

Chapter 1: Introduction

Evaluation in media reporting is the application of an interesting linguistic phenomenon upon an important genre. First of all, the idea of dealing with media reports is based upon the fact that we inevitably come across dozens of reports daily. We interact with reports when working on internet, when listening to the radio, when watching TV at home, etc. So, it is of great importance to understand reports not only at the surface level, but also at the deeper one. Specifically, it is of great importance to understand the evaluative patterns of language used in media reports, the role of the reporter in reporting and the perspective of the agency behind the reporting.

As for the concept of evaluation, it is in itself an interesting phenomenon, covering the expression of emotion and feeling, the evaluation of human character and behavior, and the evaluation of things and states of affairs. However, the function of evaluation is not only to determine whether each of these aspects is good or bad, positive or negative, approved or disapproved, etc. but also to construe the overall value of a given message which eventually leads to the construction of the perspective of the agent behind the message.

The question arises here is that “but why is evaluation important in media reporting?” The answer is clear, since a report is a type of discourse, evaluation is “an essential component of discourse” (Hunston, 1994: 191). Furthermore, since there is more than one voice or character in a report, through the use of evaluation the characters can “construct particular personae for themselves” (Editors’ introduction to Martin, 2000: 143). So, evaluation in media reporting is another step to further develop the study of evaluation. In this particular study, evaluation has upgraded not only to identify the

inscribed value of an evaluative item or proposition, but to identify the evaluative value in relation with a goal which is the subject in question in sets of chosen reports. Thereby, the study can determine the perspective of the agencies releasing the reports. So, whereas a politician or a journalist needs to politically study an agency's perspective, a linguist can find out this perspective from a different point of view and by a different means – evaluation.

This present study therefore is an intellectual application of an interesting linguistic phenomenon in an important genre. It is the application of evaluation in three sets of reports by three different media agencies namely BBC, CNN and Aljazeera. The subjects of the reports revolve around the same issue - 'the 5th anniversary of the Iraq war'. The aim at this sort of application is to bring about new findings in the study of evaluation. The study specifically seeks to answer the following questions:

- (1) What are the patterns of evaluation in the three sets of reports?
- (2) Are there any noticeable differences?
- (3) What kind of perspective can be constructed by the pattern of evaluation in each set?
- (4) How far can any differences in perspective be related to the social cultural context in which the texts were produced?

As for the structure of the dissertation, it is as follows: Chapter 2 is aimed to present a general introduction to evaluation, referring to the works of other researchers and offering new ideas and applications. It focuses on a certain model of evaluation which is appraisal with its three sub-divisions: affect, judgment and appreciation. The

chapter ends with an indication to evaluation in reports. Chapter 3 gives the detail of the materials to be analysed, the methods of analysing the materials and the problems encountered. The reason for choosing that materials are given, and the methodology and the encountered problems are explained with examples. Chapter 4, which is the core of the dissertation, is aimed to analyse the data and discuss the issues arise. It explores appraisal in nine chosen reports, sorting out the patterns of appraisal, the evaluative items, the evaluated entities or propositions and giving contextual values to the evaluations occurred. Accordingly, it explores the perspectives that can be constructed by the patterns and the values of the appraisal in each set of reports. It also explores the relationship between the perspectives and social cultural contexts in which the reports were produced. All this process has been carried out thoroughly and the analyses have been followed by justifiable and reasonable discussions. As a result of the analyses and the discussions, comparative lines will be drawn among the three chosen agencies. The chapter ends with the results achieved from a questionnaire to look at the findings from two angles. Finally, Chapter 5 summarises the findings of Chapter 4, and offers suggestions and recommendations for further study in that area.

The dissertation ends with relevant appendices; the appendices of the table of the analyses in the nine reports as well as the full text of the nine reports.

Chapter 2: Relevant Research Background

This chapter is aimed to review the concept of evaluation that so far has been explored by other researchers. It specifically explores appraisal as one of the most interesting models in the study of evaluation. In this theoretical review, I shall try to develop this concept at least to adapt it in such a way that enables us to find out the overall value of a report, and not only the value of bits of language in that report.

2.1 Evaluation as appraisal

Evaluation can be studied through the system of evaluative lexis or phrases expressing good or bad, positive or negative opinion of the speaker or writer. The pioneer of this approach in the study of evaluation is Martin, whose “overall system of choices to describe this area of meaning potential is called [appraisal]” (Editors’ introduction to Martin, 2000: 142). Although in studying appraisal the focuses are on the lexical items, it does not necessarily mean that appraisal is a mechanical action, but “it is given full value both as a central aspect of evaluation and a vital part of the meaning negotiation that is at the heart of all communication” (Editors’ introduction to Martin, 2000: 143).

In the study of evaluation, the notion of appraisal is multi-functional dimension; it covers three different, but related systems, which are the “resources for modalising, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging (judgment) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)” (Martin, 1995: 28). In brief, Martin’s model for the study of evaluation is the collection the three aforementioned resources under the cover of appraisal.

A recent work on evaluation, however, suggests another model for the study of evaluation that contradicts Martin's one. In her recent work on evaluation, Bednarek delimits the term of evaluation, suggesting that "affect should not be considered a 'type' of evaluation" (Bednarek, 2006: 20). Her evidence is that "whereas evaluation deals with expression of opinion, the term *affect* is mostly used to talk about the expression of emotions and feelings" (Bednarek, 2006: 19). There can be two reasons for disputing this suggestion. Firstly, opinion (as the expression of evaluation) is often influenced by emotion and feelings (as two sources of affect), hence, they are overlapped. Secondly, she suggests that affect should not be regarded as a type of evaluation, but she does not suggest under what other super-ordinate affect is then to be studied.

Since the question is unanswered, and other writers approve Martin's category (see Thompson 2004: 76, Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 142, White & Martin, 2005: 1.3 and Wagner, 2000: 17, etc), affect and the two other systems (judgment and appreciation) of appraisal - Martin's model for the study of evaluation – will be subject in question in the present study.

2.1.1 Affect

It is a semantic system or source which specifically refers to one's emotional responses or reactions. To make it clear, "it is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?" (Martin & White, 2005: 42). According to Halliday (Halliday, 1994: 46), three bases constitute affect, namely; expressing 'quality', 'process' and 'comment'. Depending on his sub-categorisation, the following will be the details of the three constituents:

-expressing 'quality'

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| - describing participant | a happy student |
| - attributed to participant | the student is happy. |
| - manner of process | the student comes happily. |

-expressing 'process'

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| - affective mental | his arrival pleases him. |
| - affective behavioural | he laughed. |

- expressing 'comment'

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| - desiderative | happily, he arrives. |
|----------------|----------------------|

All the examples above express positive evaluation through affect appraisal. Another common characteristic among them is that the evaluation carried out not through describing the emotions of the writer/speaker but the emotions of other individuals, therefore the evaluation is "non-authorial affect" (White 2001: 1). Authorial affect, on the other hand, is an instance which "involves the writer/speaker indicating how they have responded emotionally to the person, thing, happening or situation being evaluated" (White 2001: 1). Examples of authorial affect are:

- I am happy.
- We miss you.

It is also possible that the writer or speaker brings their feelings and emotion together with the listener or reader's feelings and emotion via inclusive 'we', for example:

- As human beings, we all love our parents.

2.1.2 Judgment

Judgment can be defined as evaluating or judging people’s character or behaviour. “With judgment we move into the region of meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their behavior” (Martin and White, 2005: 52). The system of judgment is social-cultural specific; “it may construe someone’s behavior in positive or negative terms within a framework of social and ethical values” (Painter, 2003: 89).

When judging people, we assess to which extent they are unusual ‘normality’, to which extent they are capable ‘capacity’ and to which extent they are resolute ‘tenacity’. The three dimensions together stand for the judgment of social esteem. Moreover, we can also judge to which extent people are faithful ‘veracity’ and which extent they are ethical ‘propriety’. Veracity and propriety stand for the judgment of social sanction (Martin and White, 2005: 52). The following table explains all the types and sub-types of judgment with reference to the notion of being positive and/or negative:

Table 2.1. Types and sub-types of judgment (adapted from Martin 2005)

Types of judgment	Sub-types	Positive	Negative
Social esteem	Normality	fortunate	unfortunate
	Capacity	powerful	weak
	Tenacity	dependable	unreliable
Social sanction	Veracity	honest	dishonest
	Propriety	moral	immoral

Social esteem and social sanction are two different dimensions of human behavior and character. The former “involves admiration and criticism” (Martin, 2000: 156), that is, positive and negative evaluations. Whereas, the latter “involves praise and condemnation” (Martin, 2000: 156), once again positive and negative evaluations. The first one mostly affects ‘self’ rather than others. The second, on the other hand, affects the relationship between a person and the people around him/her. For example, somebody is *lucky* or *unfortunate* which are two social esteem characteristics that only affect the person evaluated. Another person is *kind* or *deceitful* which are two social sanction characteristics that affect the relationship between a person and the people around him/her by treating them kindly or deceiving them.

Social sanction seems to be more serious than social esteem in the sense that it (social sanction) “is more often codified in writing, as edicts, decree, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave... with penalties and punishments as levers against those not complying with the code” (Martin & White, 2005: 52). Social esteem, on the other hand, “tends to be policed in the oral culture, through chat, gossip, jokes and stories of various kinds” (Martin & White, 2005: 52).

When studying judgment, like any other aspects of evaluation, there are areas of fuzziness and ambiguity. One of the difficulties with judgment is the phenomenon of personification. First of all, judgment has to do with human beings and not non-human agents. But when one personifies a non-human animate, s/he uses the characteristic or behavior of human beings. That is, the evaluative items are conventionally humanistic, e.g:

The *dog* was really faithful [+] Veracity

Cats are always *greedy* [-] Propriety

As noted, *faithful* and *greedy* are two human characteristics applied to non-human creatures.

Of course, there are many [other] expressions of appraisal that can be applied either to people or things. But even in these cases, the quality that the appraisal involves will generally be different: the reasons why you might think a friend is ‘nice’ will be different from the reasons why you think a book is ‘nice’. (Thompson, 2004: 76).

A more sophisticated case is that when a non-human agent is evaluated through expressions that are conventionally applied to human beings, consider the following example:

Iraq war is a fight America can and must win.

America as a country is a non-human agent which is evaluated through the verb ‘win’, but conventionally human beings win fights. The question here is ‘what is the pattern of appraisal in this sentence?’ The answer might be *appreciation* if America is considered as a country, or the appraisal pattern is *judgment* if the verb ‘win’ is considered, meaning the Americans win the fight.

2.1.3 Appreciation

Appreciation is associated with the evaluation of things. It can be defined as those “evaluations which are concerned with positive and negative assessments of objects, artefacts, processes and states of affairs rather than with human behaviour.” (White 2001: 3). Appreciation can be sub-divided as to whether they catch our attention or

please us ‘reaction’, whether they are balanced or complex ‘composition’ and whether they are innovative, authentic, timely, etc. ‘valuation’ (Martin & White, 2005: 56). Reaction can be as a result of an ‘impact’ when the evaluated item captures our attention, or ‘quality’ which has to do with emotional impact (Martin, 2000: 160).

For the purpose of ease, Martin (2000: 160) sets some questions to differentiate between the types and sub-types of appreciation. The variable of reaction of impact is to answer the question ‘does something grab me?’, whereas for reaction of quality it is to answer the question ‘do I like something?’ Regarding composition of balanced, it is to answer the question ‘does something hang together?’ and for the complexity composition, ‘is it hard to follow something?’ As for valuation, it is to answer the question ‘is something valuable?’

Table 2.2. Types and sub-types of appreciation (adapted from Martin 2000)

Appreciation types	Sub-types	Positive	Negative
Reaction	Impact	moving	dull
	Quality	lovely	ugly
composition	Balance	harmonious	unbalanced
	Complexity	simple	extravagant
valuation	social significance	challenging	insignificant

The three variables of appreciation and their sub-types have been roughly generally sort out in respect of their notion of being positive and negative. Nevertheless, to decide on the positive and negative notions of evaluations, especially ‘valuation’

variable, is a matter of opinion, since “the valuation of things depends so much on our institutional focus” (Martin and White, 2005: 57).

Regarding reaction variable of appreciation, Martin argues that it has strong relationships to *affect*, even at the level of derivationally related lexes (Martin and White, 2005: 57), since in both of them feelings and emotions are involved, albeit indirectly in reaction variable of appreciation, for example:

I love the song. —→ Affect

The song is lovely. —→ Appreciation: reaction

In the first example, the speaker’s feeling is directly expressed towards the evaluated entity ‘the song’, whereas in the second one the appreciation of the entity ‘the song’ is based upon an indirectly expressed feeling.

2.2 Inscribed and Evoked Evaluation

Evaluation can be either straightforward, in which the evaluative meaning is explicitly expressed, or fuzzy, in which the evaluative meaning is implicitly expressed. Martin’s term for the former phenomenon is ‘inscribed’ evaluation and for the latter is ‘evoked’ evaluation (Martin, 2000: 154).

Taking an example like *He is a kind father*, it can be fairly easily realized that *father* has been positively evaluated which is *judgment*, social sanction: propriety. The evaluation has been inscribed through the evaluative item *kind*. However, evaluation can be sometimes “implied even where it is not directly realized and this creates

something of a coding nightmare, especially for the qualitative analysts” (Martin, 2003: 173). In this case, the evaluation is evoked. “This happens when the speaker or writer tells us something which is not directly evaluative but which is intended to evoke an attitude” (Thompson, 2004: 77). An example of that kind:

Barak Obama said the decision to invade was made on ideological grounds, instead of “reasons and facts.”

In the above example there is no direct indication of evaluation, but the whole sentence evokes an attitude when it is interpreted in its contextual situation which may simply imply that the invasion was wrong. Given that, to understand implicit evaluation the recipient needs to know the context of the given situation, whereas to understand explicit evaluation the recipient does not necessarily need the interpretation of the context. That is because, “the speaker may, through the use of explicit evaluations in the context, steer the recipient towards an evaluative interpretation” (Ethelston, 2004: 11).

2.3 The Recognition of Evaluation

Thetela argues that “[a]lthough evaluation has been shown to play a central role in text and discourse, its identification in text is not always straightforward” (Thetela, 1997: 102). One of the problems raised in the study of evaluation is that there is ambiguity in what might stand for evaluation. In fact, there are several factors that decide whether a bit of language is evaluative or not, including social, cultural and contextual factors.

To make evaluation a more workable phenomenon, Thompson and Hunston (2000: 13) suggest two criteria for recognizing evaluation, namely; ‘conceptual’ and ‘lexical’. From their viewpoint, “[c]onceptually, evaluation has been noted to be comparative, subjective and value laden” (Thomson and Hunston, 2000: 13), whereas lexically “some lexical items are very clearly evaluative, in the sense that evaluation is their chief function and meaning” (Thomson and Hunston, 2000: 14), these items are: adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs, e.g.

Table 2.3. Evaluative lexical categories.

Lexical categories	Positive	negative
Adjectives	Successful	disappointed
Adverbs	Successfully	disappointedly
Nouns	Success	disappointment
Verbs	Succeed	disappoint

Since, to a good extent, dealing with explicit evaluation is easier and more systematic than evaluative concepts, we are more interested in analyzing evaluation in terms of lexical evaluative items. However, implicit evaluation ought to be also taken into consideration, because “evaluation tends to be found throughout a text rather than a part of it” (Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 19).

2.4 Evaluation in Reports

To explore evaluation in media reporting is of great interest in various ways. Firstly, media reports are one of the genres that we interact with most frequently when watching TV, reading a newspaper, working on internet, etc. Secondly, a report might

be different from other corpuses in the sense that a report is a mixture of written and spoken languages; a reporter takes extracts from interviewees' speeches and put them into the form of a written report that can be broadcasted on TV and/or published in newspapers, websites, etc. Moreover, there are more than one persona in a report; the reporter and other personae whose speeches have been taken. This may mean that through the study of evaluation in media reports we can draw the perspective of each persona by the personal evaluation s/he carries out, although "personal' evaluation is itself influenced by cultural considerations, socialization, philosophical background and so on" (Hunston, 1994: 191). Furthermore, the perspective of the media agency behind the report can be also constructed by counting the overall ratio of positive evaluations to negative ones. This might be regarded as another step forward in the study of evaluation.

As stated before, one of the aims at this study is to find out the patterns of appraisal in media reporting in respect of a specific event, the 5th anniversary of Iraq war. So, there are special focuses on the evaluation in the context of the war, in terms of whether the evaluations are in support of the war 'for', against the war 'against' or probably neutral 'N/A'. Given that, in this study, the Iraq war is the subject matter of the evaluation.

The concept of evaluation "...is best seen as working at the discourse level of text rather than at the grammatical level of the clauses" (Thompson and Ye, 1991: 367). So, whereas traditionally researchers explored evaluation in terms of determining the evaluation values in bits of language in a given text, we are more interested in adapting another model; finding out the value of the evaluation at the discourse level

of the reports and in regard to the subject matter in the given texts. The approach to carry out the evaluation in this study, thus, is similar to Hunston's concept of the 'goals' in the sense that there is a criterion upon which the evaluation is given a value. One major difference is that, in Hunston's approach the goal is set by the writer of a text, but in our approach the goal has been set by the researcher.

