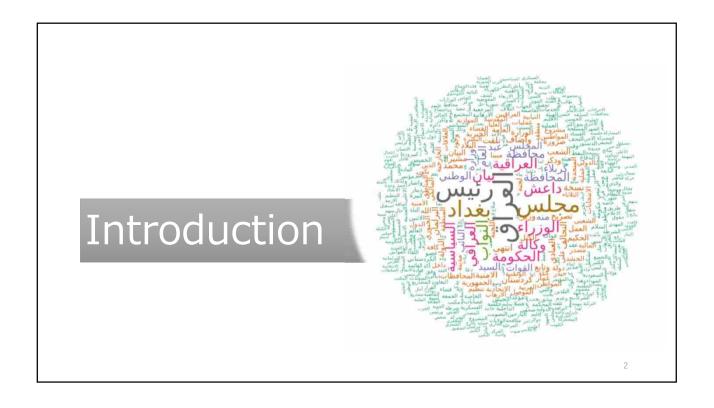
Measuring Wave of Sectarianism in Iraqi Media: Based on Quantitative Text Analysis

Dai Yamao, Kyushu University Baghdad, September 28, 2019



Objective

- Aim
- Measuring Socio-political impact of the IS (Islamic State)
 - By focusing on the tone of reporting of Iraqi newspapers



- Sectarianism
 - Conflict between Sunni and Shia

- Literatures of sectarianism
- Large number of literatures
 - ○ Reason for emergence
 - × What socio-political condition sectarianism spread or decrease
- × IS's impact?



 Impact of IS => tone of reporting on sectarianism

3

Methodology

- Quantitative text analysis
 - Extract text data quantitatively, analyze statistically
- Tone of reporting sectarianism of major Arabic newspapers published in Iraq
 - · Zaman, Furat, Nun
- Other index
 - Critical junctures (crucial events)
 - · Intensity of conflict

- Zaman: oversea paper
 - Sa'd al-Bazzaz (former high ranking official of Ba'th party)
 - · Close to those who in abrod
- Furat: domestic paper
 - Partisan (ISCI, Hakim)
 - Close to current government
- Nun: domestic paper
 - Independent
 - Close to Shi'ite religious establishment, Karbala

Hypotheses

.

Crucial Events

Event	Period	IS	Characteristics
E1	Till 20/4/2013	Pre-	Before the IS: From the Arab Spring till the local election
E2	Till 10/6/2014	Mid-	The influx of the IS: From the influx of the IS till the fall of Mosul
E 3	Till 30/3/2015	Mid-	The IS clean-up operations by the PMU (Hashd al-Sha'bi)
E4	Till 25/6/2016	Mid-	Criticism: the spread of sectarianism
E5	Till 17/10/2016	Mid-	Expansion of criticism: Criticism against the PMU expands
E 6	Till 10/7/2017	Mid-	The operation to liberate Mosul (17/10/2016-10/7/2017)
E7	Till 9/12/2017	Mid-	The decline of the IS: The liberation of Mosul till the declaration of complete victory over the IS
E8	Till 21/6/2019	Post-	After the IS: The fourth general election

Hypotheses

• H1: IS Impact

- IS = crisis of survival
- Need to overcome sectarian conflict
- H1: Tone of reporting news becomes conciliatory after the rise of the IS in order to overcome the crisis of survival of the Iraqi state.

H2: Newspapers

- Difference in newspaper
 - · Zaman: oversea, exiled elite,
 - Furat: domestic, party's paper, central government's view
 - *Nun*: domestic, close to the religious establishment



• H2: Tone of reporting on issues to do with the IS differs depending on the newspaper's character.

7

Hypotheses

• H3: Crucial Event by Papers

 Influence of decisive political events on each paper (oversea and domestic)



 H3: Impact of domestic political events on reporting differs between domestic and overseas papers.

• H4: Intensity of Conflict

 Number of victim => intensity of conflict => impact of the IS

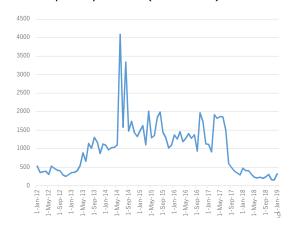


• H4: As the intensity of conflict goes up, overall reporting becomes negative, but influence exerted by the intensity of conflict differs from newspaper to newspaper.

