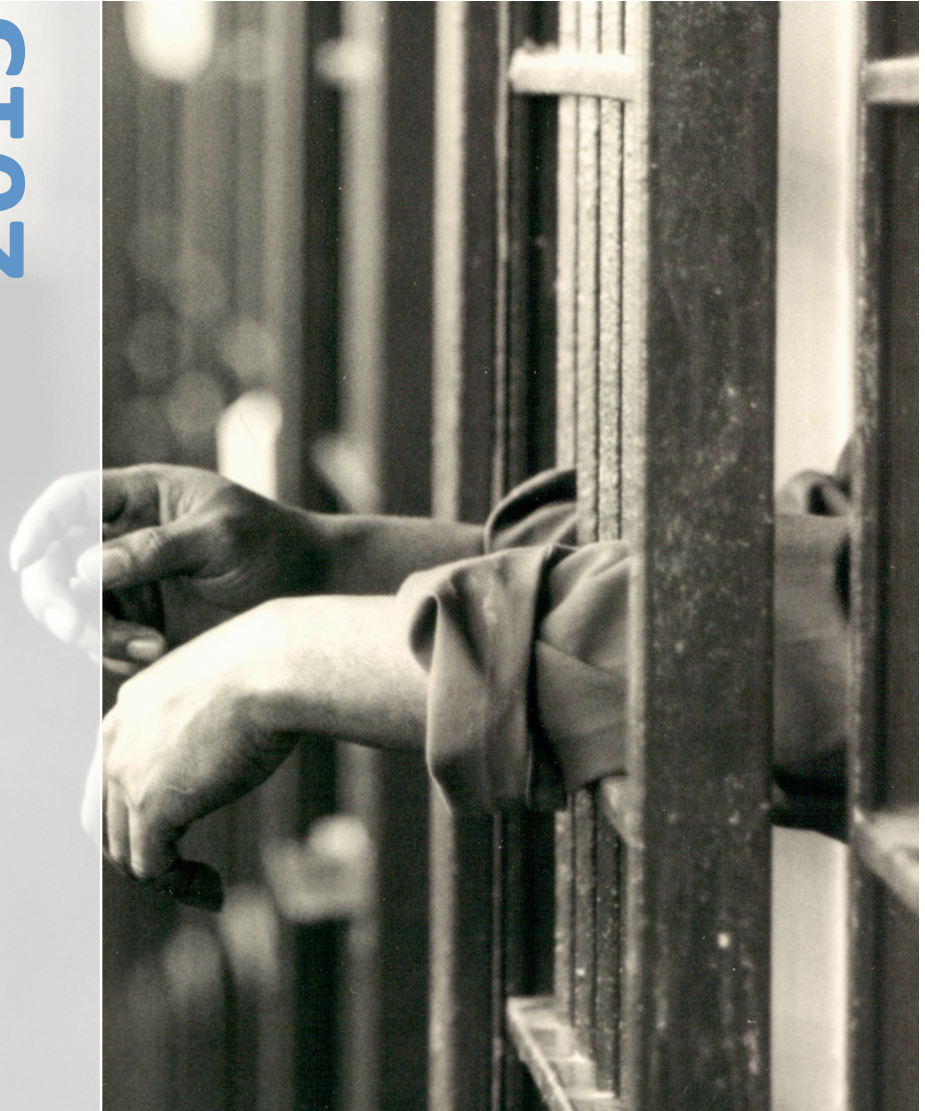


American Studies Master's Thesis

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**"Gitmo" As The Least Worst Place?
Orientalism and The Representation of Guantánamo Bay
Detainees in U.S. Public Media**

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INTRODUCTION

On April 14, 2013, *The New York Times* published an op-ed article written by Guantánamo Bay detainee Samir Naji al Hasan Moqbel. He related the story of his confinement since 2002 at the naval base, while not being charged for an offense or being brought to trial. He claimed that nobody regards him as a threat, but, apparently, also no one cares how long he will be at Guantánamo. Because of their supposedly indefinite imprisonment, he and others took on a hunger strike. Force-fed at random times, they undergo the degradation that this brings along in order to direct “the eyes of the world ... to look at Guantánamo before it is too late.”¹

This first-hand insight from a detainee is one of the very few published in the media. It emerged after a period of relative silence about the detention center at the U.S. naval base in Cuba. Earlier, in 2004, the controversy surrounding Guantánamo reached its zenith when the media revealed that the prisoners had been tortured. During the elections in 2008, President Obama promised to close Guantánamo. The hunger strikes led Obama to renew his promise in a press conference at the end of April 2013. He stated that the prison needs to be closed because “it is expensive, it is inefficient, it hurts us in terms of our international standing, ... [and] it is a recruitment tool for extremists.”² The President almost exclusively focused on how the hunger strikes affect the United States. On a question concerning the treatment of the detainees, specifically force-feeding them, he merely stated that he did not want them to die.³ Obama explained that he needs the help of Congress in order to close Guantánamo. However, the media held the President himself responsible for not putting much effort in living up to his promise. The media therefore play a crucial role in the Guantánamo controversy, not only drawing attention to what actually happens at Guantánamo (such as the hunger strikes) but also placing responsibility on those in power. Consequently, the media (often referred to as the fourth estate) have significant power over the representation of Guantánamo Bay and its detainees. How did the U.S. newspapers write about those detained at Guantánamo?

¹ Samir Naji al Hasan Moqbel, “Gitmo Is Killing Me,” Op-Ed Contributor, *The New York Times*, April 14, 2013, accessed April 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/15/opinion/hunger-striking-at-guantanamo-bay.html?ref=global-home>.

² “President Obama Holds a News Conference,” The White House, April 30, 2013, accessed May 1, 2013, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2013/04/30/president-obama-holds-news-conference>, 26:04.

³ *Ibid.*, 28:20.

The representations of Guantánamo Bay prisoners in the media constitute the main subject of this thesis. This is a relevant topic up to this day in 2013 because new information about the detainees keeps emerging. It is interesting to see how the media represented them in their coverage and whether they were concerned with the treatment of the detainees and who is responsible for this. This thesis will analyze the media's representations of the detainees in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *The New York Post* during three specific incidents. Firstly, the opening of Guantánamo Bay in January 2002, secondly, the desecration of the Koran by interrogators on May 9, 2005, and, thirdly, President Obama's renewed promise to close the naval base on April 30, 2013. Since most of the detainees are from the Middle East, this thesis will explore to what extent the media adopted Edward Said's notions of Orientalism and "othering" in their coverage.⁴ This thesis will also address to what extent the media covered the impact of the events on the perspectives on the East as well as the West in general.

After the attacks on the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, the suspects were sent to Guantánamo Bay. However, they and many others did not have access to attorneys nor did they have a prospect of going to trial. Therefore, the post-9/11 debate quickly centered on the rights of the detainees. According to Walter M. Brasch, a Democratic author and columnist, the Bush administration was unwilling to yield its "unlimited power to bypass constitutional rights and liberties" but this did happen because of Supreme Court rulings in *Rasul* and *Hamdi*.⁵ In the *Rasul* case, the lawyers of a group of detainees (non-U.S. citizens), who were apprehended in Afghanistan and supposedly fought with the Taliban, filed a habeas corpus petition in order to get a justification for the detainees' detention. They appealed until Supreme Court which "rejected the Bush administration's claim that the courts had no power to review the military's actions in [Guantánamo]" which officially is not U.S. territory.⁶ The *Hamdi* case concerned a U.S. citizen who grew up in Saudi Arabia but was apprehended on the battlefield in Afghanistan. He was first held at Guantánamo but then transferred to

⁴ A NPR graph, based on WikiLeaks information, shows that the majority of the detainees are citizens from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen: "Tracking the Guantanamo Detainees," NPR, last modified May 5, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/05/05/135690473/tracking-the-guantanamo-detainees>.

⁵ Walter M. Brasch, *America's Unpatriotic Acts: The Federal Government's Violation of Constitutional and Civil Rights* (New York: Peter Land Publishing Inc., 2005), 60.

⁶ Harvey Silverglate, "Civil Liberties and Enemy Combatants," *Reason* 36, no. 8 (January 1, 2005): 22-29.

a prison in Charleston, where he was held without being charged or having access to a lawyer. After he filed a habeas corpus petition that the administration contested, the Supreme Court ruled that he did have a right to “due process” but enemy combatants did not. In the end, he was released, but sent to Saudi Arabia and forced to abandon his U.S. citizenship.⁷ These rulings outlawed detainment without “access to the American judicial system” and the government denying the legal rights of detainees.⁸ These rulings show how Guantánamo proved to a difficult and controversial case in relation to detainees’ rights.

Since the attacks on 9/11 the U.S. is engaged in a war on terror. President Bush presented this war in “us versus them” rhetoric saying that “[e]ither you are with us or you are with the terrorist” in this war.⁹ According to Brasch, the Bush administration engaged in a “systematic program of racial and ethnic profiling,” targeting American residents through the PATRIOT Act after 9/11.¹⁰ He also perceives an increase in arrests and deportations of “mostly Muslims from Arab countries.”¹¹ As result of this, the media paid much more attention to Muslims and Arabs after 9/11, and, in most cases, perpetuated the image of Arabs and Muslims which the Bush administration introduced. Jeff Lewis, a professor in media and cultural politics who wrote about the mediation of terror, found that the prisoners are not treated as human beings since their “basic human rights and dignity” are being denied both at Guantánamo Bay as well as in the media.¹² Zachary Karabell, who works for the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, argues that the media (both the mass media and print media) reinforce stereotypes about Islam and Muslims as religious fanatics and fundamentalist terrorists. Such distorted perceptions lead to the idea that “the Middle East is driven by ... a irrational religion” while when, for example, Christians commit crimes, the media do not mention their religion or origin.¹³ Moreover, such distorted perceptions also link terrorism to the Middle East and Islam. Edward W. Said explains that this is the case precisely because “Islam has

⁷ Silverglate, “Civil Liberties,” 22-29.

⁸ Brasch, *America’s Unpatriotic Acts*, 56.

⁹ “President Bush Addresses the Nation,” *The Washington Post*, September 20, 2001, accessed May 22, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹² Jeff Lewis, *Language Wars: The Role of Media and Culture in Global Terror and Political Violence* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005), 237-238.

¹³ Zachary Karabell, “The Wrong Threat: The United States and Islamic Fundamentalism,” *World Policy Journal* 12, no. 2 (June 1995): 39-40.

entered the consciousness of most Americans [...] principally if not exclusively because it has been connected to newsworthy issues like [...] terrorism.”¹⁴ In contrast, Brigitte L. Nacos and Oscar Torres-Reyna, both working at the political science department at Columbia University, found that there was less stereotypical coverage after 9/11 of Muslim-Americans. Analyzing New York newspapers, they concluded that Muslim-Americans were used as a source more often and that therefore the news was more balanced.¹⁵ However, they only looked at U.S. citizens and not foreign Muslims and Arabs.

Deepa Kumar from the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rutgers University also found that distorted representations of Arabs were predominant. He concluded that many Orientalist tropes dominated the post-9/11 debate. He does not focus so much on stereotypes, and while he does not discuss dehumanization of Muslims or the Middle East, he does find that Muslims are depicted as backward and are simplified in the debate, which is in line with what scholars above discussed as well. Kumar found that, especially in political discussions, Islam is presented as “inherently violent,” “spawn[ing] terrorism,” being “a monolithic religion,” and that Muslims are “incapable of rationality.”¹⁶

This thesis will analyze whether such ideas were present in newspaper coverage of Guantánamo Bay. It will especially make use of Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism to do this, because the news coverage on Guantánamo concerns ideas from the West about the East, which is exactly what Orientalism encapsulates. Said is the pioneer in discussing the notion of Orientalism and the representation of (people from) the Middle East. He applied his concept initially only to European colonialism, but he extended it to other imperialist countries. In *Orientalism*, he argues that Orientalism is a discourse in which the West dominates the East: it restructures and has authority over the Orient and “the sense of Western power over the Orient is taken for granted.”¹⁷ Knowledge about the Orient, which is “generated out of strength” and cultural power, leads to a representation of what one believes the Orient to be. In this

¹⁴ Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 14-15.

¹⁵ Brigitte L. Nacos and Oscar Torres-Reyna, “Framing Muslim-Americans Before and After 9/11,” in *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government, and the Public*, eds. Pippa Norris et al. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 151.

¹⁶ Deepa Kumar, “Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 34, no. 3 (2010), 354.

¹⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Group, 2003), 3 & 46.

way, it “creates the Orient.”¹⁸ Therefore, knowledge and power lead to the representation of the Orient. Said explains that everyone writing about the Orient assumes a position through which he or she acquires authority over the Orient by adopting a certain tone of voice and way of representing the narrative to the reader.¹⁹ Orientalism reduces the East to being something inferior as it does not reflect reality, and actually being an invention.²⁰ In this way, one assumes power over the East when discussing it. However, representations of the Orient go beyond texts as the “Orient was viewed as if framed by the classroom, the criminal court, the prison [and Orientalism] places things Oriental in class, court, prison, or [an illustrated] manual for scrutiny, study, judgment, discipline, or governing.”²¹ The power over the Orient is also a way to “control” it as it is often considered to be a threat, dangerous, and the opposite of what is considered normal.²² It reinforces simplified stereotypes and even obliterates “‘the Oriental’... as a human being.”²³ It is clear that difference, and therefore “othering” is central in the discourse of Orientalism. By setting up boundaries one decides who is “other” and belongs not to “us” but to “them” one highlights difference and simultaneously gives a value judgment.²⁴ Both Said and Stuart Hall explain that the mind maintains a “social and symbolic order” by classifying everything it perceives.²⁵ In doing so it decides what is “normal” and what is “foreign.” In doing so, Orientalism’s function is to make meaning of something that is unknown.

Stuart Hall is a cultural theorist and sociologist who has been a pioneer in writing about (media) representation. He believes that there is a discourse which is racialized when individuals or groups present another as the “other” through “a set of binary oppositions.”²⁶ Through stereotyping (reducing and simplifying an individual to a few fixed characteristics) one assumes power over the “other,” excluding him or her, and establishing an “us versus them” dichotomy.²⁷ Representation also has to do

¹⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 40-41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁰ John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, 5th ed. (Harlow, 2008), 259 & Said, *Orientalism*, 72.

²¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 41.

²² *Ibid.*, 57.

²³ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 45 & 54.

²⁵ See Said, *Orientalism*, 53 & Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997), 258.

²⁶ Hall, *Representation*, 243.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 258.

with power relations in the sense that one's values or worldviews are applied to another group or society. In this way, one decides what is normal.²⁸ In the case of Orientalism, Hall explains that knowledge over the Orient is provided by Western hegemony over the Orient. So power is related to knowledge and representation.²⁹

In the "Preface (2003)" of his book, Said addresses this power-knowledge relation by discussing the current situation. He explains that there has not been any improvement in the United States of the "general understanding of the Middle East, the Arabs and Islam."³⁰ He claims that there is an aggravating and "demeaning generalization" of these countries and people, and he even sees that journalists perpetuated such generalizations in a way which pits Americans against a foreign enemy.³¹ He states that ultimately the power and knowledge creating the representation of the Orient leads to dehumanization of those from the Orient.³² Consequently, it can be expected that Orientalism is part of the news coverage on the controversies of Guantánamo and its, predominantly Middle Eastern, prisoners.

Obviously, Said's theory has its shortcomings. While Lisa Lowe, a professor in Ethnic Studies and U.S.-Asia Studies at Tufts University, builds on Orientalism, she simultaneously challenges it by arguing that there is not a single Orientalism but that it should be plural: orientalisms are "complex and unstable" and differ along varying "cultural and historical sites" and situations.³³ Therefore, she extends Said's claim that Orientalism is a discourse. She believes it is not a fixed discourse, but it constitutes multiple discourses which can conflict with and overlap one another.³⁴ In other words, at different moments in history, ideas about the Orient, resulting from narratives, foreign policy and so on, will have different connotations.³⁵ The Orient can even refer to different countries over time and Said's Orientalism only concerns European colonialism, while it can also reflect class conflicts for example.³⁶ Sourit Bhattacharya is also critical of Said for not granting any agency to the Orient in the process. Bhattacharya claims that Said only looked at the "journey" of several writers

²⁸ Hall, *Representation*, 259.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 259.

³⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, xiii.

³¹ *Ibid.*, xiii & xv.

³² *Ibid.*, 27.

³³ Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

and not at the deeper meaning or layers while developing his theory of Orientalism. In this sense, the “relation between the self and the other was not one-sided” but there exists a “kind of ‘mimicry.’”³⁷ In this way, action and reaction takes place mutually, both from the self and the “other,” which means that the self is also influenced by the “other.” Michael Richardson, too, believes that Said denies this “reciprocal relationship” since he argues that the Orient is a concept and therefore could never influence the West as well.³⁸ He also claims that Said himself adopts an Orientalist position since he assumes Orientalism is “willed, human work” and therefore considered “a given to be [analyzed].”³⁹ Richardson finds that Said’s work is essentialist, and it has become clear that Said neglects several aspects in discussing his theory.

It is clear that much has been written about the representations in the media of (people from) the Middle East. However, this has not been done yet in relation to news coverage of Guantánamo Bay. This thesis, therefore, focuses on the representation of Middle Eastern detainees of Guantánamo in U.S. print media. Since the representation of Guantánamo’s detainees is still an extensive topic, my focus will be on four newspapers and three specific incidents (or case studies). This thesis analyzes how the newspapers portrayed the detainees and examines possible Orientalist elements and shifts in the representations of the detainees. This thesis contributes to understanding the role that the media play, as well as their power in terms of representation, in covering controversial topics such as indefinite confinement, violations of rights, and abuse at Guantánamo Bay.

Methodology

Through Lexis Nexis I accessed the articles of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Post*, and *The Washington Times*. Since the first two are considered liberal, and the latter two are considered more conservative it will be interesting to explore the differences in their coverage of the incidents at Guantánamo Bay. Initially I wanted to include *The Wall Street Journal*, which takes up a position somewhat in the middle, however, its articles were not fully accessible.

³⁷ Sourit Bhattacharya, “Empire and Excess: Kipling and the Critique of Said’s *Orientalism*,” *The Criterion* 4, no. 1 (2012), 1.

³⁸ Michael Richardson, “Enough Said: Reflections on *Orientalism*,” *Anthropology Today* 6, no. 4 (August 1990), 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

I searched for the articles using key words from the research question, using the specific starting date of the incident until approximately one and half month later, and selected them based on length (choosing the longest). I chose the specific incidents as case studies because these three were prominent in the news and instigated much discussion. For the case study on Obama's renewed promise to close Guantánamo, I extended the date range, because Lexis Nexis gave only a few results for *The New York Post*. For this case study I searched for the key words "guantanamo" and "obama," for the one on the desecration of the Koran I looked for "guantanamo" and "koran", and for the case study on the opening of the prison I searched for "guantanamo." When reading the articles, I focused on the type of an article, quotes, and sources (for example what government officials say or the reactions of the Middle Eastern countries). I also paid attention to the tone and headline of the article, the way prisoners are presented (merely by name, or religion, origin, stereotypes etc.), and binary oppositions within the articles (East versus West, "us versus them," and good versus evil).⁴⁰

In order to analyze and compare all articles, I used the news frames defined by Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese. These are commonly and repeatedly used in news coverage analysis. While analyzing the articles I used a scheme in which I kept track of the frames that were used, in what ways Orientalism and "othering" were part of the coverage, and finally I added the previously mentioned characteristics (use of sources and tone, for example).

The conflict frame reduces a complex issue to a simplified "conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions." In this way, stereotypes often simplify an issue because it presents it in an "us versus them" binary opposition that Said describes in *Orientalism*. For this frame it is also important to be cautious of prevailing, hegemonic ideas such as the West being superior. It is likely that this frame presents the Orient as inferior in order to affirm the "authority" and superiority of the West.⁴¹ The human interest frame highlights a personal account or "an emotional angle" to cover a certain issue or event. Valkenburg et al. claim it is "a way to personalize,

⁴⁰ I based these criteria on essays (chapters 6, 7, and 8) in *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government, and the Public*, eds. Pippa Norris et al. (New York: Routledge, 2003). These deal with the framing and coverage of 9/11, the war in Afghanistan, and Muslim-Americans on U.S. television and in newspapers.

⁴¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 44.

dramatize, and emotionalize the news.”⁴² For this frame it is important to see whether a person or group is represented as “other.” The responsibility frame depicts an issue in a way to “attribute responsibility for causing or solving a problem to the government or to an individual or to a group.”⁴³ Valkenburg et al. state that U.S. news media shape public opinion by focusing on who is to blame for certain issues. In *Orientalism*, Said describes how Islam already presented a threat for Europe in early history, something which needed to be controlled in order to understand it, and this could also be recognized in contemporary times.⁴⁴ If this is the case, this could become clear in articles with the responsibility frame. Finally, the economic consequences frame shows what the economic consequences of an issue or event will be for an individual, group, etc. The media employ this frame to “make an issue relevant to [the] audience.”⁴⁵ While Said does not really address related aspects to this frame in *Orientalism*, one could still investigate whether the media consider the consequences of an issue for multiple individuals or groups or whether the media adopt a one-sided perspective in this regard.

I structured my chapters chronologically. Before discussing the implications of my findings in the final conclusion, I will answer in separate chapters the following research questions and testing the following hypotheses (in the chapter’s conclusions):

1. Why is Guantánamo Bay different (“other”)? Who are the detainees and why are they there?
2. In what ways are Orientalism and “othering” part of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Post*, and *The Washington Times* coverage of the opening of Guantánamo Bay (January 2002)?

h1: All newspapers assess the detention center as necessary in the war on terror, and assume that the Middle Eastern suspects are guilty, and that it is better to put them away. They present the detainees as “other” and believe

⁴² Patti M. Valkenburg et al., “The Effects of News Frames on Readers’ Thoughts and Recall,” *Communication Research* 26, no. 5 (1999), 551.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 552.

⁴⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 59 & 60.

⁴⁵ Valkenburg et al., “The Effects of News Frames,” 552.

they are a threat to American ideals.

3. In what ways are Orientalism and “othering” part of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Post*, and *The Washington Times* coverage of the desecration of the Koran (in May 2005)?

h2: While the liberal newspapers (NYT and WP) are more critical of the interrogators’ behavior and focus more on the treatment of the detainees and the Koran, the conservative newspapers (WT and NYP) question the desecration, focus on detainees’ religion which is “other” and are more Orientalist in perceiving the U.S. (interrogators) as superior.

4. In what ways are Orientalism and “othering” part of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Post*, and *The Washington Times* coverage of President Obama’s renewed promise to close Guantánamo Bay (April 2013)?

h3: All newspapers look at detainees’ treatment as a result of the hunger strikes. All emphasize that there is not a clear solution. The conservative newspapers are Orientalist in assuming “us versus them” rhetoric when depicting the (former) detainees as inherently dangerous; prisoners who cannot go somewhere else. The liberal newspapers bring attention to “othering” on part of the government since it is reluctant to close the prison and it limited of detainees’ rights.

CHAPTER I
GUANTÁNAMO BAY DETAINEES AS “OTHER”

“[Guantánamo Bay detainees are] among the most dangerous, best-trained, vicious killers on the face of the earth. This is very, very serious business.”⁴⁶

— Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld

Guantánamo Bay is a controversial topic. What is it exactly that makes Guantánamo so controversial and so different? In what ways are the Guantánamo detainees treated as “other”? In this chapter, I will explain the controversial status of Guantánamo and show how detainees are “othered” because of their origin. I will also refer to “othering” materialized in the choice of the geographical location for the prison, which in turn had consequences for detainees’ rights. I will discuss what cultural and geographical “othering” is, how it happens, and how it affects the rights of the detainees, who have been singled out as suspects of terrorism. “Othering” usually concerns the group representation and depiction of certain individuals. Such representation often simplifies reality and serves to make meaning of something that is unknown. To understand what is unknown, one usually looks at what is different from the self. Through this differentiation one also decides what is “other.” One assumes power to do this and simultaneously makes the other subject to this representation. Representation and “othering,” however, happens not only in culture, but also in legal and political discourses which deny the “other” their rights, as I will discuss in this chapter.

After 9/11, a particular demographic was more likely to be suspected of terrorism because of their culture, ethnicity, and religion, and was in this way culturally “othered.” The administration attempted to find terrorists and prevent another 9/11, by investigating people, both at home and abroad, under the PATRIOT Act. The Act, signed by President Bush on October 26, 2001, allowed the U.S. government to investigate terrorist suspects through “medical, library, and student

⁴⁶ Gerry J. Gilmore, “Rumsfeld Visits, Thanks U.S. Troops at Camp X-Ray in Cuba,” U.S. Department of Defense, January 27, 2002, accessed May 23, 2013, <http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=43817>.

records” in the U.S.⁴⁷ However, especially Middle Eastern, Muslim, and Arab persons were suspect. *The New York Times* reported that the special registration program “required thousands of Arab and Muslim men to register with the authorities, in an effort to uncover terror links and immigration violations.”⁴⁸ Interviews were conducted with “male noncitizens ... from ‘Middle Eastern’ or ‘Islamic’ countries” who had entered the U.S. on visas after the beginning of 2000.⁴⁹ When the special registration program was terminated, *The Atlantic Wire* found that “only 11 out of the more than 85,000 men who came forward in the first year were found to have ties to terrorism.”⁵⁰ When John Ashcroft was Attorney General of the U.S., religious beliefs of especially Muslims were investigated. This happened through the surveying of mosques and using demographic data of Islamic communities to found terrorist investigation on.⁵¹ In this way, one demographic is labeled as the “enemy” and as “other” because of the actions of a few at 9/11. Moreover, according to David Rose, an investigative journalist, the Bush administration believed that:

If you were in Guantánamo, it was because you had been ‘captured on the battlefield’, and if you had been captured on the battlefield, you must have been with the Taliban or al-Qaeda.⁵²

Rose briefly discusses the stories of several detainees who were captured while visiting family or simply going to their country of origin. Some were suspect of having ties with terrorist associations because of investments, while others were captured in the chaos of the war in Afghanistan.⁵³ According to Clive Stafford Smith, a lawyer of several detainees, the U.S. offered \$5,000 for “foreign Taliban” fighters

⁴⁷ Kenneth Roth, “The Fight Against Terrorism: The Bush Administration’s Dangerous Neglect of Human Rights,” in *Wars on Terrorism and Iraq: Human Rights, Unilateralism, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, eds. Thomas G. Weiss et al. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 116.

⁴⁸ Sam Dolnick, “A Post-9/11 Registration Effort Ends, but Not Its Effects,” *The New York Times*, May 30, 2011, accessed August 7, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/31/nyregion/antiterrorism-registry-ends-but-its-effects-remain.html>.

⁴⁹ Leti Volpp, “The Citizen and the Terrorist” in *American Studies: An Anthology*, eds. Janice A. Radway et al., 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 78.

⁵⁰ Caitlin Dickson, “11 Out of 85,000 Muslims Registered by Homeland Security Had Terrorism Ties,” *The Atlantic Wire*, May 31, 2011, accessed August 7, 2013, <http://www.theatlanticwire.com/national/2011/05/homeland-securitys-muslim-registration-tally-11-out-85000-terrorism-ties/38306/>.

⁵¹ Brasch, *America’s Unpatriotic Acts*, 62-63.

⁵² David Rose, *Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights* (New York: New Press, 2006), 33.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 37-42.

and Pakistanis were eager to accept this large amount of money and turned in foreigners “with [an unconfirmed] tale attached.”⁵⁴

The process of transportation of the detainees to Guantánamo can also be considered as “othering.” There appeared to be little rules for capturing who is suspect of being a terrorist. There was also little screening of the detainees, and at Kandahar—the final stop “for most Gitmo-bound detainees”—false allegations about them were often missed.⁵⁵ The acts of capturing a person because of his or her origin and location and transporting him or her from one country to another without any judicial approval constitute extraordinary rendition.⁵⁶ Sources show that U.S. military could capture anyone they considered suspect with little to no confirmation or using a protocol. Through deciding who is considered suspect it also decided who is “other.” For example, former Colonel Wilkerson testified that many of Guantánamo’s detainees were captured without much concern whether they were truly enemies or enemy combatants.⁵⁷

The geographical decision to use the U.S. naval base in Cuba to hold and interrogate the terrorist suspects is also important to understand why the prison is “other.” Since the end of the Spanish-American War of 1898, the U.S. leases the Guantánamo Bay area in Cuba as a naval base. Before the war on terror, it was used as a detention facility for refugees from Cuba and Haiti.⁵⁸ There is some debate whether U.S. law applies there since the area is in Cuban territory. The U.S. intelligence program extended to Guantánamo Bay, where prisoners were interrogated to gain knowledge about terrorists and their actions. According to Rose, this was Guantánamo’s “principle *raison d’être*.”⁵⁹ Therefore, in contrast to ordinary prisons which aim to rehabilitate its prisoners, Guantánamo was initiated to use it as a tool to interrogate and in this way *prevent* future acts of terrorism. This makes the prison also different and “other” because it does not serve to rehabilitate the detainees like regular

⁵⁴ Clive Stafford Smith, *Bad Men: Guantánamo Bay and the Secret Prisons* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007), 47 & 52.

⁵⁵ Rose, *Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights*, 48.

⁵⁶ Aziz Z. Huq, “Extraordinary Rendition and the Wages of Hypocrisy,” *World Policy Journal* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2006), 25.

⁵⁷ Conor Friedersdorf, “Former State Department Official: Team Bush Knew Many at Gitmo Were Innocent,” *The Atlantic*, April 26, 2013, accessed May 30, 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/04/former-state-department-official-team-bush-knew-many-at-gitmo-were-innocent/275327/>.

⁵⁸ Amy Kaplan, “Where is Guantánamo?” in *American Studies: An Anthology*, eds. Janice A. Radway et al., 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 448-9.

⁵⁹ Rose, *Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights*, 80.

prisons. From January 2002 onwards, detainees captured in Afghanistan have been placed in the cages of Camp X-Ray (formerly used for refugees) until three months later when the camp was closed and the prisoners were transported to the larger Camp Delta.⁶⁰ This camp consisted of 48 cells structured in blocks of shipping containers. The cells were bigger than those in X-Ray and prisoners had access to facilities such as a bed, toilet, and tap. Yet, the conditions for the detainees remained the same: yellow water, lights that were on at night, and so on, still tormented these people.⁶¹ Furthermore, there was Camp Iguana for prisoners and Camp Echo where legal visits took place.⁶²

“Othering” was also reflected in the fact that the Guantánamo detainees had little to no rights, which was a result of their classification as “enemy combatants.” President Bush labeled them as enemy combatants instead of “prisoners of war,” leaving them with almost no rights as this label denies them protection and rights under the Geneva conventions.⁶³ The U.S. broadened the category of enemy combatant, extending its power to capture terrorist suspects from al-Qaeda leaders to the entire Taliban and other fighters in Afghanistan in order to protect the United States.⁶⁴ While many detainees did not face any charges, initially they also could not challenge their detainment in a U.S. Court as U.S. law did not apply at Guantánamo. In this way, the prison is also different and “other” because the detainees are often said to be in a “legal limbo” there. Moreover, for several years they were denied legal representation, as U.S. law did not apply in no-man’s-land.

However, this changed in 2004 when the Supreme Court ruled that detainees should be able to have lawyers.⁶⁵ Being in no-man’s-land can also be taken quite literally as the Red Cross found that many detainees had no idea where they were and what was going to happen.⁶⁶ Yet, while detainees gained the right to counsel in 2004, things were still difficult for both lawyers and detainees. For example, the military provided the detainees with lawyers who were actually interrogators.⁶⁷ Guantánamo

⁶⁰ Laurel E. Fletcher and Eric Stover, *The Guantánamo Effect: Exposing the Consequences of U.S. Detention and Interrogation Practices* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 5.

