Agenda Setting in the Syrian War: A Framing Theory Approach

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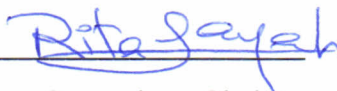
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Abstract

This paper studies how each television covers war using different type of frames based on its agenda setting. Depending on an extensive literature review analysis dealing with similar international and local conflicts and wars, this study links between what happened in the past in other countries and cities and the war in Aleppo.

The paper raises four main research questions: RQ1: how much importance did the television stations give to the Aleppo situation?, RQ2: did the newscasts present both sides (opposition and regime) of the story?, RQ3: what type of language was used by each channel to portray the opposition and the regime?, and RQ4: what types of frames are used by each of the television channels?. To answer these questions, the study is based on framing and agenda settings theories and follows quantitative analysis built on content analysis.

The content analysis analyzes the prime news of two Lebanese televisions, which are *Future* and *Al-Manar* televisions. Data analysis consists of counting the number of stories aired on each television during a specific period, the duration of each piece of news, types of frames used, and the used language.

Based on the findings, the study concluded that "*Al Manar*" broadcasted more news related to Aleppo's war than "*Future*". "*Al Manar*", which obviously supports the Syrian regime, used the language and the frames that match its agenda, while "*Future* television followed an opposite agenda setting, using the humanitarian frame the most, in supporting the rebels, based on its agenda.

Keywords: Framing, Agenda Settings, Media Coverage, War, Aleppo's War, Syria.

Chapter 1: Introduction

War is when two nations or residents of the same nation battle with each other attempting to change the administration or to kill the adversary (civilwar.org, 2014). The Syrian war is not the sole armed clash that took place or is still taking place, in the Middle East. With the beginning of the "Arab Spring," anti-government protests started first in Tunisia in 2011 and extended to include other Arab countries such as Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. The Syrian clash is not two parties simply battling against each other on the field, it reflects an overall clash between the East led by Russia and the West led by the United States of America, with each attempting to spread its control in the locale utilizing Syria as a war zone (Russia Today, 2016).

This war is complex, not just because of the unpredictable actions happening each day, but also, because there are two major poles that are fighting. The first pole known as the eastern alliance includes Russian, the Syrian regime and Hezbollah, a political and military organization in Lebanon made up mainly of Shia Muslims (bbc.co.uk), which are fighting to protect Syria from terrorists. The second pole known as the western alliance includes the United States of America and the opposition who are fighting "to get their freedom from the Syrian regime" (Spiegel.de, 2016, p.4). The opposition consists of separated armies and rebels, such as ISIS, Jabhat al Nusra, and other Islamic parties (Spiegel.de, 2016). ISIS and Jabhat al Nusra are the al-Qaeda branch in Syria, and two of the country's most powerful jihadi groups who are fighting against the regime of Bashar al-Assad (religionandgeopolitics.org).[1]

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[1] Hezbollah - the Party of God is a Shia Islamist political, military and social organization that wields considerable power in Lebanon.
ISIS is a terrorist group led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.
Jabhat Al Nusra or The Nusra Front is an internationally sanctioned terrorist group, the second-strongest insurgent group in Syria after ISIS, which seeks to replace the Assad regime with an Islamic state.

The two major poles running this war have two different agendas with different perspectives and framing of events. This leads to the existence of two truths. The Syrian crisis influenced the entire geographic area surrounding the country, especially Lebanon, which is the closest to Syria. The Lebanese political scheme already divided into two major alliances, including the axis of resistance which is mainly made of Hezbollah that supports the Syrian regime, and the opposition which includes parties who want to remove president Bachar Al Assad from power. Both parties became even more divided because of the Syrian war. While one Lebanese group supported the Syrian regime, the other called for the freedom of the Syrian people.

Analyzing the media coverage of the entire Syrian war is a broad topic, therefore this study will focus on the media coverage of the 2016 Aleppo war by two Lebanese television stations, *Al Manar* and *Future* Television. These television stations were chosen because *Al Manar* affiliated with the axis of resistance supporting the Syrian regime, and *Future* Television affiliated with the Syrian opposition. The analysis is based on the framing theory. Content analysis was conducted to figure out how the two television stations in Lebanon are covering the Aleppo war based on their agenda setting, and how the conflict is being framed in a way to support the political affiliations of the television stations themselves. The study examines the political news content between December 8 and December 23, 2016, the period during which the Aleppo battle reached its peak. This analysis is important due to the major impact of media coverage of Aleppo war on viewers, both in Lebanon and the region. Covering Aleppo battle based on a specific agenda setting could affect the political decisions of the audience who will be affected by media bias.

Chapter 2: Historical Overview of Aleppo war

Aleppo is one of the biggest cities in Syria's, with 2.3 million people living in it. It was also the country's industrial and financial center, which made it a strategic turning point in the Syrian war.

In 2011 protests began against the Syrian President Bashar Assad, requesting political upgrades, however, events in Aleppo went from bad to worse, and the city was transformed into a zone of war in July 2012. Revolt warriors threatened to kick out governmental representatives and get control over northern Syria. As for Aleppo, the rebels succeeded to take control over the eastern part of the city, while the Syrian regime forces took control over the western areas. For more than four years, both parties fought in order to get control over the entire city, the rebels supported by foreign countries, and the Syrian regime supported by his allies, Hezbollah, the Iranian and the Russian army. (bbc.com, 2016).

2.1 Aleppo before the War

Thought to be one of the longest persistently populated capitals in the world with a history as old as Damascus, Aleppo has been won and lost by a progression of kingdoms, sacked by uncountable intruders and lessened to rubble by epic seismic earthquakes.

From its initial years, Aleppo was a city where individuals could work and became affluent. Cuneiform tablets from approximately four thousand years' prior recount a settlement called 'Halabu', in time Aleppo, that was and still, at the end of the day an inside for the creation of garments and texture. Aleppo ended up amidst old Egyptian and Hittite exchange courses because of its close area from the Mediterranean Sea on one side and the waterway valley of the relentless Tigris and Euphrates on the opposite side. The Seleucids, a Greek tradition plunged from one of the lieutenants of Alexander the Great, built up the zone further, while certain

colonnaded roads and yard homes in Aleppo today bear the indications of Roman craftsmanship and Hellenistic urban arranging.

Following the entry of Islam and into the medieval time, Aleppo turned into a focal point of the Silk Road, a monster entrecote pooling in every one of the wealth of India and China for dealers promote north, west, and south.

2.2 Aleppo during the War

The Syrian war detonated into Aleppo in the late spring of 2012, when revolt warriors took control of the east side of the city. The warriors expected their walk into Aleppo will prompt the start of the end for President Bashar al-Assad, while the administration in Damascus guaranteed to drive them out of the city at the earliest opportunity.

Following four long periods of battling neither one of the sides accomplished those objectives. As the battling ground on, Aleppo became the best prize of the Syrian war, which lead all the fighting parties to fight over it. Indeed, even the Syrian government endeavored to take authority over the city by controlling tedious air strikes in order to deficiency the contenders and which just added to expanding the amount of pulverization.

The eleventh-century minaret at the Umayyad mosque was demolished, areas of the medieval souk, have been destroyed and burned to the ground. Present day structures have additionally endured. The Shahba shopping center on the outskirts of the city has shut - assumed control by various gatherings amid the phases of the battling around Aleppo.

The Baron Hotel, whose list if people to attend included British frontier officer T.E. Lawrence, also called Lawrence of Arabia, King Faisal of Syria and Iraq, and Kemal Ataturk, organizer of present-day Turkey; turned into a fortress on the cutting edge.

The Syrian armed force, with all the help, got by the partners, could take control over Aleppo by picking up an area from the agitator in the east side of the city. For the Syrian administration, the triumph was accomplished. In any case, Aleppo is changed to the most exceedingly awful. The city has lost its personality because of the enormous annihilation, surviving just in recollections and pictures (reuters.com, 2016).

2.3 Aleppo after the War

Opposition resistances crumbled on after substantial besieging which pushed them to withdraw, giving the Syrian administration and its partners' full control of the renegade held eastern locale of Aleppo. In excess of 90 percent of eastern Aleppo which was already held by the dissidents since 2012 is presently controlled by administration forces.
"The situation on the ground is catastrophic. Every moment is worse than before. Everything has stopped except the shelling, except the starving, except the cold of the winter, and the fear, and the terror. Everything has stopped," Ammar al Salmo, leader of the Syrian civil defense in Aleppo, told VICE News.

Taking control over Aleppo gave Assad's forces control of Syria's five biggest metropolises and weakens the opposition's last stronghold in the five-year civil war.
Assad declared that taking Aleppo "won't mean the end of the war in Syria, but it will be a huge step towards this end." By taking back the city, the Syrian regime could drop Syria into a deeper crisis and place those who are fighting al-Assad at a bigger risk.

Fighters who are still at Aleppo will have to choose between being captured by the regime and its allies or to abandon the city towards a different place where they can join their allies. "This will not end the war, nor will it suppress the opposition, but it will end the rebellion as a strategic threat to the regime of Bashar Assad and push the insurgency into a greater reliance

on extremists, creating more space for international terrorists and protracting the war," Kyle

Orton, a research fellow from the think tank Henry Jackson Society said. (trtworld.com, 2016)

2.4 Where does this Leave the Opposition?

Losing control of Aleppo is viewed as one of the resistance powers' most noticeably

awful annihilation since Aleppo is considered as a vital city in the war going in Syria. Their

thrashing implies that radicals have lost their last huge nearness in a Syrian primary city, yet

regardless they have control on a portion of the farmland zones, for example, west Aleppo, and

Idlib district in the northwest.

The opposition declared that losing military control over Aleppo did not weaken its

ability to eliminate Assad from power. "If Assad and his allies think that a military advance in

certain quarters of Aleppo will signify that we will make concessions, then that will not happen.

We will not make any concessions," Syria's chief opposition coordinator, Riad Hijab said

(trtworld.com, 2016).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This section provides an overview of academic studies dealing with ways in which media cover crisis and their influence during similar periods. It also examines how that coverage is ultimately tied with a specific agenda related to that medium.

3.1 News Framing During War

"War in the Media: The News Framing of the Iraqi War in the United States, Europe, and Latin America" by (Pestalardo, 2006)analyzed how the war in Iraq was framed by nine leading newspapers from USA, Europe, and Latin America: "The New York Times, The Washington Post, The San Francisco Chr., The London Times, The Moscow Times, The International herald tribune, La Nación, El Universal Mexico, El Universal Venezuela." The study relied on the "framing" theory; it studied how each newspaper covered the events, and what each newspaper focused the most on before and after the war depending on its sources, frames, and approaches. Pestalardo (2006) went through quantitative content analysis. She used seven research questions while studying 600 samples out of 4400 extracted for all nine newspapers. The research questions focused on the coverage of the nine newspapers before and after one week of the American invasion of Iraq. The sample of newspapers chosen was based on the national reputation of the news publications, the importance of the media's country on their region during the Iraq conflict, and the online availability. The study uncovered what each newspaper was focusing on the most, which were what specifically. It was also to detect their main concerns depending on the region and the political regime they belong to. Differences in framing were obvious between the American, European and Latin American newspapers where we can find that each newspaper had a different source for information, chose different incidents to cover from different approaches using different vocabulary which serves the objective of the paper. For

example, the United States newspapers focused more on the US army victories, while other newspapers focused on victims of war.

These ideas about framing war in Iraq are constructed on reviewing in what way occasions are held. Also, some indications look in both directions at the same time as the coming article that indicates how televisions had explicit and different outlines based on how America and Iraq covered news.

3.2 Control Room during War

Two Channels, Two Truths: Reporting the Iraq War in Control Room by Ursula Boser (2011) is a study based on how American and Iraqi televisions covered the Iraqi war that started in 2003 based on the agenda settings they had.

Theoretically speaking, the writer focused more on how the war was framed and what part of the conflict each control room decided to show and how. The study used the qualitative research design as it analyzed "AL Jazeera" image broadcasting and another five American television channels. The findings showed that conflicted parties offered controlled access to information and images. Journalists in Iraq had the right to cover under the eyes of the party they belonged to. It was a highly controlled environment that seemed to paralyze journalistic independence and provide immediacy without context and overview. A conflict existed between a professional code of unbiased reporting, culturally inflected obligations to bear witness and military priorities.

During the Iraqi war, propaganda was an integral part of any military campaign. Both the American and Arab televisions were trying to justify themselves. Invasion shots became familiar on televisions, bombs raining down on Baghdad and tanks driving through the desert. American televisions focused on heroic soldiers, exciting weaponry, and splashy graphics to show their

power Arab televisions had a different framing. They focused more on victims, on American prisoners and US. Marines' dead soldiers. The Americans were, then, trying to make people believe in their victory and the Arabs were delivering an image of hope to raise the spirit of Iraqi soldiers and to show to the world that they are victims of a cruel war.

