from the perspective of the PM. The PM is an underutilized lens for understanding patterns of media behavior, and this study will begin to fill that hole in the literature. Chomsky suggests three reasons the PM deserves a place in media studies: first, “there is a tradition of advocacy on the part of elite intellectuals for media to serve a propagandistic function in society vis-à-vis manufacturing consent”; second, as has been well-documented in the literature, autonomy of the media is marginalized due to corporate ownership, reliance on advertising and dependence on state and corporate sources, lending credence to the first-order prediction of the PM regarding patterns of media behavior; and third, public opinion polls indicate that the public believes the media are propagandistic (Klaehn, 2002, p. 169).

The case studies in *Manufacturing Consent* examine American media’s treatment of foreign news stories. Extending the PM to a domestic news event, like Park51, will expand the PM’s utility for understanding American media behavior. Herman and Chomsky noted that, in addition to foreign policy matters, the PM was applicable to domestic policy issues, citing the North American Free Trade Agreement and the chemical industry, among others (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). It is argued that the PM is not a theory (Corner, 2003); indeed, it does not claim to be. Sparks (2007) addresses this criticism and offers a remedy:

The status of a theory is determined by three things: the extent to which it is beautiful (that is, it gives an internally consistent and logical account of the reality to which it relates); the extent to which it is true (that is, it is subject to a process of evidential testing); the extent to which it is comprehensive (that is, it can account for all of the observed phenomena in its sphere of relevance). In its current form at least, the PM performs extremely well on the first of these criteria, but patchily on the second and third. If it is to win the wider acceptance which it

certainly deserves then it needs modification in order to improve its rating in the final two categories. (p. 69)

This study will provide more of the evidential testing called for and improve the PM's comprehensiveness by including domestic events.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

News articles in several New York City newspapers from August 16, 2010 to September 12, 2010, will be the subject of the analysis. Although national coverage of the controversy dominated news markets all over the country, Park51 is an issue essentially local to New York City. Selecting New York papers ensures a manageable sample, and provides perhaps a better barometer of local sentiment than a national sample could. A Pew Research Center study shows that coverage of the mosque controversy dominated the news the week of August 16, with those stories accounting for 15 percent of all news. The end date of September 12 captures the Quran burning debacle that took place in the weeks leading up to the anniversary of the September 11 attacks.

To omit television coverage of the controversy from this study would be to ignore the enormous power of propaganda it wields, both in its influence on audiences and as a catalyst for news production in other media. Experts on political campaigns and advertising agree that television is a medium better suited to influence audiences than any other. The perpetual news cycle uses short clips and sound bites, along with flashing color and sound to attract viewers. Unlike newspapers, which readers must seek out, select stories from and invest undivided attention in reading, television is considered an “invasive medium.” Once the television is on, information comes pouring in, solicited or not (Kaid & Davidson, 1986). A Lexis/Nexis search of “ground zero mosque” yielded 240 results within the timeframe, and the sample was reduced to half of the even numbered programs, resulting in 60 discrete transcripts. ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, Fox News and MSNBC newscasts constitute the sample. A loose reading of the transcripts

revealed broad themes and tone to compare to the deeper content analysis of the newspaper articles.

The PM states that the media protect the interests of the privileged groups that dominate society and the state through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). All of these functions of news production will be factors of analysis. In addition to misrepresentation of facts, sensationalism and loaded rhetoric, examining the sources referenced will indicate the presence of propaganda, in accordance with the PM's third filter. In this particular case study, the way Muslims are regarded in the articles may lend credence to the fifth filter of otherness. Lester's 1994 test of the PM included three additional dimensions--individualism, anthropomorphism and objectification—which will also factor into this analysis.

In handling the case studies in *Manufacturing Consent*, the authors rely on comparison and dichotomy to support the central thesis of the PM. This side-by-side comparison of media's treatment of news neglects the more complex discourse within the text in favor of an analysis of sheer volume of coverage, thereby weakening the impact of the argument (Lester, 1992). Lester recommends a close textual analysis to focus on discursive strategies, and that is the method used here: without a comparable news event to consider, coverage of Park51 will be examined by its own merits and compared only to other articles of the same topic.

Content analysis is defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952). Four characteristics constitute a proper content analysis. First, content analysis proceeds in terms of *what is said*, not *why it is said* (i.e., motive) or *how the audience reacts* (i.e., effects). Second,

content analysis requires objectivity. Categories should be defined precisely and systematically so that analysts could apply them to the same body of content to secure the same results. Third, content analysis is systematic. If some occurrences of a category are considered, all occurrences must be, and the results of a content analysis must have some degree of general application. As Berelson (1952) described it, “a tabulation simply reporting the numbers of books of different kinds acquired by a particular library in a given year would not represent a content analysis study” (p. 17). Content analysis is designed to establish replicable scientific propositions. Finally, categories of content analysis must be quantitative. Though content analysis is a qualitative study of a text, the extent to which categories appear—relevant emphases and omissions—is of primary importance (Berelson, 1952).

There are implicit assumptions to be made when employing content analysis. First, knowledge of the content can legitimately support inferences about non-content to reveal the purposes, motives and other characteristics of the communicators, presumably reflected in the content, or to identify presumable effects of the content on the attitudes of the audience. The second assumption is that the content is accepted as ‘common meeting-ground’ for the communicator, the audience and the analyst. That is, the meanings the analyst ascribes to the content correspond to the meanings intended by the communicator and the meanings understood by the audience. To the extent that interpretive meanings are ascribed by any of the parties, comprehension of the message is relatively uniform. Third, we assume that the frequency of occurrence of content categories is relevant to the question at hand (Berelson, 1952).

This study will employ a combination of directed and conventional content analyses. The goal of directed content analysis is “to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). In this case, the research goal is to test the propaganda model

on a domestic news event. The PM will help determine an initial coding scheme, or set of concepts to identify within the text, a process of deductive category application (Mayring, 2000). To avoid limiting the study to only those categories predetermined by the PM, a loose first reading of the text will identify other categories for analysis, a practice resembling the conventional approach to content analysis. At this stage, categories and themes flow from the text itself, a process known as inductive category development (Mayring, 2000).

Data Collection and Analysis

Newspaper articles were generated from Lexis/Nexis searches for “ground zero mosque” within the time frame of August 16, 2010 to September 12, 2010 for each publication: *New York Times*, *New York Post*, *Daily News* and *Wall Street Journal*. A separate search in the EBSCO databases was done for *Newsday*. Likewise, the newscast transcripts were compiled from a Lexis/Nexis search for “ground zero mosque” within the time frame, and programs from ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, Fox and MSNBC domestic desks were selected.

Coding sheets for newspaper content analysis included these categories: *general tone*, *sourcing*, *anti-otherness*, *individualism*, *anthropomorphism*, *objectification*, *sensationalism* and *misinformation*.

General tone: A loose first reading of the articles indicated whether the style was straight news, editorial or news analysis. Emotional or inflammatory rhetoric, ironic or mocking tone, and emphasis/theme were also noted.

Sourcing: In the first reading, I listed the sources, their titles or relationship to the project, and stance on Park51 (*pro* or *anti*). I also noted whether the list of sources was balanced and whether a balance was relevant to the article. For instance, stories about protestors would not

necessarily require input from Park51 supporters, while stories about the rallies would be expected to show both sides. More important than balance is the types of sources consulted. The PM posits that media rely on “official” sources, so source titles or job descriptions were noted.

Anti-otherness: In the close second reading, I identified tones of anti-otherness, a modification of Herman and Chomsky’s anti-Communism. Here, the “other” is Islam and Muslims.

Individualism⁵: Lester (1994) describes this dimension as “an Us/Other construction of individuals” (p. 9). In this case, the “other” depended on the news source. For all news sources, Islam and Muslims are “the other”. For conservative news sources, Park51 supporters may be considered “other”, while it would be Park51 opponents for liberal sources.

Anthropomorphism: Assigning human characteristics to inanimate objects or corporate entities is a discursive strategy for personalizing issues for the reader. Especially effective in emotionally-inflamed controversies like Park51, “it becomes very difficult for the reader to abstract knowledge except at the level of feelings” (Lester, 1994, p. 17).

Objectification: Lester (1994) described objectification as “a presumption that these “Others”...exist in a different time/space continuum that “Us,” i.e., the preferred reader of the text” (p. 9). Here, the other may be described as being antiquated, unable to understand “our” culture, simplistic, or a caricature of the “typical” Muslim.

Sensationalism: In the close second reading, I identified loaded or emotional rhetoric, speculation, and what I think of as “juicy tidbits”—salacious facts with no discernable bearing on the story.

⁵ Anti-otherness and individualism appear as separate dimensions on the coding sheet, but are combined for the purposes of analysis.

Misinformation: Without knowing every detail of the controversy, I attempted here to identify gross misconceptions or mistruths. Opinions quoted from sources would not be considered—it is the facts perpetuated by the newspaper itself that were analyzed.

Expectations

I expect coverage of Park51 to vary based on publication. I expect the *New York Times* to give an objective and neutral account, utilizing prominent official sources. I do not expect anti-otherness, individualism, anthropomorphism, objectification, sensationalism or misinformation. It is often labeled a liberal publication by critics, so I expect to find a subtly pro-Park51 tone in coverage in comparison to the lambasting I expect from its highly conservative counterparts. Despite its alleged political leanings, I expect the paper to give fair, rational and hard news coverage. As the American paper of record, and an international brand as well, the *New York Times* tends to meet the highest standards of objective journalism. Though I would expect similar coverage in the *Wall Street Journal*, the search yielded no results

In the case of the *New York Post*, I expect coverage to run counter to that of the *New York Times*. Typically regarded as having a tabloid editorial style, I expect to find evidence of each of the rhetorical devices listed. Sources will likely be official, though I also expect some common man encounters. The *New York Post* takes a conservative slant, so I expect a somewhat anti-Park51 tone. I anticipate a great deal of sensationalism and large dose of the heated rhetoric surrounding the debate.

I expect the *Daily News* to take a more objective approach. As New York's main local daily, coverage should be fairly neutral and comprehensive. Sources will likely be largely official, with some local sourcing as well. I expect more human interest here, compared to the

New York Times, as the *Daily News* readership will be less affluent and somewhat less educated, and because coverage will be so frequent, they will ensure that the controversy is covered nearly daily. I expect similar coverage in *Newsday*.

I expect to find differences in network and cable news coverage. I expect network news, without much variation, to behave as an objective, neutral source. Because television is typically suited for human interest and entertainment stories, I expect soft news coverage of the Park51 controversy with in-depth interviews and profiles of relevant actors. Cable news, on the other hand, has the liberty—nay, obligation—to editorialize on news stories, supplementing soft news coverage with commentary. CNN is regarded as a moderate channel, remaining relatively neutral on partisan issues. Here, I expect CNN to give balanced coverage and commentary of the controversy and provide a platform for actors on either side. Fox News is regarded as a far right-wing channel. Here, I expect coverage to reflect that: opposed to the project to the extent of sensationalism and anti-otherness. Fox News should represent the most extreme example of the PM in practice. MSNBC represents the other side of the partisan coin. Very liberal in its programming, I expect staunch support for Park51. MSNBC does not have the widely publicized history of sensationalism that Fox News has, but I nonetheless expect emotional language and left wing rhetoric to rival the politicization of Fox News' coverage.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Figure 1 shows the frequency of coverage by news outlet. In spite of the national attention the story garnered, local news outlets—the *Daily News* in particular with 54 articles—covered this story comprehensively. Park51 is essentially a local story, but its cast of characters and propensity to stir Americans’ emotions made it fodder for national news. MSNBC personality Rachel Maddow called it a “scare white people story,” placing it among media storms like ACORN and the New Black Panthers: stories that are only marginally newsworthy, but politically profitable because they center about minorities engaged in actions perceived as threatening by the majority. The amount of programming spent by Fox on this story (see Figure 1) could be interpreted to support this theory, as Fox is a channel that caters to conservatives. Though Maddow’s examples specifically target Republican fears and conservative news outlets’ coverage of these stories, Fox commentators shrewdly point out that 70 percent of Americans oppose Park51, and 70 percent of Americans are surely not radical conservatives. That figure, from an August 2010 TIME poll⁶, illuminates what we can expect of the PM filters of Park51 coverage. The PM suggests that media drive public opinion, and this relationship is only minimally reciprocal. It is the corporate and political spheres that shape media coverage. The largely conservative corporate elite would predictably oppose Park51, thus constructing an oppositional narrative. Though the political majority was, at the time, more liberal and predictably supportive of Park51, the events’ proximity to the midterm election influenced many

⁶ Altman, A. “TIME Poll: Majority Oppose Mosque, Many Distrust Muslims.” *Time*. August 19, 2010. <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2011799,00.html>

politicians to mirror public sentiment; Republicans openly denounced the project and several Democrats defected from the president as well. Thus, we can expect propaganda to vilify Park51, reflecting the interests of the corporate and political elite.