⁶¹ Andy Worthington, *The Guantánamo Files: The Stories of 759 Detainees in America’s Illegal Prison* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), 134.

⁶² See Smith, *Bad Men*, 9 & xi-xii for map of Guantánamo.

⁶³ Kaplan, “Where is Guantánamo?”, 448.

⁶⁴ Worthington, *The Guantánamo Files*, 216.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Bad Men*, 9.

⁶⁶ Rose, *Guantánamo: The War on Human Rights*, 51 & 67.

⁶⁷ Smith, *Bad Men*, 11.

as a location was specifically chosen to circumvent laws and rights and to make it as difficult as possible for the detainees to challenge their imprisonment.

Discussion and conclusion

The treatment of the terrorist suspects transported to and at Guantánamo Bay is different and they are indeed treated as “other” because, unlike other prisons, Guantánamo’s aim is not to rehabilitate them but prevent them from committing terrorist attacks. Additionally, it is different from other prisons as detainees are denied their rights, they are not charged for a crime, and therefore confined indefinitely. People’s origin, religion, and location were the basis of suspicion of terrorism. Moreover, suspects of terrorism were “othered” by the legally ambiguous location they were brought to, while in many cases their transportation was not judicially justified in advance. Finally, their classification as “enemy combatants” rendered them “other” and resulted in little to no rights to challenge their detention.

There were several ways in which the Bush administration used its power to determine who was considered “other” and suspect of terrorism. The special registration program in the U.S. already showed how especially those of Middle Eastern origin were suspect of terrorism. Leti Volpp argues that such racial profiling corresponds with the idea that people from this particular group of identical individuals are exchangeable with the potential terrorists of that group.⁶⁸ People in the war zone and those with any suspicious reasons (which the military can decide) of being in Afghanistan were also regarded as the enemy.

The administration’s aim had to do with power, as it wanted to defend freedom and U.S. values against terrorism. This highlighted American exceptionalism. Seymour Martin Lipset, specialized in political sociology, defines American exceptionalism as uniqueness: a nation which is an “outlier” and “qualitatively different” in being not better but great in terms of liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire (which together constitutes the American Creed). The nation “is the most religious, optimistic, patriotic, rights-oriented, and individualistic.”⁶⁹ The government believed that terrorists intruded upon these values of liberty and rights and the nation needed protection. The U.S. did this

⁶⁸ Volpp, “The Citizen and the Terrorist,” 79.

⁶⁹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 17-19 & 26.

by imposing their power onto a group of “enemy combatants” they defined as “other”, seeing them as the enemy and detaining them as a solution to prevent terrorism.

By choosing the location, the U.S. specifically and deliberately “othered” the detainees at Guantánamo Bay, placing them outside the law, and leaving them with no information about their location in the world. Since it is debated whether U.S. law is applicable at Guantánamo Bay, this provided the U.S. government for some period with the power to remain outside judicial overview and leave detainees without charges and in indefinite confinement with no aim for rehabilitation.

Also the detainees’ classification as enemy combatants resulted in “othering” as it deprived the detainees of their rights. According to Amy Kaplan, a professor specialized in the culture of imperialism, the enemy combatant category is racialized and makes a homogeneous group of all detainees, with no distinguishable differences.⁷⁰ The U.S. government did everything in its power (and arguably extending this power) to prevent future terrorism, singling out a particular group of people and labeling them as dangerous and as terrorist suspects.

The exceptionalism of the U.S. had to be safeguarded against terrorism, U.S. citizens’ rights had to be protected, and this happens through Guantánamo Bay, certainly a different kind of prison. U.S. rights are superior and trump the rights of terrorist suspects, who are inferior, at Guantánamo. Jennifer Caseldine-Bracht, who has an M.A. in philosophy, states “that respect for international human rights and civil liberties cannot be ensured until we ensure our safety.”⁷¹ She also perceives the power of a certain conviction. She warns that if the Bush administration thinks someone is terrorist, this does not mean that he or she is. As an example, she uses the infamous misjudgment of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction.⁷² This is another aspect of American exceptionalism as the U.S. perceived the rights, liberty, and safety of its citizens as more important than suspects of terrorism. Kaplan recognizes dehumanization in this process:

Ultimately, these persons are codified as less than human and less deserving of human, international, or constitutional rights. This dehumanization is shaped by

⁷⁰ Kaplan, “Where is Guantánamo?”, 450.

⁷¹ Jennifer Caseldine-Bracht, “Security, Civil Liberties, and Human Rights: Finding a Balance,” in *Guantanamo Bay and the Judicial-Moral Treatment of the Other*, ed. Clark Butler (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2007), 52.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 57.

racial, national, and religious typologies and shored up by revamped historical imperial taxonomies, which rebound across national borders. The blurring of legal boundaries between domestic and foreign, and aliens and citizens, does not weaken executive and military authority [...].⁷³

The U.S. set a group of individuals outside of law and labeled them “other.” The “us versus them” dichotomy is clear here. At the side of “us” is the U.S. and its exceptional rights which need to be protected against the other side, them, those from the Middle East who want to hurt U.S.’ superiority. Are these Orientalist tropes also visible in the articles of the newspapers?

⁷³ Kaplan, “Where is Guantánamo?”, 454.

CHAPTER 2

THE OPENING OF GUANTÁNAMO BAY

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States was left in shock and horror. This was the first attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor. It defied the dominance of the United States in the contemporary world as Manhattan (New York) represented the financial center of the United States. In his much-cited essay “Welcome to the Desert of the Real” Slavoj Žižek states that “[i]n the days immediately following the bombings, it is as if we dwell in unique time between a traumatic event and its symbolic impact...”⁷⁴ In a way, the attacks needed context in order to understand them. Clearly, President Bush did not adopt a symbolic approach as he put 9/11 into words, saying one is either with the U.S. or with the terrorists.

The attack was understood as a provocation and a challenge to U.S. superiority. In the post-9/11 debate, notions as “us,” “them,” civilization, the uncivilized, and so on, were increasingly used. It was in opposition to the “other,” the terrorist, that the U.S. could define itself and promote its values and beliefs. America saw itself again as the “city upon the hill”: a nation others could only emulate. In this context, the U.S. became the civilized nation with constitutional rights which the uncivilized terrorists crave for, as it is explained by some Americans, or arguably want to destroy. Žižek explains how 9/11 threatened the “safe place” of American life by the “Outside” represented by the “ruthlessly, self-sacrificing terrorists.”⁷⁵ The Bush administration attempted to restore the safe place that the U.S. used to be, using all necessary power to prevent future terrorism.

However, apart from expressing shock, it proved to be difficult for the media to respond and discuss the attacks. While Campbell and Kean notice that Hollywood seemed to avoid any kind of discussion of the topic, it was also difficult for Americans, especially journalists, to be critical in discussing terrorism and the administration’s response to this.⁷⁶ Susan Sontag wonders:

⁷⁴ Slavoj Žižek, “Welcome to the Desert of the Real,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 2 (Spring 2002), 389.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁷⁶ Neil Campbell and Alasdair Kean, *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 300.

Where is the acknowledgement that this was not a “cowardly” attack on “civilization” or “liberty” or “humanity” or “the free world” but an attack on the world’s self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions?⁷⁷

After discussions with colleagues, journalist David Shaw concluded in 2003 that criticism in the media after September 11 was regarded as unpatriotic, or even as treason.⁷⁸ It will be interesting to see whether there was criticism on the role the U.S. adopted by the four newspapers on the opening of Guantánamo Bay.

This chapter will first address the way the four newspapers covered the news on the opening of Guantánamo Bay and end with a discussion on “othering” in the news coverage. While it was occasionally difficult to find which frame is dominant in an article, overall it became clear that the conflict frame was most prevalent (see Appendix A for a more elaborate table on the frames found in the articles as well as the coding schemes). This chapter is divided into three themes: rights and classification, geographic location, and origin and ethnicity. This division is significant since “othering,” as chapter 1 demonstrated, is linked to these themes in the case of Guantánamo Bay. To reiterate the characteristics of Orientalism that could be part of news coverage: “othering” through emphasis on difference and assumptions about difference, adoption of an “us versus them” or East versus West perspective (empowering one self to decide what is good and normal and what not by putting up boundaries), presenting assumptions and “knowledge” about the Orient as the reality, stereotypes and simplifications (representations of barbarism, for example), and the belief of U.S. exceptionalism. I will discuss “othering” and Orientalism related to the three themes in the newspapers articles before reviewing my hypothesis.

Detainees’ rights and their “classification”

In the articles on detainee’s rights, the conflict frame was most prevalent. This is the case because most of these articles dealt with the concern of human rights organizations about detainees’ rights and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld defending the treatment, limited rights, and classification of the detainees.

⁷⁷ Susan Sontag, “The Talk of the Town,” *The New Yorker*, September 24, 2001.

⁷⁸ David Shaw, “A Skeptical Journalist Isn’t An Unpatriotic One,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 2003, accessed June 6, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/apr/20/entertainment/ca-shaw20>.

The first major issue related to the opening of Guantánamo was the treatment of the detainees during the flight to Cuba. Human rights organizations argued that they were treated inhumanely, as inferior, but Rumsfeld defended the treatment by comparing it to how detainees have treated others. While reporting this, *The New York Times* (NYT) and *The Washington Post* (WP) both relied heavily on governmental officials as sources. *The New York Post* (NYP) and *The Washington Times* (WT) did this to lesser extent, although these relied quite a lot on officials from the military. Also, all used statements from human rights organizations such as Amnesty International as a counterargument. In the WP, Rumsfeld defended the treatment of detainees, followed by criticism through “commentators”:

“I don’t feel the slightest concern at their treatment,” Rumsfeld said. “They are being treated better than they treated anybody else.”

Some commentators here said that remark indicated that the United States is using the Taliban and [al-Qaeda] as its standard for ethical conduct.⁷⁹

In an article of the NYP, which existed only of a quote by Rumsfeld, he compared hooding—temporarily—detainees with women who are required to wear burkas—permanently—by the Taliban and al-Qaeda. It “helps” the detainees “from becoming more dangerous than they otherwise might be...” according to Rumsfeld.⁸⁰ Not only is it somewhat odd that a newspaper article consisted only of a quote, but it also presented Rumsfeld’s suggestion that the veil is a punishment without further research on the matter. Like the commentators in the WP stated, Rumsfeld measured the treatment of detainees by the U.S. (a nation) according to how the detainees (individuals) treated anyone else. He assumed to know the Oriental culture and represented that culture as repressive, which he contrasted with U.S. treatment of the detainees. Hall explains that the power to decide what is “normal” and what is “deviant” could lead to ethnocentrism which is “the application of the norms of one’s own culture to that of others.”⁸¹ Rumsfeld put up boundaries through which he decided what is good and judged the Orient according to Western norms. The NYP

⁷⁹ WP 8.

⁸⁰ NYP 5.

⁸¹ Hall, *Representation*, 258.

accepted this opinion without researching Rumsfeld's claims. The NYT and the WT did not report extensively on the treatment during the flight and were more factual.

The issue of detainees' in-flight treatment brought about the issue of the detainees' classification and rights. Again some of the articles attempted to show how the U.S. measured its behavior with another standard (which is the one of the suspected terrorists or "them") to explain the way it classified detainees. The Bush administration specifically labeled the prisoners as "unlawful combatants" to limit their rights and detain them without a prospect of trial. The classification as an enemy combatant "others" the detainees and gives the government more power over them than the label "prisoner of war" would allow. It put the detainees outside a boundary, providing them with a certain role or representation (which limits their rights) through which the U.S. tried to justify their treatment of the detainees. It is the question then, whether the newspapers also recognized this.

While the WP reported that, according to Pentagon spokesperson Clarke, the Pentagon needed to determine which types of persons they are dealing with, it also gave legal specialists a voice to explain that trials at Guantánamo favored the U.S. government as prisoners cannot challenge their detainment in a U.S. court.⁸² The NYT too mentioned Clarke, saying that the Pentagon is determining into which categories these detainees fall but only in an editorial article it criticized the Bush administration for failing to "understand the power of the human rights ideal in today's world" and it concluded that:

Underneath, the prisoner issue touches a profound resentment abroad at what many see as an American tendency to lecture others about international standards while refusing to comply with those it urges.⁸³

The newspaper made clear how the U.S. wanted other nations to respect the international standard, while itself did not do this. In contrast, the U.S. used the standards of al-Qaeda for example, to justify its behavior. It addressed the "resentment abroad" about U.S. exceptionalism. The nation believed to know best and the government determined which standard applies when and to whom. A power-knowledge relation is established in this way. Interestingly, the NYP (wrongfully)

⁸² WP 1.

⁸³ NYT 14.

referred to the detainees a few times as POWs and even let former POWs of Korea and Vietnam compare their imprisonment to those at Guantánamo.⁸⁴ Yet, their classification differed from those at Guantánamo, who are enemy combatants. This article presented an “us versus them” dichotomy in which the POWs are heroes who endured hardships and the Guantánamo detainees are enemies having a good life there. In contrast to the other newspapers, the WT used some legal scholars as sources, arguing that the detainees do not meet the criteria to acquire a POW status, as they are al-Qaeda and Taliban suspects, which were never recognized as governments by others.⁸⁵ In another article, a commentary, the newspaper argued that their status resulted in severe treatment.⁸⁶ In the WT, the Pentagon spokesperson Clarke is mentioned saying that “[t]hese are particularly different kinds of detainees.”⁸⁷

These sources showed that the classification is a means to give an inferior position to the detainees. Yet, the newspapers did not specifically point this out. Said quotes Levi-Strauss who explains that “mind requires order.” This happens through differentiating everything and assigning a role to those “identities that make up an environment.”⁸⁸ Therefore, it is a way to assume power and a means to decide which is “other.” The articles showed how this happened through finding an appropriate label for the detainees in order to give them a position in one’s understanding. What is missing here to great extent was that the newspapers did not discuss the ideal of “innocent until proven guilty.” Some mentioned that the detainees are not charged, but did not comment on this. The newspaper should have noticed that this value is not for everyone.

Geography

The discussion on detainees’ rights and classification is also related to the geographical location of Guantánamo. The Bush administration chose this location because it gave the administration considerable freedom of conduct. Did the newspapers also recognize this? Did their coverage show that the naval base was different and therefore “other”? Again, the newspapers quoted many governmental and military officials and occasionally consulted legal experts. The economic

⁸⁴ See NYP 3 & 13.

⁸⁵ WT 6.

⁸⁶ WT 13.

⁸⁷ WT 7.

⁸⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 53.

consequences frame was most pervasive, as most articles discussed the consequences the prison has for the U.S. and Cuba. The articles did not target one specific group. Not only did the newspapers discuss the consequences for the detainees, their focus was also on what Guantánamo would mean for the U.S. itself and citizens of Cuba.

The significance of Cuba as the location of the detainees was mentioned in several articles which also involved Orientalism. The NYT interviewed several Cubans of whom one said that “America is bringing these prisoners here, and it is impossible for the Cuban people to fight it...”⁸⁹ In a critical piece, the NYT called Cuba a bizarre place, as it is “on Washington’s list of states that sponsor terrorism” and it deemed Guantánamo a “symbol of American power” as the U.S. made use of a lease which Fidel Castro cannot terminate.⁹⁰ These two examples depict how the newspaper attempted to show the geographical choice of Guantánamo as representative of U.S.’ exceptional power. It showed how Guantánamo is different and “other” although the newspaper did not specifically state this. The WP explained that the Guantánamo area is isolated and least populated. Rumsfeld called it “the least worst choice” and claimed that Guantánamo for “these folks [is] an environment that is a lot more hospitable than the environments we found them in.”⁹¹ The newspaper did not recognize that in this statement, Rumsfeld juxtaposed the East with West as if he knew the Orient and its people. According to Said, Orientalists believe their image of the Orient to be real and true.⁹² Similarly, Rumsfeld deemed Guantánamo more hospitable to be than the Middle East, believing his image of the Middle East to be real. All newspapers mentioned that Fidel Castro did not object that the U.S. brought its prisoners to Guantánamo. While the NYT called it “the latest outrage of Yankee Imperialism”, the WT believed that there will be a “mutual admiration” between Castro and the “fellow aficionados of cruel despotism” who were brought there.⁹³ So while the NYT criticized the U.S. and its excessive power, the WT adopted an Orientalist perspective of perceiving outsiders as “others” and enemies while assuming that therefore they would get along together. Noteworthy, almost all headlines of the NYT begin with “A Nation Challenged.” This conveyed that there is

⁸⁹ NYT 6.