Both control rooms didn't need to justify, because people didn't like justifications, all they wanted was the victory (Ursula Boser, 2011). Televisions were providing them with what they needed to see.

"Two Channels Two Truths" covered how televisions reported on the war from different frames based on a specific agenda. Despite these differences in framing between American and Arabian news listed in the previous article about the Iraqi war, a recent study suggests similar findings of the Vietnam war, how it was covered and how television conveyed the information to people.

3.3 Television Coverage during War

Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and the Vietnam Veteran by Erin McLaughlin (2016), as the title says was made right after the Vietnam War to figure out how American television channels helped in shaping the US. Army war against terrorism and how it affected American foreign policy. Using framing and agenda setting, the study showed how American channels were involved in the war, how they covered it and what messages they wanted to deliver to their audiences.

McLaughlin (2016) analyzed how the early coverage was made and what television channels wanted to show and how. The study showed major changes in farming, duration, and nature of images during the coverage and how they led to the turning point during the war. Finally, the study dealt with the influence of televisions on politicians and on the public.

The study showed that during the early coverage (1967) 86% of CBS and NBC programs were based on US army missions. They were very supportive, and producers were trying to make the news more entertaining and more dramatic to the audience.

McLaughlin (2016) focused more on qualitative studies during his methodology process. The support started to decrease in 1967 but the major turning point in television's coverage of the war occurred during the Tet Offensive in late January 1968. Tet offensive is when over 80,000 Vietcong troops emerged from their tunnels and attacked every major metropolitan center in South Vietnam. "Strikes were made at the American base at DANANG, and even the seemingly impenetrable American embassy in SAIGON was attacked (McLaughlin, 2016). During the weeks that followed, the South Vietnamese army and U.S. ground forces recaptured all the lost territory, inflicting twice as many casualties on the Vietcong as suffered by the Americans.

Before Tet, journalists described most of their stories as victories for the United States. After Tet, the minority of the battles were deemed victories. Before the Tet Offensive, there were four television stories showing the positive side of the army, and not even a single story covering the negative side. After Tet, only two stories covered the positive side of the army, while fourteen stories covered the negative side.

The major change in US American television agenda setting affected American politics, Vietnam Veteran, and public opinion negatively. Politicians were obliged to end the war; soldiers were showed as criminals instead of national heroes and the audience were already exposed to thousands of graphics.

The study covered the majority phases of the American televisions framing switch, including types of reports, nature of images, stories, and the message behind each coverage

during the Vietnam War, but it did not mention how foreign televisions covered the fights or at

least how Vietnamese televisions were trying to frame the war from their own perspective.

In the face of these reports and studies about the Vietnam War, other writers have proposed the

"Truth" in mounting during war coverage and how studies were evaluated throughout several

time settings.

The main purpose of the study was to show how media coverage affects public opinion in

time of war. The study proved that using different frames will hide and modify the truth leading

to change the pass of war. The Truth behind Framed News "Framing the Truth": U.S. Media

Coverage during the War on Terror by (. Wiggins, 2013) discussed how U.S. news media framed

the war and conflict during the World War II, Gulf war, Vietnam war, Iraq war and how it has

changed after 9/11 attack. It also discusses how the 24-hour news channels have grown, the

issues of language effectiveness and credibility.

The study discusses events based on the "framing" theory using a qualitative

methodology that refers to analyzing studies made before about war framing and language used

in covering any conflict before and after 9/11.

The study finds that coverage during the Vietnam War was practicing patriotic journalism

until the Tet offensive. After Tet USA puts limits to journalistic access to subsequent military

engagements because of the negative impact of media coverage especially that media started to

frame an anti-war protest. During WW2 media framed the conflict as a part of the American

tradition.

The Gulf and Iraq war military conflict was more controlled leading media to reflect

official positions and the audience to support the conflict. During Iraq, war media was trying to

prove a truth that war is considered as an event, where two parties are fighting to achieve their

goals and when they do war will end without focusing on the fact of how many people were killed or became homeless.

After the 9/11 attack, the media had a huge shift. News coverage became narrow. Thematic similarity among frames and the credibility of the news had increased. Also, terrorist attacks in other countries were covered in the same way by the American media such as in London and Madrid.

The U.S. administration could reflect its views about the war on terror by filtering events with the help of the media. This led to a meta-frame which means how American news media cover and frame events. Media did not criticize the war on terror and did not include any diplomatic options or different viewpoints.

The 24-hour news channels were also affected after 9/11. Instead of covering news about war all day long, they started adopting an overt tone of patriotism to the exclusion of contrary viewpoints, like the use of soft power. The 24-hours news became highly effective, but it decreased the journalist objectivity.

Beside the meta-frame, U.S. media had a major change in the used language in her war on terror. The positive language was used to reinforce the USA and negative language was used to weaken the enemy. In general, the media coverage was similar during the war on terror and other wars, but the framing was a bit different whether it is episodic or thematic and the subject. The meta-frame was used for the comprehension of a larger set accident related to a topic such as the war on terror and it could be thematic or episodic upon the purpose of the message. Media made war more enjoyable and balanced after 9/11 by focusing more on military achievements and heroics stories.

The study did not mention how the most popular media channels in the USA were covering war so readers would understand how the media shift was truly made after 9/11 and how they covered the war on terror. In terms of language, the author only said that it was positive while talking about USA and negative while talking about enemies. He didn't provide us with examples about how news was written positively or negatively and provide us with the impact of such language on the audience, on the U.S. government and on the opponents.

Besides what was discussed in the previous article about framing the truth. A new study talks about peace journalism according to framing arguing a different point of views of media enclosing, schemes, and self-governing variables.

3.4 Peace Journalism in Time of War

Framing Analysis of a Conflict: War / Peace Journalism is a study made by Nicole Yang Lai (2009) after the "keris wielding incident" when Umno Youth Chief Hishammuddin Hussein gave his infamous keris-wielding speech during the Umno Youth Assembly, that happened in 2007 to study how extensively was the incident and the subsequent apology covered by Sin Chew Daily, and if the war frame or the peace journalism frame was dominant during the conflict.

The study relied on two theoretical frameworks, first the war/peace journalism theory and second framing theory. Yang used a quantitative methodology based on analyzing the content of 20 articles about the incident and 14 articles about the apology in "Sin Chew Daily" newspaper regarding the incident. The study used two independent variables: 1-Extent of coverage: "types of news items, number of news items, size of news items, published day of news items and location of news items" and 2-Dominant frame: "war journalism and peace journalism".

It also used a dependent variable which is the coverage of "Keris wielding incident and subsequent apology" in both war and peace framing. The findings showed that for the extent of coverage, a big ratio of the news was straight during the incident. Also, the study showed that the percentage of news about the incident written on weekdays was bigger than that of the apology. The Dominant Frame showed that the coverage of the incident was framed as war journalism is cardinal than neutral. As for the apology and peace, journalism's percentages were divided equally.

The Indicators of War Journalism for the Coverage of Keris Wielding incident showed from highest to lowest percentages from the articles were elite orientation, partisanship, the dichotomy of the good and bad, here-and-now focus, and differences orientation being the lowest. In addition, it was proved that the source of news came from Barisan National are of the complex part from opposition parties. The amount of favorable impression towards keris; keris wielding act; or Hishammuddin and the government was more than the negative opinion of it. In pursuing dichotomy of the good and bad, blames were made toward each party.

The Indicators of Peace Journalism for the Coverage of Keris Wielding incident showed that 60% of the framing was agreement orientation, coming down to avoiding the labeling of bad and good, framing the causes and consequences and the non-partisanship.

The Indicators of War Journalism for Coverage of Apology showed that framing was formed of full percent of elite orientation decreasing from partisanship, the good and bad and of differences orientation. Also, while covering the apology "Sin Chew Daily" was targeting the elite people only and ignoring normal people.

The indicators supporting peace journalism frame for the coverage of apology showed that the proportion was more than 50% of the framing was agreement orientation, less than 50% of causes-and-consequences, avoiding the labeling of good and bad, and of non-partisanship. Based on the findings, the study figured out that Sin Chew Daily had a lack in covering both "Keris act" and the apology. Hense, war framing was used the most. In the apology, we had equality between war and peace journalism.

Overall, the study was built up in a good way. it includes different angles of media framing. The analysis was specific and helped a lot in judging the media's role during and after the incident. But it could be done better if it had included the effect of the media on the target audience based on war framing during the "keris act" and equality between war and peace during the apology.

Conclusively, these forms of analysis have some interesting features about how framing was used in altered aspects from War, to the truth, to peace. Therefore, coverage plays an immense role in how news is delivered to the viewers.

3.5 Malaysian Newspapers 'Coverage during the Iraq War

Agenda Setting Theory and International News: A Comparative Analysis of News Articles Coverage on Iraq War in Malaysian English Newspapers by (Hanaa Kadum Kassed, Che Su Mustaffa, 2017) the purpose of this study is to discuss the effect of Agenda Setting on media coverage of Iraq war in - the New Straits Times Press (NSTP) and the Star newspaper. The study relied on "Agenda Setting" theory while examining 535 news that was published in (NSTP) and the Star through three different periods of time which are before, during and after the Iraq war.

Through a quantitative content analysis, the study examines news articles and stories in the NSTP and the Star newspaper (before the war 15 January 2002 until 8 April 2003, during the

war 9 April 2003 until 28 June 2004 and after the war 29 June 2004 until 18 September 2005). The study investigates four main issues which are: The United States of American policy and the war on Iraq, Iraq's needs and suffering due to war, Malaysia's policy towards Iraq, and the impact of Iraq war on Malaysia.

By elaborating the four main issues investigated by the study, we find that the first issue related to US policy and the war on Iraq includes the US invasion of Iraq under the excuse of weapons of mass destruction without any approval from the UN, the US double-standard policy which has been used during the conflict between Israel and Palestine, and others countries opposition towards US policy. The second issue investigates the Iraqi people suffering during the whole period of war due to destruction, killing and lack of food and medications.

Malaysia's policy towards Iraq which is the third issue refers to Malaysia support for Iraq and Palestine and how Malaysian's government refuses the US policy towards the Middle East. The fourth issue examines the impact of the Iraq war on Malaysians living in Iraq and in neighbor countries, and on the Malaysian economy due to its policy towards the Middle East and the U.S.

In conclusion, the study showed agenda setting as an effective tool that media can use for coverage. Based on its Agenda Setting, each media decides what is important to cover and from which perspective it should deal with. By analyzing the results, the study proved that NSTP and the Star focused on a different angle during the Iraq war, each based on its Agenda Setting. NSTP published more news stories and articles about "Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The United States of America policy and the war of Iraq" than the Star while the Star focused more on the issue of Iraq needs and suffering during the war.

The findings also proved the theoretical proposition claiming that when media select certain issues and portray them frequently and prominently based on their Agenda Setting, that gives more exposure to a specific issue, leading people to believe that this issue is more important than any other issues, which will automatically lead to the theoretical proposition that media is capable of telling people what to think about, but not how to think about, which directly refers to the first level of the agenda setting theory.

3.6 Media Coverage and "Attitude Objects"

News framing during a time of impending war and examination of coverage in The New York Times prior to the 2003 Iraq War by (Melkote, 2009), this study examined the way in which The New York Times newspaper framed the incident, issues that happened one month before the start of the 2003 Iraq war. The study concentrated on George Bush Jr, Saddam Hussein, the United Nations, and weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, the US Armed Forces in Iraq and Russia, France and Germany who were against the Iraq war. The study exposed the negative bias in The New York Times coverage, particularly toward Saddam Hussein, weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, the United Nations and Russia, France and Germany.

The study relied on "Agenda Setting" theory to examine news framing during a time of impending war and the New York Times news coverage before and during the incident. The study focused on the 'attitude objects' that received the newspaper's attention which are the nouns that elect the newsmaker, and the pronouns referring to those nouns. The attitude objects chosen for this study were: Administration of Saddam Hussein, administration of President Bush, the United Nations 550 The International Communication Gazette Vol. 71 No. 7 and its weapons inspections teams, weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, the US army in Iraq and Russia, Germany and France opposition against the US due to war.

The research questions asked in the study to inspect The New York Times coverage are:

RQ1: How extensively was each attitude object covered in the time frame of the study?

The second part of the study observed subjects linked to media framing. The study examined whether biases existed toward the attitude objects. RQ2: How did The New York Times frame each attitude object? That is, did all the attitude objects receive the same degree of favorable, neutral or unfavorable coverage, or were they treated unequally? The question about direction (favorable, neutral and unfavorable) of coverage of attitude objects was asked to discover whether bias existed in the framing of news objects or not. RQ3: To what extent did The New York Times use reports, inferences, and judgments to describe attitude objects?

Based on content analysis methodology, the study went back to the time frame between February 18, 2003, and March 19, 2003, to analyze The New York Times Iraq War coverage in order to verify the three research questions.