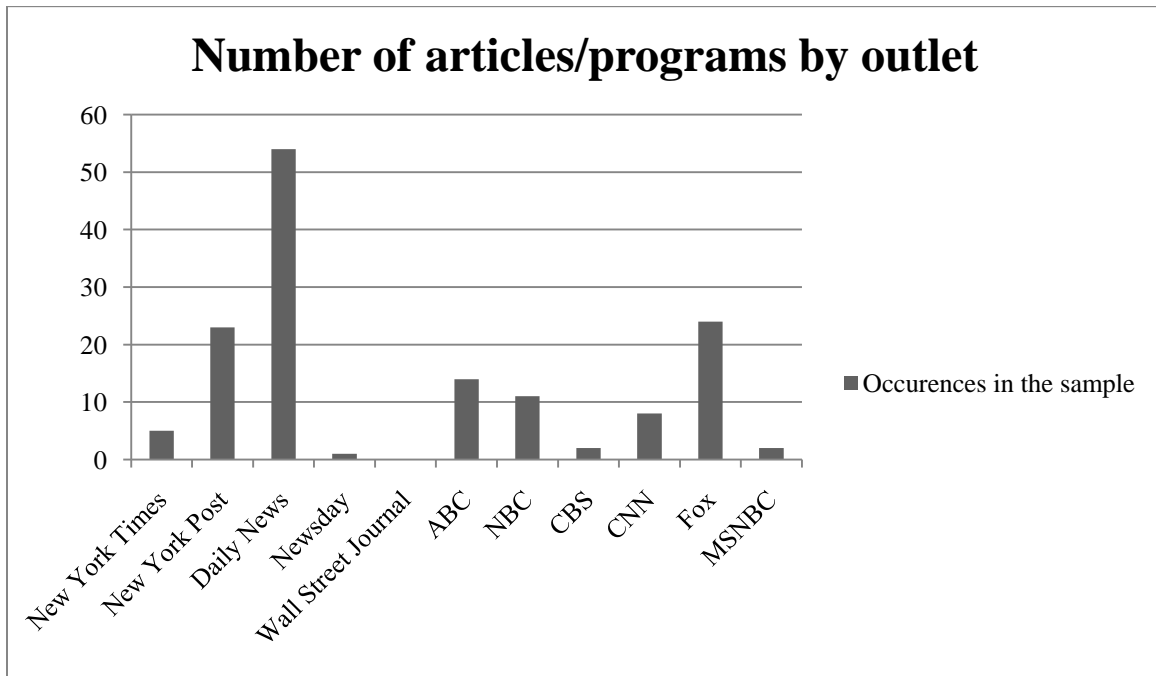


Figure 1

The newspaper articles from the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, *Daily News* and *Newsday* were analyzed on eight dimensions: tone, sourcing, anti-otherness, individualism, anthropomorphism, objectification, sensationalism and misinformation. In a close reading of the articles, instances of these were recorded.

Tone

The majority of the articles were factual and neutral in tone, marked by objective reportage, straight quotes and little analysis. Of the 50 discrete articles, 37 appeared objective by typical news writing standards, i.e., they reported on quotes and facts without exposing any ideological or partisan viewpoint. In 11 instances, the articles projected opinion or editorial styles. One article quips, “So much for this dispute having nothing at all to do with religion.”⁷ Another makes direct jabs at President Obama regarding his stance on the wisdom of building Park51.

Then came Saturday's waffle.

So much for defining moments.

Actually, Obama's failure to endorse building at the proposed site - especially given the initial reaction to his remarks - speaks volumes.

Most opponents concede the right to build - spectacularly inappropriate though the chosen site may be.

...

Obama had an opportunity to show real leadership on this issue. Instead, he made an even bigger muddle of it.

That's not surprising - but it is sad.⁸

The language in a number of the articles points to an editorial style: “We'll be frank here. From the outset, we considered the decision to build a mosque and Islamic cultural center so close to Ground Zero to be at the least obnoxious, and at most an incitement.”⁹ Others employ hyperbole and hypothetical scenarios to support the authors’ opinions.

⁷ Haberman, C. (2010, August 24). Ground Zero: Its boundaries are elastic. *The New York Times*, p. A16.

⁸ Missed Mosque Moment. (2010, August 17). *The New York Post*, p. 22.

⁹ Rights—And Wrongs. (2010, August 18). *The New York Post*, p. 24.

Imagine if the Bloomberg or Obama had a family member murdered by a lunatic. And then, 10 years later, relatives of the murderers chose to buy the house across the street.

Wouldn't Bloomberg and Obama find that unsettling? Wouldn't they wonder why, of all places, these folks chose to live across the street?

The issue isn't about legal rights. It's about common sense and common decency; it about passing minimal smell and taste tests. We all have the right to be wrong, but that doesn't make it right.¹⁰

Speculation is a common rhetorical tool in editorial writing, used for thought provocation or, in some cases, insinuation. "Or maybe he [Mayor Bloomberg] was teeing off on the unwashed masses before jetting off to join President Obama on the golf course. There's nothing like a round with an unpopular president deep in an election season to dispel suspicion that you're playing politics."¹¹

Some articles took on a mocking or tongue-in-cheek tone. In a story about Park51's proximity to ground zero in relation to several pornography retailers, the author pointed to the absurdity of dubbing the block "sacred ground."

Opponents of a proposed lower Manhattan mosque and community center speak in hushed tones about the sanctity of the "shadow of Ground Zero."

Tell that to the patrons of the Pussycat Lounge, a strip club where a photo of a nearly naked woman marks its location just two blocks from where the World Trade Center stood.

Or the Thunder Lingerie and peep show next door, where the marquee sports an American flag above a window display of sex toys and something called a "power pump."¹²

¹⁰ Mushnick, P. (2010, August 22). Media misses the point about mosque. *The New York Post*, p. 12.

¹¹ Goodwin, M. (2010, August 29). Holier & richer than thou. *The New York Post*, p. 9.

¹² Einhorn, E. (2010, August 16). A sea of filth near ground zero. *Daily News*, p. 5.

One article features Miss USA’s perspective on the project, infused with the author’s own tongue-in-cheek remarks. The piece touches on her stance concerning Park51, abruptly juxtaposing it against commentary on her “skimpy red and orange bikini” and a stint as a pole dancing champion.¹³

Several articles were characterized by suspicious and conspiratorial tones. This piece, labeled “exclusive,” exemplifies the purported mystery surrounding the project:

The mosque money trail has taken another strange turn. The original owners of 45-47 Park Place mysteriously walked away from an \$18 million cash offer for their damaged Ground Zero building in 2007, only to accept \$4.8 million 18 months later from mosque developer Sharif El-Gamal. El-Gamal also happened to give the building owner's son a job.¹⁴

Other articles are purely sensational. A *New York Post* article¹⁵ described a map created by the New York Fire Department showing the distance from the epicenter that human remains were found after September 11. The tone relays shock and gore, and the implication is that ground zero extends even farther from the physical location of the World Trade Center, making 51 Park Place a veritable burial ground.

A common tonal theme, particularly in *Daily News* articles, was a sort of reporting formula. Stories about protestors and supporters rallying around the Park51 site typically quoted absurd and vitriolic sources to represent the protestors, while supporters were portrayed as rational and peace-seeking. We can assume that this reporting was indicative of the actual

¹³ Goldsmith, S. (2010, August 21). Beauty speaks out vs. mosque: 1st Muslim Miss USA sez move it. *Daily News*, p. 3.

¹⁴ Exclusive: Mosque money mystery—Let’s Mecca deal—Owners sold building for \$4.8M after nixing \$18M. (2010, September 5). *The New York Post*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Topousis, T., and Messing, P. (2010, September 10). Grim map that widens G. Zero—1 block between mosque site and human remains. *The New York Post*, p. 6.

population on the streets, or we can question whether the media created this dichotomy to paint a deliberate portrait of each group.

Sourcing

The sourcing of these articles supports the propaganda model's assertion that government officials are the primary sources for media. Of some 170 references to sources, more than half were elected officials, as well as Pentagon, State Department and Port Authority spokespeople. Among them, President Obama, Rep. King (R-Long Island), Governor Paterson and Mayor Bloomberg dominated coverage. The frequency of non-official sources was significantly less: protestors and supporters received equal coverage, closely followed by Imam Rauf. Fewer mentions of Daisy Kahn, Sharif El-Gamal and Harry Reid also appeared. Various polls were referenced in the articles on nine occasions.

Anti-otherness and Individualism

A recurring theme of anti-otherness appears in articles that liken Park51 supporters and Muslims to radical Islamists. In a *New York Post* article, Hamas founder Mahmoud al-Zahar is projected to be the spokesperson for Islam.

Zahar said Muslims around the world, including those who live in this country, are united in a common cause.

"First of all, we have to address that we are different as people, as a nation, totally different," he said.

"We already are living under the tradition of Islam.

"Islam is controlling every source of our life as regard to marriage, divorce, our commercial relationships," Zahar said.

"Even the Islamic people or the Muslims in your country, they are living now in the tradition of Islam. They are fasting; they are praying."¹⁶

By failing to provide a counterstatement to the leader of a terrorist organization, the *New York Post* stirs suspicion about moderate, mainstream Muslims. Several of the articles also assert an assumed cooperation between Imam Rauf and Hamas.

Hamas first came up in the mosque debate earlier this summer when Abdul Rauf refused to describe the group as a terrorist organization - despite the State Department listing that identifies it as such.

Tom Brown, a chief opponent of the mosque, said: "This is what we've been saying . . . Imam Rauf is a radical Muslim who will not call Hamas a terror group."¹⁷

A related suggestion is that terrorist organizations are bankrolling the endeavor: "One of the concerns among opponents is that the mosque's Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, with extensive ties to Muslim nations overseas, will tap foreign sources for much of the gargantuan budget - raising questions about whether some donors could harbor extremist views."¹⁸

Another anti-other rhetorical tactic is the fabricated dichotomy used to describe supporters and protestors. In much of the *New York Post's* coverage, the implication is that "real" Americans oppose Park51, and terrorist cohorts support it. "If the mosque is moved, the only

¹⁶ Miller, S.A., and Topousis, T. (2010, August 16). Hamas nod for GZ Mosque—Terror group's leader: 'have to build it'. *The New York Post*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Miller, S.A., and Topousis, T. (2010, August 16). Hamas nod for GZ Mosque—Terror group's leader: 'have to build it'. *The New York Post*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Earle, G., and Topousis, T. (2010, August 18). Gov to meet on mosque 'move'—Sitdown as site owner says 'it's not near G. Zero'. *The New York Post*, p. 5.

group likely to be unhappy are those radical ‘anti-American’ Muslims that the imam says he is trying to distance himself from. I can think of no reason he would want to placate them.”¹⁹ This language of “us” and “them” not only disenfranchises a large proportion of Americans who support the project, but fosters suspicion and intolerance of all Muslims by reinforcing harmful stereotypes.

This dichotomy is further reinforced in a *New York Post* article that quotes an unnamed Republican skewing President Obama’s remarks on Park51. Obama asserted the right to build a mosque and community center on the site, but would not comment as to the wisdom of the project. Yet, the quote states and the article reinforces that the president is “disconnected from the mainstream of America.”²⁰ The same article references a Fox News poll that shows “61 percent of Americans think the Muslim group has the right to build the mosque but 64 percent think it would be wrong to put a mosque near Ground Zero.” Obama’s remarks neither condemn nor endorse the project, and his views are in line with 61 percent of Americans.