In Hunston's approach, "anything that helps towards the achievement of these goals has a positive value whilst anything that detracts from that achievement has a negative value" (Thetela, 1997: 102). In the case of this study, broadly speaking, anything helps to achieve the goal of the success of the Iraq war will be considered as 'for' the war and vice versa. [See 4.1 for the detail of what we mean by 'for' and 'against' the war]

Chapter 3: Materials and Methodology

3.1 Materials

The material used in this dissertation consists of nine media reports. The reports were released by three media agencies namely BBC, CNN and Aljazeera, each set of three reports by an agency. So as to carry out an academically workable study, I chose reports the contents of which revolve around the same time and subject which is the fifth anniversary of the Iraq war – one of nowadays most remarkable news subjects.

It would be of a great interest to find out the degree of the war's positiveness and negativeness, success and failure, and legitimacy and illegitimacy through linguistic analyses, specifically *evaluation*, so as to find out what Bednarek calls “the expression of opinion through language” (Bednarek, 2006: 3). For this reason, the three aforementioned agencies were chosen as the most well-known media agencies that paid much attention to the Iraq war in their reporting. It was believed that a set of three reports by each agency would be sufficient; fewer than three might not suffice such a piece of academic work, and more than this number might be horizontally too much and eventually affect the depth of the research. It is also to be mentioned that in each report there were several personae whose speeches provided rich information about the subject matter from different points of view.

3.2 Methods

As stated before, the aim at this study is to find out the patterns of evaluation based upon Martin's categorization of appraisal; sorting out the evaluative item, the evaluated entity of proposition, the pattern of appraisal, the persona carries out the evaluation, and the contextual value of the evolution whether it is ‘for’ the Iraq war

(the subject in question) or ‘against’ it. Here, we mean by contextual value the value in the context of the Iraq war. Thus, it does not matter whether an evaluation is positive or negative on its own, but whether it serves as ‘for’ or ‘against’ when it is put in the context of the war. Final step is to find out the perspective that can be constructed from the evaluation presented in each set of reports. To carry out the research to achieve this aim, two devices have been chosen. Firstly, the use of text analysis to get the findings the research is aimed at. Secondly, a questionnaire is carried out to get the results from two angles. The following is elaborate explanation on the devices:

3.2.1 Text Analysis

After the reports had been chosen, I devised a table to put the findings in a systematic framework. First of all, the sentences contained evaluation were selected and put in the first column of the table. To clearly indicate the evaluative items (or phrases), they were underlined as well as bolded. The evaluated entities or propositions were then to be identified and put in the second column of the table. The next step is to find out the pattern of appraisal, whether it was affect, judgment or appreciation, and put in the third column. Then it was crucially important to sort out the person who carried out the evaluation: persona or voice. Last step is to decide on the contextual value – the context of the Iraq war - whether the evaluation is in support ‘For’ or ‘Against’ the war, or the evaluation is neutral and has nothing to do with the Iraq war, in this case it is marked as N/A, meaning non-applicable. The following sample illustrates the whole process mentioned:

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Bush says Iraq invasion was <u>right</u> .	Iraq invasion	Appreciation	Bush	For

Sometimes there are more than one evaluative item in the same sentence therefore more than one evaluated entity or proposition. In this case, each evaluated item was numerated so that its number corresponds with the number of its evaluated entity or proposition which was also numerated. Consider the following sample:

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity/ proposition	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
The Foreign Office has insisted there is " <u>clear</u> ¹ evidence" of <u>progress</u> ² in Iraq.	Evidence of progress in Iraq ¹	Appreciation	Foreign Office	For
	Situation in Iraq* ²	Appreciation		For

As noted in the sample above, the second evaluated proposition is marked by an asterisk (*). It occurs whenever the evaluated entity or proposition is not present, for instance, in the above sentence the word *progress* is evaluative but the entity evaluated is not present in the sentence. In this case, I tried to retrieve the entity through the context. In the given sentence, it can be said that the word *progress* refers to the situation in Iraq. In other words, *the situation in Iraq* is the retrieved evaluated proposition. Another point to be mentioned is that there are two evaluation instances in this sentence but as long as there is one persona (Foreign Office), the persona is mentioned once.

Although an evaluative item basically consists of one word, it may well happen that it is a unit or a phrase rather than a single word. Consider the evaluative item in the following example, it is composed of the whole underlined phrase, since the Iraqi

prisons are evaluated as *Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes*. It is also worthwhile to note that negative evaluation of the pre-war situation serves in favour of the war, that is why, the evaluation has been marked as 'For' the war.

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity/ proposition	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Iraqi prisons were full of " <u>innocent</u> ¹ prisoners"...and became " <u>Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes</u> " ² .	Prisoners ¹	Judgment	Talabani	For
	Iraqi prisons ²	Appreciation		For

As mentioned before, this study mainly focuses on explicit evaluation. To find out evaluation in a discourse, however, implicit evaluation is also to be taken into account, since evaluation after all consists of both types. Given that, to portray a true picture as a result of evaluation analysis in the reports, it was crucially important to include implicit (evoked) evaluation when analyzing evaluation phenomenon in the reports. For example, Obama describes Bush as “a president for whom ideology overrode pragmatism.” Although there is no indication of explicit evaluation, the stretch implies an important evoked evaluation which is negative. So, if we neglect this implicit evaluation, the overall evaluation analysis may be imbalanced, that is why, whenever there was a notable implicit evaluation, I picked up and analysed.

3.2.2 Questionnaire

So as to find out the result from two angles, a questionnaire was set up. The questions in the questionnaire were mainly divided into two sets; close questions and open questions. The close questions were nine; each set of three questions about an agency. The way the questions were arranged was somehow tricky; they seem to be controversial so as to get credible information. The participants are to choose among

five choices: strongly disagree (S.D.), disagree (D.), undecided (U.), agree (A.) and strongly agree (S.A.). Regarding the open questions, they consists of six questions; three questions about each of the three agencies, the other three were not specific to an agency but left open for the opinions of the participants.

It is worth mentioning that much effort was made to fairly distribute the questionnaire. The participants were mainly from three societies; American, British and Iraqi. They were mostly educated people who were familiar with the three agencies in question as well as Iraq war.

3.3 Problems

When carrying out research about evaluation, as well as other subjects, the things are not always black or white, but there are degrees of light and dark shades in between. In general, in analyzing evaluation in the reports, problems were encountered in terms of the following points:

3.3.1 Evaluative Items

One of the most remarkable problems is the issue of whether an item is evaluative in a particular text or not. Whereas it is fairly easy to realize that items like *win*, *important*, *victory*, and *gladly* are evaluative, it may not be so easy to realize, whether or not, items like *major* and *temporary* are evaluative. To make a correct decision in this case, the context in which the item is used needs to be carefully taken into consideration. Consider the following example from BBC's 1st chosen report:

...recent troop reinforcements had "opened the door to a major strategic victory."

The word *major* out of context may not be evaluative, but when considering the context it will be clear that the word is more likely to mean *important*, hence, it is evaluative. Likewise, in the following sentence (from CNN's 3rd report):

“What we've done is we've also flooded the Sunni-Arab insurgents with cash to create a *temporary* cease-fire...”

the word *temporary* may not be evaluative out of context, but in its given particular context it tends to be evaluative, describing the cease-fire to be short-term which is apparently negative evaluation.

Another problem regarding evaluative items is that an evaluative unit may consist of a single word or a word preceded by an intensifier (or intensifiers), or even it sometimes consists of a set of words. In all these cases it is really important to understand which part of a sentence is exactly the evaluative item or unit. For example, in the following sentences (from BBC's 3rd report) the phrase *progressively harder* is the evaluative unit in the first example, and the phrase *death and destruction* is evaluative in the second one:

Shadow foreign secretary William Hague told the BBC it would become “**progressively harder** to conduct a meaningful inquiry”

Mr Davey said “**the death and destruction** wrought by this disastrous war...”

3.3.2 Evaluated Entity or Proposition

During the course of the evaluation analysis, the identification of the evaluated entity or proposition is one of the issues encountered. One of the problems is that sometimes the evaluated entity or proposition is an absent agent. As mentioned before, the absent evaluated agent sometimes can be sometimes retrieved. For example, in the following sentence the context helps to retrieve the evaluated agent:

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity/ proposition	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Critics... predict a quick return to <u>civil war</u> .	Future of Iraq*	Appreciation	Critics	Against

It is clear that the noun phrase *civil war* is an evaluative unit, implying a negative meaning, but it is not clear what the evaluated entity is. When bringing the sentence into careful consideration, it would then be sort out that civil war is a prediction about the future. Given that, the retrieved evaluated proposition is *the future of Iraq*.

Another problem in regard with evaluated entity is the issue of personification. There are several instances where the entity evaluated is personified. This issue causes confusion especially when deciding whether the appraisal pattern is judgment or appreciation. Consider for example the following sentence from Aljazeera's 2nd report:

The war has killed more than 4,000 US soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

In the first place, it is not the war that has killed people, but the warriors. The war has been personified as if it were the agent that acted liked human being. In the case of evaluative verb *kill* the evaluation is supposed to be judgment: social sanction. However, since the evaluated entity in the given sentence is *the war*, a non-human but personified agent, the evaluation pattern has been labeled as appreciation.

Yet, there is another issue in the same sentence: the evaluation is open to two different evaluational interpretations. A part from the interpretation above, one may argue that the evaluated entity in the sentence is not in fact *the war*, but rather the Iraqis who have been killed, once again negative evaluation, but this time there is no doubt that the appraisal pattern is judgment. But as long as the first interpretation is more straightforward, it has been acted upon when analysing the reports.

3.3.3 Voices/ Personae

In general, it was not a problem to indentify the persona who carries out the evaluation. On the contrary, it was fairly easy to identify the personae especially when a direct speech is given, starting or ending with expressions like; he said, she added, s/he told BBC, etc. Yet, it was sometimes in the same sentence there are two personae, for example:

Mr Talabani **welcomed** the end of Saddam Hussein's era of "**torture and tyranny**"

There are two evaluation instances; the first one is carried out by the reporter, reporting about Talabai (non-authorial affect), whereas the second one is the actual words of Talabani which are quoted by the reporter, hence, Talabani is the persona behind the second evaluation instance. In brief, it was not difficult to sort out the personae.

However, what was really an unsolved problem was how to pin down the personae and put them into a systematic framework. To some extent it could be said that ‘the reporter’ and ‘Bush’ are two major personae throughout all the reports. Interestingly, the former’s voice was always negative, whereas, the latter’s is always positive. Yet, it was still impossible to create a systematic categorization, since there were negative and positive evaluations in each persona’s voice. Moreover, the reports contain diverse personae and each persona’s voice contains, more or less, positive and negative evaluations. All these reasons made it difficult to categorise the personae, for example, into the ‘supporters’ of the Iraq war and the ‘components’. As a result, what could be done was to identify the personae and display what the value of evaluation carried by each persona is.

3.3.4 Contextual value

It is clear that not all the evaluations are straightforward in terms of being in support of the war or against it, while after all one of the main concerns of this study is to find out the value of the evaluation occurred in the reports in this respect. By pinning down the concept of ‘being in support or against the war’ into four major points, this aim could be accomplished. The four points are to apply the evaluation in terms of the success of the war, providing security, economy change and the legitimacy of war. [See 4.1 for detailed description of the four points]

In fact, there are instances labeled as ‘for’ the war or ‘against’ it but need to be justified, for they do not directly affect the war. For example, in the following sentence *spectacular* has been labeled as evaluation ‘against’ the war:

Armed groups, however, continue to carry out **spectacular** attacks. (attacks on the U.S. troops)

The justification is that as long as the U.S. enemies' attacks on U.S troops are spectacular, the evaluation is positive in association with the U.S. enemies, indicating their success in their attacks. Consequently, the contextual value of the evaluation will be negative in respect of the U.S. troops; hence, it is against the war. If there were no such a justification, one might argue that this is an evaluation has nothing to do with the war. It is also to be admitted that often more than one justification could be possible, so the one has been chosen which is more likely to be true.

Chapter 4: Analyses and Discussions

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part focuses on the study of evaluation in the nine reports from the three chosen media agencies; it sorts out the evaluative items, the patterns of appraisal, the evaluated entities or propositions, the personae who carry out the evaluation and, finally, the contextual values ascribed in terms of whether the evaluation is in support of the Iraq war, marked as ‘for’, or against it, marked as ‘against’. After all these have been analysed, the chapter focuses on the discussion of perspectives that can be constructed by each set of reports, and whether the differences in perspective can reflect the social cultural context in which the reports were produced. The second part of the chapter focuses on a questionnaire carried out to find out the opinions of some twenty viewers of the three agencies in relation with the Iraq war.

It is of great importance to specify what we mean by *in support* and *against* the war. On a broad scale, the two expressions or concepts can be pin down as the following:

1. In terms of success, whatever evaluation talks about the success of the US troops and its alliances, and the defeat and failure of those who fight against the US troops (named in the reports as insurgents, terrorists, etc.) is marked as in support of the war. By contrast, whatever evaluation talks about the failure or the withdrawal of the US troops and the success of their enemies, is marked as against the war.
2. In terms of security, whatever evaluation talks about peace, safety, security stability, aftermath progression and life improvement is marked as in support of the

war. By contrast, whatever evaluation talks about the lack of security, bloodshed, US and Iraqi casualties, and aftermath life deterioration is marked as against the war.

3. In terms of economy, whatever evaluation talks about huge US costs and US economic crises due to the war is marked as against the war. And whatever evaluation talks about triviality of economy in relation with the war or the disconnection of economy to the war is marked as in support of the war.

4. In terms of legitimacy, whatever evaluation describes the war as a right, necessary and justifiable action or describes the former Iraqi regime as brutal and dictatorial is marked as in support of the war, whereas, whatever evaluation describes the war as a mistake and an unjustifiable action is marked as against the war.

For the purpose of ease, throughout the analyses and discussions, the term *positive* will be used instead of the expression *in support of the war*, and the term *negative* instead of the expression *against the war*, regardless of whether the evaluative instance on its own is positive or negative.

4.2 BBC's Chosen Reports

4.2.1 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in BBC's 1st Chosen Report

Table 4.1 shows the evaluation instances occurring in the BBC's first chosen report.

[See Table of the Findings in Appendix 1 and the full report in Appendix 10]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	1	3%	2	6%	0	0%
Judgment	5	16%	6	19%	1	3%
Appreciation	7	22%	10	31%	0	0%
Total	13	41%	18	56%	1	3%
32 (%100)						

Table 4.1. An overview of patterns of appraisal in BBC's 1st report

As shown in Table 4.1, for each pattern of appraisal, the negative evaluation is greater than the positive one; thus, there is generally more negative evaluation, accounting for more than half of the total evaluation. On the whole, appreciation is the most frequent pattern, consisting of almost half of the evaluation. Apart from appreciation, judgment makes up a considerable proportion of the total evaluation instances. Affect pattern, however, forms only a small part of the evaluation. Neutral evaluation shows only the smallest possible percentage that has nothing to do directly with the Iraq war.

As noted in the table of the evaluation instances, there is only one instance of neutral evaluation which is judgment, describing Joseph E. Stiglitz as a *Nobel Prize-winning* economist. At the surface level, it does not affect the Iraq war, whether or not, the economist is Nobel Prize-winning. However, it might be possibly argued that as long as an economist is Nobel Prize-winning, his opinions are credible. As a result, his writing published in the Washington Post, criticizing the war in terms of economy (according to the report), is credible information.

What has been shown in the table of the findings [see Appendix 1] is merely explicit evaluation. The report, however, contains implicit evaluation as well, which is also important to be discussed since implicit evaluation sometimes conveys important evaluative messages without which the overall evaluation in the report will be imbalanced. Bush's speech perhaps contains the most notable positive implicit evaluation, when stating "The terrorists who murder the innocent in the streets of Baghdad want to murder the innocent in the streets of American cities." The stretch contains several explicit evaluations; moreover, the message simply evokes that the war was right and if there were no such a war, the terrorists who kill innocent Iraqi

people would kill American people, and that is the war that prevents such a tragedy in America. So, although Bush talks about the murder of innocent people which is explicit negative evaluation, the whole message behind this extract is to indicate a positive evaluation, justifying the war.

In contrast to Bush's speech, Clinton expresses explicit positive evaluation, but she also implicitly communicates a negative evaluation in the same statement. She describes the result of the war as "the precious gift of freedom" given to the Iraqis, but she also states that it is up to the Iraqis themselves as to whether or not they will use that freedom, meaning that it is time to withdraw the US troops and not to fight in Iraq anymore, a statement that apparently serves against George Bush's strategy, consequently, it is an implicit negative evaluation.

Another significant implicit evaluation is in Obama's speech when talking about the character of George Bush, describing him as a president for whom "ideology overrode pragmatism". Although his speech contains no explicit indication of evaluation, it implies an important evoked evaluation, meaning that Bush does not consider practical measures but ideological ones in his practices. Here, it is important to note that only explicit evaluation may not depict a true picture of evaluation in a text, since "evaluation extends like a wave over the text and lends a specific 'evaluative prosody' to it" (Bednarek, 2006: 8)

The report ends with the statement of a US official, describing US troops mistakenly shooting three Iraqi police as "a *tragic* accident, which was *sincerely regretted*". The evaluative adjective *tragic* is a negative item both in isolation and in the context of the

Iraq war. In the same sentence, the expression *sincerely regretted* is also evaluative, but it is not so easy to be analysed; the adverb *sincerely* is to positively describe the way an action is done, whereas *regretted* it so feel sorry and sad, hence, a negative affect. However, in the context of the Iraq war, the expression *sincerely regretted* might possibly be regarded as a positive affect evaluation, since it is to regret about *mistakenly shooting*.

