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Are Blogs More Peace-Journalistic Than Newspapers?: A Dual Method Analysis

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to compare blog posts with mass media (newspaper) texts under the frame of war/peace journalism and meaning structure perspective. This study uses two different methods (content and semantic network analysis) for four kinds of texts (blogs, New York Times, Washington Post, and New York Times + Washington Post). Blogs are found more peace-journalistic than newspapers with few content characteristic exceptions. Although NYT is found closer to peace journalism than WP, the difference is not so great. In terms of meaning structure, newspaper texts are more military-focused, elite-source dependent, and interpret the war in a domestic-politics context. Suggestions for future research are addressed.

Keywords: Iraq War; Blog; Newspaper; Semantic Network

Introduction

Journalism for Peace ?

Mass media reporting on international conflict has been criticized for supporting one side, relying mostly on government sources for information, dramatizing, and overlooking the innocent people victimized by war (Ersoy, 2010; Keeble, 2010; Ottosen, 2010; McMahon, 2011; Hallin, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Knightley, 2000). These trends have been labelled by Galtung (1986, 1998) as "war journalism," denoting the tendency of modern mass media to agitate hostile attitude to each other and prioritize "winning" in the game to peaceful reconciliation. As an oppositional concept to war journalism, Galtung suggested peace journalism as a guideline for journalists who are reporting global conflicts. Peace journalism focuses on peace initiatives, multilateral negotiations, how to prevent future conflict, the structural source of conflict, and post-conflict reconstruction, chances of reconciliation (Galtung, 1986, 1998). Jacobsen and Galtung (2002) explicated that commercially and/or politically motivated war journalism is centering on winning in conflict because

journalists assume that conflict is a zero-sum game. For this reason, war journalism is compared to "sports journalism," and peace journalism is to "health journalism" whose characteristics are informing the readers of causes, preventive measures, and cures (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 312).According to Lee (2010), Galtung and Ruge (1965) proposed the idea of peace journalism in their critique of war reporting in "The Structure of Foreign News." Galtung's suggestion led to lively discussions of the concept by journalists and theorists. Galtung set up "TRANSCEND (www.transcend.org)" as a discussion forum about his vision for global peace. Also, his peace journalism concept was deepened by journalists in a series of articles and booklets, "The Peace Journalism Option" (Lynch, 1998), "What Are Journalists For?" (Lynch, 1999), "Using Conflict Analysis in Reporting" (Lynch, 2000), and "Reporting the World" (CPF, 2002), all of which are published by Conflict and Peace Forums (CPF). A book, "Peace Journalism" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005), may be considered a beginning of an attempt to combine peace journalism theory with practice. It defines peace journalism:

- uses the insights of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of
- balance, fairness, and accuracy in reporting
- provides a new route map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism – the ethics of journalistic intervention
- builds an awareness of non-violence and creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting (2005, p. 5)

Even if there are numerous theoretical works about why and how war journalism is formulated and conducted (Hallin, 1986; Iyengar & Simon, 1994; Knightley, 2000; Galtung 1996; 1998), works on peace journalism are few and "normative and prescriptive" (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 313). Extant literature is rare, and it has used Galtung's (1986;1988) categorization of the characteristics of peace journalism. On the other hand, military conflict manifests political influence of the Internet evidently. First, the medium is used by the actors in conflict. In the mid 1990s, Zapatista's armed resistance against the Mexico government relied its communication channel on the Internet (Kahn & Kellner, 2005; Garrido & Halavais, 2003). Also, in ethno-religious conflict between Serbs and Albanians, the two parties ran war information webpage such as www.alb-net.com and www.srpska-mreza.com. Jones (2005) found that both web sites continued to add announcements to mobilize support (e.g. event calendars, online announcements) and interactive technology (online vote, polls, petitions), especially aiming at increasing presence in the western media. Jones called the war as the first *Internet War.* Second, from a peace journalism perspective, the utility of Internet lies in finding the way to peace. The terrorist attack of 9-11 provoked people's urgent need for live information, and Weblogs, with realtime interactivity, served the need. Even though CNN covered the details of the terror, blogs covered more personal stories about the victims than conventional mass media (Nord, 2001). Another calamity, the Iraq War, became the first *blog war* (MacKinnon, 2004). Mass media opened webpages dedicated to war information, and bloggers voluntarily offered war updates and comments on their blogs. Also, blogs became a battlefield, a space for propagandistic messages between pro-war and anti-war groups. Bloggers' proactive participation in war coverage may be interpreted as "participated journalism." Participatory journalism has common

ground with peace journalism in that both are grounded in communitarian philosophy, "the commitment to the idea of civic participation, the understanding of social justices as a moral imperative, and the view that the value and sacredness of the individual are realized only in and through communities" (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 312). Participatory journalism can be defined, "the act of citizen or a group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating information" (Bowman & Willis, 2003). The need for alternative journalism also lies in a concept at crisis: "objectivity." According to Hackett (1991), "objective journalism's respect for 'prevailing social standards of decency and good taste is likely to mute reporting of the brutality of war, and the suffering of victims, helping to turn war into watchable spectacle rather than an insufferable obscenity" (1989, p. 13). "Objective" journalism has been more of convention than of positive processes for peace. In this context, two peace journalists, Lynch and McGoldrich (2005) criticized "objectivity conventions" for a bias in support of "official sources, event over process, and 'dualism [of good and evil]'" (2005, p. 209) in reporting conflicts, which prevents journalists from focusing on diversified sources, cause rather than individual event, and multilateral approach. This study is related to the dispute on whether blogs function as an alternative medium. It compares newspaper reporting with blog posts to evaluate whether the newspaper practice is close to war-journalism and, on the contrary, blogosphere practices show inclination to peace journalism. Extant blog literature has argued blog's potential for political utilization, but it has ignored blog's contents (Matheson, 2004). As one of rare exceptions, McKenna and Pole (2007) reported that the political blogs inform bloggers of news articles from mass media and present criticism on mass media coverage of political affairs. McKenna (2007) indicated that political blogs are produced based on bloggers' voluntarism (p. 209). This study investigates weblogs and newspaper texts with an assumption that their contents show their inclination to peace journalism or war journalism. Such a question has been raised by Galtung (1986; 1988), Jacobsen and Galtung (2002), a series of printed materials by CPF (Lynch, 1998;1999;2000; CPF, 2002) and McGoldrick and Lynch (2005), however, only a few studies (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Maslog, Lee, & Kim, 2006) have tried to answer them by analyzing newspaper texts from a peace journalism perspective. This study seeks to make contribution to the field of peace/war journalism in two aspects. First, it extends the range of the peace/war journalism study by analyzing newspaper texts and blog texts and comparing them. Second, it contributes to expand methodological approach to this field, by combining macro-level semantic network analysis with content analysis. As semantic network analysis is used for finding underlying structure of meaning from texts (Doerfel & Barnett, 1999), the combination of two methodological approaches will enhance understanding of the two different media.

Peace Journalism, Mass Media, and the Blogs

Peace Journalism and Framing Theory

Galtung (1986, 1998) raised the concept of peace journalism and its antonym, war journalism, for indicating the content characteristics of the mass media's reporting of international conflicts. Journalists who practice peace journalism tend to "accept that a conflict exists and explore conflict formations by identifying the parties, goals, and issues involved" (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 314). In addition, they "understand

the conflict's historical and cultural roots, and by giving voice to all [involved] parties, create empathy and understanding" (2005, p. 314). Further, peace journalism shows an advocacy of reconciliation and similarity rather than mechanical "objectivity" and differences (Galtung, 1986:1998). Galtung presented four dimensions of media content characteristics: peace/conflict, truth, people, and solutions (Galtung, 1986;1998).On the contrary, war journalism encompasses orientations to war/violence, propaganda, elites, and victory (Galtung, 1986:1998). It dramatizes the difference between the two sides of conflict, both of which are also assumed to be in a zero-sum game. Also, it centers on visible effects of war, one-sided messages like propaganda, and victory in the conflict. The model of peace journalism, suggested by Galtung (1996;1998), was applied to provide a systemized coding scheme including 17 recommended practices of conflict reporting by McGoldrick and Lynch (2000). The reporting manual consist of 17 items including 1) putting focus on solutions, 2) reporting in terms of long-term effects, 3) inclining to people and grassroots, 4) seeking for common ground among the sides in the conflict, 5) covering all sides of the conflict, and 6) using precise and active language. Prior to this manual, Maslog (1990) also suggested a peace-journalism oriented field manual for journalists. The manual puts an emphasis on avoiding writing articles that promote cultural prejudice and non-negotiable identity issues. Instead, the manual suggests that news should present the historical and contextual aspect of conflict, and attempt to find common grounds between the parties in conflict such as Christians and Muslims in Mindanao. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) contrasted peace journalism with war journalism in greater detail. Peace journalism generally avoids: describing a conflict as a matter of two involved parties only, interpreting the conflict as between us (self) and them (other), focusing only on violent events, assessing the visible merits of a violent action or policy, taking each party leader's identity as the group identity, focusing on what divides the parties, stressing the differences of each party's intention, reporting mainly the violence and horror from it, criticizing one party who starts the violence, centering simply on the fear and grievance of one party, using 'victimizing' language such as 'devastated,' 'defenseless,' 'pathetic,' or 'tragedy,' abusing emotive words to portray suffering, and utilizing demonizing words like 'axis of evil.' Framing theory can support peace journalism (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Maslog et al. 2006). Framing refers to "the process of selecting and highlighting some elements of alleged public sentiments while neglecting other elements" (Entman & Herbst, 2001: 210) and this perspective is shared by other literature (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 2000; Entman & Herbst, 2001). According to Gamson (1989), news frame is a core element of *interpretive package* (Gamson, 1989:35), which is a set of socially granted meanings to current issues. It is also "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson, 1989: 35). Framing theory is connected to agenda setting. McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) contended that "agenda setting" and "framing" are closely related because framing is an extended version of agenda setting. Framing has been considered as second-level agenda setting (McCombs, 1994; McCombs & Bell, 1996; McCombs et al., 1997). Framing shows how the media tell us how to think about current issues (McCombs et al., 1997). Framing activates specific ideas and thoughts about current issues for news audience (Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993). Reese and