Anthropomorphism and Objectification

Anthropomorphism was not identified in the articles, but objectification was evident. Here, the author makes a thinly-veiled accusation of Islamist extremism against Rauf, perpetuating the rampant stereotype that all Muslims are terrorists.

There is no need here to rehearse the details of the 9/11 attacks themselves - and all that has occurred since, most recently in Times Square on May 8 - to state flatly that New York City is a prime target of Islamist extremism.

And it is also a fact that certain Mideast countries, Saudi Arabia first among them, lavishly fund Islamist extremists - if only to keep them at bay.

¹⁹ Cassidy, S. (2010, August 17). Stop trying to stifle the debate. *The New York Post*, p. 21.

²⁰ Miller, S.A. (2010, August 16). O catches holy hell—hammered for hedging. *The New York Post*, p. 4.

Thus New Yorkers have a right - if not the duty - to express concern about the mosque, given Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf's continuing refusal to identify the sources of the \$100 million he proposes to spend on the mosque.

Especially since he has said he plans to raise the bulk of it in the Mideast.²¹

Sensationalism and Misinformation

Newspapers are not typically in the business of speculation; however, it is used here as a rhetorical tool that bolsters the aforementioned devices. The Park51 developers' motives are frequently called into question, sometimes coupled with conspiracy theories:

But a London-based Arabic-language newspaper that interviewed Abdul Rauf reported that he said he would also collect money from Muslim and Arab nations around the world - raising the possibility that the American government is helping him build contacts in oil-rich states.²²

Despite repeated assurances from the State Department that Rauf would not engage in Park51 fundraising during diplomatic trips to the Middle East, the *New York Post* continually speculates that Rauf is using taxpayer money for a fundraising mission, and suggests that the United States government is party to the conspiracy.

Speculation also comes into play when an author purports to know what a subject is thinking. Here, in a story about a young man employed by Sharif El-Gamal to scout possible locations for the project in Park51's early planning stages, the *Daily News* speculates as to why the man chose a site near ground zero:

²¹ Right—and wrongs. (2010, August 18). *The New York Post*, p. 24.

²² Miller, S.A., and Topousis, T. (2010, August 16). Hamas nod for GZ Mosque. *The New York Post*, p. 5.

Patino surely was aware of the building's location in relation to Ground Zero. And he surely knew about the war on terror, as the brother who had helped inspire the bicycle, Sergio Cadavid, had gone on to join the Army, serving two tours in Iraq.

Even so, Patino was barely a man in 2006 and had only come to this country when he was 12. No young newcomer could be expected to understand the sensitivities beneath the contradictions.²³

The author not only makes unfounded assertions about a stranger's thought processes, but also objectifies him as a "silly foreigner," unassimilated to the history and customs of America.

Another sensational rhetorical tool, related to anti-otherness in many cases, is the use of inflammatory language, like the *New York Post's* pithy nickname for Mahmoud Ahmadinejad: "Holocaust-denying Iranian nuke nut."²⁴

There are several incidents where authors equate the September 11 perpetrators to Muslims in general, and the Park51 backers in particular.

AMERICA'S NEWS media are always so delicate and discreet about the wrong things. They're so politely vague, but only to protect the feelings of the bad guys.

The Lower Manhattan mosque debate has returned an infuriating habit of the news media - the inability of TV, radio and print news folks to speak or write an indisputable truth.

For nearly 10 years, the 3,000 victims of the attacks on the World Trade Center have been classified in the vaguest, open-to-interpretation words. The 3,000 have been described as having been "lost" or "killed" in the attacks, and as having "perished" or "died" in the attacks.

But collectively they weren't simply "fatalities." And individually they weren't merely lost or killed, and they didn't merely perish or die.

They were MURDERED.

...

The positions of President Obama and Mayor Bloomberg - that American Muslims have the Constitutional right to establish a mosque anywhere - has become their main issue. But that has never been the issue.

²³ Daly, M. (2010, August 19). It was all his idea. Reality TV finalist steered developer to mosque site. *Daily News*, p. 5.

²⁴ Earle, G., and Topousis, T. (2010, August 19). Mullah moolah—Iran cash might fund mosque at G. Zero; builders leave door open to unholy Iran \$\$ *The New York Post*, p. 1.

Few opposed to the mosque near Ground Zero have argued that Muslims don't have the right, but have asked whether it's the right thing to do. It strikes them in the gut, the heart and the head as just plain wrong.

...

Imagine if the Bloomberg or Obama had a family member murdered by a lunatic. And then, 10 years later, relatives of the murderers chose to buy the house across the street.

Wouldn't Bloomberg and Obama find that unsettling? Wouldn't they wonder why, of all places, these folks chose to live across the street?

The issue isn't about legal rights. It's about common sense and common decency; it about passing minimal smell and taste tests. We all have the right to be wrong, but that doesn't make it right.²⁵

While insensitivity on the part of Park51 is the crux of the argument for most of the protestors, stories like this perpetuate a false equivalence. The same article compares September 11 to the Holocaust, and though both are tragic events in history, the comparison of a single act killing thousands to the long-term, systematic killing of millions is sensationalism defined.

Blood and gore has long characterized yellow journalism; as the old journalism axiom goes, "If it bleeds, it leads." Here, the *New York Post* capitalized on the shock value of discovering September 11 victims' remains to give an immaterial point salience.

A map compiled by firefighters who sifted through the wreckage of lower Manhattan in the seven months after the attacks shows the gruesome discovery of human remains stretched as far as 1,135 feet from the middle of the trade center - including remains found just a block from the mosque site.

The map was obtained by The Post from sources after the Fire Department did not respond to requests to review it. It shows that remains were found just 348 feet to the south of the mosque site at 45 Park Place, on top of the massive post-office building that stretches along Barclay Street, from Church Street to West Broadway.

Firefighters using global positioning systems recorded seven remains on the post office.

²⁵ Mushnick, P. (2010, August 22). Media misses point about mosque. *The New York Post*, p. 12.

Remains also were found atop CUNY's Fiterman Hall, bounded by Park Place and Barclay Street on the eastern side of West Broadway, just 360 feet away from the mosque site.²⁶

Imagery of human remains on a post office and mere feet from Park51 is a gruesome tool for making a highly polarizing point: Muslims are building a mosque on the very bodies of the September 11 victims. Misinformed though that may be, the intention is clearly to persuade readers to take a stand against Park51.

Invoking celebrities is often seen as sensational, masking entertainment and gossip as hard news. The *Daily News* reported on Miss USA's opinions regarding Park51. Her opinion is no doubt newsworthy, not only because she is a public figure, but also because she happens to be the first Muslim Miss USA; however, the story quickly devolved into tongue-in-cheek commentary on her dazzling outfits and sordid past:

The former Miss Michigan became the first Muslim to be crowned Miss USA in May. She dazzled judges when she took the stage in a skimpy red and orange bikini.

She would also be the first Muslim to be crowned Miss Universe.

Fakih commissioned a flashy gold and silver eagle costume for the competition that she calls a tribute to Obama.

"The symbolism of this costume is a tribute to your work to bring peace to the world," Fakih said of the winged outfit in a promotional video for Miss Universe.

"The amazing costume I will wear during the Miss Universe pageant represents the celebration of life, liberty and all that is American."

Fakih hit a rough patch in May when TMZ.com posted photographs of the beauty competing in a "Stripper 101" competition at a Michigan bar.

She was crowned pole dancing champion at the event.²⁷

²⁶ Topousis, T., and Messing, P. (2010, September 10). Grim map that widens G. Zero. *The New York Post*, p. 6.

²⁷ Goldsmith, S. (2010, August 21). Beauty speaks out vs. mosque. *Daily News*, p. 3.

The Park51 controversy appears here to be a cheap segue into profitable, audience-attractive infotainment.

Among the oddest stories in the sample was a news experiment by the *Daily News*.²⁸ In it, they attempt to answer the question, “how far away is far enough for the so-called Ground Zero mosque?” by choosing four alternate sites, all of them farther from ground zero than 51 Park Place, to gauge public reaction. “Yet none received unconditional support from mosque opponents, who insist defining Ground Zero takes more than a map,” the article reported. Though it makes a point consistent with the *Daily News*’s apparent pro-Park51 stance—that nowhere is far enough from ground zero to please the most strident opponents—it’s an unorthodox news practice to invent stories this way.

The television transcripts were examined through the lens of these eight dimensions as well. A cursory reading yielded several broad themes. In the case of television, the channel or network was highly predictive of the tone and themes of coverage. ABC, NBC and CBS in nearly every instance yielded straight reportage with little analysis. Anchors and correspondents relayed the facts, coupled with soundbites and video in the daily and evening news reports. In their spot coverage, the networks relied heavily on pedestrian sources; much of the reporting on location is characterized by a “man on the street” style, whereby the coverage consists of a montage of passersby commenting on the topic at hand. On the other hand, Fox, MSNBC and—to a lesser degree—CNN are comparable to the op-ed section of a newspaper. The hosts have a point of view, typically consistent with the channel’s unspoken mission. Fox’s Sean Hannity, Glenn Beck and Bill O’Reilly, as well as their panelists, are conservative columnists, and appear to represent some of the most radical views within conservative ideology. Likewise, Rachel

²⁸ McAuliff, M., and McShane, L. (2010, August 25). News finds alternate sites may be too close for comfort. *Daily News*, p. 4.

Maddow and Keith Olbermann are their liberal counterparts on MSNBC. Though CNN does not identify with a particular partisan ideology, its individual hosts do not subscribe to the conventions of objectivity associated with network news anchors and mainstream newspaper reporters. Here, CNN's Deborah Feyerick interviews Sharif El-Gamal, goading him with loaded rhetoric:

FEYERICK: Plans include a performing arts center, swimming pool, child care facilities and, yes, a Muslim prayer space two blocks from the worst terror attack in U.S. history.

(on camera): Why not have a prayer space for Buddhists or Jews or Christians? Or why must it be Muslims? (INAUDIBLE)

AL GAMAL: There are Jewish community centers all over the country.

FEYERICK: But the Jews didn't take down two towers.

AL GAMAL: There are YMCA's all over the country.

FEYERICK: But the Christians didn't take out the two towers.

AL GAMAL: This is a need that exists.²⁹

Each of the cable and network programs conducted in-depth interviews with both official and unofficial sources. This particular story lends itself to a wide array of unofficial sources. The Park51 originators, Imam Abdul Feisal Rauf, his wife Daisy Khan and real estate broker Sharif El-Gamal, are heavily-tapped unofficial sources. Both network and cable programs consulted influential American Muslims as well, including American Islamic Forum for Democracy founder Zuhdi Jasser, Ibrahim Ramey of the Muslim American Society, and Ahmed Rehab of the Council of American-Islamic Relations. In the final weeks of the sample, the Florida pastor who spearheaded the "Burn a Quran Day" campaign, Terry Jones, appeared on nearly every network news program. Official sources also appeared, but accounted for only one third of the total

²⁹ Lemon, D., Feyerick, D., O'Brien, S., and Gupta, S. (2010, September 12). CNN Cover Story [television broadcast]. Cable News Network.

interviews. Donald Trump, a corporate source, garnered publicity when he offered to purchase the Park51 property for 25 percent more than its value in order to persuade Rauf to relocate. He appeared on CNN and Fox. Newt Gingrich appeared on ABC following his inflammatory statements comparing September 11 to the Holocaust. Rudy Giuliani, New York City mayor during September 11 and staunch Park51 opponent, was interviewed on NBC. Other official sources included Howard Dean on MSNBC, Ron Paul on CNN and former New York governor George Pataki on Fox. Network hosts asked balanced, informative questions, rather than the “gotcha” tone taken on by the cable shows. Interviews were one-on-one, not the panel style often used by cable programs.

The emphasis given to certain stories differed between television and newspaper. Pastor Jones’ Quran burning crusade was virtually made for television. Though it received ample coverage in newspapers, the story dominated television news for nearly a week. Though it was somewhat newsworthy in its own right, it quickly became a television news spectacle, a fact lamented by several news commentators after the fact. Jones is a colorful personality, and violent conflict is the crux of his story. The Donald Trump story received no newspaper coverage, yet produced two interviews on television. His celebrity is the real story.