In conclusion, the study proved the influence of media coverage and used frames on the audience, which take us back to the second level of agenda-setting calming that media coverage has an impact on reader's opinions and attitudes. The negative media coverage of attitude objects such as the United Nations and France have a role in telling the readers what to think about and how to think about when it comes to these attitude objects. In addition, agenda-setting theory has recognized many consequences of second level effects (McCombs, 2005) such as priming of attitudes or opinions about newsmakers, developing an opinion, and shaping of opinions of issues through selective attention on specific attributes. The results of this study suggest that the frames used by The New York Times to cover attitude objects such as Saddam Hussein administration, the United Nations, weapon mass destruction, the US army in Iraq and Russia, Germany and France may have contributed to such effects.

3.7 Media Power throughout Crisis

Power and role of media in crisis by (Hannu-Pekka Laiho, 2009) explores media and journalists' effect - power and role - in crisis reporting in the last eras since the Vietnam War. The study relied on "Agenda Setting" theory to figure out the role of media in the internal development of Yugoslavia during the 1980s in addition to the Gulf War in 1991, the civil war in Rwanda 1990-1994 and the war on terrorism led by the United States of American starting in 2001 after 9-11 attack and which is still going including the war on Iraq.

The research question focused on if media is considered as an independent operator or it is driven by political leaders and other opinion makers who set the agenda-setting for journalists and media.

The study conducted through close examinations to media coverage between 1980 and 1990 that journalists failed to understand that Yugoslavia was rapidly slipping into a civil war, contributed indirectly in Balkans crisis and that journalists could prevent the crisis from happening or contain part of its side effects it if they had reported the incident differently. Back to the Gulf war, the U.S. led the 1991 war against Iraq. In the outcome of that war, television and other media were blamed for having failed to deliver a balanced and broad coverage of the war. Some critics argued that the failure is due to the corporate owners of commercial networks who believed it was not in their business interest to fully report the Gulf war.

The study investigated the role of journalists during the civil war in Rwanda 1990-94, stating that news media had a crucial role in the 1994 Rwanda genocide: local media enhance the idea of killing, while worldwide media either ignored or misunderstood what was happening.

The war on terrorism (2001 – and still ongoing) and the second Iraq war (2003) have also been a crisis where media and journalists have played a major role in. The New York Twin Tower attack happened on September 11 – launched a process in the western world in which the media switched its traditional way of reporting and the American media started to support wars in a patriotic way. The American flags, yellow ribbons, and other national symbols appeared during the news, several networks aired programs to support the American army, and some eminent journalists lost their jobs because they had some critical comments that do not fit with the American media new campaign.

President George W. Bush's campaign "the war on terrorism" included the war against Iraq as well, journalist and scientists at the USA stated through journal's article that media have done well reporting the war, but it has also played an ignorant role in the discreet battle to affect and influence the public opinion.

In conclusion, the study proved that journalists did not understand the content of their power leading to misusing it instead of being cautious and that political leaders used media starting 1980 and till 2003 as a medium to prepare their nation to war through well-organized war propaganda. Media have influence and power which gives people who are in control the chance to deliver their messages and spread there believes through print and digital media as facts or truth regardless if the delivered message is positive or negative.

3.8 Media Effect on Political Parties

Political Agenda-Setting in Belgium and the Netherlands, the Moderating Role of Conflict Framing by (Julie Sevenans, Rens Vliegenthart, 2015) investigates the role of conflict framing as a mediator of the political agenda-setting consequence. Conflict is a part of politics; political argument rises from political parties taking contrasting positions. The study assumes

that conflict framing in media coverage empowers the significance of the news for politicians, who will automatically react even more to this news in parliament.

The study relied on "Agenda Setting" theory while looking at media news coverage and parliamentary questions in Belgium between 1999 and 2008 and the Netherlands between 1995 and 2011. The research question was set to determine if media increase attention for a specific issue, would that lead to increasing questions in parliament about the same issue?
The research question leads to two hypotheses, the first stating that "An increase in media attention for an issue leads to an increase in parliamentary questions about the issue".
The second hypothesis: "The higher the levels of conflict framing in news coverage, the stronger the political agenda-setting effect of the media on parliamentary questions will be".

To test the two hypotheses, the study relies on a dataset that is built on a content analysis of news coverage and parliamentary questions in Belgium and the Netherlands during the two eras. In conclusion, the study found that media conflict framing has cognitive effects on citizens as well as on politicians. "Conflict acts as a catalyst of political agenda-setting effects. Issues that attract media attention to become more politically consequential when they are presented in a conflictual manner".

Media attention for a specific issue will raise the parliament attention as well, in other words, media coverage has an influence on parliament members in both countries which confirm hypothesis one. Adding to that, the study has proved that if media succeeded in creating conflict while framing a news or an issue, this will increase media's effect on parliamentary attention, in other words media's effect on individuals varies depending on the conflict a news contain which confirm hypothesis two, but it must be taken into considerations that politicians do not unconditionally adopt the media agenda. Rather, the level of adaptation varies based on the

content itself, which will define if the topic will be taken into consideration or not. By Testing

and proving the two hypotheses in two different countries, the study conducted through its

similar findings that the results can be generalized to other Western European countries that

follow a similar media structure and political systems.

3.9 Power of Stakeholder Media

"The Agenda-Setting Power of Stakeholder Media" by (Mark Lee Hunter, Luk N. Van

Wassenhove, Maria Besiou, Mignon van Halderen,2013) analyzed how media controlled by

stakeholder groups, or "stakeholder media," worked out an authoritative effect on the strategic

agendas of Beyond Petroleum company during the oil spill disaster that killed many of the

company's workers and caused pollution.

The study relied on "Agenda Setting" theory figured out the process in which

stakeholders use their own media to put pressure on Beyond Petroleum Company and its

corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities. The research question focused on how

stakeholder media can be different and with a greater impact and influence than the traditional

news media.

The study recognizes tactics through which stakeholder groups used their own media

platform to achieve desired outcomes, as support for or extensions of strategies known from the

literature on social movements. These strategies are based on precise characteristics of

stakeholder media that vary from mainstream media. These communication tools have changed

the dynamics of stakeholder influence: on one hand, allowing them greater freedom from and

influential collaboration with mainstream media as well as with other stakeholders; and on the

other, enlarging the scope and momentum of their adversarial campaigns.

In conclusion, the study proved that during Beyond Petroleum deadly incident Stakeholder media had a greater impact than traditional media, since stakeholder has the power to control and to put pressure on a company forcing it to deliver a message that fits with stakeholders' benefits. Stakeholder media will always server the stakeholders' community by affirming what matters to them, and what sorts of outcomes they want to see.

In conclusion, the literature review has proved that the media was able to affect the audience point of view and decisions over and over when it comes to crises and war. It also showed that the way a conflict is covered will specify how it will end.

The literature review examined the same situation this study is based on. Starting with Vietnam War and how American, European and Vietnamese televisions covered it. Media coverage at that time played a key role in controlling the major events of that war, US televisions helped shaping US army war against terrorism, which is the case of both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions in covering Aleppo war. The literature review shed the light on Iraq war as well showing how American televisions supported US army based on a specific agenda setting, and how Iraqi televisions supported Iraqi army based on a different agenda setting. The same situation applies on *Al Manar* who is supporting the Syrian regime and *Future* Tv who is supporting the rebels. Finally, the literature review studied how televisions covered crisis based on political orientations, and how media coverage affected the audience, which applies on *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions considering the fact that each has its own political orientation.

Chapter 4: Research Question and Hypothesis

Research Questions

The paper goes through media coverage during Aleppo's war. By analyzing each television content, this study tries to prove the stated hypotheses, mainly that agenda settings take control over media by choosing what to be delivered to the audience based on a specific agenda. The paper also studies types of frames used by each television. In addition, it highlights the real power media has in controlling crisis and in directing people towards a certain path based on an agenda setting.

Hypothesis: "*Future*" television used the humanitarian frame in reporting Aleppo's war more than "*Al Manar*".

RQ1: How much importance did the television stations give to the Aleppo situation?

RQ2: Did the newscasts present both sides (opposition and regime) of the story?

RQ3: What type of language was used by each channel to portray the opposition and the regime?

RQ4: What types of frames are used by each of the television channels?

The study has two variables. The dependent variable is "television coverage of war", which relies on the independent variable "agenda setting". In other words, by analyzing media content during Aleppo's war, the study creates a link between how television coverage of war would change based on the agenda-setting of the television, and most importantly how they want their respective audience to view the war.

Chapter 5: Theoretical Framework

This section provides an overview of the framing theory used in this study. It will give a general view of the theory along with its relation to agenda-setting and specifically frames used in war and/or conflict situations.

5.1 Definition of Framing

The theory was first put forth by Goffman in 1974, under the title of Frame Analysis. How things are presented to the audience is called "the frame." This frame could affect the choices and decisions of the audience based on the way the information is presented. Frames are abstractions that build up and organize the meaning behind every message. Frames influence the perception of the news by the audience, thereby functioning as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (Scheufele & Dietram, 1999). Therefore, by focusing on one side of an issue, frames can switch thought of the audience members' consciousness by affecting their cognition towards certain issues (Price et al. 1997). McCombs explained that the job of a frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text (McCombs, 2005). He also found that the media frame can promote a problem definition, moral evaluation, causal interpretation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (McCombs 2005).

According to Weaver, framing can be studied by means of systematic content analysis or interpretive textual analysis based on the research methodology (2007). He added that framing is concerned with how issues are covered in the media than with which issues are reported. Framing contains a broad range of cognitive processes such as causal reasoning, appeals to

principles, recommendation for treatment of problems, and moral evaluations (Weaver 2007).

Framing is used to give a meaningful sense for an issue (Weaver 2007).

5.2 Relation between Framing and Agenda-Setting Theory

When it comes to media, we cannot ignore the relation between Framing theory and

agenda-setting theory. "McCombs and Shaw (1993) were the first to try connecting the theory of

agenda-setting and framing. They accepted that news conveys data around an issue – this is how

plan set happens. "In the meantime, news accentuates or hides a few traits of the issue – this is

how the confining of the issue happens" (McCombs & Shaw, 1993, p. 16). The exertion of

McCombs and Shaw is invalidated by Scheufele (2000) who guarantees that the casing is an

intricate example and rule for a causal translation which can be substituted just through offering

an option complex example. Today, the impact depicted by McCombs and Shaw is better shown

by the terms second level of motivation setting or quality plan setting (McCombs, 2004).

When dealing with agenda-setting theory, we must know that media do not tell us what to think,

but rather what to think about. Mass media have not been proven effective in determining how

audiences will accept opinions and point of view in media reports. But mass media are effective

in determining what audiences see as newsworthy. By the issues they cover, media can

legitimize a story or marginalize either the entire story or certain aspects of it.

For example, in political campaigns, media may not be effective in swaying public

support toward or against an issue or candidate. But by continually raising questions and issues,

or simply by showing an interest in a political candidate or issue, the media can lead the

discussion toward or away from issues important to the candidate and even to the public.

Erving Goffman studied the framing theory, stating that "Media provide a focus and

environment for reporting a story, influencing how audiences will understand or evaluate it.

(Erving Goffman, 1974). Framing provides a rhetorical analysis of the text (an issue, or the

reporting of the issue) to identify perception and/or interpretation. It involves the use of

metaphor, spin, storytelling, jargon, word choice, and other narrative elements. Framing has been

called an exercise in power (who tells the story first) and persuasion (manipulation of audiences).

For example, through initial reporting, the media may present the facts of a story in such a way

that the audience is given a point of view or frame of reference and interpretation. The media

may report that a political candidate has extreme views on an issue that a budget proposal is

harmful to a group that a new medicine is of questionable safety, and so on. By such reporting,

the media thus have presented a frame through which the story is interpreted by audiences. It

also sets the baseline for future reporting on the issue.

5.3 Forms of Framing

> **Fear:** This frame is commonly used to show a state of fear, anxiety or terror in a specific
>
> group of individuals. Fear may be the result of an event that threatens their lives, or a
>
> problem faced by these individuals. The media usually focus on people's facial
>
> expressions and the way they behave to show their fear. In the case of war, the media use
>
> this framework to show the fear of the fighters in the battle, the fear from death, and the
>
> fear of the citizens from getting killed or placed in danger situation due to the ongoing
>
> war.
>
> "Fear Appeals, Message Processing Cues, and Credibility in the Websites of Violent,
>
> Ideological, and Nonideological Groups" a study by (Norah E. Dunbar, 2014) studied
>
> what is fear and its effects on the audience and on media websites credibility, stating that
>
> fear is a negatively valanced emotion, accompanied by a high level of arousal (Witte &
>
> Allen, 2000). Fear is generally aroused when a situation is perceived as both threatening,

either physically or psychologically, and is uncontrollable (Nabi, 2002b). It is especially

likely that violent groups will use fear appeals, although the impact of fear appeals on the

credibility of websites is not well understood. In other research, the effects of fear on

cognitive processing of messages has suggested that, although moderator variables such

as familiarity with the topic and trait anxiety have an effect on the impact of fear on

cognitive processing, fear generally promotes peripheral processing and reduces an

audience's ability or willingness to elaborate on the message through central processing

(Hale, Lemieux, & Mongeau, 1995; Nabi, 2002a).