It is not surprising that Obama and Clinton speak against the war, since they have different political aspiration than Bush, but what is surprising is that the reporter’s voice is also negative. The most remarkable negative evaluation by the reporter is deeming the search for the WMD as *fruitless*. As a result, s/he raises a negative issue which considers the reasons for waging the war illegitimate, saying “He [Bush] made no reference to the fruitless search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq – a major justification for launching the war.” It is arguably an implicit evaluation meaning that the war based upon false grounds.

4.2.2 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in BBC’s 2nd Chosen Report

Table 4.2 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the BBC’s second chosen report. [See Table of the Findings in Appendix 2 and the full report in Appendix 11]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	Percentage of instances	No. of instances	Percentage of instances	No. of instances	Percentage of instances
Affect	3	6%	5	11%	0	0%
Judgment	2	4%	4	9%	2	4%
Appreciation	14	31%	14	30%	2	4%
Total	19	41%	23	50%	4	9%
	46 (100%)					

Table 4.2. An overview of patterns of appraisal in BBC’s 2nd report

As shown in Table 4.2, negative evaluation makes up exactly half of the evaluation proportion. However, it does not necessarily mean that the positive evaluation makes up the other half, because there is an amount of neutral evaluation, albeit small. Yet, positive evaluation forms a considerable amount of the total evaluation instances. Regarding the patterns of appraisal, appreciation is the most frequent pattern, consisting of almost two-third of the evaluation. Interestingly, there is exactly the same amount of judgment and affect, both together making up a third of the whole evaluation.

As noted from the table of findings [Appendix 2], there are five personae throughout the report, namely Bush, the reporter and three Iraq leaders - Talabani, al-Rubaie and Iraq PM. All the evaluation in Bush's speech is positive, whereas Iraq PM's speech is more likely to be negative, and the rest of the personae make both positive and negative evaluations. It is worthwhile to note that 'the Iraq war' is evaluated as 'invasion' by the reporter whereas Mr. Talabani evaluates it as the 'liberation of Iraq'. In fact, "the way particular words in actual texts will be interpreted may also depend on the social and ideological position of the [evaluator]" (White 2001: 2.2).

In this report, there are a few evaluation instances that are carried out through evaluative phrases and not items. Consider Talabani's speech describing the Iraqi prisons as 'Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes,' the whole phrase is the evaluative unit. There are other examples of this kind like Talabani's evaluation of the liberation of Iraq as 'the start of a new era', and in Mouffaq al-Rubaie's speech, evaluating the number of the Iraqi security forces as 'a critical mass'.

As seen from the table of findings, the evaluation of the prisoners in the Iraqi prisons as *innocent* and the prisons as *Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes* are marked as in support of the war. That is because, they depict a more rightful picture of the war by negatively describing the pre-war situation and thus any changes made to that negative situation is more likely to be a positive action.

As previously stated, there are instances that can be appreciation and judgment at the same time. For example, in this sentence “the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC), *won* control of many of the provinces...” the evaluated entity can be the members of the party who won the control of the provinces thus the pattern of appraisal is judgment, or SIIC as a party won the control of the provinces thus the pattern of appraisal is appreciation. In both cases, the evaluation has been marked as neutral or non-applicable in terms of the Iraq war. That is because, they are not evaluation in support of the war, nor are they against it, unless SIIC is a party which is more or less favoured than other parties by the US authority in Iraq. (This is a political discussion by no means there is a space here to tread into.)

Another controversial instance is the evaluation of the Iraqi neighbouring countries' borders as *porous*. Having been marked as against the war, this evaluation requires an elaborate explanation. Since the US troops, as a side of the war, are responsible for the aftermath consequences, they are responsible for controlling the borders. So the reason that borders are uncontrolled is due to the US troops' inability to keep the security of the borders - a negative tribute to the US troops. Another interpretation can be also applicable, anticipating that as long as the Iraqi borders with its neighbouring

countries are *porous*, the US troops are prone to attacks from the insurgents crossing the borders.

4.2.3 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in BBC’s 3rd Chosen Report

Table 4.3 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the BBC’s second chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 3 and the full report in Appendix 12]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%
Judgment	1	4%	1	4%	0	0%
Appreciation	6	25%	12	50%	3	13%
Total	7	29%	14	58%	3	13%
	24 (100%)					

Table 4.3. An overview of patterns of appraisal in BBC’s 3rd report

As shown in Table 4.3, similar to the two former BBC’s reports, there are more negative evaluation instances than positive ones. Positive appreciation constitutes exactly one-fourth of the whole evaluation, whereas positive judgment has only the smallest possible amount, but there is no positive affect pattern in this report. Negative appreciation, on the other hand, constitutes exactly half of the whole evaluation, thus, positive and negative appreciation patterns together make up three-fourths of the whole evaluation. For each negative affect and judgment patterns, there is a minimum possible amount. Regarding neutral evaluation, there are a few instances which are appreciation.

Regarding the personae, there are diverse voices namely the reporter, Bush, Lib Dems foreign affairs spokesman, Ed Davey, Foreign Secretary David Miliband and Charles

Kennedy, who was Lib Dem leader at the start of the war. The reporter and Ed Davey make most of the negative evaluation, whereas, Bush makes most of the positive one.

Throughout the report there are evaluation instances in which the evaluated entities are absent, for example; in this extract “...on the fifth anniversary of the conflict”, the word *conflict* is a negative evaluative item referring to the Iraq war. Thus, *the Iraq war* is an absent evaluated entity. A more obscure instance is in this extract “catastrophic foreign policy mistake”. Apart from *catastrophic*, the word *mistake* is a negative evaluative item, but it is not clear what the evaluated entity is. It is essential to understand that, contextually, the word *mistake* refers to Gordon Brown and David Cameron’s voting in favour of the invasion, hence, the evaluated entity is *voting in the favour of the war*. Yet, another sophisticated case can be seen in this sentence “This was true whether measured in terms of lives, money or our security”. The empty subject *this* is positively evaluated to be *true* which does not seem to make any sense. It is important to once again refer to the report and find out what the empty subject refers to. Contextually, the word *this* refers to its preceding statement “...the war has made Iraq a more dangerous place at a horrific cost.” Subsequently, it can be said that the whole statement is the retrieved evaluated proposition.

The only case of affect evaluation in this sentence “The Conservatives also want an inquiry...” To consider the sentence on its own, one may not be able to decide whether the evaluation is positive or not – for the war or against it. However, taking a look at the preceding part of the report will help to decide that the evaluation is in fact negative, for the preceding part of the report is about the inquiry of the Liberal Democrats, calling on Gordon Brown and David Cameron to apologise for voting in

favour of the invasion, an inquiry showing disapproval towards the war. Returning to the sentence in question, the word *inquiry* in “The Conservatives also want an inquiry...” is also against the war, for there is a direct link between the two *inquiries* which is established through the cohesive device *also*.

4.3 CNN’s Chosen Reports

4.3.1 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in CNN’s 1st Chosen Report

Table 4.4 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the CNN’s first chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 4 and the full report in Appendix 13]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Judgment	2	7%	4	14%	1	3.5%
Appreciation	15	54%	6	21%	0	0%
Total	17	61%	10	35.5%	1	3.5%
	28 (100%)					

Table 4.4. An overview of patterns of appraisal in CNN’s 1st report

As shown in Table 4.4, positive evaluation makes up nearly two-third of the whole proportion of the evaluation. Appreciation pattern comprises third-fourths of the evaluation and judgment pattern comprises one-fourth of it, but there is no affect pattern of appraisal at all. Throughout the report, positive appreciation is much more than negative appreciation, whereas positive judgments are half of the negative ones. Finally, there is only the minimum amount of neutral evaluation which is judgment.

Regarding the personae, except for one instance by Reid, all the evaluation has been carried out by Bush and the reporter. The former speaks generally in support of the

war, whereas the latter speaks against it. There is no affect pattern of appraisal in this report because the two personae (Bush and the reporter) communicate states of affair from two different perspectives rather than expressing feelings and emotions “which are the basic of ‘Affect’” (Wagner, 2000: 42).

So far, most of the positive evaluation has been made by Bush. In this report, and probably others, he even uses negative lexical items in a context that supports his aim – the war. He uses the verb *lose* which is apparently negative in a context which is positive, saying “they can no longer credibly argue that we are losing in Iraq”. The overall meaning of his speech in this sentence is that his rivals (Hilary and Obama) failed to prove that Bush lost the war that is why “now they argue the war costs too much”. The same explanation may be true when analysing the evaluative verb *fight*. The term *fight* denotes a negative meaning, but Bush puts it in a context which is in support of the war, saying that “a free Iraq will fight terrorists rather than harbor them”, in other words, the Iraqis are on the side of Bush and against his enemies – the terrorists. In the same sentence, the verb *harbor* is an evaluative item that has been marked as positive in terms of the war, because it implies that Iraq is not likely to harbor terrorists.

When the evaluative item is a verb, the evaluated entity can be sometimes interpreted in more than one way. For instance, the verb *kill* is the evaluative item in “Bombings killed six Iraqis...”, the evaluated entity can be the *bombing* meaning the source that causes killing, or, more logically, it can be said that the six Iraqis are the evaluated entity meaning they got killed, an evaluation which is a negative judgment. Likewise, in “Harry Reid of Nevada cited the \$3 trillion figure when criticizing the Bush

administration's position on the war”, the evaluative item is verb *criticizing* and the evaluated entity can be Reid as it (Reid) is the subject of the verb, or, more acceptably, it can be the proposition “the Bush administration’s position on the war” as it has been the entity criticized which is a negative appreciation.

Interestingly, it happens in the report that positive evaluation is determined by negative one, consider this sentence “the troop surge... has been a success and was necessary at a point when ‘the fight in Iraq was faltering’”. According to the excerpt, the troop surge was *necessary* (positive evaluation) at a time when the fighting was *faltering* (negative evaluation). In other words, the positive evaluation would be necessary if only the negative one happened.

Another unusual evaluation is in this excerpt: “the president says it will take more than weapons to defeat terrorist forces.” Previously, “to defeat terrorist forces” has been picked up as evaluation in support of the war. However, the sentence itself is a negative evoked evaluation, meaning that weapons merely are not sufficient to defeat enemies. Thus, an explicit positive evaluation is embodied in an implicit negative evaluation in the same sentence and by the same persona.

In this report, most of the evaluation is directly associated with America, since it evaluates the costs of the war, the U.S. casualties, Bush’s administration, the result of the war in which America is an important side, etc. So it can be said that the evaluation in the report reflects the social cultural context (American society) in which the report is produced.

4.3.2 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in CNN’s 2nd Chosen Report

Table 4.5 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the CNN’s second chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 5 and the full report in Appendix 14]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	2	8%	2	8%	0	0%
Judgment	1	4%	4	17%	3	12%
Appreciation	4	17%	8	33%	0	0%
Total	7	30%	14	58%	3	12%
	24 (100%)					

Table 4.5. An overview of patterns of appraisal in CNN’s 2nd report

As shown in Table 4.5, most of the evaluation is negative, making up more than half of the whole proportion of the evaluation. Positive evaluation, on the other hand, comprises less than a third of the evaluation. Appreciation pattern of appraisal makes up exactly half of the whole amount of the evaluation – the highest proportion pattern. Apart from appreciation, judgment pattern has also a considerable proportion, making up a third of the whole amount, but affect pattern only forms a sixth of the whole evaluation. Regarding neutral evaluation, there is only a small amount which is judgment.

As the title suggests, “Protesters march on Iraq anniversary”, the report is about people who demonstrate and protest against the Iraq war on its anniversary. So, apart from the voices of the reporter and Bush, the voices of protesters and policemen are also heard. Apart from Bush’s voice which is always in support of the war, there is a war supporter, evaluating in favour of the war three times in the same sentence, saying “We *support* our *brave* military and their *just* mission”. Moreover, he

implicitly positively evaluates the war, telling the protesters “the same blood spilled in Iraq to give you the right to do what you are doing.” This statement may mean that as a result of the war the Americans are now free to do what they want to do – an implicit positive evaluation.

Expectedly, almost all the evaluation carried out by the protesters is negative. However, the protesters themselves have been also evaluated to be *peaceful*, *comic* and *misdemeanors* – judgment appraisal. Here, the evaluation is associated with the behaviour and personality of the protesters; therefore, it is less likely to have any impact on the war. For this reason, all these evaluation instances are marked as neutral or non-applicable in terms of the Iraq war.

In general, the verb *support* in the report has been marked as an evaluative item, for those who support the war simply express good opinion towards it – an affect pattern of appraisal. For example, in this sentence “32 percent of Americans support the conflict” the word *support* has been treated as an explicit positive evaluation. The arguable issue here is that when the report says that 32 percent of the Americans support the war, an important question rises which is “how about the other 68 percent of the Americans?” In this case, it can be said that the sentence implies an implicit negative evaluation.

The final evaluation case in this report, unusually, is a sign which reads, “no torture, no secret prisons, no detention.” Since the sign is written by the protesters and it expresses their opinions, they are regarded as the personae behind the statement. The sign contains three related evaluative items; *torture*, *secret prisons* and *detention*.

They are considered as one unit, since they all are a reference to “contentious issues tied the war”, as the coming part of the report suggests. What is ambiguous here is who the persons who torture, build secret prison and detain people are. They are presumably the U.S. troops who serve in Iraq, being marked as an absent or retrieved agent in the report.

4.3.3 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in CNN’s 3rd Chosen Report

Table 4.6 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the CNN’s third chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 6 and the full report in Appendix 15]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	1	2%	3	6.5%	0	0%
Judgment	5	11%	7	15.5%	0	0%
Appreciation	12	27%	17	38%	0	0%
Total	18	40%	27	60%	0	0%
	45 (100%)					

Table 4.6. An overview of patterns of appraisal in CNN’s 3rd report

As shown in table 4.6, the overall negative evaluation is precisely one-third more than the overall positive evaluation. The negative proportion of each of the three patterns of appraisal is more than its positive counterpart. Appreciation is the most frequent pattern throughout the report, making up nearly two-third of the whole amount of the evaluation. Judgment and appreciation together form the other one-third. It is worth mentioning that affect pattern is only one-third of judgment. As can be noted, in this report all the evaluative items and phrases have been either in support or against the war, consequently, there is no neutral evaluation.

This report is to evaluate the U.S. troops' surge on the 5th anniversary of the war. It focuses on whether the surge has been successful or not. To decide on its success, the report questions the result of the surges; whether the situation in Iraq after the surge has been improved or not. That is why there are several evaluations in which the evaluated entities are absent that can be referred to the situation in Iraq. For example, *improvement in security* in "three factors are often cited in explaining the improvement in security" and *cease-fire* in "a temporary cease-fire to reduce the numbers of U.S. casualties" are evaluative items referring to the situation in Iraq. There are other cases that refer to the situation in the future rather than present. For example, the term *peace* in "is Iraq really on a path *to peace*?" and the term *civil-war* in "Critics... predict a quick return to civil war" are two evaluative items talking about what will happen in Iraq in the future, so the evaluated entities can be marked as *the future of Iraq*.

Throughout the report, there are several evaluations carried out by empty subjects like *it* in "It's hard to pin down...", "It's much more complex..." and "It's fragile..." in this case it is essential to refer to the context to understand what the empty subject refers to. It is essential, for example, to understand that *it* in "we have to understand that this expedient policy of paying your enemy is very dangerous. It's fragile..." contextually refers to *this expedient policy*, that is, *this expedient policy* is the evaluated entity. Likewise, Gen. Petraeus' statement "That is such a simplified look at it. It's much more complex..." is a reply to his critic's statement saying "What we've done is we've also flooded the Sunni-Arab insurgents with cash to create a temporary cease-fire". Thus, the empty subjects in Petraeus' speech refer to the whole statement

by his critic, although in the table of findings, in the evaluated entity space, only an asterisk (*) has been put instead of the whole long statement.

Regarding implicit evaluation, there are several cases worth mentioning. For example, Bush says “Some may deny the surge is working, but among the terrorists there is no doubt.” The first part of the sentence “denying the surge is working” is an explicit negative evaluation, but the whole sentence is a positive implicit evaluation meaning that the surge is surely working. By the way, the implicit meaning seems to be the potential message of Bush behind this speech.

4.4 Aljazeera’s Chosen Reports

4.4.1 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in Aljazeera’s 1st Chosen Report

Table 4.3 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the Aljazeera’s 1st chosen report. [See Table of the Findings in Appendix 7 and the full report in Appendix 16]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	0	0%	2	4%	0	0%
Judgment	4	7.5%	4	7.5%	0	0%
Appreciation	21	39.5%	22	41.5%	0	0%
Total	25	47%	28	53%	0	0%
	53 (100%)					

Table 4.7. An overview of patterns of appraisal in Aljazeera’s 1st report

As shown in the Table 4.7, negative evaluation is marginally higher than positive evaluation. The highest rate of appraisal pattern is appreciation, making up the vast majority of the whole evaluation procedure. Judgment, on the other hand, comprises only a small amount of the evaluation, while affect pattern makes up even a smaller

proportion. Positive and negative judgment patterns comprise exactly the same amount, and positive and negative appreciation patterns constitute almost the same amount. Affect pattern, however, only makes up a small negative amount of the evaluation. One characteristic that sets this report apart from all others is the fact that there is no neutral evaluation in this report.

There are several evaluation instances that seem to be controversial in terms of being for or against the war. For example, Mahdi Army militia is evaluated to be *powerful*, and the evaluation has been marked as negative. That is because Mahdi Army militia is one of the militias that hinder the U.S. progress in Iraq. So, the more powerful the militia is the more negative it will be. In this case, one needs to have knowledge about what is going on in Iraq to decide whether the evaluation is for the war or against it.