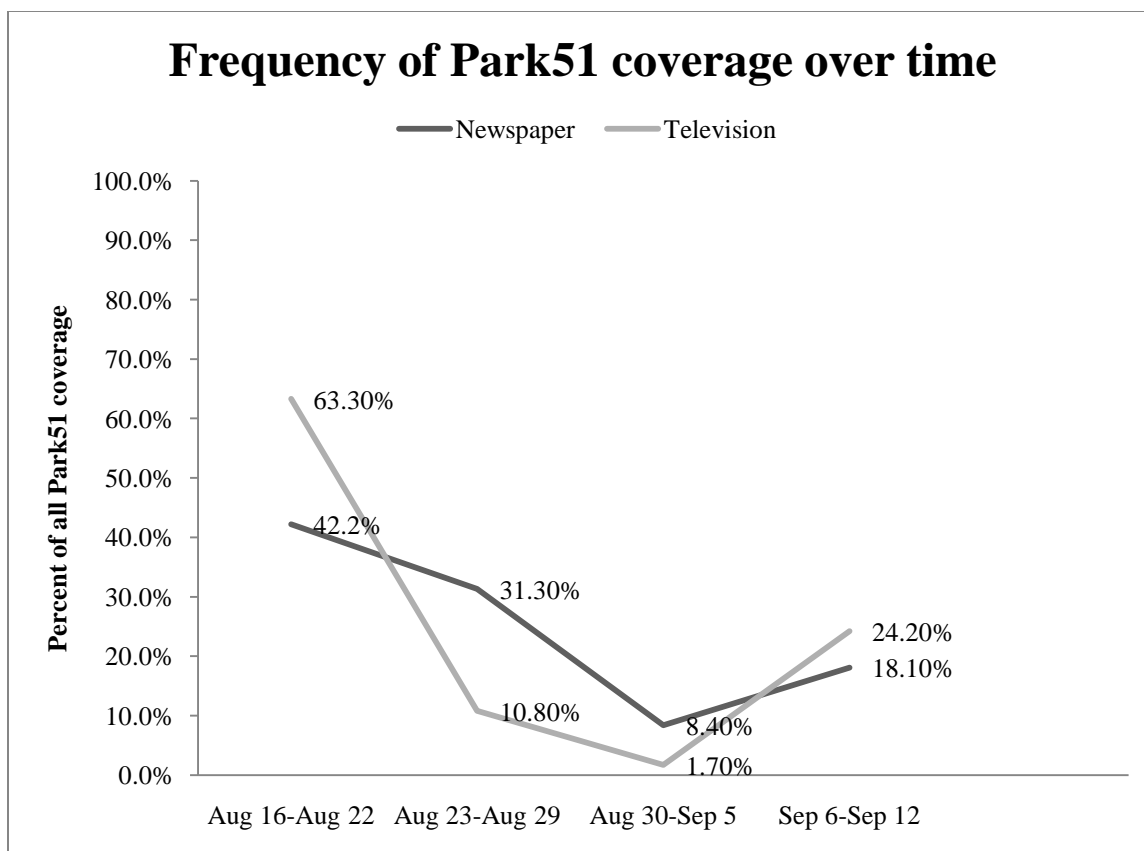


Figure 2

Figure 2 shows the frequency of Park51 coverage over time. Newspaper and television follow a similar trend line, with maximum coverage in the first week (August 16-22), a tapering off in the second and third weeks (August 23-September 5), and an upswing in the final week (September 6-12). What factors impelled the coverage? The choice of start date for the sample was driven by a Pew study showing that Park51 dominated the media the week of August 16-22. After the *New York Times*' initial story about the project in December 2009, it wasn't until May 2010 that other media picked up on the controversy. The story simmered for the next two months; then in August, President Obama made statements at a White House dinner celebrating the Muslim holiday of Ramadan, iterating the constitutional right of all people to worship in

America. Probed by every media outlet to elaborate the following day, Obama said he would not comment on the wisdom of building a mosque so near ground zero, thus igniting the firestorm over whether it was *right* to build, despite that it was legal. Also during the week of August 16, Rauf was sent by the State Department on a diplomatic tour of several Middle Eastern countries to promote religious tolerance, leading conservative pundits to question his motives and whether he would raise funds for Park51 on the taxpayer-funded trip. For the two weeks following, the story returned to a simmer until Pastor Terry Jones announced his plan to publicly burn Qurans in protest of Park51. The event was scheduled for September 11, 2010, the ninth anniversary of the World Trade Center attacks. Speculation over whether Jones would act, General David Petraeus and U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates announcing that such an event would endanger national security and the proximity to the anniversary all fanned the flames of the media spectacle.

Fox News represents the most egregious propagandists in all of the media sampled. They are repeatedly lambasted by other networks for misrepresenting quotes, using only short soundbites out of context, to paint a picture of Imam Rauf as a radical Islamist, bent on conducting stealth jihad under the guise of an innocuous Islamic community center. Skewing quotes is a hazard of news organizations adopting political agendas, but MSNBC and CNN manage to convey a point of view without misrepresenting reality. Here, Fox News's Sean Hannity interviews Ibrahim Ramey and invokes partial quotes from Rauf.

HANNITY: They wouldn't even meet with the current governor of New York that was talking about an alternative site. Mr. --, let me ask you this question, the Imam has basically said in this interview, if we don't get the mosque, America will be attacked and that soldiers will be in jeopardy. What do we -- is that a threat?

IBRAHIM RAMEY, MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY: I don't think it is a threat from him. I certainly don't want to see the United States attacked, I don't want to see U.S. troops or any other human beings.

HANNITY: Hang on, what he is saying and implying here is that either you capitulate, you acquiesce, you better be prepared because there is going to be more attacks. You can't interpret it any other way.

RAMEY: Well, let's just be very fair about this. Imam Rauf is not a military commander in Al-Qaeda. He's not directing violence against the United States. If anything, I think his record in the interfaith world is quite contrary to that. He's not an Islamist. He's not a jihadi. He's certainly not advocating violence.

HANNITY: He said America was an accessory to the 9/11 attacks. He says, he wants America to be Sharia compliant. Those are radical views, sir.

RAMEY: Well, it is not radical to say that the United States trained operatives that eventually turn on the United States, that's simply matter of history. As far as Sharia is concern.

HANNITY: Wait. You agree with the idea of blaming America? America is an accessory.

(CROSSTALK)

RAMEY: No, no, no. I would appreciate if you don't try to put words in my mouth. I am answering the question. I never said that America was somehow, you know, behind the attack. I'd simply said that the United States during the period of the soviet invasion of Afghanistan trained people that eventually attacked the United States.³⁰

When Ramey attempts to clarify Rauf's meaning, Hannity proceeds to implicate Ramey as sharing the imam's "radical" beliefs. Rauf's actual quotes show moderation and a commitment to bridge-building. In an interview with ABC's Christiane Amanpour, he said:

My major concern with moving it is that the headline in the Muslim world will be Islam is under attack in America. This will strengthen the radicals in the Muslim world, help their recruitment. This will put our people, our soldiers, our troops, our embassies, our citizens under attack in the Muslim world.³¹

³⁰ Hannity, S. (2010, September 10). Interview with Dr. Zuhdi Jasser and Ibrahim Ramey [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

³¹ Amanpour, C. (2010, September 12). Remembering 9/11; Muslims in America [television broadcast]. American Broadcasting Company.

This comment was construed as a threat against America by the hosts of *Fox & Friends* as well, a mistruth driven home by the on-screen text that read, “More Mosque Threats... Imam says center’s move could spark violence.” Media Matters reported that the hosts referred to the comments as a threat at least 10 times during a single program.³²

Hannity also says of Rauf, “. . .he scares me, wanting American to be Sharia compliant,” a talking point adopted by his fellow Fox News hosts. In an interview with Laura Ingraham, Ahmed Rehab attempts to clarify the imam’s viewpoints:

INGRAHAM: Do you agree with the imam's comment that the U.S. is the most Sharia compliant nation in the world?

REHAB: Again, you have to understand what he means by that. The way he defines Sharia is our laws that are essentially pro-human, pro-life, pro-construction, not the way that you or others may define it as this, you know, anti-American, anti-democracy, anti-freedom sort of thing. When he defines it that way, he looks at America and says yes, America is pro- freedom, pro-democracy, pro-human rights. Therefore, it is Sharia compliant.³³

In the same interview, Rehab astutely states the problem of taking a few minutes of soundbites, all out of context, to characterize a man and his movement:

INGRAHAM: Now Ahmed, I'm sure you have a lot to say after that "Talking Points Memo". But here's my first question to you. Now that we've learned more about what this imam has said about the United States, specifically the point that America is an accomplice indeed an accessory to the murder of 2700 of her own citizens, do you think that is moderation?

AHMED REHAB, CAIR: Well, the way you frame the question is very disingenuous, just as the way that you tried to identify this man based on one position, political position that, you know, is unpopular, is also very disingenuous. Just like any other American, he has every right to hold a position that is unpopular politically. It does not make him--

³² Schroeck, Eric. “Memo to Fox & Friends: No matter how many times you say it, Rauf’s comments weren’t a threat.” *Media Matters*. September 10, 2010.

³³ Ingraham, L. (2010, August 23). Talking Points Memo and Top Story [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

INGRAHAM: Wait, wait, you have every right, Ahmed--

REHAB: It does not make him--

INGRAHAM: --to say anything you want. And before you call me disingenuous, was there something in that sound bite that we just played, was that in an inaccurate portrayal of his view two weeks after September 11th? Two weeks?

REHAB: I can bring to your show 2,000 hours of what you would call very moderate language from this man, and then ask you the question does this sound moderate? You can't play five minutes, or two minutes, or 30 seconds, and ask the question does this sound moderate? Well, that portion of what you just said may not but then many other things. You know, it does not headline who he is. What headlines who he is, is the 30 plus years of moderate behavior. Not just words that he has essentially led the Muslim community in, in terms of interfaith work, in terms of intercultural work.

Right now, he's in the Middle East speaking to Muslims in Muslim majority countries, talking about America and American values. In doing the bidding for America in the Middle East in terms of its image, in order to in better understanding of the Middle Eastern populations of American and Americanism. So, again, it's just -- it's unfair for you to look at this one sound bite and attempt to define Imam Rauf.³⁴

Attempts at reasoning with Hannity, O'Reilly or Ingraham, as with most of the Fox News hosts, appears to result merely in crosstalk. Here, Ingraham questions Rehab about Park51's funding, reiterating a popular Fox News talking point that terrorist group Hamas is a potential contributor:

INGRAHAM: Why won't he answer questions about the funding, though? I mean, no -- I mean, they won't answer questions about the funding. Will they say they won't take money from Iran and the project's founders will not say they won't take money from Iran? You don't think that's a reason for people to say, gosh, this could be terrorist money fueling the building of this mosque.

REHAB: Laura, the sense--

INGRAHAM: That's a concern easily batted away.

REHAB: Honestly with all due respect, the sense I get from your coverage is that you're a little all over the place. One time he's a radical, one time he's insensitive, one time it's the funding. I mean, which is it? You know, as far as the funding, like--

INGRAHAM: They're legitimate questions all across the board. That's why.

³⁴ Ingraham, L. (2010, August 23). Talking Points Memo and Top Story [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

REHAB: Well--

INGRAHAM: There are so many questions--

REHAB: Right.

INGRAHAM: --it's hard to deal with in a five minute segment. That's why. He's not answering questions.

REHAB: But you can't find--

INGRAHAM: He's hiding behind his wife.

REHAB: And you can't find any legitimate questions or answers to express why this (INAUDIBLE) opposition.

INGRAHAM: Funding and accessory to murder. Those are just two points. Okay, well, you know, this disingenuous host and the funding thing is critical. It's critical.

REHAB: Right, but let me answer the question. Let me answer the question. Our government has ways and is responsible to ensure that anything funded in this country is legal. He will abide by these laws.

INGRAHAM: That's your bar?