"Exploring the Framing Effects of Emotion" by (Robin L. Nabi, 2003) studied the impact

of fear frames on media content concluding that fear frames can negatively affect

information accessibility, desired information seeking, and policy preference .

Weakness or Powerlessness: Most of the time the weakness/ powerlessness frame is

accompanied with fear frame. Both frames are used by media when covering an event or

crisis, by the name "fear and weakness frame". While the fear frame is used to target the

feelings of a specific group of people, the weakness/ powerlessness frame focusses more

on the positioning of this group in a certain event. For media to show the weakness of a

specific party, it tends to cover their power and their ability to change the current

situation and affect their environment.

"News Framing in Post-Communist Press: Engagement and Control or Disengagement

and Powerlessness?" by (Natalya Ryabinska, 2007). This study focused on the media,

which are the main agents shaping people's understanding of political reality in post-

communist countries, with attention to their mobilizing function. The main task of the

research was to compare discourse of the media in the post-communist Ukraine and

Poland regarding their ability to foster or suppress the formation and activation of

people's potential to participate in public life. This was realized via comparative analysis

of the use of the two common news frames, which have a distinguished positive or

negative impact on engagement (the responsibility and powerlessness frames), in the

Ukrainian and Polish news coverage. Based on the study, the powerlessness frame is the

attribute of the stories where the locus of control of an issue is out of site, in the hands of

"powerful others" or simply not possible to identify. In a sense, it equals to non-

attribution of responsibility. Powerlessness frame portrays people as victims of powerful

social forces. It is the attribute of the stories where locus of control of an issue lies

outside individual or his social group. News stories that use powerlessness frame may

implicate that locus of control is in the hands of "wealthy and well-connected" or some

other "powerful others" simultaneously leaving it unclear who these 'powerful others'

are. The other option is to present an issue as being controlled by the government or some

other political actors, showing at the same time that people have no chances to influence

his/her decisions. In the case of framing of political news stories by the powerlessness

frame the media leave the political actors responsible for the social problems out of sigh,

present them as uncontrollable force or as the agents unable to cope with problems. They

also bring no understanding which levels of government have the ability to alleviate the

problems. The news coverage via the powerlessness frame creates a sense of helplessness

against urgent social problems and powerlessness against dominant groups (Neuman et

al. 1992, Just et al. 1998). It makes readers/viewers passive subjects of the political

process unable to control the actions of power holders or competently deliberate on the

ways of solving social problems.

Power: This frame is usually used to show the superiority of a group's strength over another group. This advantage may be in terms of human resources, financial revenues or military capabilities. The group that appears in strong position must be able to defend itself, achieve the things it aspires to, and control the course of events in a way that suits the group. In the case of war, the party that the media shows stronger is the one capable of achieving military victories and take control on the battlefield.

"Frames, Framing and Reframing" by (Sanda Kaufman, Michael Elliott, Deborah Shmueli, 2003). This study discussed power frames claiming that because intractable conflicts are often imbedded in struggles to alter existing institutions or decision-making procedures, disputants' conceptions of power and social control play a significant role in conflict dynamics. Power frames help the disputant determine not only which forms of power are legitimate (e.g., governmental, legal, civil disobedience) but also the forms of power that are likely to advance one's own position (e.g., authority, resources, expertise, coalition-building, threat, voice). For instance, some people may see money as the best way to "buy influence," while other people might rely more on technical expertise or personal charisma to sway people's views.

Support: This frame is used to demonstrate the support of a group of people for a specific idea, which could be political. Support may be for a group of people, or an individual in power. Support can be moral or material. In the case of war, individuals tend to support a party against another group in order to achieve victory.

Support frame is in direct relation with identity frame, since individuals' identity and group affiliation influence how they view and respond to conflict.

"Identity Frames" by (Robert Gardner, 2003) studied how identity frame have a direct impact on individual's decision in supporting a party or an idea over another in a conflict. The study defined "Identity frame" by saying: "the concept of identity frames illustrates the various ways in which people view themselves in the context of specific conflicts. It also allows us to think about how individuals who are part of a larger group are influenced by their affiliation with and participation in that group." (Robert Gardner, 2003, p.1). The study concludes that the identity frame allows us to analyze how individuals' identity and group affiliation influence how they view and respond to conflict. "Because identity describes who we are as a person, we tend to protect those things (beliefs, values, group affiliations) that help create our sense of self." (Robert Gardner, 2003, p.1). When individuals' identities are threatened or challenged through conflict, they respond in ways that reinforce their allegiance to these affiliations. In a nutshell, identity frames "crop" information and perspectives that do not align with or perhaps contradict features of an individual's core identity.

Humanitarian: This frame focuses on showing the humanitarian aspect of crisis and conflicts. In such events, media tries to frame innocent people and civilians in a vulnerable position and in need to be rescued from the dangerous situation they are in. In the case of war, media focuses on showing civilians in a state of psychological and physical fear and trauma because of the extreme violence they have experienced. It also focusses on screening them without shelter, at constant risk because of what is going on in order to win the society's sympathy.

"Contrasting visual frames of our times: A framing analysis of English and Arabic-language press coverage of war and terrorism" by (Shahira Fahmy, 2010) this study

examined visual frames in terms of the human-interest vs technical frame and the anti-war vs the pro-war frame, and exploring the use of two sets of framing devices: graphic portrayal and emphasis. The study analysis of 1387 photographs examined contrasting visual narratives employed by English- and Arabic-language transnational press in covering the 9/11 attack and the Afghan War. For the English-language newspaper, the International Herald Tribune, the frames emphasized the human suffering of 9/11 and deemphasized the civilian casualties and moral guilt of implementing military force in Afghanistan by focusing more on a pro-war frame that showed the complex military high-tech operations and patriotic pictures. For the Arabic-language newspaper, Al-Hayat, the frames focused less on the victims and more on the material destruction of 9/11 and humanized the victims of the Afghan War. Furthermore, it focused on an anti-war frame by running visuals of anti-war protests and emphasizing graphic visuals portraying the humanitarian crisis in the Muslim country of Afghanistan.

Chapter 6: Methodology

This study aims to study, through a content analysis, how *Al Manar* and *Future* television stations framed the Aleppo War in 2016. This chapter will be divided up into four sections: (1) Research Design (2) Research Sample (3) Data Collection, and (4) Data Analysis.

6.1 Research Design

This study will use the quantitative research design by watching prime news on both *Future* and *Al Manar* between December 8 and December 23, 2016, the period in which Aleppo's war reached its peak. News content analysis will show how *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions are covering Aleppo's war. These analyses will support the research by showing how both *Future* and *Al Manar* framed Aleppo's war each based on its agenda-setting.

6.2 Research Sample

This study focuses on news content about Aleppo's war from *Al Manar* and *Future* between December 8 and December 23, 2016, because at that time the battle reached its peak, and media including *Al Manar* and *Future* television had unlimited access to news and graphics (telegraph.co.uk, 2016), and because these two channels are considered the television channels with Muslim ownership and stakeholders. *Al Manar* represents the Shia Muslims, and *Future* represents the Sunni Muslims (Dajani, 2005). Lebanon's population is around 6,237,738 persons, and since Muslims are the majority in Lebanon with a percentage of 54% divided into 27% Sunni, 27% Shia (Indexmundi, 2016). Based on a study made in 2016 by "Ipsos" a global market research and a consulting firm with worldwide headquarters in Paris, France, it shows that 39,8% of the total Lebanese population watches prime news on Lebanese channels on daily basis, which means that 2,482,620 Lebanese are watching evening news. *Future* holds 9% of this percentage

(223,436 individual), and *Al Manar* holds 6% (148,957 individual). Combined *Future* and *Al Manar* hold 15% of the market with a total of 372,393 individuals.

6.3 Data Collection

During the period of interest in this study, all stories related to Aleppo's war were watched on both *Future* and *Al Manar* online archive section. The newscasts of each day were coded in their entirety.   Thus, the newscasts about the specific area (aleppo) and time, duration, language use and frames were the focus of each unit of analysis.

All the news related to Aleppo's war during the selected time were coded based on the following factors:

Duration: Duration refers to the length of the news content. It was coded for either long duration (run time between 2 minutes and 5 minutes), or short duration (run time between 30 seconds and 1 minute). The long duration could emphasize on a message while the short, can imply avoidance and/or not giving importance to the incident related to Aleppo's war.

Number of stories: This indicates the number of stories related to Aleppo crisis in a newscast. Each newscast for each day was analyzed for the amount of news stories related to the war it included for that one viewing.

Language: The news content was coded for language in support of the allies, anything that portrays them stronger and shown giving moral support; or portrayal of weakling the enemy and showing the enemy is defeated. In identifying support for the allies, the researcher paid attention to keywords, such as achieving victory, winning the battle, destroyed the enemy. On the other hand, in reference to portraying the enemy as defeated and/or weak such as lost the battle, surrender, and run to save their life. Language was first examined for presence or absence of this type dialogue; and second the topic of the dialogue was noted.

Used Frames: Frames used refers to the type of frame that the news channel framed the stories about the Aleppo situation. The presence or absence of each one of the below detailed frames were assessed.

1. Fear: the presence of fear was noted every time the news channel portrays the enemy's feelings, fear of the war in case the enemy surrenders or the enemy retreats to save his life.

2. Weakness: the presence of weakness was noted every time the newscast portrayed the enemy's feelings. Weakness could be the case in which the enemy could not protect himself or defend his territory. Also, weakness could be losing battles in war.

3. Power: the presence of power was noted every time the news channel portrayed the allies being able to destroy the opponents and to win the war no matter how hard it is by showing the soldiers fighting with no fear until they reach their goals.

4. People Support: the presence of people support frame was noted every time the news channel portrayed civilians supporting either the regime or the opposition. People support frame could be showing protests supporting the regime or the opposite, or people talking good about the regime or the opposite.

5. Humanitarian: the presence of humanitarian frame was noted every time the news channel portrays the aspects of the crisis, such as framing innocent people and civilians in a vulnerable position and in need to be rescued from the dangerous situation they are in. This frame also focuses on screening them without shelter, at constant risk because of what is going on in order to win the society's sympathy.

　　　Through the content analysis, the researcher noted how many times each type of frame was used during the selected period.

6.4 Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed based on a developed codebook. All the answer options were given a number 1 indicating the presence of and 0 indicating the absence of a frame. All else, such as number of stories and duration, they were noted. The hypothesis was examined through analyzing the used frames by both *Future* and *Al Manar* television channels. Research question one was analyzed by counting how many stories related to Aleppo's war were aired on both televisions and the duration of each. Research question two was inspected by examining which party (regime/opposite) *Future* and *Al Manar* focused on more in each story. Research question three was examined by looking into the used language by both *Future* and *Al Manar* in Aleppo's war stories. Research question four was examined by looking into the used frames by *Future* and *Al Manar* and which frame was used the most and the least by both channels.

Chapter 7: Findings

In this chapter, all the news related to Aleppo's war aired on "*Al Manar*" and "*Future*" televisions during the prime news are presented based on the number of news, duration of each news, used language, and types of frames. The analysis will result in determining how each television framed the war according to its agenda, and how framing helped in shaping the image of the television.

On December 8, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news about Aleppo's war. The first one was 4 min 35 seconds, and the second one was 2 min 50 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo's war. The duration of the news was 1 min 50 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	The return of Syrians to the liberated neighborhoods, neighborhoods liberated thanks to the Syrian army, fast control of the Syrian army, the victory of Syrian army.	Syrian air forces are bombing civilian's shelters, the president Bachar Al Assad is killing Syrians, to many people were killed because of the Syrian air forces attacks, hospitals and schools were bombed by the Syrian army.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorist, preventing civilians to get food and medicine, they abandoned their positions, the collapse of the gunmen, the end of terrorism,	The Syrian opposite is fighting for freedom by her own, no one is supporting the opposite.

	defeat, collapse, crime.	
The used frames: Power of the allies	The regime flag on the top of Aleppo's castle (3:49 min).	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	Bombs factory to show the terror (4:45, 4:52 min), empty forts (5:07, 5:51 min), streets are empty from terrorists (6:45, 6:54, 6:57, 7:01, 7:04, 7:06 min).	None
The used frames: People supports	A man stating that the Syrian army protected the civilians from the terrorists (6:11 min).	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	Syrian army is helping the civilians (5:12, 5:23, 5:27 min), people are going back to their houses (5:54, 5:59, 6:02 min), Syrian army is Renovating infrastructure (6:23, 6:27, 6:29, 6:32 min).	Syrian army attacking civilians (20:14 min), Syrian army tank bombing (21:05, 21:15 min), the destroyed streets of Aleppo (20:28, 21:18, 21:22, 21:24, 21:29 min), the injured civilians because of the attacks (20:26 min), attacking a civilian shelter by a bomb (21:29 min).