Dataset

- Newspapers
- *Zaman*:
 - 24,845 articles
 - 7 Feb 2012 21 Jun 2019
- Furat:
 - 59,960 articles
 - 1 Nov 2011 18 Jun 2019
- Nun:
 - 47,937 articles
 - 1 Jan 2011 20 Jun 2019
- Total corpus
 - 132,742 articles

- Intensity of conflict (monthly)
- Iraqi Body Count (IBC index)



Statistical Analysis on Reporting Tone

Estimation of sentiment score by Latent Sematic Scaling (LSS)

- ✓LSS (latent sematic scaling)
 - Semi-supervised model of machine learning
 - Assign seed words
 - Learn relation between seed words and other words among whole corpus
 - Categorize by Naive Bayes
 - Assign sentiment scores to every document
- For more detail and algorithm, please refer to [Watanabe 2017; 2018]

As reference....

- √Supervised model
 - Dictionary analysis (which is shown previously)
- ✓ No-supervised model
 - Topic model
 - Word fish, word score
- ✓Semi-supervised model
 - Combine above 2 model

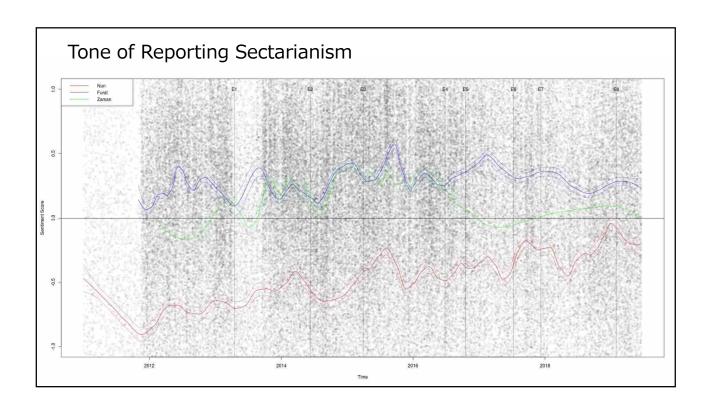
11

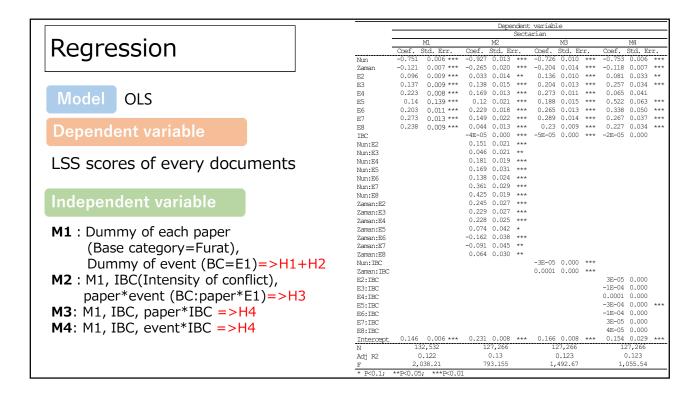
Seed Words

Sectarian

- Overcome sectarianism
- + 1
 - وحدة وطنية •
 - وحدة اسلامية •
 - لا للطائفية •

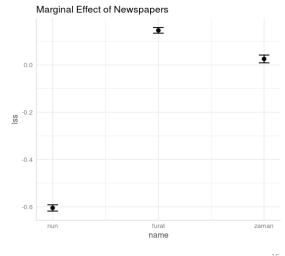
- Fuel sectarianism
- - 1
 - , الأموي , تكفيريون , تكفيري , تكفيريين و هابي , نواصب , ناصبي
 - مجوس ,حزب الشيطان ,حزب اللات الرافضة ,صفوي ,نصيرية
 - الفتنة •





Newspapers (H2)

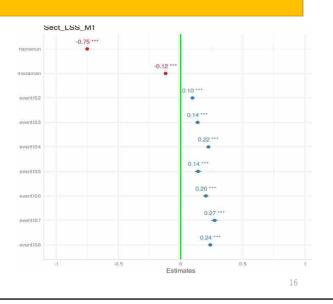
- Based on Model 1
- Marginal effect (probability) of LSS by papers
 - Nun < Zama < Furat
- Incentives for normative reporting by denying sectarianism
- H2: supported



15

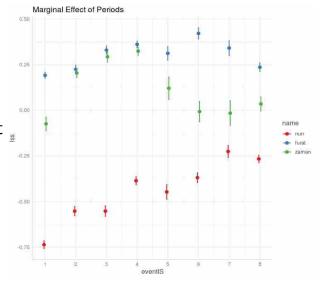
IS Impact (H1)