REHAB: You and -- well, I mean--

INGRAHAM: That's the bar you're setting? I think they should be able to say of course we're not going to take money from terrorist organizations--

REHAB: Well--

INGRAHAM: --because we're building bridges.

REHAB: Of course they're not.

INGRAHAM: That's easy to say.

REHAB: Okay.

INGRAHAM: Then say it. They didn't say it.

REHAB: If that's not obvious to you, Laura, let me say—

INGRAHAM: They will say-

REHAB: --of course they're not going to take money from terrorist organizations.

INGRAHAM: The project founders, they won't say it, Mr. Rehab. I appreciate it. Thank you very much.³⁵

³⁵ Ingraham, L. (2010, August 23). Talking Points Memo and Top Story [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

When Ingraham misconstrued Rauf's statement that America has more Muslim blood on its hands than Al Qaeda due to the U.N. sanctions against Iraq during the 1980s, Fox News's liberal commentator Alan Colmes made a point similar to Rehab's in fewer words:

INGRAHAM: Blood on their hands.

COLMES: See, you're extracting out of context something he said in 2005 without the full context of what he said. He has been very clear. In fact, in a book that he wrote published by the company that distributes this show by Harper San Francisco, he talked about how wrong it is to ever have terrorism or to kill anybody in the name of religion.³⁶

And again after much crosstalk, during which Colmes asks to know when he may speak three times:

INGRAHAM: The idea that a man who's supposed to be building bridges, whether you agree with him or not, makes statements about America having more blood on her hands than al Qaeda, that that is going to be an effective bridge builder?

COLMES: Laura, you are guilty of smearing a man by taking one sentence out of context and ignoring the number of things he has said that are indeed bridge building and that have -- the fact is if you look at the actual metrics, yes, we have to understand how our actions in other parts of the world affect our view of us.³⁷

Also notable about Fox News's coverage concerning Park51 is one glaring omission. Fox News commentators have raised questions about Park51's funding from the beginning, alluding to "terror dollars" they feared would come from sources like Hamas. What comedian and mock news show host Jon Stewart uncovered is that the second largest shareholder of Fox's parent company News Corp is Saudi Prince Al-Waleed bin Talal, a known contributor to the Carlyle

³⁶ Ingraham, L., and Colmes, A. (2010, August 24). The O'Reilly Factor: Impact [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

³⁷ Ingraham, L., and Colmes, A. (2010, August 24). The O'Reilly Factor: Impact [television broadcast]. Fox News Network.

Group, a business partner to the bin Laden family. Al-Waleed has also done business directly with Rauf, donating more than \$300,000 to Rauf's endeavors. News Corp shares a reciprocal relationship with Rotana, Al-Waleed's Saudi media empire. Media Matters reports that "Al-Waleed owns a seven percent, \$2.3 billion stake in News Corporation. Likewise, News Corporation owns a nine percent, \$70 million stake in Rotana."³⁸ Fox News has not commented on the connection, yet continues to smear Rauf's alleged fundraising campaign.

Analysis

The Park51 controversy was covered extensively in the media over a span of months. As predicted, newspapers and television news handled coverage differently, and coverage varied still within each medium. The *New York Times*, America's paper of record, gave scarce coverage over the sample period to an issue that pervaded Manhattan. The *New York Times* broke the story and reported the vital facts, leaving further coverage to the smaller locals and the national television news. It would seem that the *New York Times* adopted the path that other news outlets would later lament not following; that is, not making a spectacle of what is, essentially, a non-issue. Whether the *New York Times* predicted the wave of Islamophobia this story would ignite is unclear, but it is apparent that the *New York Times* did due diligence by its audience by reporting the facts and leaving speculation, gossip and minutia to the rags. The *Wall Street Journal* took a similar approach, recognizing what little importance such a story had to its business-minded audience. It would be pandering, for instance, for the *Wall Street Journal* to report on Pastor Jones, Bill Keller or the other motley crew of characters, and a squandering of resources. As

³⁸ Frisch, Karl. "No. 2 shareholder of Fox News' parent company has funded Park51 planner." *Media Matters*. August 20, 2010.

papers regarded for their national and international prestige, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* left this story to the local dailies and the talking heads. *Newsday* ran only one Park51 story in the sample period. Because it is not a New York City paper, the controversy may not have been of interest to its audience, or perhaps the other New York City dailies saturated the market for coverage, leaving *Newsday* to focus on truly local stories.

The *Daily News* covered the controversy with the highest frequency, printing daily updates of each facet of the complex web. Generally, the tone was neutral, objective and factual. The *Daily News* served its local readers by reporting on lawmakers' perspectives and giving insightful angles to the story, like its relation to the Zadroga bill that would impact the community. Amid its hard news coverage, the *Daily News* also engaged in some unconventional stunts, like the news experiment gauging the appropriate distance from ground zero for a mosque and the Miss USA farce. The *Daily News* ran sensational, often inflammatory quotes, and editorialized on the issue on several occasions. It also standardized the news formula for protest coverage, whereby Park51 opponents are depicted as irrational, vitriolic bigots and supporters are reasonable peace-seekers. It could be that the *Daily News's* portrayal of each group is a legitimate reflection of their dynamics, but it seems a broad brush to have each incident of protest read just the same. Based on the general tone of the stories sampled, the *Daily News* seems to have taken an editorial stance contrary to the propaganda narrative we would expect. The tone is largely supportive of Park51, evidenced by the sourcing of pedestrians in a way that flatters one mission and demonizes the other. Also contrary to the PM's predictions, the *Daily News* consulted unofficial sources nearly twice as often as official sources. Quoting pedestrian protestors and supporters, Park51 founders, influential Muslim community members,

construction workers and others, the *Daily News* wrote its narrative largely from the public's perspective.

The *New York Post*, a News Corp publication, is regarded as a tabloid rather than a reputable daily, and its editorial style reflected that. Official sources were consulted more often than unofficial sources, but the difference is negligible. The paper displayed instances of every dimension of analysis save for anthropomorphism. Anti-otherness, individualism and objectification appeared in its characterization of Muslims and veiled equation of Islam to terrorism, particularly by using a member of Hamas as the spokesperson for all Islam and the repeated "us vs. them" tone. The implication that Park51 supporters are somehow conspiring with terrorists and generalizations about Middle Eastern nations perpetuate the culture of Islamophobia that many have said this controversy has bred. Sensationalism is rampant in the *New York Post's* coverage of Park51. Speculation and conspiracy, loaded rhetoric and inflammatory language, selection of salacious quotes: all of these draw readers, but do not constitute what is considered objective and responsible journalism. The bias of News Corp is evident in the tone of these stories. *The New York Post* takes a conservative slant, opposed to Park51, and presents its mission on a tabloid, entertainment news platform.

The network news coverage, with little variation among networks, was markedly different in style from newspapers, but maintained a relatively neutral tone. Television news relies heavily on interviews and in-depth profiles, rather than the hard, spot news of newspapers. Though frequent hard news updates do occur, the emphasis is human interest. Rather than facts and figures, interviews focused on how the subject felt about a situation, or his reaction to some stimulus. Contrary to the PM's predictions, network programs relied almost exclusively on unofficial sources; Imam Rauf and Pastor Terry Jones appeared on nearly every program.

Perhaps in line with the PM, however, is the fact that sources opposed to Park51 outnumber supporters, including Rauf himself, by 2:1. Both official sources interviewed, Rudy Giuliani and Newt Gingrich, are opposed as well. The narrative of the opposition is arguably the more interesting one. Save for the very fringe of the right-wing, everyone agrees that Rauf has the constitutional right to build. That it would be insensitive to do so is the compelling counterargument, one with which 70 percent of Americans agree. That is certainly the position adopted by every television news outlet except for MSNBC. The protestors also serve as a gripping visual element, the driving force behind television news coverage. The most extreme among them epitomize the stereotypes of hillbillies and wing nuts to which we have become familiarized. Their placards with outlandish slogans, offensive photographs and xenophobic messages are absurd to some audiences and inspirational to others. In either case, these images draw large audiences.

Much more variation occurred between cable channels. CNN most closely resembled network programming. Anchors and reporters appeared neutral. Though the majority those interviewed were Park51 supporters, it is impossible to definitively draw a trend from such a small sample. One might speculate that because four of the seven interviewed view Park51 positively, CNN has taken a pro-Park51 stance, but there is no clear indication in the data to support such a claim. There is no support for the PM's sourcing filter. Only one of the interviewed was an official source. Donald Trump represents the corporate elite, but his aforementioned fame, rather than any actual expertise, makes him newsworthy.

Fox News and MSNBC represent either end of the political spectrum on cable television. Fox News, despite its blatantly conservative mission, interviewed a nearly even number of Park51 supporters and opponents. What is interesting, however, is who Fox consulted to

represent the pro-Park51 camp: each of the four interviewed is Muslim. This reinforces the “us vs. them” narrative espoused by Fox News on this issue, reinforcing for their viewers the claim that “mainstream America” is against a mosque at ground zero. These people do not look like their viewership and they practice a foreign religion. Whether subconscious or intentional, the decision to portray a certain profile as representing a large minority of Americans’ viewpoints is a powerful rhetorical tool to objectify the adversaries. Like CNN, the majority of those interviewed were unofficial sources. On the opposite end of the spectrum is MSNBC. There were too few programs included in the sample to draw fair conclusions. MSNBC promotes a very liberal editorial style, so one would expect coverage to be in favor of Park51. The one guest interviewed on MSNBC was Gov. Howard Dean, notable as a Democrat opposed to Park51 and an official source.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

As a test of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model, the results of this case study are mixed. It is evident that some outlets within each medium propagandized the Park51 controversy to a greater degree than others. The text of *New York Times* and *Newsday*, for example, did not exhibit the characteristics of propaganda explicated by the PM; however, the PM includes three filters unexplored by textual analyses. Ownership, advertising and flak are internal elements of news production that may be better researched in further studies. Only text lie within the confines of this particular analysis, and that text did reveal instances of propaganda as defined by the sourcing and anti-otherness filters, as well as the additional characteristics of propaganda introduced in the literature. The *New York Post* exhibited a reliance on official sources and a highly sensational tone that, at times, reflected anti-other sentiment. The *Daily News* also used sensationalism to the effect of favoring one viewpoint over another, though the point of view was opposite what we might expect of the corporate elite driving news production. The *Daily News* also consulted unofficial sources with considerable frequency. For these reasons, the only newspaper truly engaging in propaganda in accordance with the PM is the News Corp affiliate the *New York Post*. It is necessary to note that an in-depth analysis of the internal operations of these publications might reveal propagandistic practices not conveyed in the selected text.

Analysis of television also yielded mixed results. Network news—ABC, NBC and CBS—exhibited minimal sensationalism and relied on unofficial sources rather than political and

corporate elites. The point of view of these programs was neutral, not lauding one side of the controversy over the other. Using the text as a barometer, the networks would not be considered agents of propaganda under the PM. The cable news shows tell a different story. CNN, the more moderate of the three, resembled the networks in its tone, style of coverage and reliance on unofficial sources, and thus does not indicate production of propaganda. MSNBC's representation in the sample is not sufficient to draw definitive conclusions, but some speculation may be made. MSNBC certainly adopted a strong point of view, but that stance was contrary to the narrative we might expect from the corporate elite. MSNBC resembles the *Daily News* in this regard, using a sensational tone, but not in a way that propagandizes Park51 under the definitions of the PM. Fox News validates some tenets of the PM. The tone of Fox News was both sensational and anti-other. Sources were largely unofficial, but the sourcing itself reinforced the "us *versus* them" sentiment. The paucity of official sources contradicts the PM's predictions about the third filter, but Fox News is the most propagandistic of the television news outlets sampled.