⁹⁰ NYT 10.

⁹¹ WP 2 & 5.

⁹² Said, *Orientalism*, 72.

⁹³ NYT 10 & WT 3.

an enemy defying a (powerful) empire; so arguably it adopted an “us versus them” perspective in this way as well.

Another Orientalist perspective can be found in both the NYP and the WT. These newspapers portrayed the place where the detainees are held as quite positive. In a way, it showed that the detainees should be glad that the U.S. brought them there. The NYP claimed that “[l]ife isn’t totally hard for the jailbirds” as they are allowed to do their prayers and are sometimes treated to bagels.⁹⁴ While in one article the WT claimed it is not smart to put the (alleged) terrorists in a country that is anti-American, it also presented Guantánamo Bay as a tropical destination: “a sort of Taliban version of Club Med. Call it Club Gitmo.”⁹⁵ Again, these newspapers pretended to know what life is like in the Orient, and believed it not that hard under U.S. supervision. Said explains that Orientalists set off the Orient “from the West”, draw a line “between two continents” and believe the former to be undermining rationality while the latter contain the “normal values.”⁹⁶

All newspapers reported that Guantánamo allowed the Bush administration to interrogate detainees in order to prevent terrorism (though they are divided on when interrogation started), while holding them indefinitely, but did not discuss the peculiarity of this. Should detainees not be found guilty first before useful information can be gathered from them? Usually, prisons aim to rehabilitate detainees, but this was not the goal of Bush with Guantánamo. The location of the prison served to make the detainees a tool to gather intelligence and be a means to prevent terrorism. However, almost none of the newspapers addressed these issues. The WT only reported that “officials view these first detainees as windows into how the group works” and it quoted Rumsfeld:

“The truth is that at some point you get what you think you can get from a given individual,” the defense secretary said [...] “So you know that after you’ve gone through the first interrogation, it’s best to wait a bit and see what other kinds of information comes up from other people, from computers [...]”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ NYP 6.

⁹⁵ WT 14.

⁹⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 57.

⁹⁷ WT 4.

Yet, while the newspaper showed how the administration used Guantánamo and the detainees as an intelligence tool, it did not comment on this in any way. In an editorial by the WP, the author argued that it is not about bringing them to justice but to find out how al-Qaeda operates as well as its plans for future terrorism. It continued:

We should do whatever it takes to get from them whatever information we need to win that war [against al-Qaeda]. [...] Right now, what is of supreme importance to Americans is not the moral high ground of salon opinion but the strategic high ground of military intelligence...⁹⁸

Are detainees not suspects until proven guilty? In another article by the WP, a law professor is quoted who explained that the reason for choosing Guantánamo is that “[t]he government wants to keep them out of any place in the U.S. where they can claim protections...”⁹⁹ And in the NYT, Cheney preferred detainees to be positioned outside of the rules of the Geneva Convention, because “it would allow flexibility in interrogation.”¹⁰⁰ Apart from the WP quoting a law professor, most articles on this issue merely echoed what governmental officials said and did not highlight the arbitrariness of the U.S. in choosing the location and positioning themselves superior to the Orient.

Origin/ethnicity

Finally, there was some discussion about the detainees’ origin and ethnicity in the articles. Interestingly, a twofold way of reporting on Guantánamo can be recognized. Either there was a specific differentiation between detainees of different origin or most were considered to be Arabic. It became clear that speculation and assumptions arise because not much information is distributed, which some newspapers also acknowledged. According to Stuart Hall, such lack of knowledge usually generates stereotypes or at least simplifications, as people want to understand who the Guantánamo detainees are. In this section, newspapers were somewhat more outspoken, although it is mostly in word choice that this can be perceived. Here, the

⁹⁸ WP 12.

⁹⁹ WP 1.

¹⁰⁰ NYT 16.

conflict frame was dominant as the stories were often presented as conflicts between nations.

Some of the articles specifically emphasized detainees who have a Western nationality presenting them as more important than those with other nationalities (such as those from Saudi Arabia, which were also mentioned). This was especially the case with American John Walker. Understandably, the newspapers gave more attention to a fellow American. However, the newspapers did not mention that he is treated differently than detainees of other nationalities. In the WP, an official explained Walker's different treatment as follows: "[Guantánamo Bay] is not for American citizens ... He's in a category all by himself."¹⁰¹ He is not considered less dangerous, yet still he is treated differently because of his nationality. The WP did not question or criticize this. The WP reported that Walker is a "high-profile prisoner" and can expect trial.¹⁰² While the NYT reported that he was being held on a U.S. ship and the NYP claimed Walker is not coming to Guantánamo, the WT at some point stated that is on his way to the U.S.¹⁰³ However, none of these newspapers wondered whether he is subject to interrogation or why he is treated differently.

Several detainees of British nationality also received considerably more media attention. The NYT reported that they are accordingly treated well, while the WP stated that they "significantly increased the political profile of the situation here [at Guantánamo]" but did not elaborate on this.¹⁰⁴ The newspaper differentiated between the detainees in order to make meaning of who is in Guantánamo, but while doing this it also differentiated between those from the West and from the East, and valued information about the former as more important than the latter.

Only the NYP provided more insight on different nationalities, not merely those from the West.¹⁰⁵ The WT stated in an editorial that there are clearly Saudi citizens at Guantánamo and urged Bush to demand "full disclosure of information" by the Saudi government.¹⁰⁶ The newspaper encouraged the U.S. government to make use of its power. Furthermore, several sources used by the newspapers assumed most or all detainees are Arabic and some related this to (Islam) religion. The NYT spoke to a female distributor of food working at Guantánamo, who said that the prisoners do

¹⁰¹ WP 1.

¹⁰² WP 9.

¹⁰³ NYT 4, NYP 4, WP 11.

¹⁰⁴ WP 6.

¹⁰⁵ NYP 16.

¹⁰⁶ WT 1.

not look at her. She explained this as fitting as “the Taliban shrouded women’s faces and barred them from positions of authority.”¹⁰⁷ Her assumption linked detainees’ behavior to their culture of the East and she did not recognize the possibility that she only experienced the feeling of detainees looking away. The woman expressed a specific idea about the Orient and believed it to be a fact. The WP stated that little is known about the detainees but the newspaper spoke with the commander of Guantánamo who assumed that the detainees were Arabic.¹⁰⁸ The WP did not provide commentary on this information, but in a different article the WP reported that the detainees are religious extremists determined to commit murder.¹⁰⁹ Said explains this negative depiction of Islam as the fear of a foreign religion. For the West, “Islam [became] to symbolize terror... [and] hordes of hated barbarians.”¹¹⁰ A WP editorial claims that the American nation is more civilized and knows better, as it accused Europe for criticizing the U.S.:

Mr. Bush is close to achieving the impossible – losing the sympathy of the civilized world for what happened in New York and Washington on September 11 [...] [The detainees at Guantánamo] are actually living far better than they ever did in the Muslim world. [...] Ours is a more civilized civilization [...] More is expected of us because we expect more of ourselves.¹¹¹

As this WT author believed the detainees and the countries of origin are “uncivilized,” the NYP referred to them as thugs, rats, worms, and terrorists who need to be squashed in order to prevent them from wounding the U.S. again.¹¹² Here 9/11 is understood as, what Sontag calls, “an attack on civilization.” As a result, these detainees and terrorist suspects are regarded as inferior. Orientalism presents the detainees as uncivilized and better off in the West. Because they are considered barbarians (or “rats” or “worms”), and uncivilized, they cannot represent themselves, as Said explains, and therefore these newspapers provide representations of Guantánamo detainees for the public discourse.

¹⁰⁷ NYT 9.

¹⁰⁸ WP 4.

¹⁰⁹ WP 5.

¹¹⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 59.

¹¹¹ WT 9.

¹¹² NYP 12 & NYP 14.

Conclusion

It is difficult to assess whether newspapers adopted an Orientalist point of view as mostly officials were quoted and an author's opinion can only be noticeable in minor details such as word choice. Only in editorial articles it was clear what opinion that newspaper's journalists adopted. My hypothesis was as follows: All newspapers assessed the detention center as necessary in the war on terror, and assumed that the Middle Eastern suspects are guilty, and that it is better to put them away. They present the detainees as "other" and believe they are a threat to American ideals. Indeed, none of the newspapers questioned the necessity of Guantánamo Bay. Also, all assumed that the detainees brought there were guilty as none highlighted that the detainees did not receive trial and might be there indefinitely. However, the NYT and WP were critical towards U.S. exceptionalism and its "self-proclaimed power" as Sontag discussed, and both showed how the U.S. "othered" the detainees by choosing Cuba as the location for the prison, which deprived the detainees of protection through certain rights. This confirmed what Kaplan argued in her 2005 essay that the depictions of Guantánamo as a legal limbo increased the "image of its exceptional status", being "a prison beyond the law."¹¹³

The NYP and WT did not show how detainees were "othered" because of the lack of rights, but these newspapers were Orientalist in using the binary opposition of the East versus West in their belief that Guantánamo and U.S. treatment was much better and hospitable than where they came from. Said argues that there is always arbitrariness "in the way the distinctions between things are seen."¹¹⁴ He explains that "[i]t is enough for 'us' to set up these boundaries in our minds" through which "we" assign roles to those inside these boundaries and those outside these boundaries. This is how "we" give meaning to those who are foreign or behavior which is abnormal.¹¹⁵ Hall also sees this: he argues that here power relations are at play and that looking for "difference between opposites" is a way to acquire meaning.¹¹⁶ So by giving different classifications, the U.S. gives a value judgment and decides who is "other." It assumes power over those who are different and makes them therefore inferior. Here, the newspapers portrayed their "knowledge" about the Orient as reality. This was also the case when the newspapers attempted to paint a picture of the detainees and in this

¹¹³ Kaplan, "Where is Guantánamo?", 445.

¹¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 54.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹¹⁶ Hall, *Representation*, 234-5.

way “othered” them. The NYT published a story about a woman working at Guantánamo who believed that the prisoners did not look at her because where they come from they veil their women. The WP depicted the detainees as religious extremists, and therefore as a threat, while the WT repeatedly deemed them to be uncivilized and the NYP described them as thugs, rats or worms. Yet, all are Orientalist in giving more attention to prisoners of other nationalities and little to those from the Middle East. In this way, their stories were not represented at all, and more information came from what newspapers believed to know about them and the Orient, than what the reality is. Therefore, while all adopted some Orientalist perspectives, the NYP and WT proved to be most Orientalist.

CHAPTER 3

THE DESECRATION OF THE KORAN IN GUANTÁNAMO BAY

Within a year after the pictures showing the torture at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq received widespread attention in the media, another controversial story about the treatment of detainees made the news. On May 9, 2005, *Newsweek* published a short article disclosing that American interrogators at Guantánamo Bay had flushed a copy of the Koran in a toilet to upset detainees.¹¹⁷ Even though the article also mentioned sexual and physical abuse of prisoners, such as a detainee who was taken around on a dog leash, especially the information about desecrating the Koran triggered violent demonstrations in Afghanistan and Pakistan, among several other countries, which caused the deaths of almost 20 people.¹¹⁸ In response to this, *Newsweek* apologized and eventually retracted the story. *Newsweek*'s story not only upset citizens in Muslim countries by drawing attention to possible disrespect of detainees' religion, but also caused a lot of criticism from journalists as the article carried considerable implications for the image of the U.S. This chapter looks at the consequences of the article and examines the extent to which Orientalism and "othering" was part of the newspaper coverage concerning the desecration of Koran in Guantánamo Bay.

Edward Said specifically writes about Islam and media in his 1981 book *Covering Islam*. He explains that there exist many different kinds of Islam and that for an unformed reporter the danger in writing about an Islamic country is that "instead of trying to find out more about [it], [he or she is taking] what is nearest at hand, usually a cliché or ... journalistic wisdom that readers at home are unlikely to challenge."¹¹⁹ A journalist likely assumes knowledge over the East or Islam and presents it as reality, which, according to Said, often results in a simplification of this faith which in turn can lead to "the instigation of racial antipathy" or "denigration of Muslims and Arabs."¹²⁰ This chapter examines whether newspaper articles on the desecration of the Koran at Guantánamo also fell into this Orientalist "trap," assuming knowledge and power over Muslim religion and countries. The characteristics of Orientalism that may appear in the news coverage consist of the emphasis on difference and assumptions about difference ("othering"), employing binary

¹¹⁷ Michael Isikoff and John Barry, "Gitmo: SouthCom Showdown," *Newsweek*, May 9, 2005.

¹¹⁸ NYT 2 & WT 1.

¹¹⁹ Said, *Covering Islam*, x-xii.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, xviii.

oppositions such as “us versus them” or East versus West, empowering one self to decide what is good and normal and what is not by putting up boundaries and presenting assumptions and “knowledge” about the Orient as the reality, and usage of stereotypes and simplifications (representations of barbarism, for example). These characteristics are also often combined with the belief in the exceptionalism of the U.S.

The job of journalists

Several articles criticized *Newsweek* for the consequences following the news article, which was based on only one anonymous official who later hesitated whether his claims about the desecration of the Koran at Guantánamo were true.¹²¹ Most of the articles used the responsibility frame, debating whether or not *Newsweek* should have published the article (see Appendix B for a detailed table). While the articles did not mention much about the detainees of the Koran incident, the news articles did address larger issues of the Guantánamo prison, and U.S. responsibility for the alleged mistreatment of the detainees and their religion. The *New York Times* (NYT) focused on the consequences that *Newsweek*'s article had:

It reflected the severity of consequences that even one sentence in a brief news article can have at a time of intense anti-American sentiment overseas and political polarization, as well as extreme distrust of the mainstream media at home.¹²²

Speaking of “intense anti-American sentiment overseas,” the NYT adopted “us versus them” rhetoric, assuming that all or most of the people in countries overseas are anti-American, and it presented this as a widely known fact. The NYT also stated that the *Newsweek* article highlighted “new questions about how the United States treats captives from the Muslim world.”¹²³ The term “Muslim world” is vague and broad, and using such an Orientalist term distances the Western world from the “Muslim world” as if these worlds have nothing in common. However, it is important that the NYT highlighted the issue and responsibility of the treatment of detainees, as this is

¹²¹ See for example NYT 2, WP 6, WP 11, NYP 1, NYP 2, WT 4.

¹²² NYT 3.

¹²³ Ibid.

the issue that instigated the demonstrations. In another article, the NYT repeated what is at issue:

But around the world, discussion continued on the larger issue of whether such abuse ever occurred at [Guantánamo], as released prisoners have asserted over the years. Their accounts have never been authenticated and did not stir such anger as the Newsweek article [...].¹²⁴

It pointed out that the voices of the detainees themselves were never confirmed. This article also cited a news critic who stated that it does not matter that *Newsweek* retracted the story nor whether the flushing of the Koran happened, when former detainees from Guantánamo confirm such stories. Although *The Washington Post* (WP) also used the Orientalist term “Muslim world” in an editorial article, it pointed out how tragic the issues around the *Newsweek* article are and that it taught “us” (journalists) a “uniquely dramatic lesson.”¹²⁵ It emphasized that the tone of the article on the upcoming report is accusatory, and the WP claimed that “journalists simply don’t do that.”¹²⁶ According to the WP, as there was little evidence of the flushing of the Koran, this story should never have been published. However, in a different editorial, the WP criticized the debate of *Newsweek*’s publication by claiming that:

The war on Newsweek shifted attention away from how the [Guantánamo] prisoners have been treated, how that treatment has affected the battle against terrorism and what American policies should be. [...] [This particular anti-press campaign] is a sophisticated effort to demolish the idea of a press independent of political parties by way of discouraging scrutiny of conservative politicians in power. [...] In the case of [Guantánamo], the administration, for a while, cast its actions as less important than Newsweek’s.¹²⁷

The WP noticed that the debate about *Newsweek* diverted attention from the treatment of the detainees at Guantánamo and the government’s responsibility for their mistreatment. In this way, the WP specifically uncovered the Orientalist tropes of

¹²⁴ NYT 5.