On December 9, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news related to Aleppo's war. The first one was 3min 22 seconds and the second was 2 min 17 seconds.	"Future" showed one news related to Aleppo's war. The duration of the news was 2 min 26 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Full control of the Syrian army on all the streets in Aleppo, the Syrian army is attacking the terrorists, the Syrian army besieged the terrorists, the Syrian army is helping the civilians, and the Syrian army is providing food for the fighters who surrender.	Severe attacks from the Syrian army, people were killed because of the attack, fifteen Syrian soldiers were killed.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	The defeat of the terrorist, the fighter's runway.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Soldier fighting with no fear (3:36 min), the tanks are bombing (3:46), Syrian soldiers celebrating the victory (3:53 min), the surrender enemies are saying that the Syrian army treated them well.	None

The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	Man holding picture of the Syrian president Bachar Al Assad and telling how much he loves him and asking God to protect him (3:48 min).	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	The surrendered fighters were given food (4:00, 4:04, 4:06, 4:10, 4:20, 4:30, 4:38, 4:48, 4:57 min), the army is offering food and medicine to the civilians (5:16, 5:18, 5:24, 5:36 min).	Destroyed streets in Aleppo (15:09, 15:14, 15:22 min), bombing Aleppo by the Syrian army (15:26, 15:29 min).

On December 10, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news related to Aleppo's war. The first one was 4 min and the second was 1 min 40 seconds.	"Future" showed three news related to Aleppo's war. The first one was 2 min 30 seconds, the second was 2 min 10 seconds, and the third one 25 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Syrian army is attacking the terrorists, the Syrian government is helping the civilians, people are going back to their homes thanks to the Syrian army, providing help the citizens, entertaining the children, the citizens are supporting the Syrian army, citizens trust their government.	Syrian army is attacking everyone in Aleppo, biggest massacre in the history, the attack is to exterminate everyone and to protect the president, Aleppo's battle is a war crime
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	The defeat of the terrorist, the terrorists are controlling 5% of Aleppo only, the defeat of terrorism, fighters are leaving Aleppo, the fighters will be exterminated.	The opposite might lose the battle but not the war, the opposite will reach the freedom, the opposite will wine regarding everything, the opposite did not surrender.
The used frames: Power of the allies	Soldier killing the enemies (3:15, 3:18 min), fighting without fear (3:25, 3:30, 3:36, 3:39, 3:41, 3:48 min), showing massive weapons (3:59, 4:02, 4:11).	None

The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	Providing shelters to the civilians (5:03, 5:48, 5:50 min), cleaning the streets (4:50, 4:58, 5:00 min), providing food to the citizens (5:52, 5:54, 6:43 min), entertaining the children (5:56 min).	Destruction of Aleppo's streets (7:39, 7:44 min).

On December 11, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	Future TV
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed 1 news about Aleppo's war. The news was 4 min 2 seconds.	"Future" showed 1 news about Aleppo's war. The duration of the news was 30 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	The Syrian army is winning, the Syrian army is controlling more than 90% of Aleppo, the power of the Syrian army is unstoppable, the victory of the Syrian army, the Syrian army will achieve victory in a short time, the Syrian army will lead to the defeat of the terrorists.	The Syrian army bombing Aleppo's streets and killing several civilians.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	The fighters are running for their life, the fighters surrender, the forts of the fighters are destroyed.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian army is bombing the fighters (3:11, 3:16, 3:22, 4:27, 4:35 min), well trained Syrian soldiers (4:00 ,4:06 min), massive weapons (4:11, 4:15, 4:18, 4:21, 4:30 min).	None

The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	Aleppo's building on fire because of the attacks (19:28 min), all the buildings in Aleppo are destroyed because of the attacks (19:36 min).

On December 12, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news about Aleppo's war. The first one was 2 min 20 seconds, and the second one was 4 min 45 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo's war. The duration of the news was 1 min 10 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	The Syrian army is in control, the Syrian army is achieving more victories, the end of war is near, the Syrian army is well trained for such fights.	The Syrian regime committed a massacre, Aleppo is facing extermination because of the Syrian army, ten thousand civilians left their homes because of the attacks.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Criminals, they lost, defeat, surrender, fear, fighters are leaving the battles, 2000 fighters stopped fighting.	The Syrian army is brutally attacking the opposite.
The used frames: Power of the allies	Commander talking to his soldiers and explaining how they are going to win the battle and how the enemy will lose (4:25, 5:14 min), weapons with new technology (5:42 min).	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	The fighters left their forts and runaway (5:06, 5:08, 5:10 :5:11 min).	None

The used frames: People supports	People are safe with the Syrian army (9:27 min), kids are supporting the Syrian army (9:46 min), old man saying he remained alive because of the Syrian army (10:00 min).	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	Aleppo's full destruction (17:31, 17:34, 17:44, 18:11 min), civilians running away from battles after they lost their shelters (17:47, 17:53, 17:57 min), bombing (17:59 min).

On December 13, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news about Aleppo's war. The first news was for 7 minutes, and the second was for 2 minutes	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo's war. The duration of the news was 3 minutes 2 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	The Syrian army forced the terrorists to surrender and retreat, the Syrian army is protecting civilians from terrorist attacks and taking them to safer places, the Syrian army has full control over Aleppo's city, Syrian army treating rebels who surrendered ethically.	Syrian army attacking civilians, airstrikes supported by Russia are bombing Aleppo, the attack lead by the Syrian army provoked a lot of civilian losses, the Syrian army conducted 200 executions leading against women and children, the Syrian army killed a medical crew who was working in a hospital in Aleppo. UN accused the Syrian regime for the massive destruction in Aleppo in addition to the huge number of human losses.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Most of the terrorists has surrendered, the terrorists banned civilians from having any food or water, terrorists are facing repetitive loses, terrorists are taking civilians as hostages, terrorists' defenses are collapsing.	None

The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian soldier holding the Syrian flag and celebrating the victory (0:03), Syrian army taking control over rebels' military base (7:13), Syrian army taking control over Aleppo's streets (7:15, 7:18, 8:41, 8:44), Syrian soldiers fighting fiercely against terrorists (8:49, 8:53, 8:56).	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	Syrian army providing Aleppo's citizens with food and water (0:20), Aleppo's citizens receiving bags of food after the Syrian army took control over the city (0:44).	Streets entirely destroyed (2:00, 2:04) civilian buildings totally destroyed (2:19), sky footages showing the massive destruction of Aleppo (2:31), (Highway totally closed due to infrastructure destruction (2:40), civilian's areas destroyed (2:24, 2:42).

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On December 14, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed three news about Aleppo's war. The first news was for 3 minutes 27 seconds, the second news was for 3 minutes 17 seconds, and the third was for 2 minutes 25 seconds.	"Future" showed two news about Aleppo's war. The first news was for 1 minutes 58 seconds; the second news was for 3 minutes 10 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	The Syrian regime achieved victory in Aleppo, the Syrian regime enforce conditions on the terrorists, Aleppo's battel is a military victory to the Syrian army, the Syrian army took negotiations with terrorists in order to save and protect civilians who are taken as hostages, the Syrian army is fighting who is left from terrorists and Syrian soldiers are bombing their military bases, the Syrian army is in a strong positions after the victory and able to negotiate with terrorists who lost everything.	Syrian army did not stop killing innocent people, Syrian regime wants to take military control over Aleppo without giving civilians the chance to move to a safer place, Syrian army and its allies are conducting secret assassination missions.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	terrorists are taking civilians as hostages; terrorists did not respect the agreement made with the Syrian regime in order to stop the battle	Rebels managed to defend their bases against all the attacks.

	in Aleppo.	
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian army bombing terrorists' military bases (4:26, 4:28, 4:31), Syrian army fighting fiercely in Aleppo's streets (4:34, 5:19, 5:22, 13:58, 14:02, 14:06, 14:07), Syrian army tank bombing terrorists (5:12, 5:16, 5:30), Syrian tank moving in Aleppo's streets (13:50, 13:52, 14:12, 14:17), Syrian soldiers taking control over Aleppo's streets (13:56), Syrian soldiers celebrating their victory (14:29), Syrian army soldier raising the Syrian flag on top of a building (14:39, 15:19).	Rebels celebrating victory (16:21), rebel fighter bombing enemy based using heavy weapons (16:23, 16:25), group of rebels fighting fiercely (16:28), two military Humvee transporting rebels to battle ground (16:30).
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	Civilians holding Syrian president Bashar Al Assad photos and celebrating the victory (15:23, 15:25).	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	Civilian building destroyed (14:48, 14:51, 14:54, 14:59, 15:02, 15:05), people in street without any decent shelter during cold winter (15:08, 15:10,

		15:14, 15:16, 15:19, 15:21, 15:28, 15:31, 15:37, 16:04), grown man carrying a baby boy in the street while both are crying (19:15), people in streets without any shelter surrounded by massive buildings destruction (20:06, 20:17, 20:19), total destruction of civilian streets and living areas (19:29, 19:31, 19:34, 20:14), sky footage showing total destruction of Aleppo (19:37, 19:45), historic site destroyed (19:42).

On December 15, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 5 minutes 20 seconds.	"Future" showed two news about Aleppo. The first news was 3 minutes 17 seconds, and the second was 2 minutes 16 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Syrian army was able to destroy 90% of terrorists' military bases and to gain control over Aleppo, Syrian army control Aleppo's streets after terrorists retreated.	Syrian soldiers opened fire on buses transporting civilians out of Aleppo, Aleppo was totally destroyed due to Syrian army bombing, Syrian president Bachar Al Assad congratulates his citizens in a victory achieved by killing innocents, Bachar Al Assad must leave his position as president due to all the destruction and killings made by his army.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists left Aleppo after massive destruction of their bases and defenses, terrorists left Aleppo defeated, terrorists' plan for taking control over Aleppo has failed.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian soldier raising the Syrian flag on top of a tower (5:12), Syrian soldiers celebrating victory (5:15).	Rebels fighting fiercely (5:40), rebels destroying enemy bases (5:44), rebel's tanks and military Humvee transporting fighters to battle ground

		(5:49).
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	Terrorists leaving Aleppo in buses without any military gear after being defeated (4:30, 4:39, 4:51, 5:10, 5:24).	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	Ambulance transporting civilians out of Aleppo (3:53), medical crew helping Aleppo's citizens (6:25, 6:28).	People are forced to leave their homes and go out from Aleppo without having any shelter (3:28), civilian buildings destroyed (3:52, 3:56, 4:00).

On December 16, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news about Aleppo. The first was for 6 minutes, the second for 2 minutes 49 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 2 minutes 36 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Syrian army stopped terrorists' attack, Syrian army taking control over Aleppo, the strength of the Syrian army leads to victory and to the defeat of terrorists.	The Syrian army took 800 civilians as hostages, and some of them got killed during captivation.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists opened fire on civilians and on ambulances, terrorists are provoking civilians from going out of Aleppo, terrorists are taking civilians as hostages and refusing to let them go, terrorists are totally defeated in Aleppo.	Civilians are supporting the rebels in their fight against the Syrian regime in order to get their freedom.
The used frames: Power of the allies	None	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	People protesting in support for rebels in order to get their freedom (7:00, 7:03, 7:08, 7:14, 7:19, 7:21, 7:27, 7:33)

The used frames: Humanitarian	None	People crying after they were forced to leave their homes (5:38), people in streets without any shelter (5:44), sick old man in need for medical care (5:47, 5:52), injured man in the middle of the street with one leg cut off (5:55), old man not able to walk due to sickness (5:58), people suffering from winter cold without any shelter (6:11, 6:14), women carrying their stuff after they went on streets without shelter (6:20), young boy sitting in the middle of street during winter (6:43), old man crying because he was forced to leave his home in Aleppo (6:48).