Regarding the evaluation of the Iraq's parliament in "Iraq's parliament has been paralysed", the evaluation has been marked as against the war because as long as the parliament has been established as a result of the regime change, its success as well as failure affects the status of the war. Likewise, the increase of oil production in Iraq in "[oil] production is at 2.9 million barrels a day, higher than pre-war levels" can be regarded as one of the pros of the war, when financially comparing the pre-war and aftermath economy of Iraq. However, to ignore the government's calls in "Government calls for Iraqi refugees to return the country... have been largely ignored" is more likely to be against the war, simply implying that people negatively responded to the calls perhaps due to the aftermath lack of security.

Regarding implicit evaluation, the Middle East analyst’s speech contains a very noticeable implicit evaluation, asking a rhetorical statement: “I don’t know how anyone can characterise [the monthly death of the Iraqis] as a success”. Apart from evaluating the Iraqis as dying, a negative judgment evaluation, the whole sentence implies that the war cannot be characterised as a success, while it has caused the death thousands of the Iraqis.

4.4.2 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in Aljazeera’s 2nd Chosen Report

Table 4.8 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the Aljazeera’s 2nd chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 8 and the full report in Appendix 17]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>	No. of instances	<i>Percentage of instances</i>
Affect	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%
Judgment	2	4%	3	6%	0	0%
Appreciation	19	39%	23	47%	1	2%
Total	22	45%	26	53%	1	2%
	49 (100%)					

Table 4.8. An overview of patterns of appraisal in Aljazeera’s 2nd report

As shown in Table 4.8, negative evaluation is marginally higher than positive evaluation. The overwhelming majority of the appraisal pattern is appreciation, a little amount of the appraisal is judgment and the smallest amount possible is affect. Negative appreciation is slightly more than positive evaluation; likewise, negative judgment is more than positive judgment. Regarding neutral evaluation, there is only the smallest possible amount of the evaluation does not affect the status of the war, which is judgment.

Regarding the personae, there are several voices throughout the report. The voice of reporter is the most dominant one, making up most of the negative evaluations. The second dominant voice is Bush's which is as ever positively in the favour of the war. Sometimes, the two aforementioned voices seem to be in a continuous challenge; the former evaluates the situation in question generally negative and sporadically positive, whereas the latter evaluates it generally positive and sporadically negative. Apart from these two voices, the voice of the Iraqi Prime Minister is also somehow remarkable, making six evaluation instances, one positive and the rest are negative in the context of the war.

It is worth mentioning that Talabani's speech contains negative evaluation which is dependent on its following positive evaluation. To make it clearer, he states that the war "will not succeed", which is evaluation against the war, unless another action happens namely "real reconciliation" which is in favour of the war in the sense that real reconciliation leads to security. It can be arguably said that the main evaluation in the statement is an evoked one emphasizing the importance of reconciliation which leads to the success of the war. In the same vein, Bush's speech contains an explicit indication of positive evaluation "violence dropped", but Bush states that the drop has been achieved as a result of the US troop 'surge'. This is a positive implicit evaluation emphasizing the importance of the surge.

Yet, another interesting evaluation is reported from Bush, as if saying: "The gains we've made are fragile and irreversible", which is apparently a negative evaluation with regard to the war. What is surprising here is that the odd collocation of 'fragile and irreversible' is not what Bush said, but he actually said: "The gains we have made

are fragile and reversible.” It questionable why Aljazeera has, intentionally or unintentionally, changed ‘reversible’ to ‘irreversible’, while the former is more likely to be positive whereas the latter is negative.

In general, it is easy to point out the evaluated entity. However, in this sentence, “Between 104,000 and 223,000 died between March 2003 and June” it is not clear what the evaluative verb ‘die’ evaluates, although the subject of the verb is ‘between 104,000 and 223,000’. In this case, it is important to go back to the preceding sentence where *Iraqi civilians* are negatively evaluated as being killed during the course of the war. Given that, the evaluated entity in the following sentence is *Iraqi civilians* as well, which has been retrieved in its preceding sentence. Moreover, it can happen that the evaluated entity is an empty subject, for instance, “it’s still very very dangerous on the streets”. Here, it might not be possible to say that the evaluative entity is *it*, nor might it to retrieve the subject. As a result, an asterisk (*) has been placed instead of the evaluated entity, meaning that the evaluated entity is absent.

4.4.3 Analysis and Discussion of Evaluation in Aljazeera’s 3rd Chosen Report

Table 4.9 below shows the evaluation instances occurring in the Aljazeera’s 3rd chosen report. [See Table of the findings in Appendix 9 and the full report in Appendix 18]

Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
	No. of instances	Percentage of instances	No. of instances	Percentage of instances	No. of instances	Percentage of instances
Affect	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
Judgment	0	0%	8	23%	1	3%
Appreciation	5	15%	19	56%	0	0%
Total	6	18%	27	79%	1	3%
	34 (100%)					

Table 4.9. An overview of patterns of appraisal in Aljazeera’s 3rd report

As shown in the Table 4.9, the overwhelming majority of the evaluation is negative – the largest negative proportion in all the nine analysed reports. Similar to other reports, appreciation is the most frequent pattern, making up more than two-third of the whole evaluation. Apart from appreciation, judgment is also a significant pattern, constituting one-fourth of the evaluation, all negative except for one instance with which is neutral. Affect, however, is the least frequent pattern forming only the smallest possible amount of the evaluation which is positive.

Dean Baker, who is defined in the report as a co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, is the most dominant persona throughout the report. In his speech, he makes several negative evaluations which, at the surface level, do not seem to have anything to do with the Iraq war, but what he says is a metaphorical evaluation for the US economy crises resulted from the Iraq war. In describing these crises, he says “It’s like someone who *doesn’t take care* of themselves, *doesn’t exercise, eats lots of junk food*, so they are in *bad shape* and *get pneumonia*”. The evaluated entity is *someone*, therefore, the evaluation pattern is judgment, although in this particular extract *someone* stands for *America*.

The same persona makes another set of evaluation which seems to be positive, but contextually is negative. He says, “If we hadn’t blown \$180 billion a year on the war we would have been *better prepared*, we would have had a *better* educated workforce, *better* infrastructure, a *better* position to deal with the recession.” To be better prepared, have a better educated workforce, etc. are good privileges, so they are positive evaluations. But the fact is that the Americans cannot get these privileges due

to the huge amount of money they spent on the war and consequently the evaluations are negative.

By contrast, Robert Shapiro, who is another persona, forms almost all the positive evaluation in the report. What he says is basically opposite to the opinions of other personae in the sense that he believes the cost of the war (\$3 trillion) is “a *small price*” and “the American people will pay it *gladly*” if “this policy were *sound and successful* for the people of Iraq.” Apart from these explicit evaluations, he also makes implicit evaluation, saying “The Bush administration in Iraq is not driven by economics,” meaning that it does not matter how much money has been spent on the war; it does not affect Bush’s administration. This is a positive evaluation disputing the opinions of those who claim that the US has failed in Iraq in terms of economy.

Another interesting implicit evaluation can be seen in the reporter’s extract, saying “And whatever the reasons for the US bombing of Baghdad, *cheap* oil has not been the result.” Apart from the evaluative term *cheap* which is an explicit evaluation, the extract evokes an implicit negative evaluation, simply meaning that the reason behind waging the war “the US bombing Baghdad” is to get cheap oil, although it is a hidden meaning of the extract. This is a claim that refutes all the US justifications for waging the war, justifications like freedom for the Iraqi people and the warnings of the WMD.

While in the previous reports the evaluations were somehow indirect, in this report, the criticisms are sometimes sever and the evaluations are blunt. For example, Dean Baker says “Iraq war was *a mistake*” and Blims, another persona, says “...United

States is *worse off* economically speaking because of the war”, she also says, “any idea that war is good for the economy... is *a myth*.”

4.5 Discussion of the Three Sets of Reports in the Three Agencies

Table 4.10 below shows evaluation occurring in the three sets of reports of the three chosen agencies – BBC, CNN and Aljazeera.

Agencies	Types of appraisal	For		Against		N/A	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
BBC	Affect	4	4%	8	8%	0	0%
	Judgment	8	8%	11	11%	3	3%
	Appreciation	27	26%	36	35%	5	5%
Total		39	38%	55	54%	8	8%
102 (100%)							
CNN	Affect	3	3%	5	5%	0	0%
	Judgment	8	9%	15	15.5%	4	4%
	Appreciation	31	32%	31	32%	0	0%
Total		42	43.5%	51	52.5%	4	4%
97 (100%)							
Aljazeera	Affect	2	1.5%	2	1.5%	0	0%
	Judgment	6	4.5%	15	11%	1	0.75%
	Appreciation	45	33%	64	47%	1	0.75%
Total		52	39%	81	59.5%	2	1.5%
135 (100%)							

Table 4.10. An overview of evaluation pattern in the three sets of reports

First and for most, there are no two reports, even in the same set, in which the evaluations are exactly the same. In fact it is the duty of linguistic study to show how, “despite their shared topic each text presents a different ‘angle of telling’” (Simpson, 2003: 140). However, as shown in the Table 4.10, the evaluation results in all the sets of reports are similar to some extent and in some ways. One of the essential similarities among the three sets is that in all the sets negative evaluation is more than positive one in terms of the war. That might be possibly due to the fact that the reports are about a topic (war) which is in itself is negative. That is why, after all, all the three agencies, more or less, expressed bad opinions in their reporting.

Another obvious similarity among the three sets is that there is the least amount of affect pattern in all the sets, and a slightly more amount of judgment pattern. Regarding appreciation pattern, it covers the majority of the evaluation in all the three sets. In other words, in all the three sets, there is the smallest space for expressing personal feelings and emotions and the largest space for communicating the war state of affair. In fact, “[that] is not surprising, because in political speech... the choice of focus on personal feelings is less likely than on analysing facts” (Wagner, 2000: 42).

Regarding the differences among the three sets, in the CNN reports the rates of positive and negative evaluation are the closest (42.5% ‘For’ vs. 53.5 % ‘Against’). So, the perspective that can be constructed from CNN is least negative than other agencies, but it still has a negative perspective towards the war, and that is what would not be expected. Yet, it can be said that CNN’s perspective can represent the social and cultural context in which the reports were produced (American society) where “many Americans have come to believe that war is the worst thing can happen to humans” (Hanson, 2005:10). A war that has caused the American society loss thousands of lives and damage its economy – two most frequent aspects negatively evaluated – aspects Bush calls them in his speech “high costs in life and treasure”.

The positive and negative rates in Aljazeera, however, show the biggest disproportion (39%‘For’ vs. 59.5% ‘Against’). In contrast to CNN, it was expected that Aljazeera would be negative as a whole, but what was not expected was that there would be still a substantial amount of positive evaluation (39%). Yet, Aljazeera is the most negative among the three. So, the perspective that can be accordingly constructed is, of course, negative. A perspective that can reflect the social cultural context in which the reports

were produced – Arab world – since as a result of the war many Iraqis have been killed and wounded apart from other destructions. These are two catastrophic disasters that no one can deny. However, there are certainly people even from the Arab world who believe otherwise: they think that the war had led to the removal of a dictatorship, for example, Hady Amr calls the former Iraq as “a totalitarian state”.

Finally, BBC is in between the two other agencies in the sense that, on the whole, the evaluation in the BBC is more negative than in the CNN but less than in Aljazeera (38% ‘For’ vs. 54% ‘Against’). Moreover, neutral evaluation in BBC makes up eight percent – the highest rate among the three agencies. Since the evaluation in BBC is on the whole negative, the perspective that can be constructed is negative as well.

Regarding whether the perspective can reflect the social cultural context in which the reports were produced, there can be two interpretations. First one, it does not reflect that context because the UK - where BBC is based - is not directly involved in the war, but the overall evaluation in BBC is negative because the subject of the reports (war) is negative in itself. The BBC’s first two reports analysed prove this, since the evaluation in these two reports are about the war regardless to the UK. The second interpretation is that the perspective constructed can reflect the context in question, especially when considering the last report analysed. That is because the evaluation in the last report focuses on the UK’s leaders’ vote in favour of the war, negatively describing it as British participation in “a disastrous war”.

Regarding the personae, as noted before, Bush’s speech is always ‘For’ the war. It can be said that through evaluation Bush presents himself as a defender of the war. By

contrast, the reporters' voices are always 'Against' it, presenting themselves as anti-war characters. This phenomenon is based upon the fact that 'speakers can exploit different ranges of appraisal to construct particular personae for themselves' (Editors' introduction to Martin, 2000: 143). As for the reporters, they would be expected to be impartial in editing the reports, because in the world of journalism "[the] duty of the journalist is the same as that of a historian – to seek out the truth..." (Frost, 2001: 4). The evaluation results, however, suggest that the reporters contribute to a great deal of the negative evaluation.

4.6 The Three Agencies' Perspectives from a Second Angle

As found out earlier, the evaluation of Iraq war in the three agencies is generally negative. Aljazeera is the most negative, CNN is the least negative and BBC is somewhere in between. Let's now draw their perspectives via the opinions of twenty viewers of the three agencies who paid attention to news about the Iraq war.

Table 4.11. Questions about BBC, CNN and Aljazeera, and responses of 20 viewers.

QUESTIONS	S.D.	D.	U.	A.	S.A.
1. BBC always promotes news about US success in the Iraq War.	3	11	3	3	
2. CNN shows that the Iraqis are granted freedom and development in the new Iraq.		1	4	14	1
3. Aljazeera avoids news about terrorist operations.	7	9	2	1	1
4. BBC keeps a balance between US and anti-US operations in Iraq.	1	4	5	10	
5. When watching Aljazeera, I feel that after the regime change life in Iraq has got worse.	1			12	7
6. I clearly see that CNN tends to impartially broadcast what is going on in Iraq.	1	8	5	6	
7. BBC highlights the Iraqi people's problems that occurred after regime change in Iraq.		6	2	10	2
8. When reporting about Iraq, Aljazeera keeps a balance between the Iraqis' continuous daily problems and the aftermath life improvements.	2	13	1	4	
9. When I listen to CNN's news about Iraq, I soon realise that it highlights the US casualties in the Iraq War.		10	5	5	

Table 4.10. An overview of the opinions of 20 viewers of the three agencies.

As shown in Table 4.10, half of the participants disagree that BBC always promotes news about US success in the Iraq war, but agree that BBC keeps a balance between US and anti-US operations in Iraq. They also agree that BBC highlights the Iraqi people's problems that occurred after regime change in Iraq. Regarding CNN, three-fourths of the participants agree that it shows the Iraqis are granted freedom and development in the new Iraq, and half of the viewers disagree that CNN exaggerates the US casualties in the Iraq war. Regarding impartiality, the number of participants that believe CNN is impartial is slightly less than the numbers of those who believe the other way round. As for Aljazeera, vast majority of the participants disagree that it avoids news about terrorist operations, but they agree that Aljazeera shows that aftermath life in Iraq has got worse. Moreover, majority of the participants disagree that Aljazeera keeps a balance between the Iraqis' continuous daily problems and the aftermath life improvements.

Regarding the open-ended questions, eleven participants trust BBC to get true picture of the Iraq war. They think that BBC provides a balanced picture, or tries to provide that picture, in reporting about the Iraq war. Prof. Dilawar Qaradaghi from the University of Nottingham, for example, trusts BBC for its "track record and attention to accuracy." It is worth noticing that a considerable number of participants believe that BBC highlights the aftermath of Iraqi people's problems. As a result, it can be roughly said that the perspective is more likely to be negative. A perspective that can, more or less, match the one constructed via the evaluation analyses.

Regarding Aljazeera, majority of the participants label Aljazeera as being pro-Arab World and/or pro-Muslim World, that is why, it pays so much attention to the Iraq

war. All these suggest that Aljazeera is seen to be negative towards the war, a suggestion that can match the results of the evaluation findings.

However, three participants believe that geographical location of Aljazeera requires it to pay that attention to Iraq, being based in the heart of the Middle East. Six participants trust Alzaeera to get a true picture of the war, although some of them believe that Aljazeera broadcasts negative news but they also believe that that is what is really going on in Iraq. Among other reasons, Dr. Rinelle Cere, from the University of Sheffield, trusts Aljazeera saying, “the journalists reporting are far more knowledgeable about the affairs of the Middle East and the local political cultures.”

The vast majority of the participants believe that Aljazeera mostly highlights aftermath escalating situation in Iraq. Dr. Ra’uf Kareem from the University of Sulaimany, however, looks at the ground from two angles saying, “but at the same time it impartially transmits the live press conferences of US president and other US senior officials when they praise their achievements.”

Finally, no participants trust CNN to get a true picture. Elizabeth, from (American) Christian Peace-Makers Teams (CPT), believes that it refers to “Laziness, ideological linkage, lack of knowledge of the ordinary Iraqis, lack of language proficiency in Arabic, leading to over-reliance on English-only sources (primarily military and civilian US government).” Moreover, more than half of the participants believe that CNN talks about democracy, progression and freedom for the Iraqis more than the other two agencies. So, the indications in the questionnaire suggest that CNN is positive in regard to the war. As a result, the perspective can be constructed here is

significantly different from the negative perspective constructed via the evaluation analyses.