¹²⁵ WP 8.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ WP 11.

those in power who determine what is known about the issue. Said and Hall argue that those in power establish boundaries through which they decide what is excluded because it is “other.” Representations of the “other” are often stereotypes and simplifications, but, in this case, there is no representation of the detainees at all. Moreover, not only the media but also the government was guilty of this omission, according to the WP.

The New York Post (NYP) heavily criticized *Newsweek*. Apart from calling its editor an “idiot” and claiming it printed nonsense from anonymous sources, the NYP stated that *Newsweek* “has long tried to give the impression it knows so much about the Middle East it can part the waters.”¹²⁸ The newspaper appeared to claim that *Newsweek* did not have much knowledge about the Middle East. This is similar to what Said explains: “*understanding of Islam has been a very difficult thing to achieve.*”¹²⁹ However, while fully engaged in the debate about *Newsweek*’s publication, the NYP did not discuss the actual treatment of detainees at Guantánamo. Furthermore, in another article, the NYP blamed *Newsweek* alone for the riots in the Middle East, and criticized those who believe the Pentagon is responsible too.¹³⁰ Unlike the NYT, the NYP did not perceive that the debate on *Newsweek* distracted people from the administration’s responsibilities in regard to the treatment of detainees and their religion.

The Washington Times (WT) did not address *Newsweek*’s publication to great extent. In an op-ed article, the WT called it “sloppy journalism”, emphasized the “importance of accuracy”, and accused *Newsweek* of mistakenly assuming that “religious desecration was a tool of interrogation sanctioned by the U.S. government” and stating that “[perhaps] they wanted to believe it.”¹³¹ Another op-ed article argued that the deaths were not caused by *Newsweek* since Afghan Islamist imams already provoked “a frenzy of hatred against America” and only exploited the article for “their own cynical purposes.”¹³² The WT framed this article in “us versus them” rhetoric, representing the “others” as evil and devious Muslims driven by hatred towards the U.S. The WT did not support its claim about the imams with any evidence nor explained what the “cynical purposes” were. The responsibility frame

¹²⁸ NYP 2.

¹²⁹ Said, *Covering Islam*, 7 (emphasis in original).

¹³⁰ NYP 5.

¹³¹ WT 4.

¹³² WT 5.

which this article employed, placed the responsibility for the desecration and the riots not on *Newsweek* or the government, but instead blamed Muslims themselves.

Religion of the detainees

In light of Orientalism and the publication of *Newsweek* on the alleged flushing of a Koran, it is important to see in what way the newspapers reported on the religious beliefs of the detainees. This can say much about the (Orientalist) perspective of the newspapers. As Said explains, media often make harmfully uninformed assumptions about Islam.

While the NYT described the riots in Afghanistan as “[a]nti-American violence” the comments of students who the newspaper interviewed suggested that the riots broke out primarily against the interrogators who desecrated the Koran.¹³³ The newspaper’s use of anti-Americanism, therefore, defines the rioters’ motifs too broadly, adopting an “us versus them” dichotomy. Orientalism in this article is only a matter of word-choice and is not so much embedded in the overall message. In another article, the NYT reported that accusations about desecration of the Koran were not new, quoting a former detainee as well as a former interrogator from Guantánamo who both confirmed that maltreatment of the Koran happened before at the detention center. The former detainee stated that guards would “generally disrespect [the Koran].”¹³⁴ The Arabic translator confirmed that interrogators had “to deal with detainees’ sensitivity about the Koran” and a director of a media training program stated that *Newsweek*’s publication “represented yet another act of horror out of [Guantánamo] Bay [and it was] a reconfirmation of what they’ve suspected, a straight disrespect for the sensitivities of Muslims.”¹³⁵ The NYT provided the detainees with a voice and focused more on the (treatment of) detainees than the rioters, their religion, and their origins in the Middle East.

The WP was the only newspaper that spoke to local Afghans who had joined the demonstrations to see what their opinions about the *Newsweek* publication were. However, these quotes are merely about whether or not they believed the Koran incident was true or false and not so much about the treatment of detainees in general. Only one source elaborated on the incident by saying that those who disrespected the

¹³³ NYT 1.

¹³⁴ NYT 3.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Koran “should be brought to justice.”¹³⁶ However, an editorial in the WP stated that the truth about the incident was not relevant, but that the information was plausible, and “it was plausible precisely because interrogation techniques designed to be offensive to Muslims were used in Iraq and [Guantánamo] [...]”¹³⁷ The article provided several examples of the techniques, which were officially approved by Rumsfeld, such as using dogs which Muslims believe to be unclean, nudity and removal of facial hair to offend those who wear beards. Sexual harassment was aimed to offend those detainees who are not allowed by their religion to have “contact with women other than their wives.”¹³⁸ In this article, the WP revealed how the administration used Islam against the detainees in the way they were treated. The editorial showed how they were “othered” as the guards knowingly treated the detainees different because of their religion and employed “tactics designed to offend.”¹³⁹ The author condemned this and explained that this is contrary to American ideals.

The NYP did not discuss the treatment of the Guantánamo detainees and focused almost exclusively on *Newsweek*'s publication and retraction of its article. On one instance, the NYP quoted a detainee who explained that there was no abuse saying “they treat us like a Muslim, not a detainee” but no comments or explanation about his meaning followed.¹⁴⁰ The author discussed a report about the usefulness of interrogation and summed up some of the threats detainees issued at Guantánamo. He highlighted the danger of releasing detainees and concluded that “many detainees ache to get out, so they can kill Americans.”¹⁴¹ He assumed that all detainees are an immediate threat when released. The NYP further blamed the deaths and riots on “[e]xtremist Islamic elements” who used *Newsweek*'s publication to instigate anti-American riots.¹⁴²

While the WT reported on religion from an Orientalist perspective, the newspaper also pointed to (Orientalist) unawareness about Islam. In several articles, the WT speculated whether the abuse of the Koran took place at Guantánamo but the newspaper primarily focused on the violence in the Middle East rather than the

¹³⁶ WP 3.

¹³⁷ WP 6.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ NYP 9.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² NYP 3.

treatment of detainees at Guantánamo. In doing so, the WT presented the incident in “us versus them” rhetoric, posing religious extremists against the rest of the world, and presented Islam as a threat. The WT also determined who the enemy is in the *Newsweek* controversy. In a commentary, the WT claimed that “Islamofascists” aim “first to dominate the Muslim faith’s non-Islamist majority, then the rest of us.”¹⁴³ According to the newspaper, the “Islamofascists” used the *Newsweek* article “as proof positive of undifferentiated Western hostility toward all Muslims” claiming that “Islamism is on the march in such disparate places as Western Europe, Bosnia, Indonesia, Latin America and Africa.”¹⁴⁴ These terms (Islamism and “the Muslim faith’s non-Islamist majority”) are unclear. Said’s criticism would be that the journalist did not (sufficiently) investigate Islam and therefore made assumptions which resulted in (unclear) generalizations. Moreover, the editor of the newspaper wondered: “If the Koran must be treated with such care as to be untouched by anyone but the killers, muggers, rapists and other maniacs at the prison, maybe the Koran ought not to be there in the first place [...]”¹⁴⁵ Journalists know almost nothing about the detainees at Guantánamo and the detainees are not yet sentenced for any killings, rapes or whatsoever, so the statements of the author are mere assumptions which adhere to certain stereotypes of who the detainees could be. Finally, the editor in chief assumed to know what life in “Arabia” is like:

Girl-watching is reduced to comparing burkas. Unless there’s a beheading of a Christian or a Jew in the town square, life is bor-r-r-r-ing. Praying, listening to an imam read from the Koran and recite all the things you aren’t allowed to do gets old.¹⁴⁶

He believed that in such towns, only insults result in entertainment (referring to the riots following the desecration of the Koran). His belief that life is otherwise boring is a conclusion from a Western perspective, he measured life there according to his norms, believing daily life there is so different that it is almost medieval and only fights provide for entertainment.

¹⁴³ WT 2.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ WT 11.

¹⁴⁶ WT 6.

However, the WT also emphasized the existence of unawareness about the Islam, stating that “Americans are poorly educated in the ways of Islam and the White House doesn’t help when, seeking to appease, it simplifies the complex and varying interpretations of the Koran.”¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, the newspaper directly blamed the White House. In another article, the newspaper mockingly criticized Amnesty International for making “ridiculous assertions” about incidents at Guantánamo, after Amnesty’s spokesperson stated that “we don’t know for sure what all is happening at [Guantánamo].”¹⁴⁸ According to the WP, Amnesty made assumptions about the matter with little knowledge of the facts about incidents at Guantánamo Bay.

Consequences for U.S. image

Apart from the consequences which the *Newsweek* incident had for the representation of detainees’ religion, all newspapers also related *Newsweek*’s publication to a deterioration of U.S.’ image abroad. In this section I will explore how the newspapers covered the international consequences that the alleged mistreatment of the Guantánamo detainees and *Newsweek*’s report had for the U.S.

The NYT concluded that the nation’s image abroad deteriorated as a result of what happened at Guantánamo. It wrote:

Accounts of abuses at the actual American detention center at [Guantánamo] Bay, including *Newsweek* magazine’s now-retracted article on the desecration of the Koran, ricochet around the world, instilling ideas about American power and justice, and sowing distrust of the United States. [...] In Europe, [the accusations of abuse] have become symbol of what many see as America’s dangerous drift away from the ideals that made it a moral beacon in the post-World War II era.¹⁴⁹

The NYT used terms as “ideas about American power” to describe the image of the U.S. abroad, which point to the belief that the world’s image of the U.S. is not representative of reality. However, it is unclear how the NYT itself sees it. The NYT explained in a different article that Muslims have been angry about the “indisputable

¹⁴⁷ WT 5.

¹⁴⁸ WT 10.

¹⁴⁹ NYT 7.

evidence of the atrocious treatment of detainees” for a longer time.¹⁵⁰ The editorial also argued that detaining people without charges or prospect of a legal trial “seems a peculiar way to advance the cause of freedom in the world.”¹⁵¹ The author claimed that the issue goes beyond an image problem since the “very idea of what it means to be American is at stake” and an investigation about the interrogations at Guantánamo would “expose behavior most Americans would never want associated with their country.”¹⁵² Interestingly, the author discussed the consequences of the (accusations of) abuse for Americans in general instead of for the detainees. While criticizing the way the government promoted liberty, one of the aspects of U.S. exceptionalism, the article did not hold the government responsible for the “atrocious treatment of the detainees.”

The WP attempted to show how U.S. officials were the primary source for news on Guantánamo (which was also the case in many of the articles of this chapter) and were believed to tell the truth. It quoted an attorney of several detainees at Guantánamo who stated that “[i]t’s sort of amazing today that we define truth as only when the government confirms something happened” and that abuse and desecration of the Koran were persistent at the prison and were not fully investigated.¹⁵³ This conclusion highlighted that the voices of the detainees were not heard, and those in power determined the “reality” about Guantánamo but also that the media (“we”) were complacent in distributing the message of those in power. In another article, the WP called Guantánamo “a symbol of excess,” but did not elaborate on this, and stated that President Bush did not exclude closing the prison to restore the image of the U.S.¹⁵⁴ However, a quote from the President revealed that his interest is America’s safety and the WP did not emphasize that the focus is not about the abuse or treatment of the detainees.

The NYP implied that journalists who criticized the U.S. administration were un-American. It wrote that not only the image abroad was damaged, but that the media perceived the U.S. as well as the military as “villains.”¹⁵⁵ In another article, the NYP argued that journalists who believed themselves to be professionals had

¹⁵⁰ NYT 10.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ WP 13.

¹⁵⁴ WP 15.

¹⁵⁵ NYP 3.

damaged the image of the U.S. abroad.¹⁵⁶ In this article, the NYP did not mention the possibility that the abuse of the Koran could have led to this deterioration of the nation's image. Instead, the author blamed the media and journalists, presenting them as enemies of U.S. exceptionalism. The WT also concluded that the nation's image has been damaged, stating in an op-ed article that "the image of the United States in the Muslim world has taken a blow bigger than that inflicted by the Abu Ghraib abuse scandal. The damage simply cannot be overestimated."¹⁵⁷ The article also stated that it would be hard to investigate what the damage to the U.S. image in the "Muslim world" is and it claimed that the "Muslims around the world" did not deserve what the American media did with *Newsweek's* article. According to the WT, it is not the treatment of the religion of fellow Muslims in prison what they did not deserve, but how the media dealt with it (or represented it).

Conclusion

As my hypothesis implied, there was a significant difference between the news coverage of the liberal and conservative newspapers. My hypothesis was to great extent confirmed because the former focused more on the detainees and their treatment and the latter focused more on the *truth* about the desecration of the Koran as well as the religion of the detainees. These conservative newspapers were more Orientalist in doing so primarily because of their assumptions about Islam. While the liberal NYT used quotes by former detainees and lawyers to highlight their treatment, it also focused on the way the incident affected the image of U.S. power. The newspaper, adopting an Orientalist view of U.S. superiority, concluded that less people around the world are looking up to the U.S. nowadays. The liberal WP showed how detainees are "othered" because guards used their religion in a way to offend them. Also, the newspaper contended that often the government determined the "truth" about Guantánamo, accusing those in power of presenting only information what is in their best interest. Instead of focusing on the treatment of detainees at Guantánamo, the conservative NYP and WT concentrated more on detainees' religion and the consequences of the incident in the Middle East. These newspapers proved Orientalist in their perspective by assuming and presenting knowledge about the Orient. Their knowledge about the Middle East and Islam consisted of assumptions,

¹⁵⁶ NYP 5.

¹⁵⁷ WT 4.

common prejudices, and beliefs that the public are likely to accept, as Said explains in *Covering Islam*.¹⁵⁸ The NYP blamed the riots on extremists and the WT emphasized the threat of “Islamism” but neither explained much about the rioters’ motifs or the religion of the detainees and rioters.

The conservative newspapers, especially the WT, took on an Orientalist point of view and used the incident to depict a specific image of Islam as a threat to American values and its position in the world. Also, the WT coverage focused on how the media represented the issue and its effects, rather than the treatment of the detainees. In the NYP there was little to no representation about the issue or the treatment of detainees and the newspaper considered the media as unpatriotic in seeing the military as the enemy. While the WT criticized unawareness of Islam in the U.S., the newspaper did not show much awareness itself. Said explains that the representations of Islam often divide “the world into pro- and anti-American[ism].”¹⁵⁹ As the media often reiterate statements of officials, the media are likely to present a consensus or common understanding in their coverage of Islam.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, their coverage reflects interests of those in power (which is exactly what the NYT and WP criticized). Consequently, Islam is often presented as a threat since “negative images of Islam are very much more prevalent” and these correspond to what people believe Islam to be instead of what it actually is, which was the case in the news coverage of the NYP and WT.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ See Said, *Covering Islam*, xi, 40, 142.