This study suggests that American media cannot be considered a monolith of propaganda. Using the Park51 controversy as a case study, a textual analysis revealed mixed results. Some outlets are far more propagandistic than others in their manners of sourcing and anti-other ideology. Here, the outwardly conservative media exhibited propaganda to a greater degree than their liberal and moderate counterparts. Because Park51 is a private business venture, political and corporate elites did not have a unified position. Traditionally, America's position has been anti-Islam, though that relationship is heavily nuanced (e.g., outfitting Afghans with weapons during the Cold War.) Historical inconsistencies aside, the United States is currently involved in conflict with Islamic nations. The September 11 attacks were committed by terrorists who also

happened to be Muslim. Unrest in northern Africa and the Middle East has the United States questioning its alignments. Anti-Islam in this case is not necessarily an aggressive hostility toward Muslims, though that is sometimes its manifestation, but an ideology of us *versus* them. Islam is the invisible enemy. We sense the actual enemy is hiding amongst innocent Muslims, and because we have no way of distinguishing, we take a mainline stance against the religion or profile as a whole. The current climate of American-Islamic relations is tumultuous, suggesting that elites—particularly political elites—would regard Park51 with the same anti-Islam sentiment that is being demonstrated in the larger political context.

Media coverage of cases like Park51, in which the corporate and political elite have no discernable stake, is difficult to classify as propaganda. Without knowing the internal procedures surrounding ownership, advertising and flak in each media corporation—though the PM does not suggest an all or nothing analysis—educated guesses by process of deduction are as definitive a diagnosis of propaganda as can be made. News stories certainly represent someone's point of view, be it that of the writer, advertiser or CEO. Identifying an absolute truth to hold each story against is an exercise in futility; therefore, the most effective way to identify propaganda within the text is to compare the newsgathering process to standard conventions of journalistic objectivity. Sourcing practices and clear biases like anti-otherness are indicators of non-objectivity, and may indicate propaganda.

Herman and Chomsky, as well as Lester (1994), Young (2008) and other scholars, have validated the PM in a number of cases. The model was designed to explain media coverage of international events, and has been shown to explain domestic policies as well, like energy and waste. The PM does not appear able to predict media behavior in cases like Park51, where government and corporations do not have a direct stake or policy consensus. Unlike the Cold

War era, during which the United States government was unabashedly anticommunist, both the George W. Bush and Obama administrations have insisted that the United States is not at war with Islam. The propensity of media to propagandize events like the Park51 controversy is based on partisan ideology and the general political climate rather than corporate or government directives. To succeed in its foreign policy objectives, the United States government must maintain an invisible enemy. Public support for the war efforts rests on the belief that an enemy exists, and that the U.S. military is the “white hat.” Historically, the government has been a prime mover of propaganda, but in this heavily mediated environment, government can rely on other blocs for propaganda. In Herman and Chomsky’s ideal propaganda scenario, all mainstream media outlets adopt the same messages and disseminate them *una voce*, bolstering hegemony with the illusion of consensus. Although this case study did not produce sufficient evidence that sourcing and anti-otherness were used consistently as propagandizing tools, the sheer amount of coverage is propagandistic in itself. The government has a vested interest in maintaining an invisible enemy. Park51, a seemingly innocuous community center, transformed into “the ground zero mosque” in a media firestorm that questioned the motives of the imam, invoked the victims of September 11 and created a clear dichotomy of us *versus* them by insinuating a false equivalence of *terrorist* with *Muslim*. Even those outlets that emphasized support for Park51 perpetuated the story, the crux of which is dichotomy, imbedding it in the public consciousness. Using this propagandistic message, hegemony is maintained by the manufacture of consent.

REFERENCES

- Aday, S. 2010. "Leading the Charge: Media, Elites, and the Use of Emotion in Stimulating Rally Effects in Wartime." *Journal of Communication*, 60: 440-465.
- All Things Considered. (2010, September 1). "The Saudi Prince, the Mosque and Fox News". *National Public Radio*. Retrieved January 4, 2011.
- Allan, S. 1999. *News Culture*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Associated Press. (2010, August 18). Mosques already near World Trade Center site. *Associated Press*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/38760800/ns/politics-more_politics
- Bagdikian, B. H. 2004. *The New Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Barbaro, M., & Hernandez, J. C. (2010, August 3). Mosque Plan Clears Hurdle in New York. *New York Times*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Baum, M. A., & Groeling, T. 2008. "New Media and the Polarization of American Political Discourse." *Political Communication*, 25: 345-365.
- Bennett, W. L. 1990. "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communication*, 40: 103-125.
- Blumenthal, R., & Mowjood, S. (2009, December 8). Muslim Prayers and Renewal Near Ground Zero. *New York Times*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Boyd-Barrett, O. 2004. "Judith Miller, *The New York Times*, and the Propaganda Model." *Journalism Studies*, 5: 435-449.

- Brahm, G.N. Jr. 2006. "Understanding Noam Chomsky: A Reconsideration." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 23: 453-461.
- Chomsky, N. 1989. *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies*. London: Pluto.
- Chomsky, N. 1991. "International Terrorism: Image and Reality" in *Western State Terrorism*. Ed. A. George. New York: Polity Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1998. "Propaganda and Control of the Public Mind." In *Capitalism and the Information Age*. Eds. R.W. McChesney, E.M. Wood and J.B. Foster. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Corner, J. 2003. "Debate: The Model in Question." *European Journal of Communication*, 18: 367-461
- Cottle, S. 2000. *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Cottle, S. 2006. *Mediatized Conflict: Developments in Media and Conflict Studies*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Cunningham, B. 2003. "Re-thinking Objectivity." *Columbia Journalism Review*, July/August 2003: 24-32.
- Daily Show, The. (2010, August 23). "The Parent Company Trap". *Comedy Central*. Retrieved January 4, 2011.
- Elliott, Justin. (2010, August 16). How the 'ground zero mosque' fear mongering began. In *Salon*. Retrieved October 25, 2010, from http://www.salon.com/news/politics/war_room/2010/08/16/ground_zero_mosque_origins
- .

- Entman, R. M. 1990a. "News as Propaganda." *Journal of Communication*, 40(winter): 124-127.
- Entman, R. M. 1990b. "Dissent on *Manufacturing Consent*: A Reply by Robert Entman." *Journal of Communication*, 40(summer): 190-192.
- Fox & Friends. (2010, August 23). "Ground Zero Mosque Like JCC?" *Fox News*. Retrieved January 4, 2011.
- Frisch, K. (2010, August 20). No. 2 shareholder of Fox News' parent company has funded Park51 planner. In *Media Matters*. Retrieved January 4, 2011, from <http://mediamatters.org/blog/201008200055>
- Garnham, N. 1986. "Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass Communication." In *Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works* (2001). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Goodwin, J. 1994. "What's Right (and Wrong) About Left Media Criticism? Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model." *Sociological Forum*, 9: 101-110.
- Gottschalk, P., & Greenberg, G. 2008. *Islamophobia: Making Muslims the Enemy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gurevitch, M., T. Bennett, J. Curran, and J. Woollacott (eds) (1982) *Culture, Society and the Media*. London: Methuen.
- Heneghan, T. (2010, July 22). NY imam plans "Muslim Y," not Ground Zero mosque. *Reuters*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from <http://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-50328020100722>
- Herman, E. S. 1982. *The Real Terror Network*. Boston: South End Press.
- Herman, E. S. 1985. "Diversity of News: 'Marginalizing' the Opposition." *Journal of Communication*, 35(summer): 135-146.
- Herman, E. S. 1990. "Dissent on *Manufacturing Consent*." *Journal of Communication*, 40(summer): 189-190.

- Herman, E. S. 1992. *Beyond Hypocrisy: Decoding the News in an Age of Propaganda*. Boston: South End Press.
- Herman, E. S. 2006. "The propaganda model revisited." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, 48: 115-129
- Herman, E. S. 2000. "The Propaganda Model: a retrospective." *Journalism Studies*, 1: 101-112
- Herman, E.S., & Chomsky, N. 2002. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. 2004. "Reply to Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang." *Political Communication*, 21: 103-107.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. 2004. "Further Reply to the Langs." *Political Communication*, 21: 113-116.
- Hernandez, J. C. (2010, May 26). Vote Endorses Muslim Center Near Ground Zero. *New York Times*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Hsieh, H-F., & Shannon, S. E. 2005. "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis." *Qualitative Health Research*, 15: 1277-1288.
- Iqbal, Z. 2010. "Understanding Islamophobia: Conceptualizing and Measuring the Construct." *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13: 574-587.
- Iyengar, S., & Hahn, K. S. 2009. "Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use." *Journal of Communication*, 59: 19-39.
- Kaid, Lynda L. and Dorothy K. Davidson. 1986. "Elements of Videostyle: Candidate Presentations Through Television Advertising," in L.L. Kaid, D. Nimmo, and K.R. Sanders, eds., *New Perspectives on Political Advertising*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

- Klaehn, J. 2002. "A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model.'" *European Journal of Communication*, 17: 147-182.
- Klaehn, J. 2003. "Behind the Invisible Curtain of Scholarly Criticism: Revisiting the Propaganda Model." *Journalism Studies*, 4: 359-369.
- Kuklinski, J. H., Quirk, P. J., Jerit, J., Schweider, D., & Rich, R. F. 2000. "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship." *The Journal of Politics*, 62: 790-816.
- Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. 2004. "Noam Chomsky and the Manufacture of Consent for American Foreign Policy." *Political Communication*, 21: 93-101.
- Lang, K., & Lang, G.E. 2004. "Response to Herman and Chomsky." *Political Communication*, 21: 109-111.
- Lee, T-T. 2005. "The Liberal Media Myth Revisited: An Examination of Factors Influencing Perceptions of Media Bias." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49: 43-64.
- Lester, E. 1992. "Manufactured Silence and the Politics of Media Research: A Consideration of the 'Propaganda Model.'" *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 16: 45-55.
- Lester, E. 1994. "The 'I' of the Storm: A Textual Analysis of U.S. Reporting on Democratic Kampuchea." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 18: 5-26.
- Lichter, S.R., Rothman, S., & Lichter, L. 1986. *The Media Elite: America's New Power-Brokers*. Bethesda, MD: Adler & Adler.
- Love, E. 2009. "Confronting Islamophobia in the United States: Framing Civil Rights Activism Among Middle Eastern Americans." *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43: 401-425.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. 1976. "The Ruling Class and the Ruling Ideas." From *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Collected Works*, vol. 5 in *Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works*. Eds. M.G. Durham and D.M. Kellner. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Mayring, P. 2000. "Qualitative content analysis." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1.

Retrieved January 7, 2011 from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2386>

McChesney, R. W. 1998. "The Political Economy of Global Communication" in *Capitalism and the Information Age*, eds. R.W. McChesney, E.M. Wood and J.B. Foster. New York: Monthly Review Press.

McNair, B. 1994. *News and Journalism in the U.K.* London: Routledge.

Morgan, J. (n.d.). Mosque Controversy, Iraq War Dominate the News. In *Pew Research Center*.

Retrieved October 25, 2010, from

http://www.journalism.org/index_report/mosque_controversy_iraq_war_dominate_news

Mullen, A. 2010. "Twenty years on: the second-order prediction of the Herman-Chomsky Propaganda Model." *Media, Culture & Society*, 32: 673-690.

Murdock, G. 1982. "Large corporations and the control of the communications industries" in *Culture, Society and the Media*. Eds. M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran and J. Woollacott. London: Routledge.

New York City Department of City Planning. (n.d.). Zoning Reference: Commercial Districts Overview. In *NYC.gov*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from

http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/zone/zh_commdistricts.shtml

Park51Community Center (n.d.). Facilities. In *Park51*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from

<http://blog.park51.org/programs/facilities>

Park51 Community Center (n.d.). Vision. In *Park51*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from

<http://blog.park51.org/about/vision>

- Phillips, P., & Project Censored. 2007. "Left Progressive Media Inside the Propaganda Model" in *Censored 2008*. Eds. P. Phillips, A. Roth and Project Censored. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Poole, E., & Richardson, J. E. 2006. *Muslims and the News Media*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Rigney, D. 1991. "Three Kinds of Anti-Intellectualism: Rethinking Hofstadter." *Sociological Inquiry*, 61: 434-449.
- Said, E. 1997. *Covering Islam*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Salazar, C. (2010, May 6). Building daamaged in 9/11 to be mosque for NYC Muslims. *Associated Press*. Retrieved January 11, 2011, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2010-05-07-mosque-ground-zero_N.htm
- Salmon, C. T. 1989. "Review of *Manufacturing Consent* by Herman and Chomsky." *Journalism Quarterly*, 66: 494-495.
- Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, V. 2005. "In 'Sync': Bush's War Propaganda Machine and the American Mainstream Media" in *Filtering the News*, Jeffrey Klaehn, ed. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Schlesinger, P. 1989. "From production to propaganda?" *Media, Culture and Society*, 11: 283-306
- Schudson, M. 1989. "The sociology of new production." *Media, Culture and Society*, 11: 263-282.
- Sparks, C. 2007. "Extending and Refining the Propaganda Model." *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 4: 68-84.
- Thimmesch, N. & American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. 1985. *A Liberal Media Elite?: A conference sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute for Public*

Policy Research/ edited by N. Thimmesch. Washington D.C: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Tuchman, G. 1972. "Objectivity as Strategic News Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *The American Journal of Sociology*, 77: 660-679.