Buckalew (1995) investigated news framing about the Gulf War and argued that government, mass media, and profit-seeking corporations interact and deepen the inclination to dramatize military conflict. Specifically, they pointed out that ultimate source of collective illusion of the war is media system's conventions, rituals, and structural traits of bureaucracy.

Pfau, Haigh, Gettle, Donelly, Scott, Warr and Wittenberg (2004) found that journalists embedded in military unit deployed in battle field write more de-contextualized and event-oriented reporting, which is, in Iyengar's expression, "episodic framing" (1991, p. 41). Episodic frames describe a social issue as a matter of an individual person or group rather than of a structural reason. In contrast, thematic frames offer information necessary to understand causes and backgrounds of social issues and invite audiences to look at structural aspects. Thus, in contrast to audiences perceiving thematic frames, those exposed to episodic frames tend to perceive social issues to be individually driven problems (Iyengar, 1991). The two contrasting concepts have common ground with Galtung (1986;1988)'s peace- and war- journalism dichotomy.Bennett (1990) and Mermin (1999) further criticized war journalism in that news media's discourse rarely transcends the Washington elite's policy debates. Modern journalism is a mere reflection of elite's professionalism that mass media disclose power struggles and disharmony among power elites. Mermin (1999) stipulates that news stories on the U.S.'s intervention in Somalia indicates that the mass media follow government's intent to get involved in the conflict and news stories do not draw the government's policy toward peaceful direction.To summarize, peace journalism argument in opposition to war journalism has been raised and developed in theory and method by relating it to framing theory and agenda-setting. A series of studies about conflict reporting have shown that media framing is significantly influenced by media rituals, corporate profit-seeking, and government sources.

Blog as Peace Journalism

Technologically speaking, blogs are easy to use (templates); users can exchange messages in a short time (trackbacks and comments); easily connect to favorite links (blogroll); link external sources by easy links (permalinks); promote reflections by composing journals and subscribe online discussion group (groupblogs, e.g. www.metafilter.com, www.far.com, www.boingboing.net). Such technological traits are bonded with blog users' active participation in information production and commentaries on current events. Theoretically, the peace-promoting role of web and blog has been discussed in terms of political activism (Kahn & Kellner, 2005; Franda, 2002; Wong, 2001), alternative information source, and alternative educational use (Oravec, 2004). Kahn and Kellner pointed out that the Internet's political subculture is a resistive domain against dominant culture that "provides the semantic codes by which groups attempt to transmit and reproduce themselves." (2005: 1) Kahn and Kellner (2005) stated about blog as an alternative journalism:This [blog] has resulted in a revolution in journalism in which subcultures of bloggers are continually posting and commenting upon news stories of particular interest to them, which are in turn found, read, and re-published by the global media (2005, p. 13). Theoretically, the way bloggers exchange current issue information and comment in cyberspace is supported by *participatory journalism*, "the act of citizen or a group of citizens, playing an active role in

the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating information" (Bowman & Willis, 2003:15). Participatory journalism has common ground with peace journalism in that both are "grounded in communitarian philosophy – namely the commitment to the idea of civic participation, the understanding of social justices as a moral imperative, and the view that the value and sacredness of the individual are realized only in and through communities" (Lee & Maslog, 2005:312). In this context, bloggers proactively exchange information and criticize each other's opinion within and out of individual blogs in complex relations. The relations are dynamically renewed every second. This system is called the "blogosphere," a cross-posting network of information and comment (Griffiths, 2003; Gill, 2005)Nolan (2003) stipulated that the web offers an exit out of spinning and stereotypes from mass media and information sources. The web provides information unrevealed by "mainstream" media. For instance, "Salam Pax," a blog, was authored by an anonymous Iraqi and posted war updates on people's life in Baghdad. Its entries were published as a paperback by the UK's Guardian newspaper because the vivid and uncovered facts about the war attracted many users to the blog. In another case, a torture at the Abu Ghraib prison was disclosed in one blog "Baghdad Burning," run by an anonymous person. A short comment about what the blogger heard from her friend caused a huge impact. Oravec (2004) classified war-related blogs like Salam Pax as "news war blogs." Other blog types are: war memory blogs for lost people in war; general social issue blogs that sporadically deal with war issues; peace activist war blogs; institutional (collective) blogs authored by profit/nonprofit organizations about war; historical blogs talking about individual war or warfare history. Oravec's classification shows the broad scope of war-related blogs.

Research Questions

This study investigates the Iraq War as reflected on the blog posts and mass media. It adopts Galtung's peace journalism perspective for content analysis. Although extant literature has relied on content analysis, this study simultaneously adopts semantic network analysis, "a structure of analysis based on shared meaning (Doerfel & Barnett, 1999: 589)" through computational text analysis tools. This is because semantic network analysis representing the relationship of words in terms of co-occurrence, frequency, and distance can increase understanding of the text's meaning structure (Doerfel & Barnett, 1999). For this investigation, to operationalize the concept of "news frame" is necessary. Here, a news frame refers to "an interpretive structures that sets specific events within a comprehensive context." (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 315). Under the definition, two contrasting frames, peace- and war- journalism are differentiated by Galtung (1986; 1988). Specifically, this study investigates the presence of war/peace journalism frames in the news articles and blog posts of the Iraq War by mass media and bloggers, respectively. Based on Galtung's classification of peace- and war-journalism, four research questions are formulated:

RQ1: What are commonly or rarely used frames in the newspaper coverage of the Iraq War (specifically, New York Times and Washington Post), from a peace- and war- journalism perspective?

RQ2. What are commonly or rarely used frames in the blog posts of the Iraq War (specifically, New York Times and Washington Post), from a peace- and war-journalism perspective?

RQ3. What is the difference in framing between blog posts and mass media coverage, from a peace journalism perspective?

RQ4. What is the difference in organization of meaning revealed by semantic network analysis between blog posts and mass media coverage?

Method

This study is based on a content analysis and a semantic network analysis of 145 blog posts retrieved from Google blogsearch ™ search engine and 416 newspaper stories (208 respectively) from Lexus-Nexus™ online database, news retrieval search engine. The unit of analysis for eyeball content and semantic analysis is the individual news story and blog post.

Pilot Study

A pilot study, tentative coding of blog post and news stories based on Galtung's categorization (1986;1988) was conducted by three graduate student coders. The total number of coded texts was 30, respectively. The pilot study helped content analysis in finding additional characteristics to be coded separately: whether a story is related to congress/election or international relations, or whether a story is focused only on the Iraq war itself.

Peace/War Frames Analysis

The database selected for news story sampling, Lexus-Nexus™, is equipped with comprehensive data coverage and convenient "advanced search" interface. From the database, New York Times and Washington Post news stories were retrieved. On the other hand, Blogsearch™ database was used to retrieve blog posts. The texts collected were all in English. The keyword used for retrieving the Iraq War-related news articles was "Iraq War" and it successfully retrieved related news stories. Considering the beginning date of the Iraq War (precisely, "Operation Iraqi Freedom"), March 19, 2003, the authors set the sampling period from 2003 to 2004. The sampling period includes the initiation of Iraq War, the formal declaration of ending of it (May 1, 2003), and its unexpected extension. The unit of analysis is the individual news story (mass media) and post (blog) which are read and coded by three communication graduate students. The coding scheme is based on Galtung's (1986, 1998). See Table 7 for the details.