¹⁵⁹ Said, *Covering Islam*, 40 & 43.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

CHAPTER 4

PRESIDENT OBAMA'S RENEWED PROMISE TO CLOSE GUANTÁNAMO BAY

After Barack Obama pledged to close Guantánamo Bay during his election campaign in 2008, he reiterated this promise after he was elected President and signed “an executive order that required that the [Guantánamo] prison be closed within a year.”¹⁶² At a press conference on April 30, 2013, he repeated his pledge to close the prison once again in response to many hunger strikes that detainees started in order to attract the world’s attention to their indefinite confinement. Obama emphasized the danger in keeping Guantánamo open as, according to the President, it serves as a “recruitment tool for extremists”, it “hurts us in our international standing” and “this is not something that is in the best interest of the American people.” Obama admitted that the detainees are in a “no man’s land in perpetuity” and he does not want “these individuals to die.” Eventually, Obama promised that he would get back to the issue after reviewing what was done and can be done about the prison.¹⁶³

This chapter examines how the four newspapers covered and commented on Obama’s promise. Since Obama has already stated several times that he will close the prison but never achieved this, it is likely that the newspapers will be more skeptical and critical towards his statements, while still retaining an Orientalist perspective on the detainees. While Obama did not say much about the treatment of the detainees such as granting the detainees their rights, this is still most relevant to their detainment. They could be granted constitutional rights in U.S. courts as was the initial plan of Obama in 2008, in contrast to Bush’ military tribunals.¹⁶⁴ This final chapter will discuss how the newspaper coverage dealt with Obama’s approach towards Guantánamo Bay as well as the supposed “problem” the detainees pose for the U.S. to examine to what extent the newspapers presented the treatment of the detainees as relevant in the matter of Guantánamo Bay.

¹⁶² Matt Negrin, “Guantanamo Bay: Still Open, Despite Promises,” ABC News, July 3, 2013, accessed August 4, 2013, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/OTUS/guantanamo-bay-open-promises/story?id=16698768>.

¹⁶³ “President Obama Holds a News Conference,” The White House, April 30, 2013, accessed May 1, 2013, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2013/04/30/president-obama-holds-news-conference>, 25:21-28:27.

¹⁶⁴ Matt Apuzzo and Lara Jakes Jordan, “Obama Plans Guantanamo Close, US Trials,” *Huff Post Politics*, November 10, 2008, accessed August 4, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/11/10/obama-plans-guantanamo-cl_n_142593.html.

Obama and Guantánamo Bay

Many of the articles employed the responsibility frame. Also, several op-ed and editorial articles reflected the opinions of the authors on President Obama's speech and his conduct of Guantánamo Bay (for more details about the framing of the articles see Appendix C).

All newspapers were critical on Obama and his speech, though for different reasons. In an op-ed, *The New York Times* (NYT) stated that closing the prison “doesn't address the fundamental problem of rights” and it accused the President of not using his power to “waive [the] restrictions on a case-by-case basis” of transferring prisoners to “countries with bad security situations.”¹⁶⁵ Congress restricted the possibilities to transfer detainees but since 2012 it provided the Secretary of State with power to neglect the restrictions in specific cases. Since the administration did not make use of this power, the op-ed author deemed it “a little stale to blame Congress at this point.”¹⁶⁶ In another article, the NYT asserted that “[h]is policy has been not to release those prisoners, but to continue to imprison them indefinitely under the laws of war – just somewhere else.”¹⁶⁷ The newspaper clearly blamed the President for his inability to fulfill his promise to close Guantánamo, or at least to transfer those who have been cleared for this, when having access to the necessary means.

In an editorial, *The Washington Post* (WP) blamed Obama for not acknowledging that “his own inaction” contributed “to an impasse that has prompted more than half of [Guantánamo's] inmates to undertake a hunger strike.”¹⁶⁸ The newspaper also noted that the Guantánamo detainees “[receive] less review of their cases than they did during the Bush administration” and it deemed it no wonder that they took on a hunger strike.¹⁶⁹ In this way, it showed how Obama treated the detainees differently. In another article, the WP summarized Obama's speech by quoting the President who said the detention center hurts the nation's image and “best interests of the American people.”¹⁷⁰ Yet, the newspaper did not highlight how Obama talked more about what Guantánamo means for the U.S. than for the detainees and their treatment. In another interesting WP editorial, “the chairman of the Armed

¹⁶⁵ NYT 1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ NYT 2.

¹⁶⁸ WP 1.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ WP 2.

Services Committee,” who deals with the legislation for the detainees’ release, claimed that Obama never approached him with a plan in order to close Guantánamo.¹⁷¹ In the overall message arising from the articles, the WP blamed Obama for not using his powers to close Guantánamo and accusing Congress for lack of cooperation. Though both the NYT and the WP relied mainly on official sources, they were very opinionated about Obama and his (in)actions to change the conditions of the detainees at Guantánamo.

The New York Post (NYP) was very factual about Obama’s speech by merely quoting Obama and not criticizing him as much as the liberal newspapers did. One article criticized him for speaking too much about himself and not presenting any policy ideas. Though, by doing so, the NYP adopted “us versus them” rhetoric. The newspaper claimed Obama does not tolerate disagreement on his policies and it questioned whether he told “our enemies” that the war on terror is over.¹⁷² “Us” represented the Americans, and “them” referred to terrorists but the author did not specify who these are. The NYP article also blamed Obama for being “blind to the problems of everyday Americans,” in this way criticizing Obama’s attention for the detainees at Guantánamo.¹⁷³ An editorial in *The Washington Times* (WT) pointed out that in his speech, Obama wanted only to retain relevance and authority as a President. Obama uttered his statements about Guantánamo in response to a question; they were “not a determined assertion that he wanted everyone to remember.”¹⁷⁴ The newspaper article questioned whether Obama would succeed in closing the prison because of the opposition in Congress, not mentioning the possibility for the administration to waive restrictions on the transfer of detainees.

The “problem” of Guantánamo’s detainees

Many articles addressed the issues concerning the detainees, including the detainees’ rights and possible relocation sites if Guantánamo Bay could be closed. The newspapers adopted the responsibility frame in most articles, as they believed that the government should do something at these issues. Some used the economic consequences frame to present how the detainment at Guantánamo affected the detainees’ rights and the U.S.

¹⁷¹ WP 3.

¹⁷² NYP 4.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ WT 2.

The newspapers explored how a possible transfer of the detainees would affect the detainees as well as (the image of) the U.S. The NYT quoted a “Muslim cultural adviser to the military” who told reporters that it was likely that the prisoners would commit suicide soon and only a transfer of a detainee out of the prison “would give the others hope.”¹⁷⁵ An op-ed article in the NYT also stressed that “a decade of blunders” should end, and the government should find a solution to those who are not charged but “deemed too dangerous to release.”¹⁷⁶ Otherwise, according to the article, suicide attempts would “further intensify the cycle of resistance and repression.”¹⁷⁷ In a commentary, the WP responded to the administration’s claim about the danger of returning former detainees to their home country, basing on the governmental estimates that “only a small percentage of released detainees have returned to violence,” because:

Terror threats can be monitored and managed without keeping individuals in indefinite detention, especially when there isn’t enough information to charge them with crimes.¹⁷⁸

The article contradicted common representations, often used by the government, of the detainees as a threat. However, the same article also considered the conditions at Guantánamo “lenient [...] especially compared with federal prisons” (having access to television and a soccer field for example) because, according to the article, such facilities “could compensate for the lack of hope and due process afforded to the detainees.”¹⁷⁹ The newspaper accepted that freedom and the right to trial are exchangeable for sports and leisure facilities. Yet, the article also pointed out that, recently, the conditions at Guantánamo worsened as the hunger strikes resulted in tube feeding, and violence erupted between the guards and the “inmates [who were] tormented by lives without resolution or release.”¹⁸⁰ In a commentary, the WT presented a different perspective on transferring the detainees to their home country: “Let’s keep in mind that roughly one-third of detainees who have left [Guantánamo] have returned to terrorism, so facilitating the release of more is a dangerous

¹⁷⁵ NYT 2.

¹⁷⁶ NYT 3.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ WP 4.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

prospect.”¹⁸¹ The WT perpetuated the representation of detainees as threat if released. In another article, the newspaper quoted a Navy lawyer who declared that Americans are “misinformed” about the detainees as well as their possible transfer “and the damage [Guantánamo] has done to the nation’s image...” which would otherwise have resulted in more support for closing the prison.¹⁸² Although the lawyer importantly exposed the unawareness about Guantánamo, he did not provide further information, leaving Americans still misinformed. In a commentary, a WT author claimed that Obama wanted Yemenis to go home while, as the author claimed, “there is every reason to think many will return to wage jihad against us [...]” presenting them as an imminent threat if released and misinterpreting the term “jihad” which generally means an internal struggle for a Muslim with his or her faith.¹⁸³ Another commentary disclosed the names of Taliban leaders that might be transferred in exchange for an American sergeant being held by the Taliban. However, the newspaper pointed out that the Taliban is not to be trusted because of “the beheadings, commonplace acid and stoning attacks on women and girls, ‘infidels’ and anyone else who got in their way was nothing short of medieval.”¹⁸⁴ Making assumptions, the author believed that because of such cultural rituals that are “foreign,” the practitioners are not to be trusted. The author judged another culture according to his or her own norms which leads, as Hall explains, to the belief that the “other” is subordinate.¹⁸⁵

The newspapers also presented different views on detainees’ rights. All, except *The New York Post* (NYP), referred to the fact that Obama is a former lecturer of constitutional law.¹⁸⁶ While they did not elaborate on this, it implied that Obama knows a lot about the law, and the WT stated that despite this, he has “an interesting viewpoint” on the Constitution, claiming that Obama is “helping those who are out to destroy us” by willing to grant constitutional rights to detainees.¹⁸⁷ The newspaper adopted “us versus them” rhetoric and implied that providing rights to detainees would work against the U.S. In contrast, the liberal NYT and WP highlighted that detainees’ rights were invaded. In an op-ed, the NYT reported how security measures

¹⁸¹ WT 3.

¹⁸² WT 4.

¹⁸³ WT 5.

¹⁸⁴ WT 8.

¹⁸⁵ See Hall, *Representation*, 258.

¹⁸⁶ NYT 1, WP 5, WT 3.

¹⁸⁷ WT 3.

at Guantánamo prevent many from seeing their lawyers. Even a phone call has to take place at a specific location and before detainees are brought there, guards search the private parts of a detainee for contraband. According to the article, the military is aware that this “violates the detainees’ Muslim faith” and is consciously used against the detainees who will often refuse private search and consequently their right to see their lawyer.¹⁸⁸ The NYT considered this an “inhumane situation.”¹⁸⁹ The NYT deemed the detainees’ treatment important, revealing “othering” of the detainees by the administration who took advantage of the detainees’ faith to deny them basic rights. The WP observed that the hunger strikes of the detainees, to which Obama responded in his speech, “highlighted the legal ambiguities surrounding their detention.”¹⁹⁰ Some attorneys of the detainees, quoted by the WP, believed that the hunger strikers started in response to “newly aggressive searches by guards that involved the manhandling of Korans.”¹⁹¹ According to the military, Muslim cultural advisers conducted these searches.¹⁹² In another article concerning hunger strikes, the WP quoted detainees’ attorneys who “said [that] despair is widespread among the detainees because of their indefinite detention,” linking the protests to the detainees’ legal position.¹⁹³ The WP also cited a rights organizations which criticized force-feeding detainees because they “have a right to fast, even to death, if they are of clear mind.”¹⁹⁴ Here, both the liberal NYT and WP showed that the detainees at Guantánamo are “othered” by the government through their lack of rights and their treatment. Even though these articles did not consist of primarily the human interest frame, these newspaper humanized the detainees by showing their despair.

In contrast, the WT focused not on detainees’ rights but on those of the Americans. In a commentary, it stated:

The president has repeatedly invoked “core values” as reasons for closing [Guantánamo]. [...] However, shouldn’t our “core values” reflect our right to be protected against all enemies – foreign and domestic? [...] Instead, [Obama and his supporters] would rather focus their efforts on securing constitutional rights for

¹⁸⁸ NYT 6.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ WP 2.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ WP 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

Sept. 11 co-conspirators [...]. The Constitution doesn't say anything about civilian trials for foreign terrorists, though it does focus on protecting Americans.¹⁹⁵

Also, in other commentaries, the WT believed that detainees do not deserve constitutional rights which they would only “use to our detriment.”¹⁹⁶ In general, the WT advised Obama to focus on “how to protect Americans, not the Taliban and Gitmo detainees.”¹⁹⁷ The NYP did not report much on these topics. In the few articles concerning the press conference, it merely reported what Obama said and did not discuss the rights of detainees.

Conclusion

My hypothesis was as follows: All newspapers look at detainees' treatment as a result of the hunger strikes. All emphasize that there is not a clear solution. The conservative newspapers are Orientalist in assuming “us versus them” rhetoric and their depiction of the (former) detainees who are inherently dangerous and cannot go somewhere else. The liberal newspapers point out “othering” on part of the government because of its reluctance to close the prison and limitation of detainees' rights. This hypothesis was partly confirmed by my findings, which I will discuss here.

The NYT and WP pointed out Orientalism on the part of the Obama administration. Both emphasized how the government violated detainees' rights. The government is concerned with putting the detainees safely away, rather than releasing those who are not charged for anything, as the NYT showed. This confirms Guantánamo's status as “other” because its aim is not to rehabilitate detainees like prisons usually do. Also, the NYT explained that the military knowingly “othered” them by violating the Muslim faith through obligatory private searches. The Obama administration also “othered” the detainees by judging them as a threat if they would be released. The WP noted however that there is a low percentage of recidivists, and that the current administration reviewed less cases of detainees than the Bush administration. The NYT did not contradict that some detainees are too dangerous to release, and could therefore pose a threat. The WP demonstrated that detainees' rights

¹⁹⁵ WT 3.

¹⁹⁶ WT 5.

¹⁹⁷ WT 8.

to refuse food and even their right to death were neglected. Yet, in one article it represented conditions at Guantánamo as “lenient” compared to federal prisons, neglecting that detainees are denied rights at Guantánamo. These newspapers showed how the administration “othered” the detainees. The military violated the detainees’ faith and used Islam to oppress the detainees. The administration employed vague accusations of possible future crimes to keep the detainees indefinitely at Guantánamo. In doing so, the administration represented the detainees and the Orient as a danger, a place where former detainees will likely resort to violence again.

The WT adopted a similar perspective, representing the detainees as potential danger for the U.S. It adopted an Orientalist perspective in stating that released detainees could wage a jihad “against us.” The newspaper wrongly used the term “jihad” not knowing this is an inner struggle with one’s faith, which not specifically concerns another party. This “us versus them” rhetoric was also part of the newspapers’ belief about U.S. superiority. It condemned the Taliban’s actions such as beheadings and stoning as medieval, and thus uncivilized, while this information appeared to be based on the author’s assumptions about life in the Middle East. It reflected what Said explains as “the Orient . . . insinuating danger [and] [r]ationality is undermined by Eastern excesses.”¹⁹⁸ It is also an example of knowledge about the Orient and therefore power over the Orient through its representation as a “backward” culture. The WT again asserted U.S. superiority believing that the rights of Americans are paramount to the rights of the detainees.

The NYP largely left out the representation of detainees and did not address their treatment at Guantánamo at all. This is contrary to what I anticipated. Significantly, the NYP also published fewer articles about Obama’s promise and the consequences of his failure to close Guantánamo. It could suggest that the NYP did not regard Obama’s renewed promise to close the prison and the treatment of the detainees as newsworthy, focusing rather on other issues. Although Hall’s discussion of the exclusion of the “other” is about what is considered normal and deviant, here one can take exclusion literally. While representation often involves a perception of reality, never the truth, no representation at all is arguably worse because it can mean that these people do need to be represented and do not matter at all. Except the WP, the rest of the newspapers did not use the opinions of (former) detainees or their

¹⁹⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 57.

lawyers. Partly, the newspapers relied on their own knowledge to tell the story while also relying on governmental or military sources. Such limited range of sources seriously limited knowledge of Islam and the Middle East that these newspapers presented, which often led to usage of Orientalist tropes in the articles. Moreover, not using another source to confirm statements of the government could lead to a one-sided and simplified perspective. Said explains that the media often reach a consensus in the news that they distribute as they aim for the same audience. This consensus also sets limits because, as a result, a journalist “does not feel it [is] necessary to go [beyond the consensus].¹⁹⁹ Stories that might not be in the interest of those in power are therefore less likely to be reported.

¹⁹⁹ Said, *Covering Islam*, 50.

CONCLUSION

The final conclusion will make use of the chapters and their conclusions to address the main research question and the implications of my findings. This thesis showed how Guantánamo Bay is “other” as a prison and analyzed three case studies concerning Guantánamo Bay in order to see whether Orientalism and “othering” was part of the way *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Post*, and *The Washington Times* covered stories about the detainees of the detention center as well as their treatment.