To draw a conclusion, according to the evaluation analyses BBC was somewhere in between the other two agencies in terms of being negative or positive. As a result of the questionnaire, BBC is the most trusted amongst the three agencies. Thus BBC's position is almost the same from both angles. Aljazeera, however, is the most negative according to the evaluation analyses, having the highest rate of negative evaluation, but according to the questionnaire, its negativeness in reporting is justified by the fact that the situation is negative and a true transmission of that negative situation will be also negative. CNN which contains the least negative evaluation in the evaluation analyses, according to the questionnaire no participant trusts it to get a true picture, being labeled as highlighting the US agenda in Iraq: democracy and freedom for the Iraqis.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1.1 Summary of the Findings

As stated before, this study is aimed to explore evaluation in media reporting. To do so, Martin's model of evaluation – appraisal – has been applied to find out what are the patterns of appraisal in three sets of reports from three well-known media agencies, namely; BBC, CNN and Aljazeera. Moreover, the study is to show whether there are noticeable differences among the three sets. Although the data have been dealt with at micro level, the study is also to accomplish an aim at macro level; the aim is to identify the perspective that can be constructed by the patterns of appraisal in each set of reports – each agency. Finally, the study is to examine whether the identified perspective of each set can be related to the social cultural context in which the texts were produced.

As a result of the implication of evaluation in the chosen media reports, it has been concluded that the most common pattern of appraisal is appreciation standing for majority of the evaluation in the three sets. Apart from appreciation, judgment is also common to some extent. Regarding affect, it is the least common pattern in the three sets. This is, more or less, the case in all the three sets. Thus, there are not noticeable differences among the three sets, albeit they are not equally the same.

As for the perspective of each agency, two methods have been used; language analyses and a questionnaire. The results found match in some ways, but not in some others.

According to the language analysis – implication of evaluation – the perspectives of all the three agencies are negative, but their degrees of negativity varies from agency to another. In brief, it has been found out that CNN is the least negative agency, whereas Aljazeera is the most negative one. As for BBC, it is somewhere in between; more negative than CNN but less negative than Aljazeera.

Regarding the results from the questionnaire, CNN is labelled as having a positive perspective. This is the major difference between the results from the two methods. Regarding BBC, the indications suggest that the perspective is more likely to be negative. A perspective that can, more or less, match the one constructed via the evaluation analyses. As for Aljazeera, results obviously suggest that Aljazeera's perspective is negative, as the evaluation analyses suggest.

Whether the perspectives can be related to the social cultural context in which the texts were produced, it can be simply concluded that they do. First of all, the perspectives constructed are negative (except for CNN's perspective via the questionnaire). The perspectives are constructed in regard with a war which is in itself a negative subject. Moreover, the war has caused loss in all the three societies where the three agencies based: British, American and Iraqi (as a part of Arabic society), albeit at different levels. Given that, it can be summed up that the negative perspectives will be related to their social cultural contexts in which there are losses in lives and familiar in economy.

By now, the main questions are answered, but what remains in doubt is that the subject of the reports analysed (war) was negative in itself and the result indicates negative evaluation on the whole. The question here is that what happens if the subject is not negative, or reports about negative and positive subject are to be dealt with?

5.2 Issues arising from the methods applied

The methods applied to evaluation in media reporting have been successful in the sense that they have led to the answers the study aimed to explore. However, they are not free of defaults in the sense that each of the two applied methods caused ambiguity.

First of all, the language analyses method could sort out explicit evaluation but not implicit one. The difficulty, as stated before, was that to neglect implicit evaluation the whole picture of evaluation in the text will be distorted. To take it into account, however, the analyst will be in crises of how to put it into a systematic, workable frame. This is does not necessarily mean that there are no problems in dealing with explicit evaluation; in fact there still are questions unanswered. For example, there are extracts repeated in almost all the reports thus the same evaluation instance repeats again and again, while the speaker has just said that speech probably once.

Another issue is that the reporter is the one who decides which part of a speech is to choose and include in the report. Thus, an important extract of an evaluative

speech, for one reason or another, might not interest the reporter consequently this extract of speech might be lost.

As for the questionnaire, it also has its shortcomings. First and for most, the information from a questionnaire is more likely to be a perception data. Any adjustment to the questions, the number of the participants, etc. will cause a different result. Yet, it should be confirmed that in the present study the results from the questionnaire and the evaluation analyses match, at least in two sets of reports.

5.3 Issues arising in media reporting

Apart from the findings that have been so far shown, there are two more dimensions that particularly occur in media reporting. Firstly, a report might be different from other texts in the sense that there are more than one persona in a report; the reporter, the speaker from whom it is reported and a number of interviewees. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the reporter is the one who decides which part of other personae's speech is to include in the report. Thus, the reporter is in a position that has the most effect in the evaluation occurred.

A second characteristic of evaluation in media reporting might be the bias of the reporter, as noted in almost all the reports analysed. The reporters' evaluations have been always found negative – against the war. This might also be related to the subject of the reports which is negative. In fact, while Bush was seen as a defender of the war, the reporters sometimes have been seen as components to the war.

5.4 Closing comment

This study has hopefully presented how, through the study of evaluation, three media agencies' perspectives in reporting about the same issue can be different. Moreover, the relationship between the perspective of an agency and its social cultural context can be interrelated. It is hoped that this study has been successful in shifting the focuses on evaluation in bits of language in a given discourse to an overall evaluation in regard with the subject of the discourse. It is also hoped that this study will lead to exploring the personae's perspective and/or character through the evaluation they carry out in media reporting.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

The table of evaluation findings in the BBC's 1st chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Bush says Iraq invasion was right .	Iraq invasion	Appreciation	Bush	For
Overthrowing Saddam Hussein was "the right decision",	Overthrowing Saddam Hussein	Appreciation	Bush	For
He said the world was a better place...	The world	Appreciation	Bush	For
Mr Bush dismissed what he called " exaggerated estimates" of the war's price tag.	estimates of the war's price tag	Appreciation	Bush	Against
The costs are necessary ...	The costs	Appreciation	Bush	For
He said recent troop reinforcements had "opened the door to a major ¹ strategic victory ² ..."	Strategic victory ¹ Iraq war* ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
Mr Bush argued that fighting Islamic militants in Iraq helped to prevent attacks on targets in the US.	Islamic militants in Iraq	Judgment	Bush	For
...The terrorists ¹ who murder ² the innocent ³ in the streets of Baghdad want ⁴ to murder ⁵ the innocent ⁶ in the streets of American cities	Insurgents* ¹ Terrorist ² Iraqis ³ The terrorists ⁴ The terrorists ⁵ Americans ⁶	Judgment Judgment Judgment Judgment Affect Judgment	Bush	For Against For Against Against For
...the US was successfully driving a wedge between militants and the Arab mainstream	The US	Appreciation	Bush	For
...Arab uprising against Osama Bin Laden.	Arab	Judgment	Bush	For
He made no reference to the fruitless ¹ search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq - a major ² justification for launching the war.	Search for WMD ¹ Justification for launching the war ¹	Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter Reporter	Against Against
We wanted ¹ to put our bodies and what that money	We ¹	Affect	Protester	Against

goes to fund - <u>the war</u> ² , <u>the occupation</u> ³ , <u>the bombs</u> ⁴	What the money goes to fund ^{2,3,4}	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation		Against Against Against
<u>Nobel-prize winning</u> economist Joseph Stiglitz calculates that the war will cost \$3 trillion	Economist Joseph Stiglitz	Judgment	Reporter	N/A
Obama <u>criticised</u> the Bush administration's motives for launching the war.	The Bush administration	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
There was a president for whom ideology over-rode pragmatism and there were <u>too many</u> ¹ politicians in Washington who spent <u>too little</u> ² time reading the intelligence reports and <u>too much</u> ³ time reading public opinion	Politicians ¹ Time reading... ² Time reading... ³	Judgment Appreciation Appreciation	Obama	Against Against Against
We have given them the <u>precious</u> gift of freedom and it is up to them to decide whether or not they will use it.	Gift of freedom	Appreciation	Hillary	For
We <u>cannot win</u> their civil war.	We	Judgment	Hillary	Against
Meanwhile in Iraq, a female <u>suicide bomber</u> killed six people	A female (who killed six people)	Judgment	Reporter	Against
US troops <u>shot dead</u> three Iraqi policemen by mistake	US troops	Judgment	Reporter	Against
... "a <u>tragic</u> ¹ accident, which was <u>sincerely regretted.</u> ² "	Accident ¹ US troops* ²	Appreciation Affect	Officials	Against For

Appendix 2

The Table of evaluation findings in the BBC's 2nd report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Iraq leader sombre on anniversary	Iraq leader	Affect	Reporter	Against
Iraqi President Jalal Talabani has singled out violence and corruption as the main problems facing his country...	Main problems facing Iraq	Appreciation	Talabani	Against
Mr Talabani welcomed ¹ the end of Saddam Hussein's era of " torture and tyranny " ² , but warned ³ that violence, terrorism and corruption ⁴ had now become a " disease " ⁵ .	Talabani ¹	Affect	Reporter	For
	Saddam 's era ²	Appreciation	Talabani	For
	Talabani ³	Affect	Reporter	Against
	Situation in Iraq* ⁴	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
...George Bush said the invasion had been "the right decision " ¹ and had made the world safer . ²	The invasion ¹	Appreciation	Bush	For
	The world ²	Appreciation		For
He also said... Arab uprising ¹ against Osama Bin Laden... US troop surge had opened the door to a major victory ²	Arab ¹	Judgment	Bush	For
	The result of US troop surge* ²	Appreciation		For
Iraqis seem to feel little ¹ for the anniversary, with security and the search for basic necessities still preoccupying ² them,	Iraqis ¹	Affect	Reporter	Against
	Security and the search for basic necessities ²	Appreciation		Against
A statement by President Talabani... hailed ¹ the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime, but also reflected the troubles afflicting ² his country	The overthrow of Saddam 's regime ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	For
	The troubles ²	Appreciation		Against
Iraqi prisons were full of " innocent " ¹ prisoners"...and became " Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes " ² .	Prisoners ¹	Judgment	Talabani	For
	Iraqi prisons ²	Appreciation		For
The " liberation " ¹ of Iraq" by US-led forces, Mr Talabani said, was the start of a new era ² , but he also warned ³	The Iraq war* ¹	Appreciation	Talabani	For
	The liberation of Iraq ²	Appreciation	Talabani	For
	He ³	Affect	Reporter	Against

that today's Iraq was still gravely ⁴ threatened.	Today's Iraq was still threatened ⁴	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
The walk on this new path began five years ago but it faces huge difficulties.	Difficulties	Appreciation	Talabani	Against
There is violence and terrorism ¹ and corruption has become a dangerous disease ²	Situation in Iraq* ¹ Corruption ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Talabani	Against Against
More than 4,000 coalition troops have also been killed ...	More than 4,000 coalition troops	Judgment	Reporter	Against
The law, seen as a vital step ¹ in the reconciliation process... Vice President Adel Abdul-Mahdi said it was unconstitutional ² .	The law ¹ It [the law] ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter Abdul-Mahdi	For Against
Mr Abdul-Mahdi's objection was said to centre on an article...	Mr Abdul-Mahdi	Affect	Reporter	Against
His party, the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC), won ¹ control of many of the provinces... but now faces a growing challenge ² ...	SIIC ¹ SIIC ²	Appreciation/ Judgment Appreciation/ Judgment	Reporter	N/A N/A
The presidency's announcement was welcomed by the Iraqi PM.	Iraqi PM	Affect	Reporter	For
"Reconstruction and the building of services and culture cannot be achieved ¹ in the shadow of economic corruption ² , manipulation and the placement of dishonest ³ people in sensitive places"	Reconstruction, building of services and culture ¹ The economy in Iraq* ² People ³	Appreciation Appreciation Judgment	Iraqi PM	Against Against Against
the Iraqi security forces reached a " critical mass " in their numbers	The number of the Iraqi security forces	Appreciation	al-Rubaie	For
...the willingness ¹ of so-called Sunni Arab Awakening movements to work with the US... and the declaration of a ceasefire ... had also been crucial . ²	Sunni Arab Awakening movements ¹ The declaration of a ceasefire ²	Affect Appreciation	al-Rubaie	For For
...the neighbouring countries of Iran, Syria and Saudi Arabia, whose porous borders are believed to have	The borders of the neighbouring countries of	Appreciation	al-Rubaie	Against

been crossed by...insurgents.	Iraq			
...the government now <u>faced</u> <u>a real challenge</u> ¹ to maintain the <u>low</u> ² level of violence...	The government ¹ Level of violence ²	Appreciation/ Judgment Appreciation	al-Rubaie	Against For
He said this could only be achieved through a policy of " <u>aggressive</u> national reconciliation"	National reconciliation	Appreciation	al-Rubaie	For
The majority of the <u>criminal</u> acts in Iraq... were financially motivated.	Acts	Appreciation	al-Rubaie	Against

Appendix 3

The Table of evaluation findings in the BBC's 3rd report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
The Liberal Democrats have called for an inquiry into the Iraq war, on the fifth anniversary of the conflict .	The Iraq war*	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
He said both "shared the blame ¹ for this catastrophic ² foreign policy mistake " ³ .	Brown and Cameron ¹	Judgment	Ed Davey	Against
	Foreign policy ²	Appreciation		Against
	Brown and Cameron's voting in favour of the invasion * ³	Appreciation		Against
The Conservatives also want an inquiry, but Foreign Secretary David Miliband said this should happen only...	the Conservatives	Affect	Reporter	Against
Mr Davey said "the death and destruction ¹ wrought by this disastrous ² war ought to compel even the most diehard ³ supporters of the original decision to revise their position".	The result of the war* ¹	Appreciation	Ed Davey	Against Against
	War ²	Appreciation		
	Supporters ³	Judgment		
"Contrary to the ludicrous ¹ claims of victory ² made by the likes of David Miliband and George Bush, the war has made Iraq a more dangerous ³ place at a horrific ⁴ cost."	Claims of victory ¹	Appreciation	Ed Davey	Against For
	The Iraq war* ²	Appreciation		
This was true "whether measured in terms of lives, money or our security"	Iraq ³	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
	Cost ⁴	Appreciation		
The war has made Iraq is a more dangerous place at a horrific cost*	The war has made Iraq is a more dangerous place at a horrific cost*	Appreciation		
This was to see if a continuing US and UK military presence in Iraq was actually more of a problem ¹ than a "contribution towards the solution " ² , he added.	Continuing US and UK military presence in Iraq ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
	Continuing US and UK military presence in Iraq ²	Appreciation	Charles Kennedy	For
But Mr Miliband... it was " right that we have our full	That we have our	Appreciation	Miliband	N/A

focus" on the work currently being carried out by UK troops in Iraq.	full focus			
The Foreign Office has insisted there is " <u>clear</u> ¹ evidence" of <u>progress</u> ² in Iraq.	Evidence of progress in Iraq ¹ Situation in Iraq* ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Foreign Office	For For
We have also acknowledged that <u>mistakes</u> were made...	UK participation in the Iraq war*	Appreciation	Spokesman	Against
...US President George W Bush said the <u>conflict</u> ¹ had made the world <u>safer</u> ² .	The war* ¹ The world ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush Bush	Against For
Overthrowing former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been "the <u>right</u> decision", he insisted.	Overthrowing Saddam Hussein	Appreciation	Bush	For
Shadow foreign secretary William Hague told the BBC it would become " <u>progressively harder</u> ¹ to conduct a <u>meaningful</u> ² inquiry"	To conduct a meaningful inquiry ¹ Inquiry ²	Appreciation Appreciation	William Hague	N/A N/A

Appendix 4

The table of evaluation findings in CNN's 1st chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
President Bush... calling the debate over the conflict ¹ " understandable " ² but insisting that a continued U.S. presence there is crucial ³ .	The Iraq war* ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
	The debate over the conflict ²	Appreciation	Bush	For
	U.S. presence there ³	Appreciation		For
"The answers are clear to me," Bush says.	The answers	Appreciation	Bush	For
"Removing Saddam Hussein from power was the right ¹ decision, and this is a fight America can and must win ." ²	The decision of removing Saddam ¹	Appreciation	Bush	For
	America ²	Appreciation		For
Almost 4,000 American troops have died ¹ in the war, a painful ² toll that Bush acknowledges in his remarks	Almost 4,000 American troops ¹ Toll ²	Judgment Appreciation	Reporter	Against Against
"No one would argue that this war has not come at a high cost in lives and treasure	Cost in lives and treasure	Appreciation	Bush	Against
...those costs are necessary ¹ when we consider the cost of a strategic victory ² for our enemies in Iraq."	Those costs ¹	Appreciation	Bush	For
	The result of the Iraq war* ²	Appreciation		For
Bush contends that the troop surge... has been a success ¹ and was necessary at a point when "the fight in Iraq was faltering ." ²	The troop surge ¹	Appreciation	Bush	For
	The fight in Iraq ²	Appreciation		Against
...it has opened the door to a major ¹ strategic victory ² in the broader war on terror,"	Strategic victory ¹ The result of the war* ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
Still, large-scale attacks by terrorists and insurgent groups continue in Iraq	Groups	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Bombings killed ¹ six Iraqis and wounded ² 51 in northeastern Baghdad...	Six Iraqis ¹ 51 Iraqis ²	Judgment Judgment	Reporter	Against Against
...they "can no longer	Hilary and	Appreciation	Bush	For

credibly ¹ argue that we are losing ² in Iraq, so now they argue the war costs too much."	Obama's argument ¹ We ²	Judgment		Against
The opinion piece... was authored by Joseph E. Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize-winning economist	Joseph E. Stiglitz	Judgment	Reporter	N/A
Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada cited the \$3 trillion figure when criticizing the Bush administration's position on the war.	The Bush administration's position on the war.	Appreciation	Reid	Against
Bush, in his speech, calls the projected cost " exaggerated. "	The projected cost	Appreciation	Bush	For
the president says it will take more than weapons to defeat terrorist forces	Terrorist forces	Judgment	Bush	For
"So we are helping the people of Iraq establish a democracy in the heart of the Middle East," Bush says	We	Judgment	Bush	For
"A free ¹ Iraq will fight ² terrorists rather than harbor them. ³ "	Iraq ^{1,2,3}	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For For