The 13 indices respectively for peace and war journalism from Galtung (1986:1988) were utilized to identify the dominant frame of each text sampled. If a news story or a blog post was evaluated as "here and now" focused by the coder, then 1 point is added on "here and now" item of war journalism. If a story is commenting on the cause for the war, then 1 point is coded in "cause" item on peace journalism. When the sum of peace journalism score is higher than that of war journalism for a story, then it is categorized "peace journalism." When war journalism score is higher than peace, then it is classified "war journalism." In case of equal scores between the two, the story is judged "neutral." This method was also used for Lee and Maslog (2005) and Maslog et al. (2006). See Note 1 for the details.There are 13 indicators of framing. The maximum points for peace- and war- journalism are 13, respectively. The average rate for each item was calculated by the total sum of an item's value over the number of news stories (or blog posts). Along with two journalistic frames, whether the story is related to congress member or election was coded separately, because the sampled period covers presidential

campaign in 2004. Also, as the trend that Iraq War is discussed in a context of foreign policy of the US was found by pilot study, whether the story (post) is related to international relations policy of the US to Europe or Non-Europe area were coded. Three graduate students participated in coding. The intercoder reliability measured by Scott's *pi* ranged from .79 to .93, which is acceptable.

Semantic Network Analysis

Semantic network analysis is an automated text analysis of words to determine the most frequently used symbols. It then provides the relationship among these symbols and how they covary with other text's corresponding symbols. For this process, computational content analysis software 'CATPAC' (Doerfel & Barnett, 1996; Terra Research and Computing, 1994) is used. CATPAC is self-organizing artificial neural network computer program for analyzing text (Woelfel, 1993). Any text sample in ASCII format can be analyzed with computer algorithms that search for any patterns whatsoever that happen to occur in the text. This is possible with co-occurrence models and neural network analysis supported by CATPAC. CATPAC reads a body of text. The program then eliminates "stop words," which include a list of articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and transitive verbs that do not contribute to the meaning of the text (e.g. if, and, that, the, to, is). In addition, any words that distort the description of the text that have been shown to be problematic may be removed. CATPAC then counts the occurrences of the remaining words yielding the most frequently occurring words equal to the value set by the user. CATPAC then creates a words-by-words matrix with each cell containing the likelihood that the occurrence of one word will indicate the occurrence of another. This matrix is then cluster analyzed (Doerfel & Barnett, 1999, p. 592).CATPAC also enables researchers to obtain graphical representation (multi-dimensional scaling) of organization of words (meaning structure) of the sampled text. The coordinates retrieved from MDS for each text were compared. And common words used in the three texts are collected.

Results

Out of 407 newspaper articles, 266 (63.9%) were hard news stories (133 from NYT, 135 from WP). The rest of articles were composed of 66 (13.8%) feature stories (35 from NYT, 31 from WP), 52 (12.8%) editorial comments (20 from NYT, 32 from WP), 5 (1.2%) external opinions (3 from NYT, 2 from WP) and 16 (3.9%) soft news stories (11 from NYT, 5 from WP). Letters from readers and corrections were omitted during sampling process.

127 out of 145 blog texts were found to be more focused on Iraq war itself (87.59% vs. 67.07%). Newspaper stories, in some occasions, interpreted the war as one significant but subordinate item in a broader context of elections, foreign policy, and domestic debate among politicians. Blog texts were shorter and more thematic on the issue. Among the two newspapers, NYT focused more on the conflict (69.23% vs. 64.90%). The election and congress was one of the key issues related to Iraq War. Blogs (17.24%) showed less inclination to the interpretation in election/congress context, compared with WP (26.92%), NYT (15.38%), and newspapers combined (21.15%). Specifically, the war was interpreted in the context of international relations or US foreign policy. Especially for Europe, NYT (4.81%) showed this trend more than WP (2.40%) and blogs (1.38%). For the relations with non-

European nations, blogs (3.45%) referred more portion than WP (1.92%) or NYT (2.40%).

Peace/War Framing Analysis

Blogs approached the Iraq War more from peace journalism approach (54.48%) than WP (19.23%) or NYT(22.12%) or the combination of the two newspapers (20.67%). On the other hand, WP (70.19%), NYT (58.17%), and combined (64.18%) showed more inclination to war journalism than blogs (25.52%). Neutral approach of WP was 10.58% and blog was 20.00%. The inter-category difference analysis (chi-square) shows that there is significant difference in journalistic approach between different types of media (Chi-square = 81.357, DF = 4, $p < .001$, N = 561). That is, the argument that based on the media, the orientation to peace/war journalism is significantly different. Figure 1 shows the itemized analysis of blog, WP, NYT, and the combination of WP and NYT. Overall, newspaper stories show higher tendency of war journalism. Also, elite centrism (WP:.542), partisan (NYT:.681), emotive word (blog:.411), and no-labeling (blog:.441) show the higher intensity than other items. As we can see from Figure 1, elite centrism, now and where, and partisan coverage items have much higher average rates than reactive, two-party, and demonizing language. Although blog posts had the highest rate for the items of reactive, victimizing language in war journalism items, their absolute value is not high. Only for the emotive words item, blog post scored more than .4 and was ranked at the highest among the four (blog, WP, NYT, and NYT+WP), in war journalism items. NYT was ranked at the first for partisan item. As for peace journalism, blogs surpass the other media for a majority of items, but newspapers indicated a higher score than blogs for people tortured, multiparty, neutral, win-win, casue, and aftermath items. WP is at the top for people tortured, cause, and aftermath items. NYT showed salient tendency to promote multiparty involvement in the Iraq War.

Semantic Network Analysis

This section discusses each text's characteristics and comparatively analyzes the four texts. Table 2 shows the word frequency of blog texts. The most frequent words are: US (including United States, States, US), Iraq, war, people, bush, think, don't, blog, and world. The most salient finding from this table is that it reflects the words of personal emotion or activity (believe, great, good, look, never, need, really, want, work, think) and self (I'm). Blogs are a medium of personal journalism and the top 50 frequent words in Table 2 show this trait. Blogs are open to the public unless bloggers set the security of the post they composed "confidential." Blogs are a personal medium that openly discusses social or private issues and sometimes criticize politicians, war, and other social events. Figure 2 shows the semantic network of blog posts. There are two semantic clusters. The first larger cluster includes commonly used words for all texts such as administration, American, Iraq, war, US, military, and Iraqi. The cluster also includes words representing personal aspect listed above (e.g. think, look, great, good, I'm, doing and work). It indicates that personal feelings are mixed with major facts about the Iraq war in the one large cluster. The second cluster includes the words including free, support, Iraqis, need, political, and believe. A majority of this cluster's words pertain to the support and freedom of Iraqis as the bloggers' belief. Table 3 shows the word frequencies of NYT. NYT's most frequent words are Iraq, war, American, Bush, US, president, first, percent, military,

people, and officials. Democratic presidential candidates, (John) Kerry and (Howard) Dean, and election related word (e.g. campaign), and UN. Figure 3 shows the semantic network of NYT and the network composed of two clusters. The larger cluster includes administration, against, Iraq, war, US, American, and Bush at its peak (the most densely and closely located words). The cluster is also composed of Washington, security, Baghdad, soldiers, Dean, and Kerry. Synthetically, the cluster encompasses elites (Bush, officials, Washington, government, Dean, Kerry, president, and administration) as a majority. The second cluster includes military words (Army, Marines, Defense) and international institutions (UN, council, international). WP texts are analyzed based on word frequency in Table 4. The top frequent words include Iraq, war, Bush, president, US, military, John Kerry, administration, people, weapons, Saddam Hussein, and Iraqi. A majority of words overlap with NYT, with exceptions: tax, terrorism, killed, billion, Cheney, attacks, and force. At least in terms of the frequent word list, there is no salient difference between NYT and WP. Figure 4 shows two semantic clusters of the WP text. The larger cluster includes administration, going, against, American, Iraq, war, security, military, US, and others. Elites (administration, Washington, president, Bush, Kerry, Dean) and military institution and activities (security, military, weapons, force, troops, soldiers, defense, army, killed, marine) constitute the first cluster. The higher number of military words than other texts (NYT and blogs) is salient. The second cluster includes Americans, Bush's, Democratic, tax, policy, terrorism, political, foreign, and attacks. The status of tax and terrorism show that the cluster reflects the political debate over the tax burden due to the expenses of the Iraq war. Table 5 indicates the word frequencies of newspapers combined (NYT + WP). The most frequent words in the text are Iraq, war, Bush, US, president, American, military, administration, people, officials, weapons, Iraqi, against, government, security, and intelligence. Overall, the list reflects that newspapers focus on militarism, elite sources, and the effect of war on domestic politics. Military words include army, security, attacks, defense, soldiers, weapons, force, intelligence, and killed. Domestic politics and elite-related words in the text are campaign, Democratic, Cheney, John Kerry, officials, Washington, Bush, officials, government, and the White House. Figure 5 presents two semantic clusters. The first one include administration, attacks, Bush, government, international, Iraq, war, Iraqi, security, Washington, military, and weapons. The first cluster mainly consists of elites and military words. The second cluster encompasses Baghdad, British, Democratic, killed, marine, policy, public, country, defense, going, the White House, and news.The word list comparison of the four texts is presented at Table 6. The table shows that the major words in all four texts are: administration, American, against, Americans, Bush, country, going, government, Iraq, Iraqi, military, people, political, president, Saddam Hussein, state, support, troops, US, war, and world. Generally, these words are related to facts on the Iraq war: those who leads the war (Bush, government, president, Saddam Hussein, state, country), those who conduct the war (military, troops), and those who suffer (people). More important is the unique words for each text. First, blog post's unique words are: I'm, believe, look, never, need, really, want, think, and work (and more). These words represent the typical characteristic of blog, namely, a personal/miscellaneous medium. Second, the words only can be seen from newspapers include military

words (army, attacks, defense, force, intelligence, killed, security, soldiers, and weapons), elites and domestic politics (campaign, Cheney, Democratic, John Kerry, officials, Washington, and the White House.