The main focus of this thesis is the representation of the detainees and their treatment in the media. I found that, generally, the liberal newspapers only to some extent adopted an Orientalist perspective in their representations of the incidents. There were some generalization in use of words, assumptions about anti-Americanism and extremism, the perpetuation of what officials claimed without any opposite source, and a few instances of “us versus them” rhetoric. However, it became clear that the conservative newspapers used Orientalist tropes to much greater extent. Their tone was noticeably different, more opinionated, and superior. The two conservative newspapers often “othered” the detainees by making use of “us versus them” or “East versus West” rhetoric. My findings on the conservative newspapers confirm what scholars Kumar and Karabell found: that the media depict Muslims as fanatic and their religion as irrational. The representations of the detainees were largely negative. When the media distribute such representations, it is likely that (parts of) the public takes over such one-sided opinions.

What I found worrisome is the lack of actual representation of the (former) detainees. There were only a few instances in which the newspapers quoted them or their lawyers, but this was very limited. Information came primarily from sources who believed to have knowledge about the realities of the detainees or their countries of origin but, in the end, these representations of the detainees are always biased. The detainees are likely to be simplified, stereotyped, or judged. I found this as well in my analysis. A lot of statements were followed by little or without any evidence to support them. Also, statements of officials in power were often repeated. The newspapers used many officials as a source, often without explanation or a counter-narrative. As Said and Hall explain, these power-knowledge relations emphasize what is different and therefore “other” and representations lead to simplification,

subordination or even dehumanization. While it was difficult to see whether detainees were dehumanized through representation, the tone and choice of words in especially *The New York Post* came close to this (by defining the detainees as “rats” and “worms” for example). Both conservative newspapers evidently presented the detainees as inferior, depicting the detainees’ origin and religion as irrational and sometimes even backward.

Additionally, I investigated whether the media live up to their responsibility of being the fourth estate and bringing attention to the treatment of the detainees and holding the government accountable for this. The first chapter argued how Guantánamo Bay as a prison was “other.” The government specifically chose a location outside U.S. territory and consequently “othered” the detainees through lack of rights as well as through their classification as “enemy combatants.” I used these findings to analyze whether the newspapers also found that detainees were “othered” and whether they brought attention to the treatment of the detainees and held the government accountable. The purpose of the media as the fourth estate is to hold those in power in check and investigate whether their claims are true. The liberal newspapers did this by exposing some of the Orientalist tropes of the government. In the second chapter, the newspapers showed how the government “othered” detainees through a lack of rights for the detainees and the newspapers were critical of U.S. power in its conduct of Guantánamo. The articles I discussed in the third and fourth chapter were mostly written in a responsibility frame, commenting on both the media’s and the President’s responsibilities. *The Washington Post* noticed, for instance, how the government shifted attention away from its actions by focusing on *Newsweek* and, therefore, the newspaper demonstrated how detainees were treated as “other” in the prison because of their faith. *The News York Times* criticized Obama for not addressing the (lack of) rights of the detainees. The conservative newspapers did not focus as much on the government. *The New York Post* argued, for example, that the media perceived the military as the enemy by being critical, and *The Washington Times* was more concerned with the threat detainees would be when released. It is important that the media remain critical towards the government because the government often only presents what is in its own interest. The media have to bring attention to what the public does not see, such as the treatment of the detainees at Guantánamo Bay. While this happened to some extent, I find the newspapers still

complacent with the information the administration distributed. It remains unclear whether Guantánamo is the “least worst” for the detainees.

I also stated that I would look at the broader consequences of the three incidents and the representation of the detainees for perspectives on the East and the West. Especially the chapter on *Newsweek*'s publication showed the broader perspectives on the East and West as the incident resulted in riots in the Middle East. The articles abounded in assumptions about the Orient as well as generalizations about the religion of the detainees and accusations of anti-Americanism. Said argues that the negative aspect about representations of Islam is more prevalent, and this is also the case in the third chapter on the desecration of the Koran. This might be reasonable as the incident concerned violence; however, coverage on Islam could be more balanced and more explanatory so less remains unclear, not leaving room for assumptions about Islam. Yet, the liberal newspapers also used this incident to address the larger issues around Guantánamo.

This thesis is not comprehensive and further research can be done about this topic of representation of Guantánamo detainees in U.S. newspapers. A wider range of different U.S. newspapers could be included (such as newspapers with a more central political affiliation), analysis of case studies of every year since the opening of Guantánamo, and subsequently more articles could be consulted. The detention center is still open, and new stories emerge almost every day. More research on these stories will inform readers on how the media represent the ongoing issues at Guantánamo Bay.

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Appendix A:

	Frames:					Total:
	Conflict	Eco. Consq.	Responsibility	Human Interest	No frame identified	
NYT	6	6	3	1		16
WP	6	3	3	1	2	15
NYP	6	5	3	2	1	17
WT	7	6	1			14

Date	Article & Newspaper	Coding	Frame	Findings
01-04-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Prisoners; U.S. May Move Some Detainees to Domestic Military Bases (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 1	Economic Consequences	Which place best, Walker, officials, categories
01-07-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Prisoners; Troops Arrive at Base in Cuba to Build Jails (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 2	Economic Consequences	Officials, no commentary, max security detainees
01-11-2002	A Nation Challenged: Military; U.S. Is Taking War Captives to Cuba Base (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: James Dao	NYT 3	Conflict	Us-Them, Amnesty little commentary
01-12-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Prisoners; First Unlawful Combatants' Seized in Afghanistan Arrive at U.S. Base in Cuba (<i>NYT</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 4	Conflict	Us-Them, Walker, detainees nothing special
01-13-2002	A Nation Challenged: Prisoners; U.S. Holding British Subject in Detention at Cuba Base (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye and Thom Shanker	NYT 5	Economic Consequences	West-East, Britons criticism rights organization
01-14-2002	A Nation Challenged: Guantanamo Bay; In Cuba, Muted Acceptance Greets Presence of Prisoners (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: The New York Times	NYT 6	Economic Consequences	Superiority, power Cuba powerless
01-17-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Captives; On Defensive, General Says Prisoners Gets Mats, Even Bagels (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 7	Economic Consequences	Nationalities, not aware place, rights organizations
01-18-2002	A Nation Challenged: Captives; Red Cross Team Will Examine Prisoners From Afghanistan (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 8	Responsibility	Conditions and treatment, Rumsfeld
01-20-2002	A Nation Challenged: Detainees; For America's Captives, Home Is a Camp in Cuba, With Goggles and a Koran (<i>NYT</i>) By: Katharine Q Seelye	NYT 9	Human interest	Interviews, us-them, difference, assumptions
01-20-2002	Front Lines; 'Least Worst' Place Also a Most Peculiar One (<i>The New York Times</i>)	NYT 10	Conflict	US-Cuba, symbol of power, opinion

	By: Anthony DePalma			
01-22-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Prisoners; Britain Defends U.S. Treatment of Detainees at Guantanamo (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Philip Shenon	NYT 11	Responsibility	Britons, treatment, Rumsfeld
01-23-2002	A Nation Challenged: Captives; Rumsfeld Defends Treatment By U.S. of Cuba Detainees (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seely	NYT 12	Conflict	Criticism, power, prevent terrorism
01-26-2002	A Nation Challenged: Captives; Criticized, US Brings Visitors to Prison Camp (<i>NYT</i>) By: Katharine Q Seely	NYT 13	Responsibility	Cheney dismisses criticism, power
01-26-2002	Captives And the Law (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Anthony Lewis	NYT 14	Conflict	Us-Them, US power
01-27-2002	A Nation Challenged: The Treatment; Prisoners Straddle an Ideological Chasm <i>NYT</i> By: David E. Sanger	NYT 15	Conflict	Commentary, label, image U.S.
01-28-2002	A Nation Challenged: Captives; Detainees Are Not P.O.W.'s, Cheney and Rumsfeld Declare (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q Seely	NYT 16	Economic Consequences	No counter argument, interrogation
01-09-2002	Afghan Prisoners Going to Gray Area; Military Unsure What Follows Transfer to U.S. Base in Cuba (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Steve Vogel	WP 1	Economic Consequences	Categories, Cuba as place, legal specialists, Walker
01-09-2002	Preparing For Role in War on Terror; Navy Base in Cuba to House Taliban, Al Qaeda Detainees (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Sue Anne Pressley	WP 2	Economic Consequences	Preparation, Cuba as place, military officials
01-11-2002	U.S. Takes Hooded, Shackled Detainees To Cuba (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Steve Vogel	WP 3	Economic Consequences	Walker different, Amnesty, officials
01-13-2002	At Guantanamo Bay, a Peaceful Night; Afghan War Detainees Sleep Soundly After 27-Hour, 8,000-Mile Trip (<i>WP</i>) By: Sue Anne Pressley	WP 4	Human interest	Identity detainees, classification, officials
01-16-2002	Treatment of Detainees in Cuba Questioned; Human Rights Groups Urge U.S. to Declare Taliban, Al Qaeda Members POWs (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: John Mintz	WP 5	Responsibility	Rights organizations, Us-Them, religion
01-17-2002	U.S. Pressed on Detainees' Treatment; Concern Grows Abroad About Rights of Al Qaeda, Taliban Fighters Held in Cuba <i>WP</i> By: T.R. Reid	WP 6	Conflict	Britons, reactions different nations, rights
01-22-2002	U.S. Sends Muslim Chaplain to Detainees; Driver Reports Taliban Leader Barely Eluded Bombs in War's First Days (<i>WP</i>) By: Bradley Graham	WP 7	No frame identified	Walker, officials as sources, treatment

01-22-2002	British Find No Abuse of U.S. Captives At Cuba Base; Government Counters Depictions by Media (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: T.R. Reid	WP 8	Conflict	U.S. power, Us-Them, commentary
01-23-2002	U.S. Defends Prisoners' Treatment; Conditions Humane, Consistent With Global Pacts, Rumsfeld Says (<i>WP</i>) By: John Mintz and Bradley Graham	WP 9	Conflict	Rumsfeld main source, Walker, classification
01-24-2002	Prisoner Flights to Cuba on Hold; Potential Overcrowding and International Criticism Cited (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Steve Vogel	WP 10	No frame identified	Officials as sources
01-25-2002	The Guantanamo Story (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Author unknown	WP 11	Responsibility	Editorial, critical of US handling of Gitmo
01-25-2002	The Jackals Are Wrong; Terrorists? Yes. Prisoners of War? No Way. (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Charles Krauthammer	WP 12	Conflict	Editorial, US superior, Us-Them, not about justice
01-26-2002	Delegations Praise Detainees' Treatment; Diet, Medical Care Good, Legislators Say By: John Mintz	WP 13	Responsibility	Governmental officials
01-27-2002	Tough Lessons in a Free Press; Sensitive Officials Plead for More Flattering Coverage (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Author unknown	WP 14	Conflict	Mostly about Afghanistan
01-29-2002	Most Detainees Are Saudis, Prince Says; Return to Kingdom is Sought; Bush Pledges Case-by-Case Decisions (<i>WP</i>) By: John Mintz	WT 15	Conflict	US superiority, detainees other, Bush source
01-07-2002	Guantanamo Ho! U.S. Forces Head to Cuba For Guard Duty (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Author unknown	NYP 1	Responsibility	Castro, military officials
01-07-2002	Taliban Twosome Cuffed, Stuffed & Facing a Grilling (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: John Lehmann	NYP 2	No frame identified	Walker, intelligence
01-11-2002	Cuba-'Bound' POWS Aboard Prison Plane (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 3	Responsibility	conditions, safety for military
01-12-2002	Welcome Home, Unhappy Campers: First And Worst of Taliban Terror Thugs Land At Cuban Base (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 4	Economic Consequences	Treatment, Walker different, media restricted
01-16-2002	Lessons in Survival (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Author unknown	NYP 5	Conflict	Us-Them comparison by Rumsfeld
01-18-2002	A Glimpse Inside Cuba's Camp X-Ray (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 6	Economic Consequences	Praying, quotes by army, bagels
01-20-2002	Fidel's Bro: Terror Captives No Problema (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Andy Geller	NYP 7	Economic Consequences	Castro, no commentary or response by Cubans

01-21-2002	Rumsfeld: Jail Not So Terror-ble (<i>NYP</i>) By: Megan Turner	NYP 8	Conflict	Hard-core terrorists, treatment
01-22-2002	Torturing The Truth: Let's Not Forget The Real Victims (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Steve Dunleavy	NYP 9	Human interest	Us-Them, firefighters, 9/11 victims
01-22-2002	Blair: Brit Prisoners Have 'No Complaints' (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 10	Conflict	British officials, other nations
01-23-2002	Riled Rumsfeld Fires Back At Camp Critics (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 11	Conflict	Rumsfeld v. critics uninformed
01-26-2002	Cheney's X-Ray' View: Cuban Ally Too Good for Terror Thugs (<i>NYP</i>) By: Brian Blomquist	NYP 12	Economic Consequences	Us-Them, better conditions, official
01-27-2002	POWs Recall Real Jails: Camp X-Ray Nothing Like What They Survived (<i>NYP</i>) By: Brad Hunter	NYP 13	Human interest	Us-Them, good conditions
01-28-2002	Note To Geneva' Whiners: These Rats Bite (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Steve Dunleavy	NYP 14	Responsibility	Commentary, treatment, "worms"
01-28-2002	Terrorists Aren't Soldiers (<i>NYP</i>) By: Author unknown	NYP 15	Conflict	Us-Them
01-29-2002	Saudis: 100 Of Our Citizens Are Gitmo Jailbirds (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Niles Lathem	NYP 16	Conflict	Multiple nationalities
01-30-2002	Dem On Gitmo: I've Seen Worse (<i>NYP</i>) By: Post Wire Services	NYP 17	Economic Consequences	Other prisons U.S. worse
01-02-2002	The Unusual Suspects (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Author unknown	WT 1	Conflict	Editorial, East v. West, power, Saudi
01-08-2002	Pentagon Gets Tight-Lipped About Hunt For Terror Leaders (<i>WT</i>) By: Bill Gertz	WT 2	Conflict	Not so much related to Guantanamo
01-11-2002	The Taliban in Cuba (<i>WT</i>) By: Author unknown	WT 3	Conflict	Editorial, Us-Them Castro, assumption
01-11-2002	Terrorists Taken To Guantanamo; U.S. to Question Detainees in Cuba (<i>WT</i>) By: Rowan Scarborough	WT 4	Economic Consequences	Officials, intelligence tools, Walker
01-16-2002	Ghostly Reminders at Guantanamo (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Georgie Anne Geyer	WT 5	Responsibility	Editorial, US power, Castro, Cuba
01-17-2002	Prisoner's Status Questioned (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: David R. Sands and Richard S. Ehrlich	WT 6	Conflict	Different sources on treatment (legal)
01-18-2002	Rumsfeld Offers Four Options for Taliban Fighters; No Release for Detainees in Cuba (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Rowan Scarborough	WT 7	Economic Consequences	Classification, Walker, officials
01-21-2002	Blair Hopes U.S. Will Hold British Terror Suspects (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Paul Martin	WT 8	Economic Consequences	Britons, treatment, consequences
01-22-2002	No Beards, No Fleas, and Unhappy Allies (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Wesley Pruden	WT 9	Conflict	Editorial, civilization, Us-Them, East West, superiority

01-23-2002	Greetings from Camp X-Ray; Sound and Fury Over Treatment of Al Qaeda Prisoners (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Helle Dale	WT 10	Conflict	Editorial, U.S. v. Europe, officials, treatment
01-23-2002	Rumsfeld Insists U.S. Not Harming Cuba Detainees (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Bill Gertz	WT 11	Conflict	Walker, officials, other nations, uninformed, intelligence
01-24-2002	Terrorists, Not Soldiers (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Author unknown	WT 12	Economic Consequences	Editorial, Us-Them classification
01-29-2002	Al Qaeda and the Taliban; Unlawful Combatants Deserve Camp X-Ray (<i>WT</i>) By: Lee A. Casey and David B. Rivkin Jr.	WT 13	Economic Consequences	Editorial, explains classification
01-30-2002	Camp X-Ray or Club Med? (<i>WT</i>) By: Debra J. Saunders	WT 14	Economic Consequences	Editorial, condition treatment