On December 17, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed two news about Aleppo. The first was for 4 minutes 30 seconds, the second was 2 minutes 50 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 2 minutes 48 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Syrian army strength forced terrorists to surrender.	Syrian army returns bodies of civilians its soldiers have killed; Syrian are protesting in Europe against the Syrian regime due to all the crimes Syrian army have committed.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists were keeping on some civilians as hostages, terrorists were defeated in Aleppo.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian army tank bombing terrorists' bases (8:50), Syrian soldiers fighting fiercely against terrorists (8:53, 9:01, 10:41), Syrian army sniper killing a terrorist (8:58), Syrian soldier bombing terrorists' military base using a high-technology missile (10:45).	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None

The used frames: People supports	None	Syrians are protesting in Europe to support the rebels in their battle against the regime for freedom (21:00, 21:06).
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	People running from battles without any shelter and surrounded by destruction (18:55, 19:06, 19:10, 19:23, 10:29, 20:16, 20:20), civilian's areas are totally destroyed (19:56, 20:03, 20:06)

On December 18, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	Future TV
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 7 minutes 3 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 1 minute 59 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Syrian army is working hard in order to get civilians out of Aleppo to better places, Syrian army achieved military victory in Aleppo, Syrian army is preserving security in Aleppo.	None
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists are destroying the buses that will evacuate civilians.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian army is taking control over Aleppo's street to assure security (4:11).	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None

The used frames: Humanitarian	Terrorists destroyed buses used for transporting civilians (3:42, 3:49, 5:16)	Ambulances transporting civilians out of Aleppo (3:01), buses transporting civilians out of Aleppo (3:15, 3:26, 3:37).

On December 19, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 1 minutes 57 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 1 minute 36 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Civilians are happy for the army victory in Aleppo, the Syrian President Bachar Al Assad worked hard in order to get all civilians to safe places, Syrian army protected people who left Aleppo while the opposite tried to attack them	The Syrian regime is trying to ban civilians from leaving Aleppo.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists are destroying the buses that will evacuate civilians.	Rebels were able to achieve victory in other areas of Syria.
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian soldier raising the Syrian flag of a top of a building in Aleppo after taking full control over the city (12:05).	Rebels' panzer in the battle field (4:08).
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	Civilians celebrating the victory of the army in Aleppo (9:50, 9:54), kids doing the victory sing as a support for the Syrian army (10:27), kids celebrating the victory of the Syrian army while	None

	holding the Syrian flag in their hands (10:28, 11:49, 11:51), happy woman after she was able to leave the war zone safely (10:33).	
The used frames: Humanitarian	Buses transporting civilians out of war zone (9:30, 9:43, 9:46), providing an old man with medical care after he has been taken as a hostage by the terrorists (10:17), providing old women with medical care (10:20), medics helping an injured man who was taken as a hostage (10:23).	People without shelter during winter (3:05, 3:12, 3:15, 3:17, 3:20), transporting civilians out of war zone (3:27, 3:29, 3:33), red crescent distributing food on civilians (3:40, 3:44), young kid sitting in the middle of the street without shelter (3:55), old woman sitting in the middle of the street without shelter (3:57).

On December 20, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	Future TV
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 7 minutes.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 2 minutes 12 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Aleppo is free from terrorism, celebrating the victory of the Syrian army, the Syrian army kick terrorists out of Aleppo, Civilians and the army together were able to beat terrorism, celebrations are still going in Aleppo after the victory.	The Syrian army is preparing to take control over Aleppo's street after forcing civilians to leave their homes.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	None	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian soldier raising the Syrian flag in Aleppo (9:32)	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	People celebrating the victory of the Syrian army (9:07, 9:16, 9:52, 9:54, 9:59, 10:07, 10:12, 10:15, 10:22).	None

The used frames: Humanitarian	None	People suffering due to war, lack of food and shelter (21:10, 21:43, 21:46), civilians are receiving help, medical care and food from humanitarian organizations (21:14, 21:21, 21:28, 21:36, 21:50, 22:03, 22:06, 22:21, 22:32, 22:35, 22:38).

On December 21, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	Future TV
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 3 minutes 6 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 2 minutes 11 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Aleppo is totally free of terrorism; the Syrian army achieve a great victory on terrorism.	Syria is under real danger provoked by the current Syrian regime and its allies.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	None	Rebels achieved military victories in other areas of Syria
The used frames: Power of the allies	Syrian soldiers celebrating victory (10:41).	Rebels attacking enemies' bases using heavy weapons (20:38, 20:40, 20:45, 20:48), group of rebels fighting fiercely (20:51, 20:55), rebels celebrating victory (21:00).
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	None	None

| The used frames: Humanitarian | Buses transporting civilians out of Aleppo to safer cities (10:07, 10:12, 10:16, 10:18, 10:38), medics providing people with medical care (10:21), distributing food and fresh fruits on civilians (10:25, 10:30). | Evacuating civilians out from Aleppo (19:49, 19:55, 20:03, 20:06, 20:10, 20:17, 20:28, 20:34). |

On December 22, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	Future TV
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 3 minutes 35 seconds.	"Future" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 2 minutes 17 seconds.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Huge strategic victory for the Syrian army, Syrian army control Aleppo's city, Aleppo is witnessing victory's celebrations, historical victory for the Syrian army on terrorism, the Syrian army declare victory in Aleppo.	Syrian regime killed 21500 civilians in order to take control over Aleppo.
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	All terrorists left Aleppo, Aleppo is free of terrorism, terrorists left Aleppo defeated.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	None	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None

The used frames: People supports	None	None
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	Humanitarian: woman and her baby with no shelter in the street while snow falling on them (19:16), hundreds of civilians in streets trapped by the snow storm (19:20), evacuating civilians from war zone (19:25, 19:30, 19:33, 19:36, 19:41, 19:47, 19:51, 19:58, 20:26, 20:28, 20:33, 20:40).

On December 23, 2016:

	Al Manar Television	**Future TV**
Number of news & duration	"Al Manar" showed one news about Aleppo. The duration of the news was 4 minutes 19 seconds.	"Future" did not show any news related to Aleppo.
Used language related to the Syrian regime	Celebrations are taking place all over Aleppo, the Syrian army accomplished a great achievement by kicking terrorists out of Aleppo.	None
Used language related to the Syrian opposite	Terrorists left Aleppo defeated.	None
The used frames: Power of the allies	None	None
The used frames: Fear and weakness of the enemy	None	None
The used frames: People supports	Civilians celebrating Syrian army's victory (15:16, 15:18, 15:28, 15:31, 15:35, 15:37), people holding the Syrian flag in one had the photo of the Syrian president Bachar Al Assad in	None

	the second hand (15:39), man crying out of joy while holding the photo of the Syrian president Bachar Al Assad (15:51).	
The used frames: Humanitarian	None	None

RQ1: How much importance did the television stations give to the Aleppo situation?

The results show that *Al Manar* had the highest number of news stories related to Aleppo's war. Twenty-five stories were aired during *Al Manar* prime news, were as nineteen stories were aired during *Future* prime news.

These results shed the light on the fact that the more an event is important to a television channel, the more it will appear in stories and reports on air; it becomes more salient because of the stations agenda (Hanaa Kadum Kassed, Che Su Mustaffa, 2017). For both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions Aleppo's war was considered as a major event, since *Al Manar* showed 25 stories during 16 newscasts between December 8 and December 23, 2016, while *Future* showed 19 stories during 16 newscasts in the same period of time, which means that *Al Manar* had an average of 1.56 stories about Aleppo in each prime news, while *Future* had an average of 1.18 stories about Aleppo in each prime news.

Although there isn't a big difference in the number of stories aired on both televisions, the total duration of the stories differed. The total duration of stories on *Al Manar* was 92 minutes

89 seconds, which is almost triple in comparison with *Future* 37 min 03 seconds. The duration factor comes to support the fact that the more an event is important to a television channel, the more it will appear on air. The results then indicatethat *Al Manar* has more interest in Aleppo's war than *Future*, since the duration of stories is way more on *Al Manar* than on *Future*.

 The number and duration of stories might indicate the importance of an event for a television channel, as well as the desire of a television to raise awareness or to grab the audience attention or let them adopt a specific opinion by exposing them repetitively to a certain content, which goes back to the channel agenda settings and stakeholders wish.

The number and duration of stories in this study is directly linked to the salience of th story, its importance and the desire of a channel to raise awareness or to grab the audience's attention by exposing them repetitively to a certain content (Hanna et al., 2017; Melkote, 2009; McCombs, 2005). Hanaa et al. (2017) indicated in their study that based on media's agenda setting, each media decides what is important to cover and from which perspective it should deal with the coverage. By analyzing the results, the study proved that NSTP and the Star focused on a different angle during the Iraq war, each based on its Agenda Setting. NSTP published more news stories and articles about "Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The United States of America policy and the war of Iraq" than the Star while the Star focused more on the issue of Iraq needs and suffering during the war.

Another part in the "Literature Review" is Media Coverage and Attitude Objects, "News framing during a time of impending war and examination of coverage in The New York Times prior to the 2003 Iraq War" by (Melkote, 2009), this study examined the way in which *The New York Times* newspaper framed the incident, issues that happened one month before the start of the 2003 Iraq war. It relied on "Agenda Setting" theory to examine news framing during a time

of impending war and *The New York Times* news coverage before and during the incident. The study proved the influence of media coverage and used frames on the audience, which goes back to the second level of agenda-setting calming that media coverage has an impact on reader's opinions and attitudes. The negative media coverage of attitude objects such as the United Nations and France have a role in telling the readers what to think about and how to think about when it comes to these attitude objects. In addition, agenda-setting theory has recognized many consequences of second level effects (McCombs, 2005) such as priming of attitudes or opinions about newsmakers, developing an opinion, and shaping of opinions of issues through selective attention on specific attributes.

One more factor to be discussed when it comes to the number and duration of stories is their placement in the newscast. Usually, the newscast starts with the most important event for the television channel as it's a priority. Aleppo's war is a priority for *Al Manar,* because all its prime news started with news reports about Aleppo. On the contrary, *Future* showed Aleppo's news in the middle of the prime news.

Both the duration and positions of stories showed that *Al Manar* was taking Aleppo's war as a priority. As for *Future* regardless the high number of stories aired on its newscasts, their duration and placement revealed that Aleppo's war was not considered as a priority for the channel as was the case with *Al Manar*.

The results obtained from analyzing the amount of news stories and the duration on both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions could be linked to a previous study made by Nicole Yang Lai called "Framing Analysis of a Conflict: War/ Peace Journalism" (2009). The study was done after the "keris wielding incident" when Umno Youth Chief Hishammuddin Hussein gave his infamous keris-wielding speech during the Umno Youth Assembly, that happened in 2007. The

findings of Lai's study showed that for the extent of coverage, a big ratio of the news was straight during the incident. Also, the study showed that the percentage of news about the incident were more after keris-wielding speech, which confirms two things. First: the relation between the importance of an event for a television channel and the number of stories covered by the channel. Second: the more importance an event has, the more a television channel will be interested in covering it. In the case of Aleppo coverage, not only was the issue important, but *Al Manar* gave it high importance. *Future* also included the story, yet not always in the first block of news.

　　Also, when talking about media framing, it is important to note that television coverage is controlled by a specific agenda-setting, which explain the relation between framing theory and agenda-setting theory, and the effect of agenda-setting on media coverage. Both *Al Manar* and *Future* television have a different agenda-setting when it comes to covering Aleppo's war, since the event was a priority for *Al Manar* (long news stories duration, positioning: at the beginning of prime news), but it was not for *Future* (shorter news stories duration, positioning: in the middle of the prime news). The results could be associated with "Agenda Setting Theory and International News: A Comparative Analysis of News Articles Coverage on Iraq War in Malaysian English Newspapers" a study by Hanaa Kadum Kassed, Che Su Mustaffa, (2017). The purpose of their study was to discuss the effect of agenda-setting on media coverage of Iraq war in - the *New Straits Times Press* (NSTP) and the *Star* newspaper. The study relied on agenda Setting theory, while examining 535 news that were published in (NSTP) and the Star through three different periods of time which were before, during and after the Iraq war. The study showed agenda setting as an effective tool that media can use for coverage. Based on its agenda setting, each media decides what is important to cover and from which perspective it should deal with. By analyzing the results, the study proved that *NSTP* and the *Star* focused on a different

angle during the Iraq war, each based on its agenda setting. *NSTP* published more news stories and articles about "Malaysia's policy towards Iraq" and "The United States of America policy and the war of Iraq" than the *Star*, while the *Star* focused more on the issue of Iraq needs and suffering during the war. The findings also proved the theoretical proposition claiming that when media select certain issues and portray them frequently and prominently based on their agenda setting, that gives more exposure to a specific issue, leading people to believe that this issue is more important than any other issues. This will automatically lead to the theoretical proposition that media is not only capable of telling people what to think about, but how to think about; which is consistent with the first level of the agenda setting theory (Kassed & Mustaffa, 2017).

RQ2: Did the newscasts present both sides (opposition and regime) of the story?

In the period between December 8 and December 23, 2016 *Al Manar* used language related to the Syrian regime in a total of 16 reports, and language related to the opposition in a total of 14. In addition to 13 times showing the power of the allies (Syrian regime), three times showing the fear of the enemy (opposition), and 8 times about people's support to the Syrian government. Combining the results of the used language and frames, *Al Manar* targeted the Syrian regime 37 times, and the opposition 17 times only. Which means that 68.6% of *Al Manar* coverage about Aleppo's war was about the Syrian regime, and 31.4% was about the opposition.