Discussion

First, as expected, newspapers show more war-journalistic characteristics than blog posts. Simultaneously, blogs are closer to peace journalism than newspapers. The extant literature has seen the difference between newspapers only, thus this finding contributes to the status of literature. The finding can be interpreted as a confirmation of the argument that blogs can play a role of alternative or participatory journalism. However, simultaneously, this interpretation may be impetuous. WP showed some peace journalistic characteristics such as focusing on the aftermath of the war and covering those who are suffered from war. On the other hand, NYT showed some war-journalism trait: It was found to be more partisan than WP or blog texts. This is confirmed by the frequent word list. NYT has two Democratic rivals Howard Dean and John Kerry on their list, but WP does not have Dean on its list. Another finding is that NYT has less characteristics of war journalism than WP. Further, NYT has more peace journalism characteristics than WP, but the difference in the degree of peace journalism is smaller than that of war journalism. It means that although NYT is a little more peace-oriented than WP, the difference is not as large as expected (2.89%). Also, NYT tend to cover the Iraq war less peace-journalistic than blogs by 32.36% and more war-journalistic by 32.65%. In the continuum of war-peace journalism, NYT is located in the middle of WP and blog posts, but closer to WP. Namely, the inter-newspaper difference is smaller than the inter-media (newspaper vs. blog posts). It stresses the potential of blogs as alternative and participatory media. Second, the semantic network analysis indicates that blog and newspaper texts have different/unique characteristics. Blog texts use more personal words and meaning structure than conventional journalism. Thus, the ego (I'm) is not separated for a superficial objective journalism. Blogs use such a premise that "this is my point of view." As one of A-list news blogger Glenn Ryenolds says, "A blog is a disclosure of the blogger's biases" (as cited in Johnson & Kaye, 2006), blog news may not be based on the objectivity. Rather, it is based on an explicit display of personal thoughts and stories. However, this subjective approach to news information is monitored by peer bloggers and keeps critical relationship with traditional news stories to some extent thus is not deviant from the truth-telling. Blogs not only create raw news source but also, in fact in most cases, monitor news information produced by mainstream media. Blog journalism provides critical reflections towards the issues, citizen-based perspectives, and alternative voices extended beyond the mainstream representation. Given that blogs news stories are a far more discursive and multi-perspectival form of news reporting than traditional news outlets, blog contributes for the development of the participatory and deliberative journalism regime (Brun, 2006). As peace journalism has the common ground with participatory journalism, blogs' peace journalistic aspects revealed in this study also reinforce that blogging is a participatory journalism.In contrast, newspapers are more prone to elite sources, the war in a political context, and militarism. Both the unique words and semantic clustering reveal such trait. Those who suffered from war are belittled in the mass media coverage. Major meaning structure of newspaper is

under significant influence of traditional news values: official news sources, conflict-oriented, and violence-oriented. Soldiers and citizens are represented in number, not in their own dignity. The voice for humanitarian aid for Iraq people are hardly discussed in newspaper texts, especially WP. As Hallin (1986), Herman and Chomsky (1985), and Kellner (2005) criticized war journalism, the findings of the study show pervasive tendency of professional journalism toward de-humanized news coverage on military attack. This paper compared blog text and newspaper stories about the Iraq war. It shows both the Internet and print media are a battlefield of different perspectives. Peace/war journalism dichotomy confirmed its validity as a content analysis framework as past literature did, with some limitations. Future research can conduct a deeper investigation of blog as an alternative and participatory media. Also, the duality of blog (open to public and personal) characteristics should be studied further.

Note.

1. The detailed explanation about peace journalism coding process can be seen from Lee and Maslog (2005, p. 316-317): "A score of 1 was recorded each time an indicator was found. When the total score for peace journalism indicators exceeded the total score for war journalism, the story was classified as a peace journalism story. When war journalism indicators exceed peace journalism indicators, the story was classified as war journalism. When the scores were equal, the story was neutral."

Table 1: Comparative content analysis of blogs and newspapers.

(a) Characteristics of Samples

	BLOG	(%)	WP	(%)	NYT	(%)	WP+NYT	(%)
Focused only on Iraq war itself	127	87.59	135	64.90	144	69.23	279	67.07
Congress/ Elections	25	17.24	56	26.92	32	15.38	88	21.15
International relationship (w/Europe)	2	1.38	5	2.40	10	4.81	15	3.61
International relationship (w/others: e.g. Iran, Syria, North Korea)	5	3.45	4	1.92	5	2.40	9	2.16

(b) Blog / Newspaper Analysis

	BLOG	(%)	WP	(%)	NYT	(%)		(%)	WP+NYT	(%)
Peace Journalism	79	54.48	40	19.23	46	22.12	165	29.41	86	20.67
Neutral	29	20.00	22	10.58	41	19.71	92	16.40	63	14.90
War Journalism	37	25.52	146	70.19	121	58.17	304	54.19	267	64.18
	145	25.85	208	37.08	208	37.08	561	100.0		

Note. Chi-square = 81.357, DF = 4, $p < .001$. Chi-square is calculated based on three (blog, WP, NYT) categories. Cramer's V = .2693, $p < .001$.

Table 2: The word frequency of blog texts.

Descending frequency list					Alphabetically sorted list				
			Case	Case				Case	Case
Word	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Word**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**
US	2324	8	10729	36.8	Administration	306	1.0	1867	6.4
Iraq	2276	7.8	10525	36.1	Against	440	1.5	2675	9.2
War	2119	7.3	9546	32.7	American	577	2.0	3349	11.5
People	1475	5.1	7722	26.5	Americans	417	1.4	2467	8.5
Bush	1393	4.8	6470	22.2	Believe	363	1.2	2262	7.8
Think	912	3.1	5373	18.4	Blog	732	2.5	2950	10.1
Don't	795	2.7	4638	15.9	Bush	1393	4.8	6470	22.2
Blog	732	2.5	2950	10.1	Country	510	1.7	3080	10.6
World	649	2.2	3691	12.7	Doing	282	1.0	1820	6.2
Iraqi	646	2.2	3210	11	Don't	795	2.7	4638	15.9
Good	635	2.2	3823	13.1	Fact	291	1.0	1866	6.4
Right	628	2.2	3799	13	Find	281	1.0	1818	6.2
I'm	622	2.1	3481	11.9	Free	333	1.1	1663	5.7
American	577	2	3349	11.5	God	357	1.2	1658	5.7
Want	547	1.9	3236	11.1	Going	523	1.8	3336	11.4
Going	523	1.8	3336	11.4	Good	635	2.2	3823	13.1
Country	510	1.7	3080	10.6	Government	376	1.3	2248	7.7
Really	467	1.6	2953	10.1	Great	466	1.6	2707	9.3
Great	466	1.6	2707	9.3	Help	299	1.0	1805	6.2
Military	447	1.5	2522	8.6	I'm	622	2.1	3481	11.9
Against	440	1.5	2675	9.2	Iraq	2276	7.8	10525	36.1
Iraqis	438	1.5	2535	8.7	Iraqi	646	2.2	3210	11
Work	430	1.5	2519	8.6	Iraqis	438	1.5	2535	8.7
Americans	417	1.4	2467	8.5	Left	296	1.0	1850	6.3
Things	410	1.4	2493	8.5	Look	304	1.0	1932	6.6
Need	399	1.4	2348	8.1	Media	289	1.0	1569	5.4
President	387	1.3	2313	7.9	Might	339	1.2	2083	7.1
Never	385	1.3	2392	8.2	Military	447	1.5	2522	8.6
Government	376	1.3	2248	7.7	Money	298	1.0	1603	5.5
Saddamhussein	365	1.3	2011	6.9	Need	399	1.4	2348	8.1
Believe	363	1.2	2262	7.8	Never	385	1.3	2392	8.2
God	357	1.2	1658	5.7	News	345	1.2	1868	6.4
Political	353	1.2	1999	6.9	People	1475	5.1	7722	26.5
News	345	1.2	1868	6.4	Point	343	1.2	2196	7.5
Point	343	1.2	2196	7.5	Political	353	1.2	1999	6.9
Might	339	1.2	2083	7.1	President	387	1.3	2313	7.9

Support	338	1.2	2080	7.1	Really	467	1.6	2953	10.1
Troops	334	1.1	1990	6.8	Right	628	2.2	3799	13
Free	333	1.1	1663	5.7	Saddamhussein	365	1.3	2011	6.9
Something	323	1.1	2015	6.9	Something	323	1.1	2015	6.9
State	307	1.1	1855	6.4	State	307	1.1	1855	6.4
Administration	306	1.0	1867	6.4	Support	338	1.2	2080	7.1
Look	304	1.0	1932	6.6	Things	410	1.4	2493	8.5
Help	299	1.0	1805	6.2	Think	912	3.1	5373	18.4
Money	298	1.0	1603	5.5	Troops	334	1.1	1990	6.8
Left	296	1.0	1850	6.3	US	2324	8.0	10729	36.8
Fact	291	1.0	1866	6.4	Want	547	1.9	3236	11.1
Media	289	1.0	1569	5.4	War	2119	7.3	9546	32.7
Doing	282	1.0	1820	6.2	Work	430	1.5	2519	8.6
Find	281	1.0	1818	6.2	World	649	2.2	3691	12.7

Table 3: The word frequency of New York times.