APPENDIX B:

	Frames:					Total:
	Conflict	Eco. Consq.	Responsibility	Human Interest	No frame identified	
NYT	2	2	7	1	3	15
WP	3		10		2	15
NYP	2	1	4	2		9
WT	8		1	1	1	11

Date	Article & Newspaper	Coding	Frame	Findings
13-05-2005	Protests Against U.S. Spread Across Afg-anistan (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Carlotte Gall	NYT 1	Conflict	violence, officials demonstrators, focus not on Koran
16-05-2005	Newsweek Apologizes for Report of Koran Insult (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q. Seele	NYT 2	Responsibility	officials, different sides, not detainees
17-05-2005	Newsweek Says It Is Retracting Koran Report (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q. Seele and Neil A. Lewis	NYT 3	Responsibility	image U.S., treatment detainees, quotes ex-detainee
18-05-2005	Outrage and Silence (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Thomas L. Friedman	NYT 4	Responsibility	Editorial, east v. West, power
18-05-2005	White House Presses Newsweek in Wake of Koran Report (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Elisabeth Bumiller	NYT 5	Responsibility	official, blame media, truth desecration
20-05-2005	Red Cross Reported Koran Abuses (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Katharine Q. Seele	NYT 6	Conflict	different opinions treatment prisoners
21-05-2005	Guantanamo Comes to Define U.S. to Muslims (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Somini Sengupta and Salman Masood	NYT 7	Economic Consequences	U.S. symbol, different opinions impact power, sentiment
26-05-2005	Documents Say Detainees Cited Abuse of Koran (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Neil A. Lewis	NYT 8	No frame identified	different opinions report
27-05-2005	Inquiry by U.S. Reveals 5 Cases of Koran Harm (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Thomas Shanker	NYT 9	No frame identified	official as source, no opposites
30-05-2005	America, A Symbol Of... (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Bob Herbert	NYT 10	Economic Consequences	editorial, U.S. image, power
31-05-2005	Cheney Backs Handling Of Detainees At Cuba Base (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Brian Knowlton	NYT 11	No frame identified	official as sources
04-06-2005	Military Details Koran Incidents At Base in Cuba (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Eric Schmitt	NYT 12	Responsibility	officials about report, no other sources
05-06-2005	Military Guards in Training Face Their First Riot at Home (<i>The New York Times</i>)	NYT 13	Human Interest	stories military about rules

	By: Eric Schmitt			
09-06-2005	Rumsfeld Says Guantanamo Isn't Being Considered for Closing (<i>NYT</i>) By: Thomas Shanker	NYT 14	Responsibility	Rumsfeld, focus U.S. not detainees
14-06-2005	Cheney Calls Guantanamo Prison Essential (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Elisabeth Bumiller	NYT 15	Responsibility	recidivism, image, official: Gitmo positive
14-05-2005	Pentagon Probes Detainee Reports of Koran Dumping (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: John Mintz	WP 1	No frame identified	accusations and officials' reactions
14-05-2005	Afghan Protests Spread: Eight More Killed in Anti-U.S. Riots (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: N.C. Aizenman and Robin Wright	WP 2	Conflict	officials, power, religion, Saudi
16-05-2005	Newsweek Apologizes: Inaccurate Report on Koran Led to Riots (<i>WP</i>) By: Howard Kurtz	WP 3	Responsibility	officials, surprised, media blunders
17-05-2005	U.S. Long Had Memo on Handling of Koran (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Robin Wright	WP 4	No frame identified	rules treatment Koran are older
17-05-2005	Newsweek Retracts Guantanamo Story: Item on Koran Sparked Deadly Protests By: Howard Kurtz	WP 5	Responsibility	image, officials, blame
18-05-2005	Blaming the Messenger (<i>WP</i>) By: Anne Applebaum	WP 6	Responsibility	editorial, treatment offensive, exceptionalism
20-05-2005	Red Cross Says It Told U.S. in 2002 About Alleged Mishandling of Koran (<i>WP</i>) By: Carol D. Leonning	WP 7	Responsibility	respect religion, Red Cross findings
22-05-2005	Yet Another Wake-Up Call (<i>WP</i>) By: Michael Getler	WP 8	Responsibility	editorial, lesson journalism, image
26-05-2005	Inmates Alleged Koran Abuse: FBI Papers Cite Complaints as Early as 2002 (<i>WP</i>) By: Dan Eggen and Josh White	WP 9	Conflict	different opinions, Amnesty, religion
27-05-2005	Pentagon Confirms Koran Incidents: Mishandling' Cases Preceded Guidelines Established in 2003 (<i>WP</i>) By: Jos White and Dan Eggen	WP 10	Responsibility	military played down mistreatment but confirmed
27-05-2005	Assault On the Media (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: E.J. Dionne Jr.	WP 11	Responsibility	editorial, attention away of treatment power govt
28-05-2005	Muslims Rally Over Koran Report: Alleged Desecration Leads to Protests in Several Countries (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Daniel Williams and Kamran Khan	WP 12	Conflict	reactions of different countries, religion
04-06-2005	Pentagon Details Abuse of Koran: Detainees' Holy Books Were Kicked, Got Wet By: Josh White and Dan Eggen	WP 13	Responsibility	different sources, lawyer, power
05-06-2005	Pentagon Details Mishandling of Koran: 5 Cases Confirmed at Guantanamo Bay: Report of Flushing Found to be False (<i>WP</i>)	WP 14	Responsibility	officials, lawyer

	By: Josh White and Dan Eggen			
09-06-2005	Guantanamo Bay Prison Could Close, Bush Hints (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Peter Baker	WP 15	Responsibility	symbol, image, officials, Amnesty
17-05-2005	Unfit To Print - Newsweek's Real Mistake (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: John Podhoretz	NYP 1	Responsibility	blame Newsweek, decide importance
17-05-2005	Editors in Flush To Judgment (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Steve Dunleavy	NYP 2	Responsibility	blame Newsweek tone, knowledge
17-05-2005	Newsweek's Malfeasance (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Author Unknown	NYP 3	Conflict	enemy, us v. them, extremism, media saw U.S. as enemy
17-05-2005	Mag Dead Wrong - Newsweek Retracts Koran-Toilet Story (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Deborah Orin	NYP 4	Economic Consequences	officials, "bogus" report & conseq
18-05-2005	Newsweek Weasels (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Author Unknown	NYP 5	Responsibility	damaged image, army as enemy, no blame Pentagon
18-05-2005	U.S. Mops Up Mag's Big Mess: Spreads Newsweek Retract (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Deborah Orin	NYP 6	Responsibility	editorial, officials, media blamed
23-05-2005	Newsweek Vows Curb on Sources (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Deborah Orin	NYP 7	Conflict	factual
27-05-2005	Amnesty's Idiocy - Absurd Talk On Detainees (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: John Podhoretz	NYP 8	Human Interest	comparison gulag, Gitmo different
29-05-2005	True Tales From Gitmo (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Derooy Murdock	NYP 9	Human Interest	usefulness detainee Gitmo comfortable
13-05-2005	Koran Flushing Not Confirmed (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Guy Taylor	WT 1	Conflict	officials as source, about incident
17-05-2005	Know Thine Enemy (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Frank Gaffney Jr.	WT 2	Conflict	editorial, us / them, enemy, threat islam
17-05-2005	Newsweek Retracts Article On U.S. Disrespect of Koran (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Bill Sammon	WT 3	Conflict	image, officials as sources
18-05-2005	Mainstream-media Bombshell (<i>WT</i>) By: Helle Dale	WT 4	Responsibility	op-ed, image, religion detainees, not about treatment
23-05-2005	More Than the Koran (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Suzanne Fields	WT 5	Conflict	op-ed, religious understanding, East-West
24-05-2005	Psssst, You Wanna Hear a Good Insult? (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Wesley Pruden	WT 6	Conflict	commentary, other conflicts, negative on life in "arabia"
30-05-2005	General Slams Amnesty Report (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Audrey Hudson	WT 7	Human Interest	official as source critical on gulag
03-06-2005	Honor Thy Koran (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Guy Taylor	WT 8	Conflict	officials as source critical of media
04-06-2005	Military Releases Koran-abuse Findings	WT 9	No frame	facts on incidents,

	<i>(The Washington Times)</i> By: Guy Taylor		identified	official source
07-06-2005	Amnesty's Incredible Credibility (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: The Washington Times	WT 10	Conflict	editorial, pro-Bush, gulag comparison
07-06-2005	The Sawdust Trail at Guantanamo (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Wesley Pruden	WT 11	Conflict	religious generalizat ion, gulag compare

APPENDIX C:

	Frames:					Total:
	Conflict	Eco. Consq.	Responsibility	Human Interest	No frame identified	
NYT	2	2	8			12
WP	4	3	4		1	12
NYP	1		2		3	6
WT	1	2	4		1	8

Date	Article & Newspaper	Coding	Frame	Findings
01-05-2013	Bottoms Up, Lame Duck (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Maureen Dowd	NYT 1	Responsibility	op-ed, issue of rights, power president
01-05-2013	Obama Renews Effort To Close Prison In Cuba (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Charlie Savage	NYT 2	Responsibility	Obama source, transfer give hope, no policy for release
04-05-2013	Send Judges to Guantanamo, Then Shut It (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Bruce Ackerman and Eugene R. Fidell	NYT 3	Responsibility	op-ed, Obama should use power to find solution/blunder
24-05-2013	Heckled by an Activist, But Getting the Last Word (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Michael D. Shear	NYT 4	Responsibility	speech interrupted by activist
24-05-2013	Reviving Debate On Nation's Security, Obama Seeks To Narrow Terror Fight (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Peter Baker	NYT 5	Conflict	Obama as source, limited authority difference w/ Bush
25-05-2013	Obama's Gitmo Problem (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Joe Nocera	NYT 6	Responsibility	op-ed, violation faith, inhumane, close
27-05-2013	Republicans Say Obama's Strategy Shows Misunderstanding of Terrorist Threat (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Sheryl Gay Stolberg	NYT 7	Responsibility	Obama limit power opinions Democrat and Republicans
03-06-2013	Roadblocks Limit Scope for Change (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Albert R. Hunt	NYT 8	Responsibility	speech Obama, Congress worsens it
17-06-2013	Kerry Associate Chosen for Post On Closing Guantánamo Prison (<i>NYT</i>) By: Charlie Savage	NYT 9	Responsibility	official sources, danger of transfer
18-06-2013	Justice Dept. Releases Recommended Fates for Guantánamo Detainees (<i>NYT</i>) By: Charlie Savage	NYT 10	Economic Consequences	not charged, abuse O. not waive cases
21-06-2013	Taliban Talks Could Depend On Detainees (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Charlie Savage	NYT 11	Conflict	explanation of exchange detainees, no commentary
25-06-2013	Bill Allowing Detainees To Be Moved Advances (<i>The New York Times</i>) By: Charlie Savage	NYT 12	Economic Consequences	did not waive case but more effort to close facility
01-05-2013	Guantanamo, Again (<i>The Washington Post</i>)	WP 1	Responsibility	editorial, blame inaction Obama, less

	By: Editorial Board			review cases
01-05-2013	Obama Will Try To Shut Guantanamo (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Scott Wilson; Zachary A. Foldfarb	WP 2	Responsibility	factual on Obama speech, legal ambiguities, attorneys
03-05-2013	If the President wants to Close Guantanamo, He Should Offer a Plan (WP) By: Author Unknown	WP 3	Responsibility	editorial, Obama not approach committee to close it
05-05-2013	5 Myths about Guantanamo Bay (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Karen Greenberg	WP 4	Economic Consequences	commentary, few violent released, lenient conditions
19-05-2013	Obama to Address Security Measures (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Scott Wilson	WP 5	No frame identified	Obama as source, facts, no comment
24-05-2013	New Guantanamo Plan Faces Same High Hurdles (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Peter Finn; Julie Tate	WP 6	Conflict	need help Congress officials/rights org
24-05-2013	A Conflict of U.S. Values and Security (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Scott Wilson	WP 7	Conflict	Obama failed to make change
25-05-2013	A 2009 Redux on Guantanamo (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Peter Finn; Scott Wilson	WP 8	Economic Consequences	legacy Obama, he must act
07-06-2013	Number of Protesting Guantanamo Bay Detainees Being Force-fed Grows to 41 (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Peter Finn	WP 9	Economic Consequences	no progress, unwillingness Obama, despair, Koran search
08-06-2013	Feinstein, McCain visit Guantanamo (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Rachel Weiner	WP 10	Responsibility	visit staff Obama at Guantanamo
18-06-2013	Hearings Open for 9/11 Suspects (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Peter Finn	WP 11	Conflict	torture, attorneys: experts, no death p
19-06-2013	U.S., Taliban to Start Talks (<i>The Washington Post</i>) By: Karen DeYoung	WP 12	Conflict	factual, talks about promoting peace
01-05-2013	Judge's Jab Jolts Obama at Suggestion He's Out of Steam (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Geoff Earle	NYP 1	Conflict	quotes from speech Obama
07-05-2013	City to Hold Court at a Safe Distance (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Bruce Golding	NYP 2	No frame identified	on plans for trial, no commentary
24-05-2013	War on Terror Obama Drones On and On ... Rethinks Lethal Force in Face of Civilian Casualties (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Geoff Earle	NYP 3	Responsibility	quotes speech, no commentary, nothing on treatment
26-05-2013	Obama's Split Personality (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Michael Goodwin	NYP 4	Responsibility	argues Obama focused on himself, us v. them, enemy
21-06-2013	Deal with the Devil Taliban offers to swap GI for Gitmo 5 (NYP) By: Andy Soltis	NYP 5	No frame identified	facts and names about exchange
28-06-2013	Can't Agree on Anything (<i>The New York Post</i>) By: Cindy Adams	NYP 6	No frame identified	on difference in general
01-05-2013	Despite Setbacks, Obama Asserts He's Still Relevant; Puts Blame on Congress	WT 1	Responsibility	Obama speech source, no comment

	for Policy Failures (<i>The Wash. Times</i>) By: Dave Boyer			
02-05-2013	The Perils of Duckhood; The President Insists that He's Relevant, not Lame (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: The Washington Times	WT 2	Responsibility	editorial, no determination Obama, afraid to be lame duck
23-05-2013	Wrong-Way' Obama; President champions Rights for Gitmo Detainees while Harrassing Americans (<i>The Wash. Times</i>) By: J.D. Gordon	WT 3	Responsibility	commentary, us-them, enemy, criticizes rights detainee
28-05-2013	U.S. Laws Keep Locks on Guantanamo Detainees; Obama not authorized to repatriate Citizens to Nation that Sponsor Terror (<i>The Washington Times</i>) By: Seth McLaughlin	WT 4	Conflict	symbolism, public informed on detainees, damage image
29-05-2013	Obama's Surrender; The President Would Rather Switch than Fight (<i>WT</i>) By: Frank J. Gaffney Jr.	WT 5	Responsibility	commentary, 'surrender speech', us-them, threat/enemy
06-06-2013	Playtime at Gitmo; 'Life Skills,' Typing and Art Appreciation for Terrorists (<i>WT</i>) By: The Washington Times	WT 6	Economic Consequences	editorial, critical on weather, food, workshops
14-06-2013	Senate Panel gives Obama flexibility on Transferring Detainees(<i>The Wash. Times</i>) By: Stephan Dinan	WT 7	No frame identified	facts, more power, but still restrictions
21-06-2013	The Peril Lurking in Trusting the Taliban; Guantanamo Prisoners should have no Place in Prisoner Swap(<i>The Wash. Times</i>) By: J.D. Gordon	WT 8	Economic Consequences	commentary, govt not transparent, Taliban medieval

MA Thesis

American Studies

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