Young, K. (19 December 2008). Colombia and Venezuela: Testing the Propaganda Model. *North American Congress on Latin America*. Retrieved March 21, 2011, from <https://nacla.org/node/5344>

APPENDIX

NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS CODING SHEET

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti- otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinform- ation | Notes |
|--------------------------------|---|--|--------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|---|---------------------|--|
| NYT 001 8.17.10 Hulse | Right to build, unwelcome, supportive, local issue, constitutional, non-argument | Quotes: Harry Reid, adviser Manley, Maynard, Renacci, Clyburn, Nadler, el-Gamal, Gingrich, Palin | None | None | None | None | Gingrich quote – comparing GZ to Pearl Harbor and developers to Nazis | None | Balanced sources Focus on policy No evidence of prop. |
| NYT 002 8.23.10 Barbaro | Supportive – debunks claim that Rauf is terrorist | Ad by Lazio, quotes Cuomo for Gov. race | None | None | None | None | Ad itself is sensational, but reportage is fair | None | Balanced sources Straight facts No evidence of prop. |
| NYT 003 8.24.10 Haberman | Heavy on opinion, mocking opponents, “gotcha” tone | All opponents – rally | None | None | None | None | Quoting extreme rally attendees, invoking 9/11 families, smug opinion | None | Sources unbalanced Gotcha on rallyers Hyperbole |
| NYT 004 8.24.10 Vitello | Neutral (not supportive or opposed) fact-driven w/ neutral quotes Opposition by Pataki Focus on Greek orthodox church | Pataki, Demos, Bishop Andonios, Supporters and opponents, Sigmund | None | None | None | None | Sensational quote from Patakiotherwise neutral | None | Facts, almost balanced (slightly anti) focus on Greek Orth. |
| NYT 005 9.6.10 Santos | Straight reportage, choice of quotes somewhat mocking of Keller (but his own words) | Bill Keller Supporters (1) Opponents (~3) | None | None | None | None | Straight reportage of very sensational quotes | None | Fact driven, fairly balanced sourcing (as fair as story allowed) |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|--|--|--|---|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|--|--|--|
| NYP 001 8.16.10 Miller | Emotional, anti, focus on Obama statements | Rollins, Comyn, King, Obama, Nadler | None | “Mainstream of America” – Comyn | “Raw wound...pouring salt into it” - emotional language | None | False contradiction Re: Obama's statement of religion free vs. wisdom – same w/ Fox poll report (61% - have right to build, 64% wrong) | None | Somewhat emotional writing, not quite balanced sources, non-neutral poll |
| NYP 002 8.17.10 Miller | Anti--using Hamas statements as “gotcha” tool; 2 stories here – Hamas + Rauf trip to Mid East (stretch to prove Rauf is terrorist) | Hamas leader Zahar, Schumer, King, Bloomberg, Rauf, Brown | Using Zahar/Hamas as spokesperson for Islam – no counter? | None | None | None | Speculation - “possibility that Am. Govt. helping building contracts” | Shoddy reportage on Rauf trip – casting doubt on Obama statements, “reportedly w/ stops...” Were there stops or not? | Hamas as Islam authority, 2 stories passed off as 1, rumor, shoddy reporting |
| NYP 003 8.17.10 Earle | List of quotes fairly balanced emphasis on opposition focus on election/debate | Reid, Angle, el Gamal, Obama, Ntl. Republican Committee, Schumer/Fallon, Gibbs, Coats, Scott, Bloomberg, Christie, McMahon | None | None | None | None | “Islamic” dinner at WH? | None | Sourcing mostly anti, but that's nature of story |
| NYP 004 8.17.10 ? “Missed Mosque Moment” | Editorial? Extremely anti anti Park51 and anti Obama | None Quotes Obama, cites Zahar, Rauf and Reid | “Mosque honcho” | None | None | None | Hamas “backs” project – suggests active collaboration, but Hamas only commented; “spectacularly inappropriate” | Opinion-laden “so close to GZ” - relative closeness; “spectacularly inappropriate” site | Is this an editorial? Opinion-laden, emotional rhetoric anti-Obama: “waffle” “flip flopping” |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|------|------|---|---|--|--|
| NYP005 8.17.10 Cassidy | Letter to editor? Extreme emotion “dead heroes,” “murdered” | Quotes Bloomberg, Rauf | Likening Park51 supporters to “those radical anti-American Muslims” Snark: “bright and thoughtful,” “moderate Muslim” referring to Rauf | None | None | “GZM advocates just don’t want to address the truth”; “if mosque moved, only group unhappy would be those radical anti- American Muslims” | “2,749 innocent victims murdered,” “dead heroes” | “invoke dead heroes” comment very hypocritical— that’s exactly what opponents are doing (individualism” | Emotional language, opinion-laden, objectification, sensational language, individualism |
| NYP 006 8.18.10 Earle and Topousis | Anti, suspicious, conspiratorial | King, Paterson spokesman, quotes el Gamal, Regenhard, White House spokesman Burton | “Muslim nations....donors could harbor extremist views.” □ | None | None | None | “A mere 500 ft, or 2 blocks, from northern boundary of WTC site”; “calling it only a community center” | Speculation - “Reid’s move left WH officials scrambling to downplay the political divergence” speculation - “donors could harbor extremists views” - just b/c they’re foreign? | Unbalanced sourcing, anti-other/individual, sensationalism, extreme speculation/accusation |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Objectification | Anthropomorphism | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|---|---|---|-----------------|--|---|---|---|
| NYP 007 8.18.10 ? “Rights – and Wrongs” | Editorial? Opinion-laden conspiratorial, accusatory | Quotes Rauf, Mayor Paterson and Gov. Bloomberg | Blatant comparison of Park51 backers to terrorists – accusation; Park51 “obnoxious”, “incitement” | “Rauf is not being a good neighbor”; “New Yorkers have a right— if not the duty—to express concern” | None | Generalization - “certain Mideast countries lavishly fund Islamist extremists” | Invoking Hamas | Suggests constitutional recourse against GZM – under “redress of grievances” - GZM isn't gov't act, it's private business | Opinion-laden, highly emotional rhetoric, accusatory/speculative, individualism, objectification, sensational; misinformation |
| NYP 008 8.19.10 Earle and Topousis | Inflammatory conspiratorial | Sultan, Pelosi, Burlingame, Dean, Park51 blog, State Dept. Crowley, Obama, Time poll (misleading) | “Hasn't convinced some Americans he isn't a Muslim himself” | None | None | None | Inflammatory language - “Holocaust-denying, Iranian nuke nut” Accusing Obama of being a Muslim | Skewed poll reporting “24% believe Obama is Muslim, only 47% believe Christian” - only is a loaded word and suggestive | Inflammatory language, misleading poll reportage, anti-otherness |
| NYP 009 8.19.10 Scott | Straight reporting on polls - almost | Polls: Siena Research Institute, Time, Rasmussen | Condemning polls for using “Muslim Community Center” instead of mosque? | None | None | None | See anti-otherness* | None | Fairly straight reportage, some possible incredulity about not calling it “mosque” |
| NYP 010 8.19.10 Fasick and Campanile | Value laden - “just” | Even balance of pro and anti | Emphasis is an Americans being anti; foreigners are pro, but slant seems to be that Am. Opinion matters most. Final quotes seems to sum it up - “silly foreigners.” | American sentiment differs radically from foreign opinions | None | None | “Just 2 blocks from WTC” | Perhaps by omission – quote that the site was chosen as provocation- - needed a disclaimer that the site had been prayer space for months | Some us vs. them tone, some misinformation by omission |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|---|---|---|------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|---|
| NYP 011 8.20.10 Fermino | Generally supportive – emphasis on religious freedom, associating Rauf w/ Bush | Daisy Kahn, P.J. Crowley | “Defiant wife” is somewhat loaded – is she defying her gender role? | None | None | None | None | None – added little – reported fact that Rauf under Bush | Generally straight reporting of Kahn’s quotes |
| NYP 012 8.21.10 Earle and Hurt | Neutral, straight reportage | Rauf quotes, Graham, Kahn | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight, factual, minimal rhetoric |
| NYP 013 8.22.10 Mushnick | Editorial? Loaded, inflammatory | none | Anti-rationality? | Absolutely, questioning whether Mai Lai was murder? Defending Lt. Calley? | None | None | Entirely | Yes – selective reading of texts – WWII concentration camp victims are referred to as murdered all the time (likewise w/ 9/11 victims) | Must be editorial |
| NYP 014 8.23.10 Fenton, Chiaramonte, Olshan | Straight, factual, balanced, juicy quotes, but no rhetoric | 3 anti, 3 pro— balanced reporting on rally attendees | None | None | None | None | Juicy quotes, but to be expected | None | Straight, balanced |
| NYP 015 8.23.10 Fenton and Olshan | Straight, reporting on quotes | All anti (after the meeting); 2 had stake in WTC—we have to trust that NYP gave an even account of attendees; throwing in a Muslim anti is a nice touch | None | None | None | None | None | None | Assuming NYP gave even sampling of attendee sentiment, it was balanced – meeting was “secret,” so we don’t know what was said |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|--|---|--|---|--|------------------|-----------------|--|---|---|
| NYP 016 8.25.10 Harshbarger | Straight, human interest piece | 1 pro, 1 anti, 1 neutral—balanced | None | None | None | None | None | None | Balanced, fluffy |
| NYP 017 8.29.10 Gooderin | Editorial? Inflamed, value-laden, loaded, snarky | quotes from Bloomberg and Dean | Anti-supporters (terrorist sympathizers?) | None | None | None | Loaded rhetoric, inflamed language | None (except he doesn't know the name of the Daily Show) | Attacking Obama and Bloomberg, not mosque itself |
| NYP 018 9.1.10 Campanile and Topousis | Straight reporting of poll | Quinnipiac University poll, quoted Rauf | None | None | None | None | None | None | Polls reported accurately, no misleading framing evident |
| NYP 019 9.5.10 ? | Sensational, accusatory, no attempt to answer “mystery” | None—where did info come from? | None | None | None | None | Accusations of wrongdoing/conspiracy posing a “mystery” with no reporting to solve, back up claims | No sourcing | Sensational, conspiratorial |
| NYP 020 9.9.10 Touposis | Straight reporting of quotes, but tone is almost skeptical? | Quotes Rauf | None | None | None | None | None | Borderline - “There are 2 strip joints near GZ, but farther away than the planned mosque.” - maybe by a matter of yards - point is immaterial | Fairly straight reporting – juicy quotes but little slant evident |
| NYP 021 9.10.10 Touposis & Messing | Sensationalism—remains! | FDNY remains, quotes Rauf, quotes Paterson | Tone scoffs at Rauf as “visionary” | Suggests that only American lives were lost? Maybe a stretch | None | None | The whole story is sensational – the essence is shock and gore! Point is immaterial | None evident | Sensational, immaterial |
| NYP 022 9.10.10 Bennett, Camponile, and Celona | Straight reporting | NYPD, Acquaviva, Geller | None | None | None | None | Hyperbole - “army” | None | Straight, some hyperbole, fairly balanced sources |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|------|------|------|---|---|------|---|
| NYP 023 9.12.10 Sutherland, Montero & Ford | Total 180 – makes antis look irrational and barbaric – almost a pro slant – could just be straight reporting | Protestors on both sides— balanced | None | None | None | Yes - “Dark- skinned Muslim...message is anti-Muslim” - almost shocking that he could differ (suggestion is in tone more than text) | None | None | Straight reporting, but objectification stood out; tone differed drastically from past coverage |
| DN001 8.16.10 Einhorn | Tongue in cheek | Simmons, Muslim prayerhouse site, Champa, King, Burlingame | None | None | None | None | The nature of a story on smut is sensational – tongue in cheek tone adds to soft-news feel | None | Sources unbalanced, but tone is fair, somewhat sensational due to content and tone |
| DN002 8.16.10 Bazinet | Straight, factual | Quotes Comyn, quotes Schumer and Gillibrand spokespeople— balanced and fair | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight, factual, balanced |
| DN003 8.17.10 Bazinet & Lisberg | Straight, factual | Quotes Reid, Burton, quotes Scott ad, Gingrich, Christie, tone is balanced | None | None | None | None | None | None | Unbalanced sourcing, but tone is fair |
| DN004 8.17.10 Bazinet | Straight, Washington- insider tone, policy-focus | Dem source | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight, factual |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|------|------|------|---|---|------|---|
| DN005 8.18.10 Einhorn, Lisberg & Sisk | Focus on legislation – links GZM to 9/11 bill – interesting angle | Feal, Maloney, Smith, Reid spokesman, King, Mazzola | None | None | None | None | None | None | Neutral, straight policy angle |
| DN006 8.18.10 Lovett & Goldsmith | Factual, neutral | King, Paterson spokesman, el Gamal, Sultan, Sky | None | None | None | None | None | None | Balanced, factual |
| DN007 8.18.10 Lovett & Goldsmith | Edit of DN 006 | | | | | | | | |
| DN008 8.19.10 Sisk | Straight, somewhat severe (to appease skeptics?) | State Dept, P.J. Crowley | None | None | None | “Wealthy gulf oil states” - implies Rauf is after money? | None | None | Fair sourcing, even tone, maybe planting seeds of doubt about fundraising? |
| DN009 8.19.10 Sisk | Edit of DN 008 | | | | | | | | |
| DN0010 8.19.10 DeFrank, Bazinet & Lovett | Mocking Paterson? skeptical | Quotes Paterson, Obama, Dolan | None | None | None | None | Running quotes comparing to GZ to Auschwitz – choice of example is somewhat sensational (albeit newsworthy) | None | Sensational quote, but balanced sourcing and tone |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti- otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|--|--|--|--------------------|---|------------------|---------------------|--|----------------|--|
| DN011 8.19.10 Daly | Starts as new, then makes 180 to editorial? Jolting, somewhat misleading | Quotes el Gamal | None | “Patino surely was aware of location to GZ” “Couldn’t be expected to understand...” Very paternalistic – treats Colombian man like ignorant child | None | See “individualism” | Speculation – purporting to know what Patino is thinking | None | Editorial tone, sensational/objectifying |
| DN012 8.19.10 Daly | Edit of DN 011 | | | | | | | | |
| DN013 8.19.10 DeFrank & Bazinet | Reiteration of previous articles. Fairly straight quotes, but reference to Auschwitz | Quotes Obama, Gallup poll, Olson, Dolan/Paterson | None | None | None | None | Comparison to Auschwitz – walks the line because appears in quote, but DN chose to run quote | None | Questionable choice of quotes |
| DN014 8.20.10 Goldsmith | Straight quotes, little analysis | Construction workers—most anti, 1 pro (story is about antis, so it’s fair) | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes, no analysis |
| DN015 8.20.10 Bazinet | Rectifying wrong, clearing up misinfo, straight reporting | Burton, Time poll, Pew poll | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight facts, little mention of GZM |
| DN0016 8.20.10 Fanelli & Siemaszko | Inflamed quotes, straight reporting, but questionable quote choices? | Patino, Giuliani | None | None | None | None | Giuliani quotes are inflamed and irrelevant to a story about Patino | None | Why Giuliani? Story is disjointed |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|---|----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|---|----------------|--|
| DN017 8.21.10 Goldsmith | Ironic and mocking – is this The Onion? Humor angle, or just a chance to take a stab at beauty queen? | Miss USA | None | None | None | None | Story goes from GZM to beauty pageant fluff – who cares? “Dazzled in skimpy bikini” - not news - almost a joke | None | Is this a joke? Miss USA seems irrelevant to dialogue |
| DN018 8.21.10 Katz, Lisberg & Goldsmith | Straight, factual, though seems like thinly-veiled attempt to talk about GZM | Park51 lobbyist Raspberry, Twitter feed | None | None | None | None | Gist of story is Rauf refusal to talk about GZM, but whole article is about GZM? Maybe not sensational, but suspect | None | Straight, factual |
| DN019 8.19.10 Goldsmith | Reporting on protests – standard formula* - get someone anti who's crazy, someone pro who's rational * | Quotes Paterson, Brown, Sullivan | None | None | None | None | None | None | Follows the formula |
| DN020 8.20.10 Goldsmith | Edit of DN 019 | | | | | | | | |
| DN021 8.20.10 Badia, Nocera & Alpert | Formula for protest reporting, straight quoting | Protestors and supporters, quotes Kahn and Rauf | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes, formulaic reports |
| DN022 8.20.10 Badia, Nocera & Alpert | Edit of DN 021 | | | | | | | | |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|---|----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|---|------------------------------|--|
| DN023 8.21.10 Duirkin | Compilation of quotes – formula (antis sound vitriolic, pros sound peaceful) | 2 antis, 3 pros | None | None | None | None | None | None | Is formula itself sensational? Certainly biased |
| DN024 8.21.10 Duirkin | Edit of DN 023 | | | | | | | | |
| DN025 8.19.10 Lovett, Badia & Siemaszko | Straight quotes, mostly antis, formula | Pataki, quotes Limbaugh and Geller, Sky | None | None | None | None | Limbaugh and Geller are sensational, but they are part of the story | None | Straight facts, follows formula |
| DN026 8.20.10 Lovett, Badia & Siemaszko | Edit of DN 025 | | | | | | | | |
| DN027 8.20.10 Lovett, Badia & Siemaszko | Edit of DN 025/026 | | | | | | | | |
| DN028 8.20.10 Lombardi | Straight, quotes, policy/election focused | Maloney, Sanjari | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes, no analysis |
| DN029 8.21.10 McAuliff & McShane | Now news – more like news experiment *Creating new is not news | Brown, Burlingame, Sullivan, DN fake news story | None | None | None | None | Creating news for people to react to – alt sites are DN-created | Fabricated story, in a sense | Fabricated news item |
| DN030 8.21.10 Yanir, Lovett & Goldsmith | Straight quotes, no analysis, factual | Dolan, Bloomberg, Hamdani | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight facts/quotes |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|--|
| DN031 8.25.10 Yanir, Lovett & Goldsmith | Edit of DN 030 | | | | | | | | |
| DN032 8.25.10 McAuliff | Election focus, straight, some election analysis | Brown | None | None | None | None | None | None | Election analysis, straight quotes |
| DN033 8.26.10 Feeney & Goldsmith | Straight quotes, Daniel Pearl angle, sympathetic figure – push for moving GZM? - That's Bloomberg's issue, not DN | Pearl for JTAA, quotes others | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes, new angle based on Bloomberg quotes |
| DN034 8.27.10 Standora | Cites Daily Show Polarized, focused on Bloomberg reiterations | Cites Bloomberg on Daily Show | None | None | None | None | Is the Daily Show newsworthy? Catering to lowest common denominator? | None | Choice to quote Daily Show questionable |
| DN035 8.27.10 Dally - Column | Editorial? Is Rush selling his apt. a demonizable offense? Just cheap segue into Rush-bashing? Relation to Sharif? | None | Anti-right wing? | None | None | None | Editorial-style. See “general tone” - what is Rush-Sharif link? – disjointed | None | Inflamed, opinion-laden, disjointed |
| DN036 8.27.10 McAuliff | Focus on Zadroga bill favors Dems and mosque supporters | King, Dem aide, White House spokesman | None | None | None | None | None | None | Favors supporters |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|---|
| DN037 8.27.10 Sisk | 1 mention of GZM | Sharpton | None | None | None | None | None | None | Not GZM-focused |
| DN038 8.28.10 Fanelli | Focus on Gabrma (sp) backstory – now value laden, despite shady past | | None | None | None | None | None – el Gamal is public (vortex) figure | None | Non-valued Straight facts |
| DN039 8.29.10 Daly | Editorial? Self-congratulatory Stabs at Palin regarding MLK Beck speech – marginally GZM-focused | None | None | None | None | None | Editorial-style, stabs at Palin/Beck, opinion-laden, inflamed rhetoric | None | Editorial, political, pro, only marginally related to Park51 |
| DN040 8.31.10 Siemaszko | Quotes-straight, no analysis | Cites Rauf, quotes Paterson | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes/facts |
| DN041 8.31.10 Siemaszko | Edit of DN 040 | | | | | | | | |
| DN042 9.2.10 Goldsmith | Decision to run story indicates denouncement of Islamophobia straight quotes/facts | Latif, Rangel | None | None | None | None | None | None | Why cover this? Shows willingness to denounce Islamophobia |
| DN043 9.3.10 Goldsmith | Judgmental of Keller - “Muslim-bashing” straight quotes | Keller, Sullivan, Farrakhan | None | None | None | None | Subject is sensational, but reporting is fair | None | Sensational subject, but fair reporting |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|--|----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--|---|--|
| DN044 9.3.10 Goldsmith | Edit of DN 043 | | | | | | | | |
| DN045 9.6.10 Feeney, Strong & Alpert | Reiteration of DN 043/4, with added inflammatory Comments from Paladino | Keller, Paladino | None | None | None | None | None | None (except Paladino can't stop a private venture w/o court-ordered injunction) | Straight quotes – sensational topic, but fair reporting |
| DN046 9.7.10 Einhorn | Straight quotes/facts | Quotes Paterson and Kahn | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes |
| DN047 9.8.10 Meek | 1 st mention of Koran burning; new angle – hate crimes Straight facts | Hinjosa, Miller | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight facts |
| DN048 9.8.10 Feiden | Marginally GZM – related straight, factual | Quotes Rauf in NYT | None | None | None | None | None | None | Almost no mention of GZM |
| DN049 9.9.10 O'Shaughnessy, Parascandola & Lemire | Straight facts/quotes no analysis | Elzanaty, cites Rauf on CNN | None | None | None | None | None | Speculation that a move could end the debate – probably not | Some speculation, little other analysis, straight quotes |
| DN050 9.10.10 Sisk & Goldsmith | Mocking Jones, some ironic, sensational language, straight quotes | Quotes Jones, Obama, Musri, Pentagon | None | None | None | None | “backwoods” “hairbrained” “twisted plan” “vulgar stunt” | “Demonstrating U.S. Contempt for all Muslims hold sacred” ? - What does this mean? | Sensational language – makes for some valued analysis – what does quote mean? (see misinformation) |