Descending frequency list					Alphabetically sorted list				
			Case	Case				Case	Case
Word	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Word**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**
Iraq	1007	9.5	5309	49.9	Administration	216	2	1301	12.2
War	943	8.9	4784	45	Against	189	1.8	1209	11.4
American	483	4.5	2737	25.7	American	483	4.5	2737	25.7
Bush	473	4.4	2589	24.3	Americans	135	1.3	811	7.6
US	463	4.4	2577	24.2	Army	163	1.5	762	7.2
President	292	2.7	1791	16.8	Baghdad	126	1.2	728	6.8
First	264	2.5	1453	13.7	Bush	473	4.4	2589	24.3
Percent	255	2.4	919	8.6	Bush's	122	1.1	754	7.1
Military	243	2.3	1405	13.2	Campaign	140	1.3	811	7.6
People	240	2.3	1402	13.2	Council	106	1	614	5.8
Officials	231	2.2	1342	12.6	Country	113	1.1	752	7.1
Foreign	221	2.1	1429	13.4	Dean	140	1.3	536	5
Intelligence	221	2.1	1062	10	Defense	135	1.3	850	8
Administration	216	2	1301	12.2	Democratic	108	1	653	6.1
Time	206	1.9	1230	11.6	First	264	2.5	1453	13.7
Kerry	196	1.8	919	8.6	Foreign	221	2.1	1429	13.4
Government	193	1.8	1156	10.9	Going	119	1.1	735	6.9
Iraqi	192	1.8	1205	11.3	Government	193	1.8	1156	10.9
Security	192	1.8	1176	11.1	Group	106	1	663	6.2
Against	189	1.8	1209	11.4	Intelligence	221	2.1	1062	10
World	177	1.7	1062	10	International	119	1.1	753	7.1
National	176	1.7	1116	10.5	Iraq	1007	9.5	5309	49.9
Political	165	1.6	1045	9.8	Iraqi	192	1.8	1205	11.3
Army	163	1.5	762	7.2	Kerry	196	1.8	919	8.6
Weapons	162	1.5	955	9	Marines	106	1	401	3.8
Support	145	1.4	918	8.6	Members	109	1	682	6.4
Washington	142	1.3	933	8.8	Military	243	2.3	1405	13.2
Campaign	140	1.3	811	7.6	National	176	1.7	1116	10.5
Dean	140	1.3	536	5	Officials	231	2.2	1342	12.6
Americans	135	1.3	811	7.6	People	240	2.3	1402	13.2
Defense	135	1.3	850	8	Percent	255	2.4	919	8.6
State	135	1.3	824	7.7	Policy	128	1.2	831	7.8
Troops	134	1.3	817	7.7	Political	165	1.6	1045	9.8
Policy	128	1.2	831	7.8	President	292	2.7	1791	16.8

Report	128	1.2	647	6.1	Public	118	1.1	788	7.4
Baghdad	126	1.2	728	6.8	Report	128	1.2	647	6.1
Saddamhussein	125	1.2	776	7.3	Saddamhussein	125	1.2	776	7.3
Bush's	122	1.1	754	7.1	Second	119	1.1	614	5.8
Going	119	1.1	735	6.9	Security	192	1.8	1176	11.1
International	119	1.1	753	7.1	Soldiers	110	1	602	5.7
Second	119	1.1	614	5.8	State	135	1.3	824	7.7
Public	118	1.1	788	7.4	Support	145	1.4	918	8.6
Country	113	1.1	752	7.1	Time	206	1.9	1230	11.6
UN	112	1.1	689	6.5	Troops	134	1.3	817	7.7
Soldiers	110	1	602	5.7	UN	112	1.1	689	6.5
Members	109	1	682	6.4	US	463	4.4	2577	24.2
Democratic	108	1	653	6.1	War	943	8.9	4784	45
Council	106	1	614	5.8	Washington	142	1.3	933	8.8
Group	106	1	663	6.2	Weapons	162	1.5	955	9
Marines	106	1	401	3.8	World	177	1.7	1062	10

Table 4: The Word Frequency of Washington Post.

Descending frequency list					Alphabetically sorted list				
			Case	Case				Case	Case
Word	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Word**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**
Iraq	1383	10.4	7163	53.9	Administration	320	2.4	1930	14.5
War	1192	9	6109	46	Against	243	1.8	1546	11.6
Bush	888	6.7	4504	33.9	American	245	1.8	1487	11.2
President	488	3.7	2842	21.4	Americans	158	1.2	974	7.3
US	401	3	2342	17.6	Army	158	1.2	897	6.8
Military	367	2.8	2067	15.6	Attacks	145	1.1	844	6.4
Johnkerry	336	2.5	1670	12.6	Based	160	1.2	910	6.8
Administration	320	2.4	1930	14.5	Billion	141	1.1	665	5
People	290	2.2	1750	13.2	Bush	888	6.7	4504	33.9
Weapons	284	2.1	1559	11.7	Bush's	201	1.5	1253	9.4
Saddamhussein	251	1.9	1496	11.3	Campaign	160	1.2	997	7.5
Iraqi	248	1.9	1439	10.8	Cheney	169	1.3	801	6
Troops	247	1.9	1513	11.4	Country	162	1.2	1030	7.8
American	245	1.8	1487	11.2	Defense	181	1.4	994	7.5
Time	245	1.8	1530	11.5	Democratic	151	1.1	922	6.9
Washington	245	1.8	1546	11.6	First	212	1.6	1386	10.4
Against	243	1.8	1546	11.6	Force	137	1	845	6.4
Security	237	1.8	1479	11.1	Foreign	138	1	891	6.7
Government	236	1.8	1368	10.3	Going	152	1.1	894	6.7
Officials	236	1.8	1381	10.4	Government	236	1.8	1368	10.3
First	212	1.6	1386	10.4	Intelligence	198	1.5	976	7.3
Killed	204	1.5	1144	8.6	Iraq	1383	10.4	7163	53.9
Bush's	201	1.5	1253	9.4	Iraqi	248	1.9	1439	10.8
Intelligence	198	1.5	976	7.3	Johnkerry	336	2.5	1670	12.6
Marine	194	1.5	593	4.5	Killed	204	1.5	1144	8.6
National	191	1.4	1268	9.5	Marine	194	1.5	593	4.5
Support	191	1.4	1196	9	Military	367	2.8	2067	15.6
World	191	1.4	1172	8.8	National	191	1.4	1268	9.5
Staff	183	1.4	1209	9.1	Officials	236	1.8	1381	10.4
Defense	181	1.4	994	7.5	People	290	2.2	1750	13.2
Cheney	169	1.3	801	6	Policy	134	1	862	6.5
Soldiers	163	1.2	934	7	Political	133	1	887	6.7
Country	162	1.2	1030	7.8	President	488	3.7	2842	21.4
Based	160	1.2	910	6.8	Report	145	1.1	859	6.5
Campaign	160	1.2	997	7.5	Saddamhussein	251	1.9	1496	11.3

Americans	158	1.2	974	7.3	Security	237	1.8	1479	11.1
Army	158	1.2	897	6.8	Soldiers	163	1.2	934	7
Going	152	1.1	894	6.7	Staff	183	1.4	1209	9.1
Democratic	151	1.1	922	6.9	State	142	1.1	889	6.7
Three	147	1.1	985	7.4	Support	191	1.4	1196	9
Attacks	145	1.1	844	6.4	Tax	134	1	598	4.5
Report	145	1.1	859	6.5	Terrorism	135	1.1	839	6.3
State	142	1.1	889	6.7	Three	147	1.1	985	7.4
Billion	141	1.1	665	5	Time	245	1.8	1530	11.5
Foreign	138	1	891	6.7	Troops	247	1.9	1513	11.4
Force	137	1	845	6.4	US	401	3	2342	17.6
Terrorism	135	1	839	6.3	War	1192	9	6109	46
Policy	134	1	862	6.5	Washington	245	1.8	1546	11.6
Tax	134	1	598	4.5	Weapons	284	2.1	1559	11.7
Political	133	1	887	6.7	World	191	1.4	1172	8.8

Table 5: The word frequency of NYt and WP.