- Based on Model 1
- Regression coefficients
 - All period (E2~E8) are statistically significant, positive compared to E1 (before IS)
- Shift to the tone of overcoming sectarianism after IS
- H1: supported



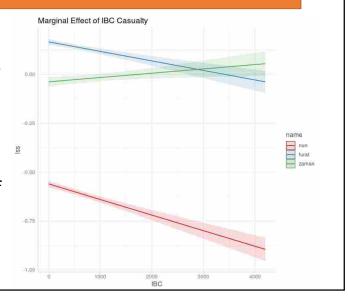
Crucial Event by Newspapers (H3)

- Based on Model 2
- Marginal effects of tone of paper by event (E1~E8)
 - Domestic (*Furat, Nun*): upward trend after E1
 - Oversea (Zaman):upward, but decrease in E5~E7
- Difference between domestic and oversea
- H3: supported



Intensity of Conflict (H4)

- Based on Model 3, 4
- Marginal effects of papers by intensity of conflict
 - Domestic (Furat, Nun): negative as IBC increase
 - Oversea (*Zaman*): positive as IBC increase
- Difference in sensitivity of IS threat
- H4: supported



Conclusion

19

Findings

- 1. Tone of reporting becomes positive after the IS to overcome sectarian division of Iraq (H1)
- 2. Difference in paper: overseas paper and party paper are more likely normative (anti sectarianism) (H2)
- 3. Influence of critical events differs between the domestic and overseas paper: the more sectarian, overseas =more sectarian, domestic =less sectarian (H3)
- 4. Influence of intensity of conflict is opposite between the domestic and overseas paper (H4)
- * difference in perception of threat of the IS

Conclusion

- IS' impact on reporting tone = negative
- Varies based on newspaper's character, crucial event, and intensity of conflict



- Various efforts to overcome the negative impacts of the IS
- Resilience in resisting the threat of break-up brought about by the IS

21

Reference

- Allawi, A. [2007] The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- · Al-Qarawee, H. [2012] Imagining the Nation: Nationalism, Sectarianism and Socio-Political Conflict in Iraq, Lancashire: Rossendale Books.
- Anderson, L. and G. Stansfield [2005] The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bengio, O. [2008] "Iraq: From Failed Nation-State to Binational State?," in A. Susser ed., Challenges to the Cohesion of the Arab State, Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center.
- Ghanim, D. [2011] Iraq's Dysfunctional Democracy, Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- Haddad, F. [2013] "Sectarian Relations in Arab Iraq: Contextualising the Civil War of 2006-2007," British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 40(2).
- Herring, E. and G. Rangwala [2006] Iraq in Fragments: The Occupation and Its Legacy, Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press.
- Osman, K. F. [2015] Sectarianism in Iraq: The Making of State and Nation since 1920, London and New York: Routledge.
- Siegel, A. [2015] "Sectarian Twitter Wars: Sunni-Shi'a Conflict and Cooperation in the Digital Age", Carnegie Endowment for Peace. (https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/12/20/sectarian-twitter-wars-sunni-shia-conflict-and-cooperation-in-digital-age-pub-62299)
- Siegel, A., J. Tucker, J. Nagler, and R. Bonneau [2017] "Socially Mediated Sectarianism: Violence, Elites, and Anti-Shi'a Hostility in Saudi Arabia". (https://alexandra-siegel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Siegel_Sectarianism_January2017.pdf)
- Watanabe, K. [2017] "Measuring News Bias: Russia's Official News Agency ITAR-TASS' Coverage of the Ukraine Crisis", European Journal of Communication, 32(3): 224-241.
- Watanabe, K. [2018] "Newsmap: A Semi-Supervised Approach to Geographical News Classification", Digital Journalism, 6(3): 294-309.
- Yamao, D. [2012] "Sectarianism Twisted: Changing Cleavages in the Elections of Post-war Iraq," Arab Studies Quarterly 34(1).
- ・ ジョーンズ、M.O. [2019]「中東のツイッター界にみる宗派的中傷の分布」酒井啓子編『現代中東の宗派問題――政治対立の「宗派化」と「新冷戦」」晃洋書房、pp. 83-103.
- ・ 山尾大・浜中新吾[2014]「宗派主義という隘路――イラク世論調査に見る政党支持構造の分析を手掛かりに」『日本中東学会年報』30(1), pp. 1-32.(浜中新吾との共著)
- ・ 山尾大[2019][宗派主義の拡大と後退の条件――イラク世論調査にみる政党支持構造分析から」酒井啓子編『現代中東の宗派問題――政治対立の「宗派化」と「新冷戦」』晃洋書房、pp. 151-173.