Appendix 5

The table of evaluation findings in CNN's 2nd chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ persona	Contextual value
Several hundred anti-war protesters... the U.S.-led invasion ¹ of Iraq, splattering red paint on government offices and scuffling ² with police.	Iraq War ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
	The protesters ²	Judgment	Reporter	Against
Protesters... demanded the arrests of President Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney and ... Condoleezza Rice as war criminals .	Bush, Cheney and Condoleezza Rice ²	Judgment	Reporter	Against
We support ¹ our brave ² military and their just ³ mission.	We ¹ Military ² Mission ³	Affect Judgment Appreciation	War supporter	For For For
115 people were arrested and released after being cited for misdemeanors ...	115 people	Judgment	Police spokesman	N/P
But most participants were peaceful ¹ , and most had a comic ² bent.	Most participants ¹	Judgment	Reporter	N/P
	Most participants ²	Judgment		N/P
Laurie Wolberton of Louisville... she fears ¹ that the worsening ² U.S. economy has caused Americans to forget about the war.	Laurie Wolberton ¹ U.S. economy ²	Affect Appreciation	Laurie Wolberton	Against Against
...the CIA concluded that Iraq had dismantled its weapons programs in the 1990s.	Iraq	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Nearly 4,000 Americans have died in Iraq since then...	4,000 Americans	Judgment	Reporter	Against
Bush said Hussein's removal has left the world better ¹ off and the United States safer ² .	The world ¹	Appreciation	Bush	For
	the United States ²	Appreciation		For
He said that last year's buildup of American troops has helped ¹ quell the sectarian warfare ²	Last year's buildup of American troops ¹ What brought	Appreciation	Bush	For

that brought Iraq to the brink of civil war ³ .	Iraq to the brink of civil war ² Situation in Iraq* ³	Appreciation		Against
"there is still a lot of hard work to be done."	work to be done	Appreciation	Bush	Against
But the conflict is now widely unpopular at home	the conflict	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
32 percent of Americans support the conflict	32 percent of Americans	Affect	Reporter	For
And 61 percent said they want the next president to remove most U.S. troops...	61 percent (of Americans)	Affect	Reporter	Against
A sign in front of him read, " no torture, no secret prisons, no detention ¹ without legal process," referring to several contentious ² issues tied to the war.	US troops* ¹ Issues ²	Judgment Appreciation	Protesters	Against Against

Appendix 6

The table of evaluation findings in CNN's 3rd chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Surge or splurge in Iraq?	U.S. surge	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
On the fifth anniversary of the war in Iraq, with nearly 4,000 American lives lost ¹ , is Iraq really on a path to peace ² ?	4,000 American ¹	Judgment	Reporter	Against
	Future in Iraq* ²	Appreciation		For
Three factors are often cited in explaining the improvement in security	Situation in Iraq*	Appreciation	Reporter	For
...and the cease fire ¹ ordered by anti-American ² cleric Muqtada al-Sadr.	Situation in Iraq* ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	For
	Muqtada al-Sadr ²	Judgment		Against
It's a truth ¹ many hold to be self-evident that more American troops translate into less Iraqi violence ² ...	More American troops... ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
	More American troops ²	Appreciation		For
President Bush said... "Some may deny the surge is working ¹ , but among the terrorists ² there is no doubt."	Surge ¹	Appreciation Judgment	Bush	Against For
	Whom the US troops fight* ²			
But some military experts do have doubts, arguing there's actually a mightier force at work	Force	Appreciation	Some military experts	Against
Retired Army Col. Doug Macgregor, a longtime critic ¹ of top Iraq commander Gen. David Petraeus, said it's a " cash-for-peace " ² scheme that is bound to backfire.	Col. Doug Macgregor ¹	Judgment	Reporter	Against
	Scheme ²	Appreciation	Doug Macgregor	Against
"Normally when you begin paying off your enemy ¹ on the scale that we are, it is seen by your enemy ² as well as others as a tacit admission of failure ³ , not of success " ⁴	Sunni-Arab insurgents ¹	Judgment	Macgregor	Against
	Sunni-Arab insurgents ²	Judgment		Against
	Tactic admission ³	Appreciation		Against
	Tactic admission ⁴	Appreciation		Against
It's hard ¹ to pin down exactly how many millions are going to former insurgents to switch sides,	To pin down exactly how many ...going to former insurgents ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against

but Macgregor argues the result is artificial progress ² .	The result ²	Appreciation	Macgregor	Against
"What we've done is we've also flooded the Sunni-Arab insurgents with cash to create a temporary cease-fire ¹ to reduce the numbers of U.S. casualties ³ ,"	Cease-fire ¹ Situation in Iraq* ² The number of US ³	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Macgregor	Against For For
Gen. Petraeus' former deputy commander bristles ¹ at the suggestion that the U.S. is bribing ² bad ³ guys to back off.	Gen. Petraeus ¹ U.S. ² Guy ³	Affect Judgment Judgment	Reporter	Against Against Against
"That is such a simplified look ¹ at it. It's much more complex ² than that. I believe it to be the right ³ thing to do. It's about reconciling ⁴ them with the rest of the government of Iraq. It's a confidence-building ⁵ measure in reconciling them with Iraq."	A look ¹ The situation* ² Thing to do ³ The situation* ⁴ Measure ⁵	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Gen. Raymond	For For For For For
...William Cohen is concerned ¹ that direct payment is not " particularly savory ," ² but concedes it may be necessary ³ "to buy the support of people who otherwise would be a raid ⁴ against you."	William Cohen ¹ Direct payment ² To buy support... ³ (some) people ⁴	Affect Appreciation Appreciation Judgment	Reporter William Cohen Reporter William Cohen	Against Against For For
But U.S. commanders on the front lines insist anger ¹ , not greed ² , is what's behind the so-called "awakening," and has given rise ³ to grass-root groups called "Concerned Local Citizens" and "Sons of Iraq."	U.S. commanders on the front lines ¹ U.S. commanders on the front lines ² U.S. commanders on the front lines insist anger ³	Affect Judgment Judgment	Reporter	Against For For
These guys... were sick and tired ¹ of what al Qaeda was doing to their communities, and they knew that they had to stand up and fight ." ²	These guy (Sinni-Arabs) ¹ These guy (Sinni-Arabs) ²	Affect Judgment	Col. John Charlton,	For For

Critics... predict a quick return to civil war .	Future of Iraq*	Appreciation	Critics	Against
"We have to understand that this expedient ¹ policy of paying your enemy is very dangerous ² . It's fragile ³ , and eventually, hatred ⁴ of the foreign occupier overwhelms greed ⁵	Policy ¹	Appreciation	Macgregor	Against
	Expedient policy ²	Appreciation		Against
	Expedient policy ³	Appreciation		Against
	The foreign occupier ⁴	Appreciation		Against
	The foreign occupier hatred ⁵	Appreciation		Against

Appendix 7

The table of evaluation findings in Aljazeera's 1st chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
...the fifth anniversary of the US-led invasion that toppled the government of Saddam Hussein	The US-led invasion	Appreciation	Reporter	For
...making it the most expensive ¹ conflict ² in history.	The conflict ¹ Iraq war* ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter	Against Against
the war has "come at a high cost in lives and treasure"	Cost in lives and treasure	Appreciation	Bush	Against
The 2003 invasion plunged Iraq... into chaos and bloodshed .	Situation in Iraq*	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
The economy... is a shambles .	The economy	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
removing Saddam Hussein from power was the right decision	removing Saddam from power	Appreciation	Bush	For
...this is a fight America can and must win	American	Judgment/ Appreciation	Bush	For
...the first large-scale Arab uprising against Osama bin Laden.	Arab	Judgment	Bush	For
The challenge in the period ahead is to consolidate the gains we have made and seal the extremists' defeat.	to consolidate the gains we have made...	Appreciation	Bush	Against
...to consolidate the gains ¹ we have made and seal the extremists' defeat ²	What we have made ¹ Extremists ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
We have learned through hard experience	Experience	Appreciation	Bush	For
...the terrorists and extremists ¹ step in, fill the vacuum, establish safe ² havens and use them to spread chaos and carnage ³ .	Insurgents* ¹ Heavens ² Situation in Iraq* ³	Judgments Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For Against Against
The successes ¹ we are seeing in Iraq are undeniable ² , yet some in Washington still call for retreat	What we are seeing in Iraq ¹ The success ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
The surge... has opened the				

door to a major ³ strategic victory in the broader war on terror.	Victory ³	Appreciation	Bush	For
... Arab uprising ¹ against Osama bin Laden, his grim ² ideology, and his terror ³ network	Arab ¹ Ideology ² Network ³	Judgment Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For For
And the significance of this development cannot be overstated.	This development	Appreciation	Bush	For
Critics of the Iraq invasion are not impressed .	Critics	Affect	Reporter	Against
Even General David Petraeus... admits that the country has made insufficient progress...	Progress	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Hady Amr... told Al Jazeera that the US-led invasion of Iraq was a strategic disaster .	The US-led invasion of Iraq	Appreciation	Hady Amr	Against
When you have at least 200 Iraqis dying ¹ every month... I don't know how anyone can characterise that as a success ²	Iraqis ¹ Iraqis dying ²	Judgment Appreciation	Hady Amr	Against Against
The US took a country that had a lot of problems ¹ , a totalitarian ² state, and turned it into a haven ³ for terrorism	Iraq* ¹ State ² It (Iraq) ¹	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Hady Amr	For For Against
...the war has killed more than 4,000 US and allied soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.	The war	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Between 104,000 and 223,000 died between March 2003 and June 2006 alone	Iraqi civilians*	Judgment	Reporter	Against
...the plight ¹ of millions of Iraqis who still have little or no access ² to clean water, sanitation or health care was the "most critical ³ in the world".	Millions of Iraqis ^{1,2} Sanitation or health care ³	Judgment Judgment Appreciation	ICRC report	Against Against Against
Iraq's parliament has been paralysed	Iraq's parliament	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
...the US embassy in Baghdad documented a high level of corruption ¹ at all levels of government, and questioned the willingness ²	Government ¹ Nuri al_Maliki ²	Appreciation Affect	US embassy in Iraq	Against Against

of Nuri al- Maliki... to crack down on crooked ³ practices.	Practices ³	Appreciation		Against
...there has been progress towards peace ¹ ... where the situation is far less violent ² ...	Situation in Iraq ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	For
	Situation ²	Appreciation		For
An increase or "surge" in US forces... has helped reduce the violence ¹ ... Sunni former armed groups have been recruited to fight ² al-Qaeda.	An increase in US forces ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	For
	Sunni former armed groups ²	Appreciation		For
Muqtada al-Sadr... has ordered his powerful ¹ Mahdi Army militia to refrain from attacks ² on Iraqi civilians and security forces.	Mahdi Army militia ^{1,2}	Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter	Against For
Armed groups, however, continue to carry out spectacular attacks	Attacks	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
The economy is a mess , with unemployment is running at between 25 and 50 per cent of the workforce	The economy	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Oil exports are the country's main money earner ...	Oil exports	Appreciation	Reporter	For
Iraqi officials say production is at 2.9 million barrels a day, higher than pre-war levels	Oil production	Appreciation	Iraqi officials	For
...billions of dollars having been spent on often badly managed reconstruction projects	Reconstruction projects	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Government calls for Iraqi refugees to return to help rebuild the country have been largely ignored	Government calls for Iraqi refugees to return	Appreciation	Reporter	Against

Appendix 8

The table of evaluation findings in Aljazeera's 2nd chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ Persona	Contextual value
Iraq's president has welcomed the removal of the previous leader Saddam...	Iraq's president	Affect	Reporter	For
Jalal Talabani said... that "the march that started five years ago will not succeed ¹ " unless there was " real ² reconciliation"	The march ¹ Reconciliation ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Talabani	Against For
George Bush... said that a "surge" of 30,000 US troops to Iraq had succeeded in improving security in Iraq...	A "surge" of 30,000 US troops	Appreciation	Bush	For
"Because we acted, the world is better ¹ and the United States of America is safer ² "	The world ¹ The USA ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
...the war has killed more than 4,000 US and allied soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.	The war	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Between 104,000 and 223,000 died between March 2003 and June 2006 alone...	Iraqi civilians	Judgment	Reporter	Against
Iraq's prime minister said that Iraqis must select the right people to lead the country's provinces.	People	Judgment	Iraq's PM	For
Iraq's parliament has so far been paralysed ...	Iraq's parliament	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
"Reconstruction and the building of services and culture cannot be achieved ¹ in the shadow of economic corruption ² , manipulation and the placement of dishonest ³ people in sensitive places"	Reconstruction , the building of services and culture ¹ The economy of Iraq ² People ³	Appreciation Appreciation Judgment	Iraq's PM	Against Against Against
Now we have enough time to think about who can serve the country and who cannot, who adopts the right ¹ thoughts and who adopts destructive ² thoughts	Thoughts ¹ Thoughts ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Iraq's PM	Against Against
The UN's senior official in				

Iraq said on Thursday that time is running out for Iraqi politicians to resolve their differences.	Time for Iraqi politicians	Appreciation	UN's senior official	Against
"They should have more dialogue among themselves because time is short ,"	Time	Appreciation	Steffan De Mistura	Against
The oil law has been delayed in the parliament... due to differences between Shia, Sunni and Kurdish factions.	The oil law	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
While Bush said on Wednesday that violence in Iraq had dropped as a result of the US troop "surge",	violence	Appreciation	Bush	For
"The gains we've made are fragile and irreversible ¹ ... since the surge began, the level of violence is significantly down ² , civilian deaths are down ³ , sectarian killing are down ⁴ ,"	The gains ¹ Level of violence ² Civilian deaths ³ Sectarian killing ⁴	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	Against For For For
The surge is working ¹ and as a return of the success ² in Iraq...	The surge ¹ The surge ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Bush	For For
The war... plunged the country into chaos.	The war	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Bush faces continued criticism ¹ ... the even General David Petraeus... telling CNN that "progress is tenuous " ²	Bush ¹ Progress ²	Judgment Appreciation	Reporter David Petraeus	Against Against
...while fighting between Sunni and Shia factions has continued unabated .	Fighting between Sunni and Shia...	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
...there has been progress ¹ towards peace in large areas of southern and central Iraq, where the situation is far less violent ³ than it was...	Situation in Iraq* ^{1,2} The situation ³	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter	For For For
An increase in US forces... has helped reduce the violence.	An increase in US forces	Appreciation	Reporter	For
Tens of thousands of Sunni ... have also been recruited to fight al-Qaeda.	Tens of thousands of Sunni	Judgment	Reporter	For
Muqtada al-Sadr... has ordered his powerful ¹ Mahdi Army militia to refrain from	Mahdi Army militia ¹	Appreciation	Reporter	Against

attacks ² on Iraqi civilians and security forces	Mahdi Army militia ²	Appreciation		For
Armed groups, however, continue to carry out spectacular attacks.	Attacks	Appreciation	Reporter	against
"Certainly there is an effect ¹ from the surge, and the US military figures show that attacks are down ² ,"	The surge ¹ Attacks ²	Appreciation Appreciation	James Bays	For For
"But they show that attacks are down ¹ to the level of 2005. So it's fair to say that it has gone [down] ² from extremely bad ³ , but 2005 was not a peaceful ⁴ time in Iraq. It's still very very dangerous ⁵ on the streets."	Attacks ¹ Attacks ² Attacks ³ 2005 in Iraq ⁴ * ⁵	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	James Bays	For For Against Against
Adding to the security concerns in Iraq, the country's economy is in deep crisis .	country's economy	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Between 25 and 50 percent of the workforce are unemployed ...	25 and 50 percent of the workforce	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Oil exports... have remained a source of contention between rival political factions.	Political parties	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
...billions of dollars having been spent on often badly managed reconstruction projects.	Reconstruction projects	Appreciation	Reporter	N/A
And government appeals for Iraqi refugees to return to help rebuild the country have been largely ignored .	Appeals for Iraqi refugees	Appreciation	Reporter	Against

