American Media and Perceptions on Women in the Middle East

“Media are our window to the world, yet also function as a mirror; media reflect and direct at the same time.” – Mark Deuze
Introduction

America has entered an age of technology in which media is readily available in a variety of mediums to people across America. Media offers a way for the American people to receive news about what is happening in their communities and across the world. Media connects individuals through the media’s various mediums of television, newspaper, magazine, radio and internet connection.¹ This connection allows for us to collect a quick and varying insight into how other cultures live and thrive.

Often overlooked is the impact that media has on our culture and our perspectives on life outside of the United States. Alongside the positives that media brings to Americans, there are also many faults in the way that the news is delivered. There are two main problems that are important to point out. The first is that many media sources are businesses. This means that they are in competition with other sources to keep their viewer while still expanding their reach. Media thus often shows what the viewers wish to see—which most times are different and interesting news stories about exotic places. One way to catch viewer’s interest is to provide provoking pictures next to news stories about a region in the world without adequately providing the context.

The second problem is that in many cases, the medium that people are using to get their media is politically tied. This means that the viewer will often tune into that medium knowing that the station will present its news stories through the perspective that the viewer agrees with. On the surface this may not seem like a problem, but it has the potential to cause relative hostile media perception. This occurs when the viewer expects a news source that it disagrees with to have bias in its presentation of a news story. Bias in the terms of news refers to any reports that “deviate from an accurate, natural, balanced, and impartial representation of ‘reality’ of events and social world.”² This expected bias leads to a perception of bias, or the viewer believing bias is there when in actuality there may be none present. The viewer will then go on to believe that a news story is bias with no ground expect that it may present a view or opinion that the viewer personally disagrees with.³

As television is the way that the majority of Americans get their news, it is vital to look into

¹ Dueze, Media Work, 49.
³ Ibid., 410.
how the medium of television, namely news sources are presenting information.\textsuperscript{4} 36% of Americans tune into the stations CNN and Fox News to get their news.\textsuperscript{5} Yet, 52% of cable stories on both of these stations offer only a single standpoint on a controversial issue.\textsuperscript{6} Although such reports may be factually correct, they convey very different messages and thus stimulate different impressions of the events by omitting some parts of the news story or putting emphasis on particular parts of the story.\textsuperscript{7} To add to this issue, there has shown to be a rise in opinionated broadcast journalism.\textsuperscript{8}

It may not seem as though daily news stories can have a great impact on perceptions of another culture, yet if media persistently is presenting “compelling versions” of social reality over time it has the capability to then mold society and shape how people view the world.\textsuperscript{9} If media stations are more interesting in selling flash of a news story than making sure not to hold bias perspectives by not fully presenting the information that they have at hand, misconceptions will be had about the world. As the world becomes shrunk by globalization and America continues to take part in world affairs, the risk for misinformation or misconceptions in American culture is too high. A leading democratic nation of the world such as America cannot have its people supporting policies or wars because they remain misinformed by the most revered news stations in the country.\textsuperscript{10} This leads me to my first research question of how reliable is the American media “reliable” in representing foreign cultures?

The Middle East has been a region that has dominated American news coverage since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. From the first horrifying images of the two towers falling to the veiled women that dominated news coverage in 2007 to 2008\textsuperscript{11} to the most recent images of protesters throughout the Middle East during the Arab Spring, there is no lack of media coverage on this area. But what can be said about the people of the country? The biggest difference that seems to be pointed out between the United States and the Middle East is the gender roles that men and women adhere to in each country. The Middle East is highly influenced by the religion of Islam. From religious practices to customs that have become part of

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{4} “Internet Gains on Television as Public’s Main News Source: More Young People Cite Internet than TV.”
\bibitem{5} Ibid.
\bibitem{6} Feldman, "Partisan Differences in Opinionated News Perspectives: A Test of the Hostile Media Effect," 408.
\bibitem{7} Xiang and Sarvay, "News Consumption and Media Bias," 611.
\bibitem{8} Feldman, "Partisan Differences in Opinionated News Perspectives: A Test of the Hostile Media Effect," 407.
\bibitem{9} Lim and Kim 320
\bibitem{11} This will be proved later in my paper.
\end{thebibliography}
the traditions of being a part of one of the many nations in the Middle East, Islam has become an "umbrella identity" of the Middle East.\textsuperscript{12}

Different areas of the Middle East have had different interpretations of the Qur'an, or holy book of Islam. As many of the Islamic practices that are intertwined in the cultural and social norms of Muslims today derive from patriarchic interpretations of the Qur'an there seem to be more prevailing norms to put men in a more dominate position than women.\textsuperscript{13} This difference may be a driving factor as to why the roles of men and women vary from country to country.