Descending frequency list					Alphabetically sorted list				
			Case	Case				Case	Case
Word	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Word**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**	**Freq**	**Pcnt**
Iraq	2385	10.3	12323	53.4	Administration	536	2.30	3210	13.9
War	2135	9.3	10790	46.8	Against	432	1.90	2734	11.9
Bush	1684	7.3	7973	34.6	American	728	3.20	4205	18.2
US	864	3.7	4866	21.1	Americans	293	1.30	1759	7.6
President	780	3.4	4618	20.0	Army	321	1.40	1556	6.7
American	728	3.2	4205	18.2	Attacks	235	1.00	1417	6.1
Military	610	2.6	3465	15.0	Baghdad	240	1.00	1420	6.2
Administration	536	2.3	3210	13.9	British	220	1.00	1256	5.4
People	530	2.3	3117	13.5	Bush	1684	7.30	7973	34.6
Officials	467	2.0	2724	11.8	Campaign	300	1.30	1786	7.7
Weapons	446	1.9	2524	10.9	Cheney	225	1.00	1090	4.7
Iraqi	445	1.9	2680	11.6	Column	224	1.00	1532	6.6
Against	432	1.9	2734	11.9	Country	275	1.20	1783	7.7
Government	429	1.9	2531	11.0	Dean	228	1.00	881	3.8
Security	429	1.9	2627	11.4	Defense	316	1.40	1841	8.0
Intelligence	419	1.8	2084	9.0	Democratic	259	1.10	1555	6.7
Washington	387	1.7	2490	10.8	Force	233	1.00	1422	6.2
Troops	381	1.7	2326	10.1	Foreign	359	1.60	2309	10.0
Saddamhussein	376	1.6	2276	9.9	Going	271	1.20	1618	7.0
World	368	1.6	2231	9.7	Government	429	1.90	2531	11.0
National	367	1.6	2386	10.3	Intelligence	419	1.80	2084	9.0
Foreign	359	1.6	2309	10.0	International	234	1.00	1442	6.3
Johnkerry	336	1.5	1642	7.1	Iraq	2385	10.30	12323	53.4
Support	336	1.5	2107	9.1	Iraqi	445	1.90	2680	11.6
Army	321	1.4	1556	6.7	Johnkerry	336	1.50	1642	7.1
Defense	316	1.4	1841	8.0	Killed	286	1.20	1571	6.8
Campaign	300	1.3	1786	7.7	Marine	257	1.10	751	3.3
Political	298	1.3	1924	8.3	Military	610	2.60	3465	15.0
Americans	293	1.3	1759	7.6	National	367	1.60	2386	10.3
News	292	1.3	1626	7.1	News	292	1.30	1626	7.1
Killed	286	1.2	1571	6.8	Officials	467	2.00	2724	11.8
State	277	1.2	1694	7.3	People	530	2.30	3117	13.5
Country	275	1.2	1783	7.7	Policy	262	1.10	1686	7.3
Report	273	1.2	1517	6.6	Political	298	1.30	1924	8.3
Soldiers	273	1.2	1523	6.6	President	780	3.40	4618	20.0

Going	271	1.2	1618	7.0	Public	246	1.10	1577	6.8
Staff	269	1.2	1726	7.5	Report	273	1.20	1517	6.6
Policy	262	1.1	1686	7.3	Saddamhussein	376	1.60	2276	9.9
Democratic	259	1.1	1555	6.7	Security	429	1.90	2627	11.4
Marine	257	1.1	751	3.3	Soldiers	273	1.20	1523	6.6
Public	246	1.1	1577	6.8	Staff	269	1.20	1726	7.5
Baghdad	240	1.0	1420	6.2	State	277	1.20	1694	7.3
Attacks	235	1.0	1417	6.1	Support	336	1.50	2107	9.1
International	234	1.0	1442	6.3	Troops	381	1.70	2326	10.1
Force	233	1.0	1422	6.2	US	864	3.70	4866	21.1
Dean	228	1.0	881	3.8	War	2135	9.30	10790	46.8
Whitehouse	226	1.0	1309	5.7	Washington	387	1.70	2490	10.8
Cheney	225	1.0	1090	4.7	Weapons	446	1.90	2524	10.9
Column	224	1.0	1532	6.6	Whitehouse	226	1.00	1309	5.7
British	220	1.0	1256	5.4	World	368	1.60	2231	9.7

Table 6: Comparative analysis of words used in the texts.

Blog	Nyt	Wp	Nyt & wp
Administration	Administration	Administration	Administration
Against	Against	Against	Against
American	American	American	American
Americans	Americans	Americans	Americans
Believe	Army	Army	**Army**
Blog	Baghdad	Attacks	**Attacks**
Bush	Bush	Based	Baghdad
Country	Bush's	Billion	British
Doing	Campaign	Bush	Bush
Don't	Council	Bush's	**Campaign**
Fact	Country	Campaign	**Cheney**
Find	Dean	Cheney	Column
Free	Defense	Country	Country
God	Democratic	Defense	Dean
Going	First	Democratic	**Defense**
Good	Foreign	First	**Democratic**
Government	Going	Force	**Force**
Great	Government	Foreign	Foreign
Help	Group	Going	Going
I'm	Intelligence	Government	Government
Iraq	International	Intelligence	**Intelligence**
Iraqi	Iraq	Iraq	International
Iraqis	Iraqi	Iraqi	Iraq
Left	Kerry	Johnkerry	Iraqi
Look	Marines	Killed	**Johnkerry**
Media	Members	Marine	**Killed**
Might	Military	Military	Marine
Military	National	National	Military
Money	Officials	Officials	**National**
Need	People	People	News
Never	Percent	Policy	**Officials**
News	Policy	Political	People

People	Political	President	Policy
Point	President	Report	Political
Political	Public	Saddamhussein	President
President	Report	Security	Public
Really	Saddamhussein	Soldiers	Report
Right	Second	Staff	Saddamhussein
Saddamhussein	Security	State	**Security**
Something	Soldiers	Support	**Soldiers**
State	State	Tax	**Staff**
Support	Support	Terrorism	State
Things	Time	Three	Support
Think	Troops	Time	Troops
Troops	Un	Troops	Us
Us	Us	Us	War
Want	War	War	**Washington**
War	Washington	Washington	**Weapons**
Work	Weapons	Weapons	**Whitehouse**
World	World	World	World

Notes: 1. words in green: common in blogs, WP, and NYT. 2. words in yellow: common in blogs and the two newspapers combined. 3. words in bold: words not shared by blog posts, and with relevance to domestic politics and/or militarism.

Table 7: War/Peace Journalism: An Itemized Coding Categories.

War Journalism elements	**Peace Journalism elements**
Waits for war to break out before reporting.. **Reactive**	Starts reporting long before war breaks out.. **Proactive**
Visible aspects of war (casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property)	**Invisible** aspects of war (emotional trauma, damage to society and culture)
Elite-oriented (focuses on leaders, uses elite sources)	**People-oriented** (focuses on common people as actors or sources)
Focuses mainly on **differences** that led to the conflict	Reports the areas of **agreement** that might lead to a solution to the conflict
Focuses on the **here and now**	Reports **causes** and consequences of the conflict
Dichotomizes between **the good and the evil**	**Avoids labeling** of good and bad sides
Two-party orientation (one party wins, the other party loses)	**Multi-party** orientation (gives voice to many parties involved in conflict)
Partisan	**Neutral** or not taking sides
Winning-oriented (**zero sum** game)	**Win-win** oriented (solution, multi-facets oriented)
Stops reporting with the peace treaty signing and ceasefire and heads for another war elsewhere (**after peace**)	Stays on and reports **aftermath of war** – the reconstruction, rehabilitation, and implementation of peace treaty
Uses **victimizing language** (e.g., destitute, devastated, defenseless, pathetic, tragic, demoralized) that tells only what has been done to people	**Avoids victimizing language**, reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping
Uses **demonizing language** (e.g. vicious, cruel, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic, fundamentalist)	**Avoids demonizing language**, uses more precise descriptions, titles, or names)
Uses **emotive words,** like genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic raping, etc.	Objective and moderate. **Avoids emotive words.** Reserves the strongest language only for the gravest situation. Does not exaggerate.

Source: Adapted from Galtung (1986;1998)

Figure 1: Detailed analysis of peace/war journalism in blogs and newspapers.