Appendix 9

The table of evaluation findings in Aljazeera's 3rd chosen report

Sentences containing evaluation	Evaluated entity	Type of appraisal	Voice/ persona	Contextual value
Iraq war batters US economy	US economy	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
Five years since the US began its invasion ¹ of Iraq, the world's largest ² economy is struggling ³ to cope with the cost...	Iraq war* ¹ U.S. economy* ² The world's largest economy ³	Appreciation Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter	Against For Against
Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel-prize winning economist... argue that the Iraq war will cost the US at least \$3 trillion	Economist Joseph Stiglitz	Judgment	Reporter	N/A
...the United States is worse off economically speaking because of the war.	The United States	Appreciation	Bilmes	Against
...we are spending \$12 billion a month in Iraq alone and that clearly limits the amount of money that we have to provide things like economic stimuli to improve the economy."	The amount of money that we have to provide things	Appreciation	Bilmes	Against
Washington's overall spending... has grown .	Washington's overall spending	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
...the funding for these programmes represents a declining share of the budget and economy.	Share of the budget and economy	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
And whatever the reasons for the US bombing of Baghdad, cheap oil has not been the result.	Oil	Appreciation	Reporter	Against
In fact, the price of oil has climbed ¹ from \$25 a barrel to a staggering ² \$110 over the past five years.	The price of oil ¹ The price of oil ²	Appreciation Appreciation	Reporter Reporter	Against Against
The oil price was \$25 per barrel before we invaded ¹ Iraq and it's about \$110 per barrel now and we only included in our model a very small ² percentage of that,"	We ¹ Percentage we included in our model* ²	Judgment Appreciation	Bilmes	Against Against
However, others say that \$3 trillion is a price worth	\$3 trillion	Appreciation	Others	For

paying by the US.				
Robert Shapiro... says the figure would be a small price to pay for stability in the Middle East.	The figure	Appreciation	Robert Shapiro	For
"If this policy were sound and successful ¹ for the people of Iraq and for the stability of the region, this \$3 trillion debt over a period of time will be a small ² price to pay and one that the American people will pay gladly . ³ "	This policy ¹	Appreciation	Robert Shapiro	For
	Price to pay ²	Appreciation		For
	American people ³	Affect		For
Others also argue that the real cause of the US' economic woes ¹ is not the war in Iraq, but the subprime mortgage crisis ² and the housing market collapse ³ .	US economy ¹	Appreciation	Others	Against
	US economy woes ²	Appreciation		Against
	The housing market ³	Appreciation		Against
Dean Baker... told Al Jazeera that tying the recession to the Iraq war was a mistake .	Iraq war	Appreciation	Dean Baker	Against
"It's like someone who doesn't take care ¹ of themselves, doesn't exercise ² , eats lots of junk food ³ , so they are in bad shape ⁴ and get pneumonia ⁵ "	Someone ¹	Judgment	Dean Baker	Against
	Someone ²	Judgment		Against
	Someone ³	Judgment		Against
	Someone ⁴	Judgment		Against
	Someone ⁵	Judgment		Against
"You know they are going to have a harder ¹ time dealing with pneumonia because they hadn't been in good shape ² before they got it.	Time dealing with pneumonia ¹	Appreciation	Dean Baker	Against
	They ²	Judgment		Against
... that if we hadn't blown \$180 billion a year on the war we would have been better prepared ¹ , we would have had a better ² educated workforce, better ³ infrastructure, a better ⁴ position to deal with the recession."	We ¹	Judgment	Dean Baker	Against
	Educated workforce ²	Appreciation		Against
	Infrastructure ³	Appreciation		Against
	Position to deal with the recession ⁴	Appreciation		Against
Thus, any idea that war is good for the economy, Bilmes argued, is a myth .	Any idea that war is good for the economy	Appreciation	Bilmes	Against

Appendix 10

BBC's First Chosen Full Report

Bush says Iraq invasion was right

Overthrowing Saddam Hussein was "the right decision", US President George W Bush said in a speech to mark the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq.



He said the world was a better place because the US had acted.

Mr Bush spoke as anti-war protests were held in several US cities amid mounting opposition to the war and its costs.

Democratic Party presidential candidate Barack Obama said the decision to invade was made on ideological grounds, instead of "reason and facts".

In his speech, Mr Bush dismissed what he called "exaggerated estimates" of the war's price tag.

"The costs are necessary when we consider the cost of a strategic victory for our enemies in Iraq," he said.

New allies

He said recent troop reinforcements had "opened the door to a major strategic victory in the broader war on terror".

Mr Bush argued that fighting Islamic militants in Iraq helped to prevent attacks on targets in the US.

"The terrorists who murder the innocent in the streets of Baghdad want to murder the innocent in the streets of American cities," he said.

"Defeating this enemy in Iraq will make it less likely we will face this enemy here at home."

He also made the case that by working with Sunni Arabs from so-called Awakening Councils to defeat al-Qaeda, the US was successfully driving a wedge between militants and the Arab mainstream.

"In Iraq," he said, "we are witnessing the first large-scale Arab uprising against Osama Bin Laden. And the significance of this development cannot be overstated."

He made no reference to the fruitless search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq - a major justification for launching the war.

Cost controversy

As the president spoke, 32 people were arrested protesting in front of the Internal Revenue Service building in Washington.

The protesters were trying to draw attention to taxpayers' money funding the war.

"We wanted to put our bodies between the money and what that money goes to fund - the war, the occupation, the bombs," said Frida Berrigan from the War Resisters League.

Anti-war protests have also been planned for other American cities including New York, Miami, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco.



Estimates of what the war has cost vary considerably. The non-partisan Congressional Budget Office estimates \$600bn (£300bn) has been spent on the war so far, including this year's appropriations.

Nobel-prize winning economist Joseph Stiglitz calculates that the war will cost \$3 trillion (£1.5 trillion) once health care for veterans and future economic losses are considered.

Campaign issue

On the presidential election campaign trail, Democratic Party front-runner Barack Obama criticised the Bush administration's motives for launching the war.

"There was a president for whom ideology over-rode pragmatism and there were too many politicians in Washington who spent too little time reading the intelligence reports and too much time reading public opinion," he said in a speech in North Carolina.

Both he and his rival for the Democratic nomination, Hillary Clinton, have pledged to end the war.



Senator Obama voted against the invasion in 2002

On a campaign stop in Detroit, Michigan, Mrs Clinton repeated her promise to start withdrawing US troops from Iraq within 60 days of being elected president, saying it was time for Iraqis to take responsibility for their future.

"We have given them the precious gift of freedom and it is up to them to decide whether or not they will use it. We cannot win their civil war. There is no military solution."

Only the expected Republican Party nominee, John McCain, has continued to support the Bush administration policy in Iraq.

Meanwhile in Iraq, a female suicide bomber killed six people at a bus station in Balad Ruz in Diyala province, according to Iraqi police.

And near the northern city of Kirkuk, US troops shot dead three Iraqi policemen by mistake, an incident officials described as "a tragic accident, which was sincerely regretted".

Appendix 11 BBC's Second Chosen Full Report **Iraq leader sombre on anniversary**

Iraqi President Jalal Talabani has singled out violence and corruption as the main problems facing his country on the fifth anniversary of the invasion.

Mr Talabani welcomed the end of Saddam Hussein's era of "torture and tyranny", but warned that violence, terrorism and corruption had now become a "disease".

He also said any further progress would not be possible without reconciliation.

On Wednesday, US President George Bush said the invasion had been "the right decision" and had made the world safer.

He also said that the US military's co-operation with Sunni Arab militias was yielding the first large-scale Arab uprising against Osama Bin Laden, and that last year's US troop surge had opened the door to a major victory.

No celebration

The BBC's Adam Brookes in Baghdad says there have been no anniversary parades in the Iraqi capital to mark the day in 2003 when air raids on Baghdad signalled the beginning of the US-led offensive. Iraqis seem to feel little for the anniversary, with security and the search for basic necessities still preoccupying them, our correspondent says.

A statement by President Talabani on Wednesday hailed the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime, but also reflected the troubles afflicting his country.

During his 24-year rule, Iraqi prisons were full of "innocent prisoners", he said added, and became "Saddam's theatres for torture and brutal crimes".

The "liberation of Iraq" by US-led forces, Mr Talabani said, was the start of a new era, but he also warned that today's Iraq was still gravely threatened.

"The walk on this new path began five years ago but it faces huge



Jalal Talabani said Iraqis still faced huge difficulties five years on

“ Reconstruction and the building of services and culture cannot be achieved in the shadow of economic corruption, manipulation and the placement of dishonest people in sensitive places ”

Nouri Maliki/ Iraqi Prime Minister

difficulties. There is violence and terrorism and corruption has become a dangerous disease," he said.

The campaign group, Iraq Body Count, says the civilian death toll since March 2003 is between 82,000 and 89,000, although it warns many deaths may have gone unreported. More than 4,000 coalition troops have also been killed.

Election law approved

Shortly after issuing the statement, Iraq's three-man presidential council said an important new law paving the way for local elections by 1 October would now be enacted.

The law, seen as a vital step in the reconciliation process, was passed by the parliament last month, but had been held up by the council since then after Vice President Adel Abdul-Mahdi said it was unconstitutional.

Mr Abdul-Mahdi's objection was said to centre on an article that would give the prime minister the authority to ask parliament to dismiss a provincial governor.

His party, the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC), won control of many of the provinces in the predominantly Shia south in the last election, but now faces a growing challenge from supporters of the radical Shia cleric, Moqtada Sadr.

The presidency's announcement was welcomed by the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nouri Maliki, in a speech on Thursday.

"Reconstruction and the building of services and culture cannot be achieved in the shadow of economic corruption, manipulation and the placement of dishonest people in sensitive places," he said. "These things must be reviewed before the provincial elections."

'Turned the table'

Mr Maliki's national security adviser, Mouwaffaq al-Rubaie, told the BBC that the "considerable reduction" in violence witnessed in Iraq over the past eight to 10 months could be attributed to a number of factors.

Firstly, the Iraqi security forces reached a "critical mass" in their numbers, preparedness and equipment levels, with the ministries of defence and interior now in command more than 600,000 personnel, he said.



Mr Talabani hailed the US-led overthrow of Saddam Hussein

Mr Rubaie said the willingness of so-called Sunni Arab Awakening movements to work with the US and Iraqi forces, and the declaration of a ceasefire by Moqtada Sadr's Mehdi Army militia had, along with the US troop surge last year, also been crucial.

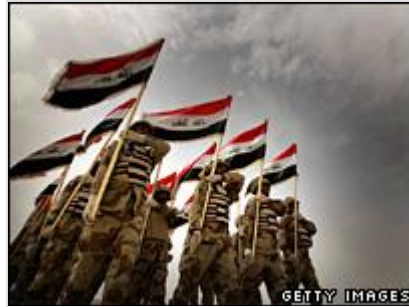
He also noted the Iraqi government's engagement with the neighbouring countries of Iran, Syria and Saudi Arabia, whose porous borders are believed to have been crossed by hundreds of insurgents.

Mr Rubaie said the government now faced a real challenge to maintain the low level of violence witnessed in recent months.

He said this could only be achieved through a policy of "aggressive national reconciliation", which included a comprehensive package of improvements in infrastructure and the provision of services, as well as job creation.

The majority of the criminal acts in Iraq, including attacks by militant groups, were financially motivated, he said.

"Instead of leaving thousands of youngsters in the streets to be picked up by al-Qaeda, we should pay them more than al-Qaeda is paying them," he said.



“ Instead of leaving thousands of youngsters in the streets to be picked up by al-Qaeda, we should pay them more than al-Qaeda is paying them ”

Mouwaffaq al-Rubaie
Iraqi National Security Adviser

Appendix 12 BBC's Third Chosen Full Report

Lib Dems call for inquiry on Iraq

The Liberal Democrats have called for an inquiry into the Iraq war, on the fifth anniversary of the conflict.

The party's foreign affairs spokesman, Ed Davey, has called on Gordon Brown and David Cameron to apologise for voting in favour of the invasion.



Thousands of residents and soldiers have been killed in the conflict

He said both "shared the blame for this catastrophic foreign policy mistake".

The Conservatives also want an inquiry, but Foreign Secretary David Miliband said this should happen only "after the cessation" of operations in Iraq.

'Horrific cost'

Mr Davey said "the death and destruction wrought by this disastrous war ought to compel even the most diehard supporters of the original decision to revise their position".

"Contrary to the ludicrous claims of victory made by the likes of David Miliband and George Bush, the war has made Iraq a more dangerous place at a horrific cost."

This was true "whether measured in terms of lives, money or our security", he added in a statement.

Charles Kennedy, who was Lib Dem leader at the start of the war, said there came a time at which progress should be reviewed, "and five years is as good a point at which to take stock as any".

This was to see if a continuing US and UK military presence in Iraq was actually more of a problem than a "contribution towards the solution", he added.

Costs 'necessary'

But Mr Miliband told BBC Radio 4's World at One it was "right that we have our full focus" on the work currently being carried out by UK troops in Iraq.

He added: "The precedent through the 20th Century was for inquiries, when they were set up, to happen after the cessation of conflict or combat, and I think that makes

sense."

The Foreign Office has insisted there is "clear evidence" of progress in Iraq.

"We have also acknowledged that mistakes were made, and drawn the appropriate lessons," a spokesman said on Saturday, in response to anti-war demonstrations attended by thousands of people in London and Glasgow.

In a speech to mark the fifth anniversary, US President George W Bush said the conflict had made the world safer.

Overthrowing former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been "the right decision", he insisted.

The Conservatives have already called for a full privy council inquiry into the war, and have scheduled a Commons debate on the issue next Tuesday.

Shadow foreign secretary William Hague told the BBC it would become "progressively harder to conduct a meaningful inquiry" unless it was held soon.

Appendix 13

CNN's First Chosen Full Report

Bush on anniversary: War in Iraq must go on

(CNN) -- Five years after he green-lighted the war in Iraq, President Bush will mark the anniversary by calling the debate over the conflict "understandable" but insisting that a continued U.S. presence there is crucial.

"The answers are clear to me," Bush says, according to excerpts of his speech to be delivered at the Pentagon on Wednesday, the day the war began in 2003.

"Removing Saddam Hussein from power was the right decision, and this is a fight America can and must win."

Almost 4,000 American troops have died in the [war](#), a painful toll that Bush acknowledges in his remarks.

"No one would argue that this war has not come at a high cost in lives and treasure, but those costs are necessary when we consider the cost of a strategic victory for our enemies in Iraq."

Bush contends that the troop surge he ordered in January 2007 has been a success and was necessary at a point when "the fight in Iraq was faltering."

"The surge has done more than turn the situation in Iraq around; it has opened the door to a major strategic victory in the broader war on terror," he says, according to the excerpts.

"For the terrorists, Iraq was supposed to be the place where [al Qaeda](#) rallied Arab masses to drive America out. Instead, Iraq has become the place where Arabs joined with Americans to drive al Qaeda out."

Still, large-scale attacks by terrorists and insurgent groups continue in Iraq. Bombings killed six Iraqis and wounded 51 in northeastern Baghdad and Mosul on Tuesday, and the death toll from a Monday suicide bombing in Karbala rose to 50.

In the excerpts, Bush acknowledges critics of the war -- including Democratic presidential candidates Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton -- and says that they "can no longer credibly argue that we are losing in Iraq, so now they argue the war costs too much."

Recently, two economists wrote a column suggesting that the war in Iraq will wind up costing the United States more than \$3 trillion.

The opinion piece, published in the Washington Post, was authored by Joseph E. Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize-winning economist who served as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Clinton, and Linda J. Bilmes, a former chief financial officer at the Commerce Department.

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada cited the \$3 trillion figure when criticizing the Bush administration's position on the war.

Bush, in his speech, calls the projected cost "exaggerated."

However, the president says it will take more than weapons to defeat terrorist forces, according to the excerpts.

"So we are helping the people of Iraq establish a democracy in the heart of the Middle East," Bush says.

"A free Iraq will fight terrorists rather than harbor them."

Appendix 14

CNN's Second Chosen Full Report

Protesters march on Iraq anniversary

WASHINGTON (AP) -- Several hundred anti-war protesters marched through Washington on Wednesday's fifth anniversary of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, splattering red paint on government offices and scuffling with police.

Protesters, including many veterans, demanded the arrests of President Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice as war criminals. Others hurled balloons full of paint at a military recruiting station and smeared it on buildings housing defense contractors Bechtel and Lockheed Martin.

Colby Dillard, who held a sign reading, "We support our brave military and their just mission," pointed to some red paint that one of the war protesters had splattered on the sidewalk.

"The same blood was spilled to give you the right to do what you're doing," Dillard, who said he served in Iraq in 2003, told The Associated Press.

"This has happened throughout the downtown area throughout the day," Metropolitan Police Capt. Jeffrey Herold said.

At least 31 people were arrested after crossing police lines outside the [Internal Revenue Service](#) building on Pennsylvania Avenue, protest organizer Freida Berrigan said. Several were released Wednesday afternoon.

Organizers of Washington's protests said that about 500 demonstrators had registered to attend but that "hundreds and hundreds more showed up," said Leslie Cagan, national director of the anti-war group United for Peace and Justice.

[Protests](#) also took place in San Francisco, where 115 people were arrested and released after being cited for misdemeanors such as trespassing, resisting arrest and blocking an intersection, said Sgt. Steve Mannina, a police spokesman.

Demonstrators split up into several groups under overcast Washington skies throughout the day, though the weather forced two events to be canceled, organizers said.

About 50 protesters of an estimated 250 engaged in shoving matches with police at McPherson Square, about two blocks from the White House, as officers tried to push them out of K Street traffic. About 20 others blocked traffic around K Street and Connecticut Avenue by chaining their hands together inside school desks, demanding more money for education and less spending on the war.

They dispersed after police didn't move in to arrest them, declaring victory by shutting down the street.

But most participants were peaceful, and some had a comic bent. The activist group Code Pink pushed a pink bed on wheels down the street, urging Americans to "wake up," and one demonstration featured a trailer with an effigy of Bush riding a cartoon bomb.

More serious, members of the "Granny Peace Brigade" delivered boxes of hand-knitted "stump socks" -- meant to keep the ends of amputated limbs warm -- to the Department of Veterans Affairs. Workers there suggested that they donate the boxes to the USO instead.

Laurie Wolberton of Louisville, Kentucky, whose son just finished an Army tour of duty in Iraq, told The Associated Press she fears that the worsening U.S. economy has caused Americans to forget about the war.