| Article Code | General tone | Sourcing | Anti-otherness | Individualism | Anthropomorphism | Objectification | Sensationalism | Misinformation | Notes |
|---|--|---|----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|---|
| DN051 9.11.10 Parascandola, Deutsch & Siemaszko | Opinionated on Jones, some sensational language maybe? | Protestors against Jones quoted, Delta workers, police sources, quotes Obama, quotes Emma Jones in der Spiegel | None | None | None | None | Islamophobia, “fanning the flames of religious bigotry” - implies bigotry existed already around controversy “Islam-hating preacher” “publicly slapped” - not literally (hyperbole) – favors Obama | None | Some sensational, opinionated language |
| DN052 9.11.10 Parascandola, Deutsch & Siemaszko | Edit of DN 051 | | | | | | | | |
| DN053 9.11.10 Parascandola & Siemaszko | Edit of DN 051 and DN 052 No Deutsch? | | | | | | | | |
| DN054 9.11.10 DeFrank & Sisk | Straight quotes No analysis, pro-Park51 | Quotes Obama, Marist poll, Rehab (CAIR) | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight facts, pro-Park51 tone |
| ND 001 8.16.10 Brune | Straight quotes, factual | King, quotes Obama, quotes White House spokesman Burton, Nadler | None | None | None | None | None | None | Straight quotes/factual government sources |