As for *Future*, the television channel used language related to the Syrian regime in a total of 14 times, and language related to the opposition a total of seven times between December 8 and December 23, 2016. This was in addition to four times showing the power of allies (the opposition), and one-time showing people's support to the rebels.

Merging the results of the used language and frames, shows that *Future* targeted the

Syrian regime 14 times, and the opposition 12 times. Which means that 53.8% of *Future*

coverage about Aleppo's war was about the Syrian regime, and 46,2% was about the opposition.

The results show that both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions focused more on the Syrian

regime more than on the opposition, which triggers the bias dilemma when it comes to objective

covering.

But the main concern is that both televisions covered the two fighting parties in Aleppo's

war from one perspective, meaning that they followed the "one side of the story" instead of

showing both sides, although *Future* seemed to have a more balanced aproach than Al Manar

given that *Al Manar* reported twice as much on the Syrian regime than the other side.

For journalists, one of the first things they learn is to give the reader/viewer "both sides

of the story" Jon Ham a writer for "Daily Journal" claimed in one of his articles that the fact of

telling both sides of a story is not a priority nowadays "both sides of the story" has become not

only less important to some in the media, but sometimes can be considered downright

irresponsible" (Jon Ham, Daily Journal, 2015).

Being bias refers to two main reasons. First, political positioning. "In certain parts of the world

such as Ukraine or Egypt where journalists may have been forced to adopt political positions,

remaining impartial when reporting the news can be a difficult job" (Catalina Albeanu,

Journailism.co.uk, 2014). There is a massive struggle in getting the truth if journalists would take

sides. Stephen Sackur, a journalist working for BBC stated that: "To me the idea of taking sides

is that you throw in your lot with a particular position, and that once you have done that... in a

sense you then become somebody who is prejudging, who has a position which the facts will

then be fitted to support" (Catalina Albeanu, Journailism.co.uk, 2014). It is not an easy task for

journalist to report the truth when the channel or newspaper they are working for has a certain

political interest in the topic, which will affect the way it will be covered.

What is being fair? Fairness means that reporters covering a story must remember there are

usually two sides – and often more – to most issues and that those differing viewpoints should be

given roughly equal space in any news story (Tony Rogers, ThoughtCo, 2018).

Both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions' reporters may have strong feelings about the

subject. Nevertheless, they should interview citizens who support the regime, and those who

oppose it. And when they write their stories, they should convey both arguments in a neutral

language, giving both sides roughly equal space, which did not happen when covering Aleppo's

war. This can raise concerns about the station's objectives and agendas in relation to their stance

on the war and public opinion in attempt to allowing the audience to view the situation in the

way the way they set.

For both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions when believing that there is a "right side" and a

"wrong side" of a story, the goal becomes ignoring the "wrong side," by covering it the less

possible during Aleppo's war stories. By doing this, they would be engaging in propaganda, and

not journalism.

RQ3: What type of language was used by each channel to portray the opposition and the

regime?

Both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions used language related to the Syrian regime and the

opposition in all their stories about Aleppo's war. On one hand, the results show that *Al Manar*

used a positive language when talking about the regime such as: the victory of Syrian army, the

Syrian army is attacking terrorists, the Syrian army besieged the terrorists, Syrian army is

providing food for the fighters who surrender, the Syrian government is helping the civilians,

people are going back to their homes thanks to the Syrian army, the Syrian army is controlling more than 90% of Aleppo, the Syrian army will achieve victory in a short time, the Syrian army is well trained for such fights, the Syrian army forced the terrorists to surrender and retreat, the Syrian regime achieved victory in Aleppo, the Syrian army is in a strong positions after the victory and able to negotiate with terrorists who lost everything, Syrian army is working hard in order to get civilians out of Aleppo to better places, the Syrian President Bachar Al Assad worked hard in order to get all civilians to safe places.

By examining the language used by *Al Manar* related to the Syrian regime, it can be seen that *Al Manar* was totally supporting the Syrian regime, showing it in strong position, undefeatable, and able to achieve victory (the victory of Syrian army, the Syrian army is controlling more than 90% of Aleppo…). *Al Manar* demonstrated the Syrian regime as the one who cares about civilians, fighting hard to save them from terrorism, and trying to clear Aleppo from terrorists (the Syrian government is helping the civilians, Syrian army is working hard in order to get civilians out of Aleppo to better places, the Syrian President Bachar Al Assad worked hard in order to get all civilians to safe places…). *Al Manar* showed a humanitarian side of the Syrian regime as well (Syrian army is providing food for the fighters who surrender) as trying to show that the Syrian army has morals (Syrian army protected people who left Aleppo while the opposite tried to attack them), and treats everyone even the enemy ethically (Syrian army treating rebels who surrendered ethically). *Al Manar* main concentration was to show a good image of the Syrian regime as the rescuer of the civilians, and the one trying to save Syria from terrorism.

As for *Future*, it used a contradictory language, while talking about the Syrian regime. For example: the president Bachar Al Assad is killing Syrians, too many people were killed

because of the Syrian air forces attacks, hospitals and schools were bombed by the Syrian army, the attack is to exterminate everyone and to protect the president, the Syrian regime committed a massacre, UN accused the Syrian regime for the massive destruction in Aleppo in addition to the huge number of human losses, Syrian regime wants to take military control over Aleppo without giving civilians the chance to move to a safer place, the Syrian army took 800 civilians as hostages, and some of them got killed during captivation, Syrian are protesting in Europe against the Syrian regime due to all the crimes Syrian army have committed, Syrian regime killed 21,500 civilians in order to take control over Aleppo.

By analyzing the results, *Future* was on the opposite side of *Al Manar* when it comes to the used language related to the Syrian regime. While *Al Manar* demonstrated the regime as a the party trying to save civilians and to clear Syria from terrorism, *Future* demonstrated the regime as the one killing civilians (the president Bachar Al Assad is killing Syrians, UN accused the Syrian regime for the massive destruction in Aleppo in addition to the huge number of human losses, Syrian regime killed 21500 civilians in order to take control over Aleppo,…). For *Future* television the Syrian regime is criminal and only cares about achieving victories without taking into consideration people's need to survive (hospitals and schools were bombed by the Syrian army, the attack is to exterminate everyone and to protect the president, Syrian regime wants to take military control over Aleppo without giving civilians the chance to move to a safer place,…). With the fact that *Al Manar* stated that the Syrian regime fights with morals and obey ethical rules, *Future* proved the opposite, stating that the regime has no morals, and accused it of committing war crimes (the Syrian army took 800 civilians as hostages, and some of them got killed during captivation, the Syrian regime committed a massacre…).

On the other hand, *Al Manar* used negative language when talking about the opposition, for example: Terrorists left Aleppo defeated, terrorists are destroying the buses that will evacuate civilians, terrorists were keeping on some civilians as hostages, terrorists opened fire on civilians and on ambulances, terrorists are provoking civilians from going out of Aleppo, terrorists left Aleppo after massive destruction of their bases and defenses, most of the terrorists has surrendered, the fighters are running for their life, they prevent civilians from getting food and medicine. *Al Manar* consider the opposition as terrorists, not as rebels, framing them as criminals by using a specific vocabulary (Terrorists opened fire on civilians and on ambulances, Terrorists are destroying the buses that will evacuate civilians…), as well as the weak side of this war (terrorists left Aleppo defeated, most of the terrorists has surrendered, the fighters are running for their life…).

As for *Future*, it demonstrated the opposition as freedom fighters (The Syrian opposition is fighting for freedom, civilians are supporting the rebels in their fight against the Syrian regime in order to get their freedom). The language used by *Future* shows the opposition in a strong position despite the massive attacks by the Syrian regime on it (the opposition will win regarding everything, the opposition did not surrender, rebels managed to defend their bases against all the attacks).

In interpreting the results, it is evident that the same type of language *Al Manar* used regarding Syrian regime was also used by *Future* however in attempts at discussing the opposition. Same goes for the language used by *Al Manar* when reporting about the opposition, which was used by *Future* to demonstrate the Syrian regime; same type of language but opposite usage.

In sum, *Al Manar* specified that the regime is the one fighting to protect the civilians against terrorism, considering the opposition as terrorists not as rebels. As for *Future* the opposition is the one fighting for people's freedom against the Syrian regime, which was considered and/or framed a criminal regime by the station.

Reporters should be objective and fair. Some news organizations even use these terms in their slogans, claiming that they are more "fair and balanced" than their competitors. But one then can question what is objectivity? Objectivity means that when covering hard news, reporters should not convey their own feelings, biases or prejudices in their stories (Tony Rogers, ThoughtCo, 2018), as was the case with *Future* and more so with *Al Manar*. Journalists accomplish objective reporting by writing stories using language that is neutral and avoids characterizing people or institutions in ways good or bad.

One trap a reporter falls into is the frequent use of adjectives. Adjectives can easily convey one's feelings about a subject, which makes the viewer feels that the event was not covered in total objectivity. In assessing the language for both television stations, words such as strong, in power, winning the war, and protecting civilians were used to indicate with Syrian regime, and words such as weak, losing the battle, defeated, and attacking civilians for the opposition; and as mentioned vice versa for the competing station.

The truth behind framed news "Framing the Truth": U.S. Media Coverage during the War on Terror" a previous study by Wiggins (2013) discussed how U.S. news media framed the war and conflict during the World War II, Gulf war, Vietnam war, Iraq war and how it has changed after 9/11 attack. The author of that study also discussed how the 24-hour news channels have grown, and an increase in the issues of language effectiveness and credibility. The study showed that beside the meta-frame, U.S. media had a major change in the used language in

its war on terror. The positive language was used to reinforce the USA and negative language was used to weaken the enemy, just like what *Al Manar* did to reinforce the Syrian regime, and the *Future* to support the opposition.

The used language by *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions could be linked to "War in the Media: The News Framing of the Iraqi War in the United States, Europe, and Latin America" (Pestalardo, 2006), a study that analyzed how the war in Iraq was framed by nine leading newspapers from USA, Europe, and Latin America. The study relied on the "framing" theory; it studied how each newspaper covered the events, and what each newspaper focused the most on before and after the war depending on its sources, frames, and approaches. Differences in framing were obvious between the American, European and Latin American newspapers. Each newspaper had a different source for information, chose different incidents to cover from different approaches using different vocabulary, which served the objective of the paper. For example, the United States newspapers focused more on the US army victories, while other newspapers focused on victims of war.

RQ4: What types of frames are used by each of the television channels?

Power of allies:

For *Al Manar* the "Power of allies" was the most used frame in its newscasts with a total of 72 frames used during 13 out of 16 prime news between December 8 and December 23, 2016. *Future* used the same type of frame in four prime news only, in a total of 16 prime news. When using the "Power of allies" frame, *Al Manar* tends to support the Syrian regime, while *Future* used it to support the opposition. Between December 8 and December 23, 2016, the battle of Aleppo reached its peak, it was just a matter of time before the Syrian regime declared full control

over the city, which could help explain why *Al Manar* was focusing on this frame since it

reflected the reality on the battlefield ground. The reality that the Syrian regime was overtaking

the opposition by force and power. As for *Future,* the channel tried as much as possible to show

the opposition in a strong position, even though they were losing, which explains why the

television channel used this frame 16 times only in 4 newscasts out of 16.

Previous studies focused on "Power of allies" frames, and the role of media in supporting a

specific party in a conflict and showing it in a strong position. Taking for example "Two

Channels, Two Truths: Reporting the Iraq War in Control Room by Ursula Boser" (2011) is a

study based on how American and Iraqi televisions covered the Iraqi war that started in 2003

based on the agenda settings they had. Theoretically speaking, the writer focused more on how

the war was framed and what part of the conflict each control room decided to show and how.

The study used the qualitative research design as it analyzed "AL Jazeera" image broadcasting

and another five American television channels. Both the American and Arab televisions were

trying to justify themselves

Another study examined the role of media in framing the allies is "War in the Media: The

News Framing of the Iraqi War in the United States, Europe, and Latin America" by (Pestalardo,

2006) analyzed how the war in Iraq was framed by nine leading newspapers from USA, Europe,

and Latin America: "*The New York Times, The Washington Post, The San Francisco Chr., The*

London Times, The Moscow Times, The International herald tribune, La Nación, El Universal

Mexico, El Universal Venezuela." The study relied on the "framing" theory; it studied how each

newspaper covered the events, and what each newspaper focused the most on before and after

the war depending on its sources, frames, and approaches. Differences in framing were obvious

between the American, European and Latin American newspapers where we can find that each

newspaper had a different source for information, chose different incidents to cover from

different approaches using different vocabulary which serves the objective of the paper.

Fear and Weakness of the Enemy:

This frame is related to the "Power of allies" frame. When a television channel is covering

an event, it will show the allies in a strong position, and the enemy in a weaker spot. For *Al*

Manar, screening the opposition in a weak position was something continuously framed if shown.