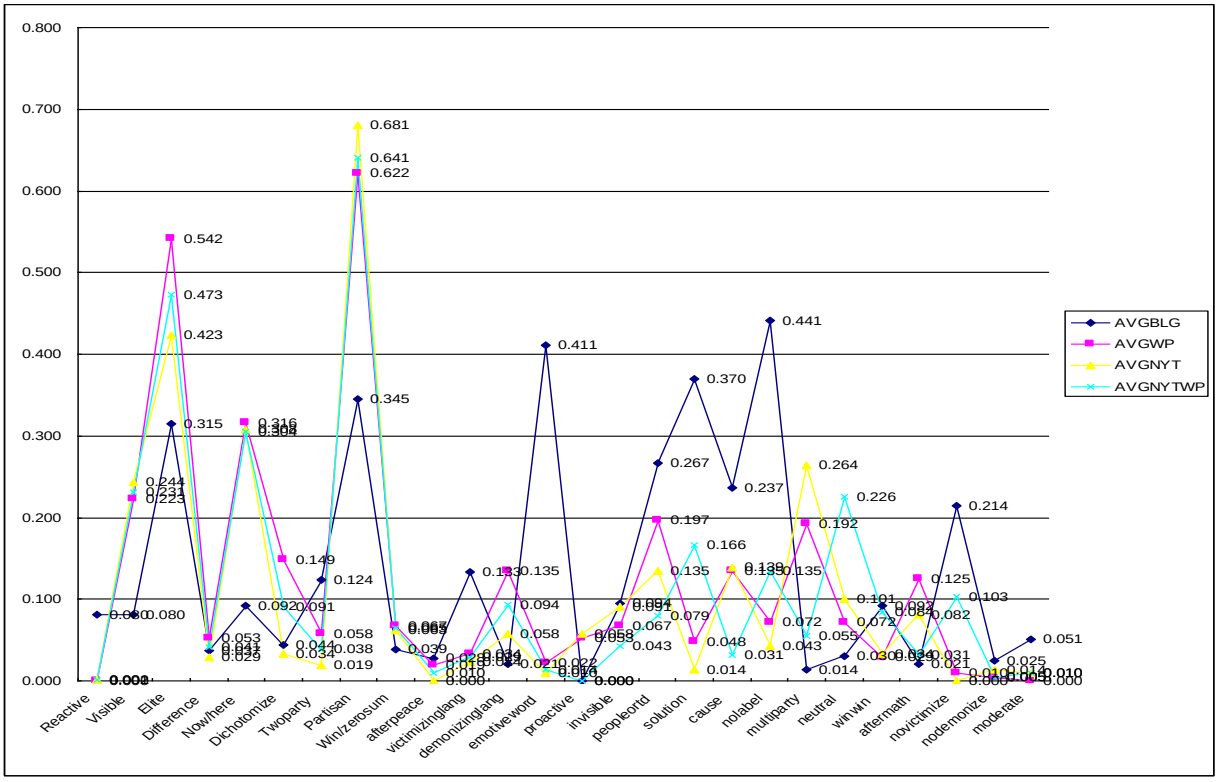


Figure 2: The semantic network of blog posts.

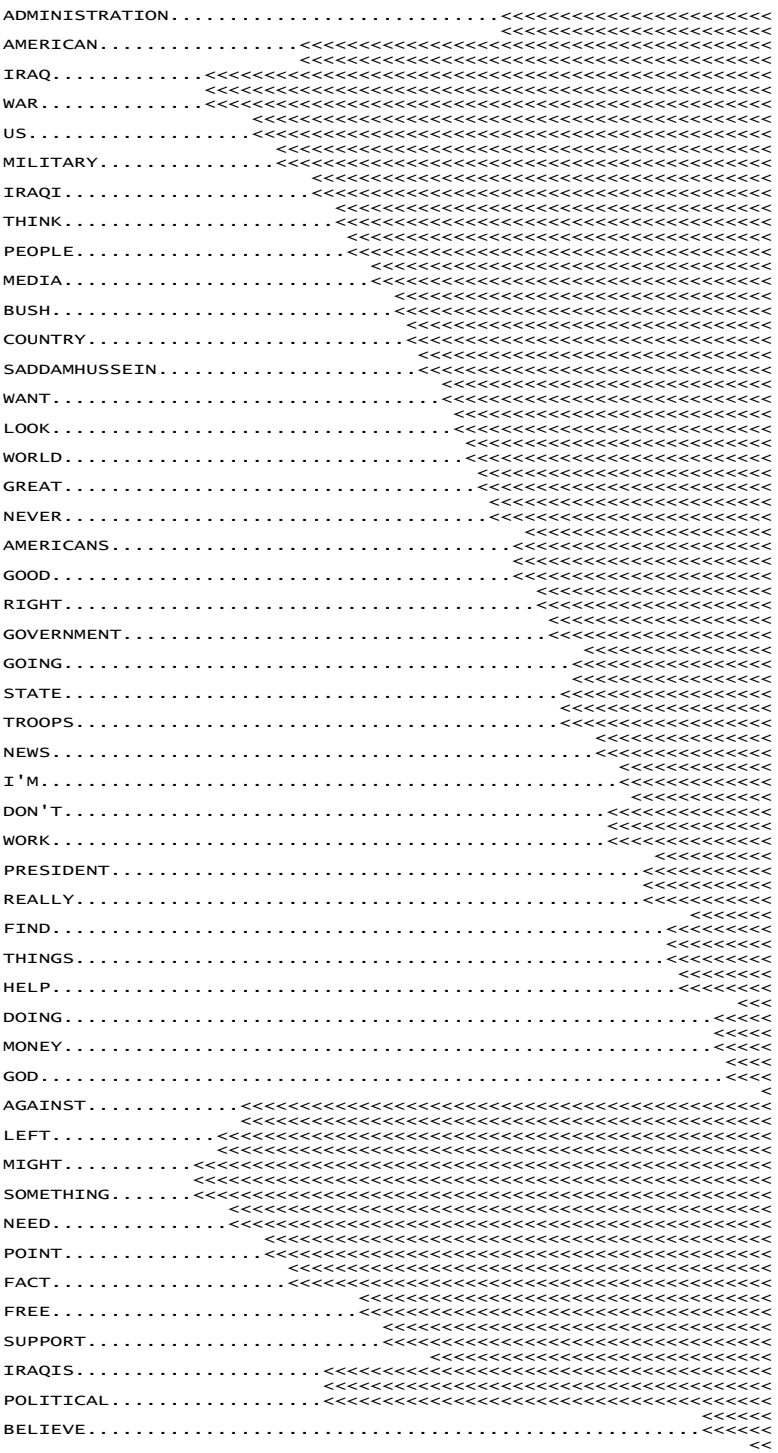


Figure 3: the semantic network of New York times.

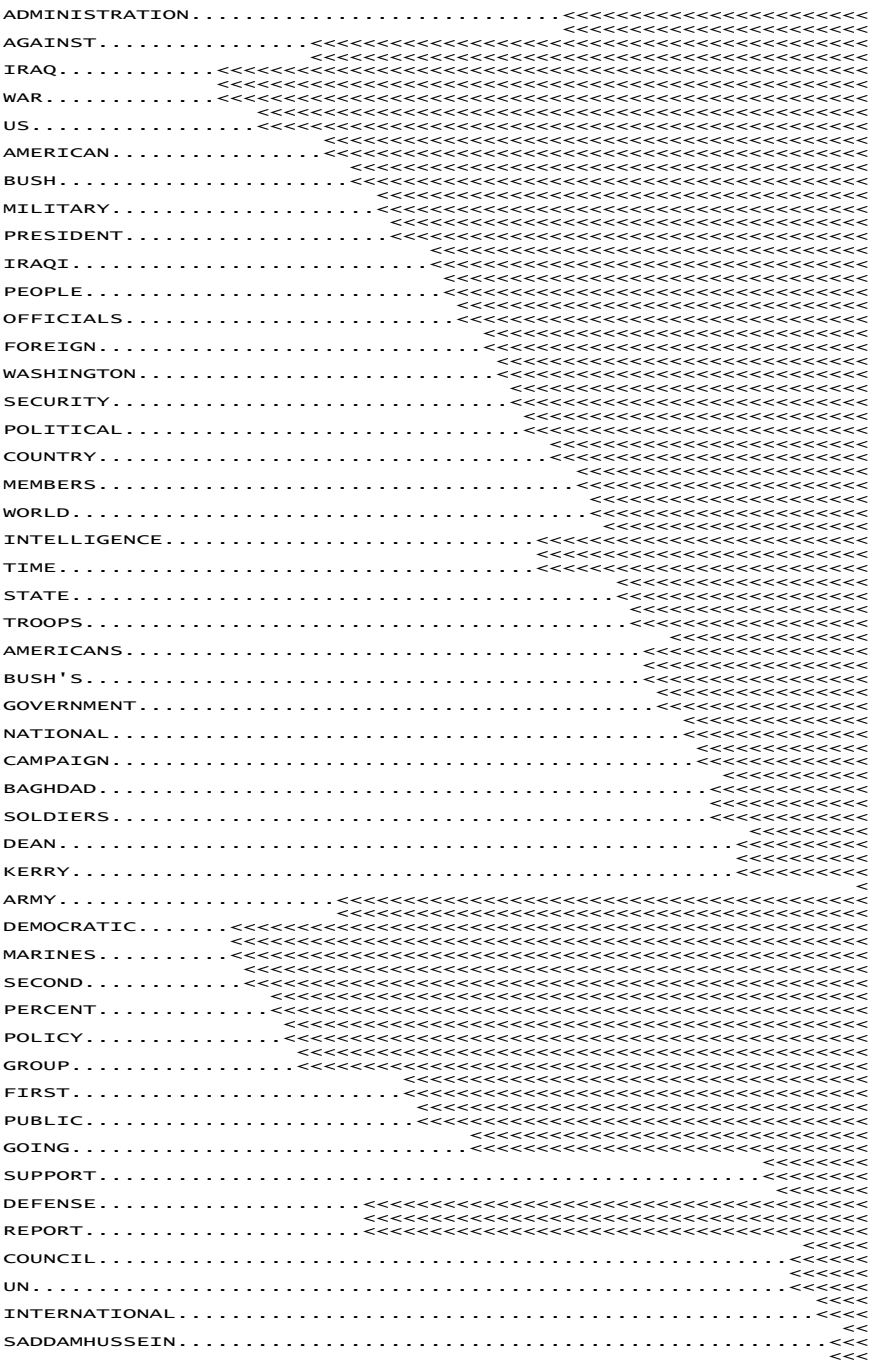

ADMINISTRATION
AGAINST
IRAQ
WAR
US
AMERICAN
BUSH
MILITARY
PRESIDENT
IRAQI
PEOPLE
OFFICIALS
FOREIGN
WASHINGTON
SECURITY
POLITICAL
COUNTRY
MEMBERS
WORLD
INTELLIGENCE
TIME
STATE
TROOPS
AMERICANS
BUSH'S
GOVERNMENT
NATIONAL
CAMPAIGN
BAGHDAD
SOLDIERS
DEAN
KERRY
ARMY
DEMOCRATIC
MARINES
SECOND
PERCENT
POLICY
GROUP
FIRST
PUBLIC
GOING
SUPPORT
DEFENSE
REPORT
COUNCIL
UN
INTERNATIONAL
SADDAMHUSSEIN

Figure 4: The semantic network of Washington post.