"We're not paying attention anymore," she said. "My son has buried his friends. He's given eulogies; he's had to go through things no one should have to go through, and over here, they've forgotten. They just go shopping instead."

Bush ordered U.S. troops into Iraq on March 19, 2003, after months of warnings that then-Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was concealing stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and efforts to build a nuclear bomb. U.N. weapons inspectors found no sign of banned weapons before the invasion, and the CIA concluded that Iraq had dismantled its weapons programs in the 1990s.

Nearly 4,000 Americans have died in Iraq since then, and estimates of the Iraqi toll range from about 80,000 to 150,000 or more. Nearly 160,000 U.S. troops remain in Iraq, and the war has cost U.S. taxpayers about \$600 billion, according to the House Budget Committee.

Speaking on the war's anniversary, Bush said Hussein's removal has left the world better off and the United States safer. He said that last year's buildup of American troops has helped quell the sectarian warfare that brought Iraq to the brink of civil war in 2006 but that "there is still a lot of hard work to be done."

But the [conflict](#) is now widely unpopular at home: A CNN-Opinion Research Corp. poll released Wednesday found that only 32 percent of Americans support the conflict. And 61 percent said they want the next president to remove most U.S. troops within a few months of taking office.

Outside the National Archives, anti-war protesters laid a large cloth on the ground with the preamble to the U.S. Constitution drawn on it. The placement forced people to walk over the text in order to enter the building.

Also in front of the Archives was a masked man dressed in orange prison clothing, kneeling with his hands tied behind his back. A sign in front of him read, "no torture, no secret prisons, no detention without legal process," referring to several contentious issues tied to the war.

And about 70 people marched from Arlington Cemetery in Virginia to the Vietnam War Memorial, where they read the names of victims from that conflict. The group also visited the State Department, where many of them played dead by "freezing" themselves in various poses.

Appendix 15

CNN's Third Chosen Full Report

Surge or splurge in Iraq?

(CNN) -- On the fifth anniversary of the war in Iraq, with nearly 4,000 American lives lost, is Iraq really on a path to peace?

Three factors are often cited in explaining the improvement in security: the U.S. troop surge, the political "awakening" of the Iraqi people, and the cease fire ordered by anti-American cleric Muqtada al-Sadr.

But some say a controversial fourth dynamic is at play as well -- cash, being doled out by the barrelful.

It's a truth many hold to be self-evident that more American troops translate into less Iraqi violence. As [President Bush](#) said in January's State of the Union speech, "Some may deny the surge is working, but among the terrorists there is no doubt."

But some military experts do have doubts, arguing there's actually a mightier force at work -- hundreds of millions in cash given to Iraqis, for everything from picking up garbage to taking up arms against al Qaeda.

Retired Army Col. Doug Macgregor, a longtime critic of top [Iraq](#) commander Gen. David Petraeus, said it's a "cash-for-peace" scheme that is bound to backfire.

"Normally when you begin paying off your enemy on the scale that we are, it is seen by your enemy as well as others as a tacit admission of failure, not of success," Macgregor said.

It's hard to pin down exactly how many millions are going to former insurgents to switch sides, but Macgregor argues the result is artificial progress.

"What we've done is we've also flooded the Sunni-Arab insurgents with cash to create a temporary cease-fire to reduce the numbers of U.S. casualties," he said.

Gen. [Petraeus](#)' former deputy commander bristles at the suggestion that the U.S. is bribing bad guys to back off.

"That is such a simplified look at it. It's much more complex than that. I believe it to be the right thing to do. It's about reconciling them with the rest of the government of Iraq. It's a confidence-building measure in reconciling them with Iraq," Lt. Gen. Raymond Odierno told CNN.

Former Defense Secretary William Cohen is concerned that direct payment is not "particularly savory," but concedes it may be necessary "to buy the support of people who otherwise would be a raid against you."

"Is that helping to turn the tide? If it's only a question of a tactical distribution of money for a short period of time, then it won't stand up, and it will be reversed the moment we leave," Cohen said.

But U.S. commanders on the front lines insist anger, not greed, is what's behind the so-called "awakening," and has given rise to grass-root groups called "Concerned Local Citizens" and "Sons of Iraq."

"When we first started these programs, these guys weren't getting paid a dime," said Col. John Charlton, 1st Brigade Commander with the 3rd Infantry Division.

"We didn't advertise, you know, 'Join the police force, and we'll give you money.' These guys lined up by the hundreds because they were sick and tired of what al Qaeda was doing to their communities, and they knew that they had to stand up and fight."

So that happens when the money dries up?

Critics, Macgregor among them, predict a quick return to civil war.

"We have to understand that this expedient policy of paying your enemy is very dangerous. It's fragile, and eventually, hatred of the foreign occupier overwhelms greed," he said.

Appendix 16

Aljazeera's First Chosen Full Report

Iraq war enters sixth year

Thursday marks the fifth anniversary of the US-led invasion that toppled the government of Saddam Hussein, Iraq's president.

The war is estimated to have already cost the US more than \$400bn, making it the most expensive conflict in history.

George Bush, the US president, is to deliver a speech at the Pentagon, the US military headquarters, on Wednesday to mark the invasion's fifth anniversary. In extracts of the speech released by the White House, he acknowledges that the war has "come at a high cost in lives and treasure", but defends both the decision to invade and to boost the number of US troops in Iraq last year.



The US says the troop 'surge' of 2007 has helped reduce violence levels in Iraq [GALLO/GETTY]

Invasion aftermath

The 2003 invasion plunged Iraq, a country of 26 million people, into chaos and bloodshed.

Iraqis and US forces still face daily attacks from armed groups, and fighting between armed factions from both sides of Iraq's Sunni-Shia sectarian divide rages on.

The economy, the main concern of Iraqis after security, is a shambles.

In his speech, Bush says that "removing Saddam Hussein from power was the right decision - and this is a fight America can and must win".

He says last year's troop build-up has turned Iraq around and produced "the first large-scale Arab uprising against Osama bin Laden.

"The challenge in the period ahead is to consolidate the gains we have made and seal the extremists' defeat".

'Hard experience'

In the Pentagon speech, Bush further says: "We have learned through hard experience what happens when we pull our forces back too fast - the terrorists and extremists step in, fill the vacuum, establish safe havens and use them to spread chaos and carnage.

"The successes we are seeing in Iraq are undeniable, yet some in Washington still call for retreat.

"The surge has done more than turn the situation in Iraq around - it has opened the door to a major strategic victory in the broader war on terror.

"For the terrorists, Iraq was supposed to be the place where al-Qaeda rallied Arab masses to drive America out. Instead, Iraq has become the place where Arabs joined with Americans to drive al-Qaeda out.

"In Iraq, we are witnessing the first large-scale Arab uprising against Osama bin Laden, his grim ideology, and his terror network. And the significance of this development cannot be overstated."

Critics unimpressed

Critics of the Iraq invasion are not impressed.

They are planning hundreds of protests around the world.

Even General David Petraeus, the commander of US forces in Iraq, admits that the country has made insufficient progress towards national reconciliation.

Hady Amr, a Middle East analyst at the Brookings Institution in Doha, Qatar, told Al Jazeera that the US-led invasion of Iraq was a strategic disaster.

He said: "When you have at least 200 Iraqis dying every month in attacks on a per capita equivalent ... I don't know how anyone can characterise that as a success."

"The US took a country that had a lot of problems, a totalitarian state, and turned it into a haven for terrorism."

Deteriorating situation

So far, the war has killed more than 4,000 US and allied soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

Between 104,000 and 223,000 died between March 2003 and June 2006 alone, according to the World Health Organisation.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, in its latest report, said the plight of millions of Iraqis who still have little or no access to clean water, sanitation or health care was the "most critical in the world".

Your Views

**After five years,
was the Iraq war
worth it?**

Send us your views

Iraq's parliament has been paralysed by competition between parties driven by sectarian interests.

Last year the US embassy in Baghdad documented a high level of corruption at all levels of government, and questioned the willingness of Nuri al- Maliki, the Iraqi prime minister, to crack down on crooked practices.



More than two million Iraqis have fled the country since the 2003 invasion [GETTY]

Nevertheless, there has been progress towards peace in large areas of southern and central Iraq, where the situation is far less violent than it was even a year ago.

An increase or "surge" in US forces, which over the past year increased the level of troops to more than 160,000, has helped reduce the violence, and tens of thousands of Sunni former armed groups have been recruited to fight al-Qaeda.

At the same time, Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia leader, has ordered his powerful Mahdi Army militia to refrain from attacks on Iraqi civilians and security forces.

Armed groups, however, continue to carry out spectacular attacks.

Failed economy

The economy is a mess, with unemployment is running at between 25 and 50 per cent of the workforce, according to government figures.

Oil exports are the country's main money earner and a key source of contention between rival political factions.

Iraqi officials say production is at 2.9 million barrels a day, higher than pre-war levels, oil analysts believe it is really around 2.2 million.

Public services like water and electricity have yet to be fully restored, despite billions of dollars having been spent on often badly managed reconstruction projects.

Government calls for Iraqi refugees to return to help rebuild the country have been largely ignored. Fewer than 50,000 have returned from neighbouring Jordan and Syria, while more than two million have fled.

Appendix 17

Aljazeera's Second Chosen Full Report

Unity urged on Iraq war anniversary

Iraq's president has welcomed the removal of the previous leader Saddam Hussein on the fifth anniversary of an invasion by US-led forces, while urging Iraqis to work towards peace.

Jalal Talabani said on Thursday that "the march that started five years ago will not succeed" unless there was "real reconciliation" among Iraqis.

His comments come a day after George Bush, the US president, said that a "surge" of 30,000 US troops to Iraq had succeeded in improving security in Iraq and the wider world.

"Because we acted, the world is better and the United States of America is safer," he said on Wednesday at the Pentagon.

But so far, the war has killed more than 4,000 US and allied soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

Between 104,000 and 223,000 died between March 2003 and June 2006 alone, according to the World Health Organisation.

Reconciliation effort

As the war in Iraq entered its sixth year, Iraq's prime minister said that Iraqis must select the right people to lead the country's provinces.

Iraq's parliament has so far been paralysed by competition between parties driven by sectarian interests, and a previous provincial vote in 2005 was boycotted by Sunni Muslims.

"Reconstruction and the building of services and culture cannot be achieved in the shadow of economic corruption, manipulation and the placement of dishonest people in sensitive places," Nuri al-Maliki said in a speech in Hillah, capital of Babil province.

"These things must be reviewed before the provincial elections."

Iraq's presidential council on Wednesday signed off a measure which clears the way for a new provincial vote to be held by October 1.



Iraqi civilians have struggled to lead normal lives amid the continuing conflict [AFP]

Your Views

After five years, was the Iraq war worth it?

Send us your views

"Now we have enough time to think about who can serve the country and who cannot, who adopts the right thoughts and who adopts destructive thoughts," al-Maliki said.

UN warning

The UN's senior official in Iraq said on Thursday that time is running out for Iraqi politicians to resolve their differences.

"They should have more dialogue among themselves because time is short," Steffan De Mistura said.

"We are all here together to work with the Iraqis, but they should know, and they know, but we should remind them today, that the time is short for getting their own acts together as well."



He particularly cited the delay in passing a law which will regulate the distribution of the country's vast oil wealth.

"The political process is not taking enough opportunity from that window of opportunity in order to make sure that the oil law and other laws move forward," De Mistura said.

The oil law has been delayed in the parliament for more than a year due to differences between Shia, Sunni and Kurdish factions.

Surge 'working'

While Bush said on Wednesday that violence in Iraq had dropped as a result of the US troop "surge", he acknowledged that a lot more progress was needed for long-term stability there.

"The gains we've made are fragile and irreversible, but on this anniversary, the American people should know that since the surge began, the level of violence is significantly down, civilian deaths are down, sectarian killings are down," Bush said.



Bush asserted his view that the war in Iraq is necessary and worthwhile [AFP]

"The surge is working and as a return of the success in Iraq we have begun bringing some of our troops home."

However, he said that US troop withdrawals from Iraq above those already agreed "must not jeopardise" what he called recent improvements in security there.

The war, which is estimated to have already cost the US more than \$400bn, has plunged the country into chaos.

Bush faces continued criticism for his administration's strategy on the war, with even General David Petraeus, the commander of US forces in Iraq, telling CNN

that "progress is tenuous" in Iraq.

Iraqis and US forces are attacked on a daily basis by armed groups, while fighting between Sunni and Shia factions has continued unabated.

Some progress

Despite continuing security problems, there has been progress towards peace in large areas of southern and central Iraq, where the situation is far less violent than it was a year ago.

An increase in US forces, which over the past year raised the level of troops to more than 160,000, has helped reduce the violence.

Tens of thousands of Sunni former armed groups have also been recruited to fight al-Qaeda.

At the same time, Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia leader, has ordered his powerful Mahdi Army militia to refrain from attacks on Iraqi civilians and security forces.

Armed groups, however, continue to carry out spectacular attacks.

"Certainly there is an effect from the surge, and the US military figures show that attacks are down," James Bays, Al Jazeera's correspondent in Iraq, said on Wednesday.

"But they show that attacks are down to the level of 2005. So it's fair to say that it has gone [down] from extremely bad, but 2005 was not a peaceful time in Iraq. It's still very very dangerous on the streets."

Failed economy

Adding to the security concerns in Iraq, the country's economy is in deep crisis.

Between 25 and 50 percent of the workforce are unemployed, according to government figures.

Oil exports are the country's main source of income, but have remained a source of contention between rival political factions.

Public services like water and electricity have yet to be fully restored, despite billions of dollars having been spent on often badly managed reconstruction projects.

And government appeals for Iraqi refugees to return to help rebuild the country have been largely ignored.

Fewer than 50,000 have returned from neighbouring Jordan and Syria, while more than two million have fled.

In video

Working in a war zone

Five years on: The coalition of the willing in Iraq

Iraq's failing health care system



US commanders say that a 'surge' of US troops has contributed to Iraqi security [AFP]

Appendix 18
Aljazeera's Third Chosen Full Report

Iraq war batters US economy

By Adla Massoud



Oil prices have rocketed since the US invasion of Iraq [GALLO/GETTY]

Five years since the the US began its invasion of Iraq, the world's largest economy is struggling to cope with the cost - estimated to be at least \$500 billion and rising.

Two prominent US economists say the Iraq war and the US economy are now inextricably linked.

Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel-prize winning economist, and Linda Bilmes, authors of "The Three Trillion Dollar War," argue that the Iraq war will cost the US at least \$3 trillion and possibly as much as \$5 trillion.

Bilmes, a budget and public finance expert at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, told Al Jazeera that "both in a long-term sense and a short-term sense, the United States is worse off economically speaking because of the war.

"In a long-term sense, we have added already about \$800 billion to our national debt as a result of the borrowing and the war," she said.

"In the short-term sense, we are spending \$12 billion a month in Iraq alone and that clearly limits the amount of money that we have to provide things like economic stimuli to improve the economy."

Oil prices go up, not down

Washington's overall spending on domestic programmes outside of defence, such as education, highways and law enforcement, has grown.

But over the seven years of the Bush presidency, the funding for these programmes represents a declining share of the budget and economy.

Bilmes said her study looked at the total cost of the war, which includes the total amount of money that has been spent to date, the cost of taking care of veterans when they return, providing disability compensation to veterans, replenishing military equipment and the cost of borrowing.



Thousands have lost their homes in the US subprime mortgage crisis [GALLO/GETTY]

And whatever the reasons for the US bombing of Baghdad, cheap oil has not been the result.

In fact, the price of oil has climbed from \$25 a barrel to a staggering \$110 over the past five years.

"The price of oil is an interesting issue. The oil price was \$25 per barrel before we invaded Iraq and it's about \$110 per barrel now and we only included in our model a very small percentage of that," Bilmes said.

Cost of stability

However, others say that \$3 trillion is a price worth paying by the US.

Robert Shapiro, a former undersecretary of commerce in the Clinton administration and fellow at the Brookings Institution says the figure would be a small price to pay for stability in the Middle East.

"The Bush administration in Iraq is not driven by economics," Shapiro said. "They are driven by judgments about the impact of this policy on the role of the United States in the world and that's as it should be.

This \$3 trillion debt over a period of time will be a small price to pay and one that the American people will pay gladly.

Robert Shapiro

"If this policy were sound and successful for the people of Iraq and for the stability of the region, this \$3 trillion debt over a period of time will be a small price to pay and one that the American people will pay gladly."

Economic flu

Others also argue that the real cause of the US' economic woes is not the war in Iraq, but the subprime mortgage crisis and the housing market collapse.

Dean Baker, a co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, a Washington think tank, told Al Jazeera that tying the recession to the Iraq war was a mistake.

"It's like someone who doesn't take care of themselves, doesn't exercise, eats lots of junk food, so they are in bad shape and get pneumonia," Baker said.

"You know they are going to have a harder time dealing with pneumonia because they hadn't been in good shape before they got it.

"I would say that is the same thing with the war and the recession, that if we hadn't blown \$180 billion a year on the war we would have been better prepared, we would have had a better educated workforce, better infrastructure, a better position to deal with the recession."

But Bilmes said the borrowed trillions have to come from somewhere.

"The money is borrowed in the capital markets and approximately 40 percent of the money that is borrowed this way is financed from overseas," she said.

"We had to borrow all the money that we've used to wage the war and of course we would have to pay interest on that money that we borrowed as well as repaying that money itself. So this really is a transfer of the cost of the war to the next generation."

Thus, any idea that war is good for the economy, Bilmes argued, is a myth.