It used this frame in a total of 19 times in three newscasts out of 16.   *Future* television, the main

supporter for the opposition in Syria, tried to frame them as the stronger party in Aleppo's war as

much as possible, regardless the fact that they were losing. When it comes to showing the fear and

weakness of the enemy (Syrian regime), *Future* was not capable of doing so, since the Syrian

army was achieving victory, so there is no place for fear or weakness among an army who is

winning the war, which explains the fact that the television didn't use a single frame of enemy

weakness in any of its 16 prime news in the same area of time.

Going back to a previous study related to "Fear and Weakness" framing, "Two Channels,

Two Truths: Reporting the Iraq War in Control Room by Ursula Boser" (2011) is a study based

on how American and Iraqi televisions covered the Iraqi war that started in 2003 based on the

agenda settings they had. Theoretically speaking, the writer focused more on how the war was

framed and what part of the conflict each control room decided to show and how. The study used

the qualitative research design as it analyzed "AL Jazeera" image broadcasting and another five

American television channels. Both the American and Arab televisions were trying to justify

themselves. American televisions focused on heroic soldiers, exciting weaponry, and splashy

graphics to show their power. Arab televisions had a different framing. They focused more on

victims, on American prisoners and US. Marines' dead soldiers. They were framing the enemy in

the weakest position possible, delivering an image of hope to raise the spirit of Iraqi soldiers and to show to the world that they are victims of a cruel war.

People's Support:

Al Manar framed the Syrian army as the one protecting Aleppo from terrorism. The channel showed the Syrian regime as the protector of civilians. In order to make the audience believe, the channel had to report people's support for this regime. By showing 29 frames in seven newscasts out of 16; these frames were used in a repulsive manner, *Al Manar* tried to set a frame which helps in delivering the message it wanted to deliver. *Future* television supporting the opposition, used two frames in only 1 of its newscasts. This sole frame was filmed in a European country and not in Aleppo or even in any other area in Syria.

In conclusion the results indicate that *Al Manar* took benefits from the Syrian army victory in Aleppo in order to display the regime in a good position for the public. The job was easy to achieve, after such a big victory. As for *Future*, things were not going that easy. The opposition was losing the battle for the regime, which forced its supporter to remain silent and out of media coverage due to their weak situation, which explains why *Future* didn't show any filmed frames of people's support in Syria, and the only two frames aired were filmed abroad.

How this study examined people's support frames used by both *Al Manar* and *Future* televisions could be linked to a previous study "Zimbabwe's economic crisis will deepen without aid, ruling party warns" (Burke,2018); this was published in *The Guardian* in relation to how media framed Zimbabwe's economic crisis, with a regime trying to accomplish economic reforms in the country, some media covered the crisis trying to defend the regime by having interviews with people who support the government clamming that the administration is trying to solve the crisis by getting funds, providing civilians with medicine and daily life major supplies

such as money, food and water. Other media covered the crisis trying to defend the opposite, stating that the entire regime must be changed, new people from the opposition must be in charge in Zimbabwe in order to solve the crisis and help people. Media interviewed individuals who support the opposition accusing the regime for several problems including poverty, unemployment, and death because of cholera since there is no medicine or vaccines to be provided to civilians. As can be seen by the Zimbabwe's situation and from the Aleppo coverage.

Humanitarian:

The results show that *Future* have used more humanitarian frames than *Al Manar* with a total of 119 frames during 15 newscasts; this indicates that the humanitarian frame was a constant for *Future*.   While *Al Manar* used 55 humanitarian frames during eight newscasts out of 16 newscasts in total.

Future television tried to victimize Syrians through the humanitarian frame that portrays civilians as victims in need of help as a way to build support for humanitarian intervention, which Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) summarized in their research under the name of "victimization frame" stating that news media often use a victimization frame in communicating about refugees.

A study conducted by the United Nations Refugee Agency's Innovation Service, found that the stories shared by humanitarian organizations often use this frame as well, which means that *Future* television was somehow doing the job of a humanitarian organization in covering Aleppo's war, by focusing on the consequences and not the causes of the conflict. *Future* television focused on the "Humanitarian" frame the most for two main reasons. First, the opposition was in a weak position, its allies were afraid to show to the public, which means that

the television channel is not able to use "Power of allies" neither "People's support" frames. Second, the Syrian regime was so close to declare victory in Aleppo, using the "Humanitarian" frame was a smart move from *Future* to claim that the stronger the Syrian regime gets, the more people will suffer in Syria, hence consistent with their agendas

Summary of Findings and Analysis

Previous studies focused on media framing, and on used frames to cover crisis, three specific ones will be used in reflection to the results found in this content analysis. First, "Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and the Vietnam Veteran" by Erin McLaughlin (2016), was written right after the Vietnam War to figure out how American television channels helped in shaping the U.S. Army war against terrorism and how it affected American foreign policy. Using framing and agenda setting, the study showed how American channels were involved in the war, how they covered it and what messages they wanted to deliver to their audiences. McLaughlin (2016) analyzed how the early coverage was made and what television channels wanted to show and how. The study showed major changes in farming, duration, and nature of images during the coverage and how they led to the turning point during the war. The study showed that during the early coverage (1967) 86% of CBS and NBC programs were based on US army missions. They were very supportive, and producers were trying to make the news more entertaining and more dramatic to the audience. Before Tet Offensive, journalists described most of their stories as victories for the United States. After Tet Offensive, the minority of the battles were deemed victories. Before the Tet Offensive, there were four television stories showing the positive side of the army, and not even a single story covering the negative side. After Tet Offensive, only two stories covered the positive side of the army, while fourteen stories

covered the negative side. The study proved that using different frames will hide and modify the truth leading to change the pass of war.

Second, "Two Channels, Two Truths: Reporting the Iraq War in Control Room" by Ursula Boser (2011) is a study based on how American and Iraqi televisions covered the Iraqi war that started in 2003 based on the agenda settings they had. Theoretically speaking, the writer focused more on how the war was framed and what part of the conflict each control room decided to show and how. The findings showed that conflicted parties offered controlled access to information and images. Journalists in Iraq had the right to cover under the eyes of the party they belonged to. It was a highly controlled environment that seemed to paralyze journalistic independence and provide immediacy without context and overview. A conflict existed between a professional code of unbiased reporting, culturally inflected obligations to bear witness and military priorities. During the Iraqi war, propaganda was an integral part of any military campaign. Both the American and Arab televisions were trying to justify themselves. Invasion shots became familiar on televisions, bombs raining down on Baghdad and tanks driving through the desert. American televisions focused on heroic soldiers, exciting weaponry, and splashy graphics to show their power; Arab televisions had a different framing. They focused more on victims, on American prisoners and US. Marines' dead soldiers. The Americans were, then, trying to make people believe in their victory and the Arabs were delivering an image of hope to raise the spirit of Iraqi soldiers and to show to the world that they are victims of a cruel war.

Third, "Framing Arab Spring Conflict: A Visual Analysis of Coverage on Five Transnational Arab News Channels" (Bruce, 2014) study is used to show how the Arab Spring was covered. Guided by framing theory, a quantitative content analysis was conducted on news programming from five transnational satellite news channels that broadcast to/from the Arab

world—*Al Jazeera*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Al Arabiya, Alhurra,* and *BBC Arabic*. The project

examined if differences exist between the networks, and between two dimensions of a network

taxonomy—western and liberal commercial—in how Arab Spring news selection and content

was visually framed. A systematic comparative analysis was conducted on visual coverage of the

civil unrest in Tunisia, Algeria, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Three entire newscasts from

each network airing between December 2010 and June 2011, were analyzed. The data from

1,951 shots reveal both similarities and differences in how the networks utilized the human

interest and political frames in their Arab Spring coverage. Results revealed no difference in the

application of the human-interest frame between western and liberal networks. However, the

comparison between the individual networks revealed that *Alhurra* invoked the political frame

more often than *Al Jazeera* and *BBC Arabic*. "Framing Arab Spring Conflict: A Visual Analysis

of Coverage on Five Transnational Arab News Channels" could be linked directly to this study

when it comes to demonstrating how media framed the Arab Spring starting from Tunisia crisis

to Syrian war, proving that Lebanese media acted the same way in framing crisis just like

regional and international media networks did.

Chapter 8: Limitations

With more time and resources, the study would analyze news published on social media, since the internet has a big influence on the audience, especially the young generation and it could direct their political choices easily since sometimes they don't have enough experience in the field of politics.

The study would have compared the coverage of Aleppo's war with the coverage of "Ghouta's war" which took place recently to the west-east of the Syrian Capital Damascus, in order to see if Lebanese media have changed the way it covers Syrian war or not.

The paper would also include an interview with a political analyst to see how far the media affected the political environment in the Middle East during the Arab spring, this would help to determine the real impact of media not only on the audience but on people who are in power as well.

Another limitation from this study is the time period, as it may be a bit outdated, however the findings can indicate that media did not change its way of covering crisis and wars all over the world starting by World War 1, Vietnam War, 9/11 Attacks and the Arab Spring.

Also, one main limitation to note is that the codebook was not assessed for intercoder reliability, however in general the variables were predominately manifest, for the exception of deciphering which frame used (e.g., ,fear, humanitarian); in the future this should be tested to ensure reliability of the measure.

The study could have also coded the visual elements such as body language, and the used tone of voice. As a further suggestion, studies should explore the nonverbal frames when working on the framing theory.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The primary function of media is social control (Viswanath & Arora, 2000), to tell people how to think and to provide them with pre-decisions based on the agenda it follows. Media draw attention to what matches its policy, and interests, and tries to hide everything which is opposite regardless if this means hiding the truth.

When the media dedicate more attention to an issue, the public perceives the issue as important, which both "*Al Manar*" and "*Future*" televisions did when covering Aleppo's war, but with a slight difference in framing events, which has a huge impact on the receiver.

This study found that both "*Al Manar*" and "*Future*" televisions failed in covering Aleppo's war objectively. "*Al Manar*" coverage was all based on supporting the regime, while "*Future*" news was dedicated against the regime and supporting the Syrian opposition all the time. The dominant frame used by "*Al Manar*" was the power of the allies; "*Future*" used the humanitarian frame most of the times. Failure of being objective will lead the public to create or adopt a biased opinion or point of view based on what the channel he/she watches is airing.

The study showed that the Lebanese media, specifically *Future* and *Al-Manar* televisions, are influenced by the political and regional security variables in the Middle East. Even if the event is not directly linked to Lebanon, the media will be affected each based on its political affiliations. By looking at the Syrian war, we find that the Lebanese society has been affected by all the events that are happening in Syrian and specifically in Aleppo, due to the historical relationship between the Lebanon and Syrian. Both *Future* and *Al Manar* were affected as well, which was obvious through the way they covered Aleppo's war, taking into consideration their agenda-setting and political view.

Going back to previous studies, we find that the media always took sides when covering wars and conflicts. The same applies to the Lebanese media, including *Future* and *Al Manar* televisions. The study shows that media bias existed when covering international crisis and wars starting with World War 1 and World War 2, the Vietnam War, 9/11 attacks, and the Arab Spring. By analyzing the studies related to previous wars, the study found that media has changed the way events are covered based on political and demographic variables. Which means that Lebanese media might change its way of covering the Syrian conflict based on changes that might occur in the Middle East. Lebanese media could frame the Syrian war using different language and start delivering different messages to the audience all based on new agenda-setting.

More research is needed, however, especially at the level of news gatekeeping to investigate the factors contributing to the coverage of Aleppo's war, in order to identify the purposes of both "*Al Manar*" and "*Future*" televisions in delivering specific messages to the audience during the crisis, and the impact of these messages and frames on the public.

Also, more research is needed to investigate the perception of to determine the effect of the coverage on the audiences. Thus, this study is significant because it will allow with further examination to determine the role of Lebanese media when it comes to social control. As stated by Viswanath and Arora (2000), in the interest of system maintenance, the primary function of media is social control. Media draw attention to what is acceptable and not acceptable within the dominant norms and values of the community. Media provide platforms, which potential social problems are identified, defined, and articulated. When it comes to crisis and conflicts, media draws attention on what is important based on its agenda-setting, framing the crisis from its own perspectives will allow media to control and manipulate the audience opinions.

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Appendix A: Codebook

Variable	Description	Values
Story	Stories related to Aleppo's war	0: no 1: yes
Number	Number of stories related to Aleppo's war in each prime news	0: one 1: two or more
Duration	The duration of each story related to Aleppo's war	0: less than one minute 1: more than one minute
Language	Used language in stories related to Aleppo's war	0: language related to the regime 1: language related to the opposite
Power of the allies	A frame showing the power of the allies	0: power of the regime 1: power of the opposite
Fear & Weakness	A frame showing fear and weakness of the enemy	0: fear of the regime 1: fear of the opposite
People Support	A frame showing people support to the allies	0: support the regime 1: support the opposite
Humanitarian	A frame showing the humanitarian side of Aleppo's war	0: no 1: yes