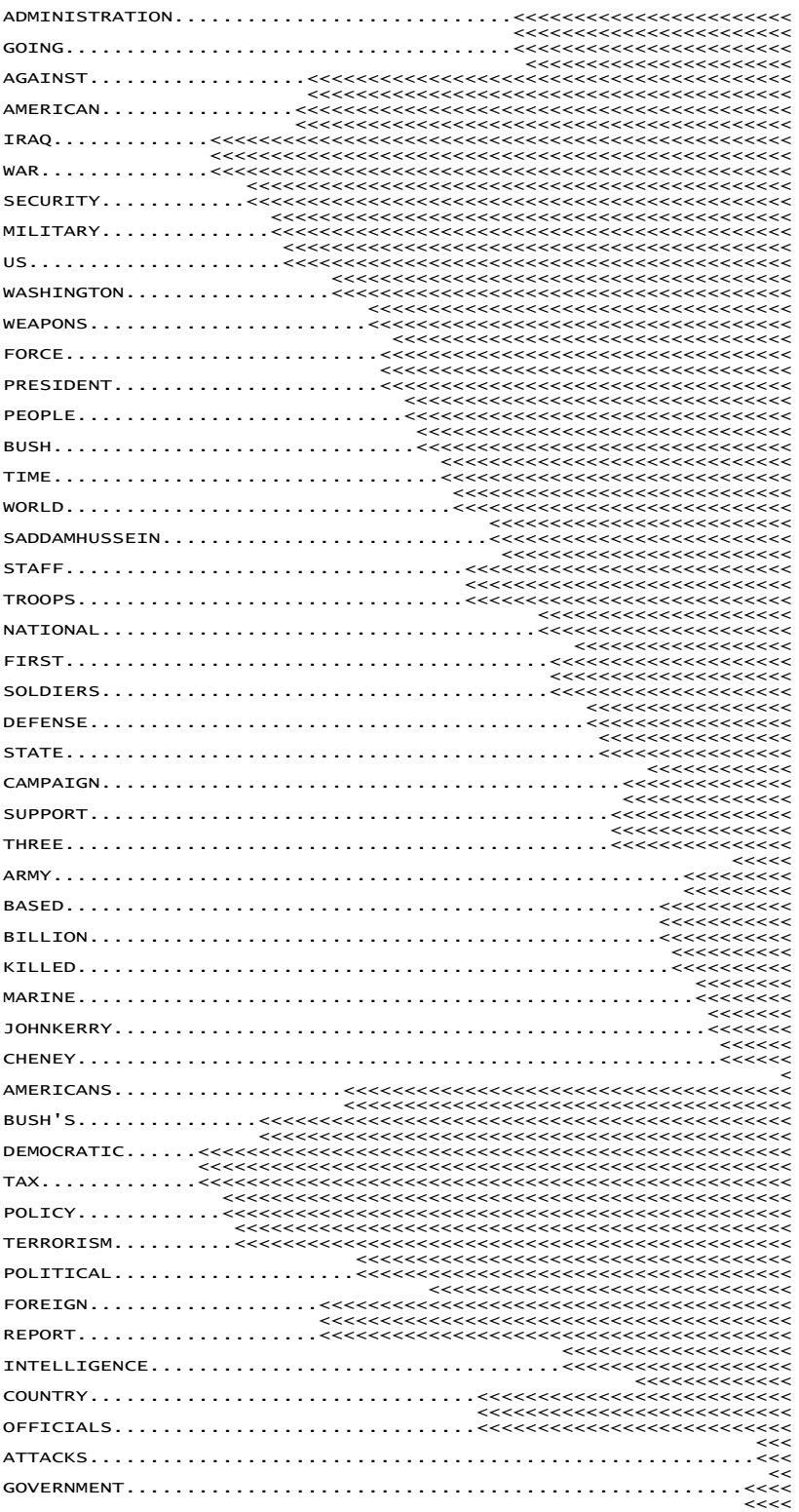
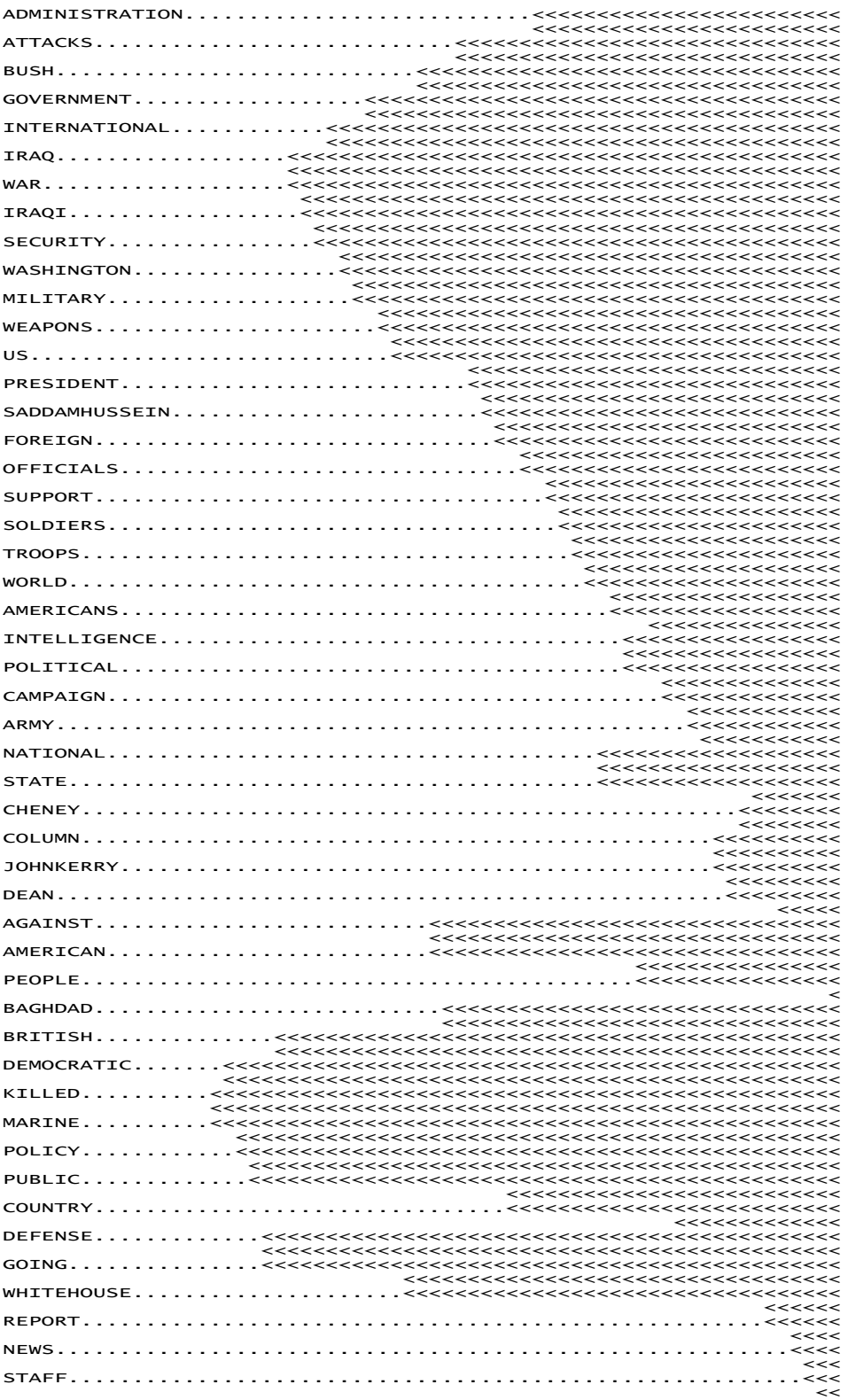


Figure 5: The semantic network of NYt and WP.



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