American media often fails to make note that many countries of the Middle East have varying social norms and gender roles for women. This leads me to my next research question of what conclusions does media leave the Lafayette community to believe about women in the Middle East?

My hypothesis is that American television broadcasts have a large influence on American views on foreign affairs, especially on how we view women in the Middle East. To test my hypothesis, I will take a closer look at the news broadcasts that were broadcasted by the two most viewed news stations of CNN and Fox News and compare the information they present with the current public opinion of students at Lafayette College dealing with women in the Middle East.

**Methods**

*Method 1 Content Analysis: Counting Key Words*

The first method that I used in my research was content analysis through counting the number of relevant broadcast transcripts that were broadcasted to my topic of women in the Middle East from September 1, 2001 to November 26, 2012. 2001 was an appropriate place to start my research paper since the media has been broadcasting a lot of news on the Middle East since after September 11, 2001. I used LexisNexis to search through broadcast transcripts from 2001 to 2012 using the key terms “Women in the Middle East” and “Muslim Women” with a concentration on “Middle East.” Although I am focusing broadly on how women in the Middle East are being presented in the media and not specifically Muslim women, I chose to use the term “Muslim Women” because from personal experience I have noticed how often the Islamic


\textsuperscript{13} Megahed and Lack, “Colonial legacy, women’s rights and gender-educational inequality in the Arab World with particular reference to Egypt and Tunisia,” 403.
religion is used interchangeably with the Middle East. This representation is wrong, but since I wanted to find the stories that have representations of women in the Middle East I thought this search would be appropriate.

Even though my goal was to come up with a range of articles having to do with my subject of research, I had to be careful about what I searched so I that I could find relevant articles. For instance, I had originally hoped to also search “Arab Women” in order to get a broader spectrum of terminologies that news broadcasts may use. Unfortunately, the term “Arab” does not cover a demographic of people from all regions of the Middle East so I did not use this term. Another example of something that I ran into when searching for relevant broadcasts was that if in searching “Women” and “the Middle East” separately, there turned out to have a lot of articles about American women in the army fighting overseas, which was irrelevant to my topic.

Since the majority of Americans that get their news from the television broadcast tune in to the stations of CNN and FOX News, I compared the amount of articles produced by these two news sources separately in comparison to the total amount of broadcasts given on the topics of women in the Middle East. This method was effective in giving me an idea about how many broadcasts that the two top stations have in comparison to the total. This method served as the basis for me to gauge a framework for which to build the basis of the rest of my research off of.

Method 2 Content Analysis: Content Conceptualization

I furthered my analysis from Method 1 to include specific instances that were shown within the articles I found pertaining to my topic. To do this, I key word searched the words “woman” and “women” within each CNN and FOX broadcast transcript that was aired between September 1, 2001 to November 26, 2012. I would then read the paragraph preceding and after the instance where the word “woman” or “women” was used to decipher it had a positive or negative connotation (through the use of adverbs and adjectives) about women in the Middle East. I concentrated on positive and negative connotations because this mean that the broadcaster was (showing) the opinion of the station. I would not count facts that did not have adjectives that would lead me to believe that the station was trying to persuade me to believe one way or the other about women in the Middle East. I did not concentrate on how the broadcast represented the people in the Middle East as a whole. I made sure to keep track of the instances that I (defined) as either positive or negative so that I would be able to remain consistent with my
conceptualization throughout. I also separated the two news stations in this method so that I could later see if there is a difference between how the two stations represent women in the Middle East.

**Method 3 Survey**

For my last method I looked to bring the Lafayette Campus into my research through an online survey. I sent out the survey to 171 Lafayette students from a broad range of school organizations such as Kaleidoscope Peer Educators, Landis Outreach Staff and Delta Gamma Sorority. At the end of my survey I encouraged anyone who completed the survey to further send out the survey to anyone at Lafayette that they think would be interesting in taking the survey. In one case, one survey taker forwarded the survey to one of her classes.

My survey first asked demographic questions such as age, gender and where the surveyed lived most of his or her life. After these initial questions, the survey was broken up into three major parts organized in such a way that they continued to build off of each other. The survey taker was unaware of this, as none of the parts had official headings.

Part 1 concentrated on media usage on the Lafayette Campus. I wanted to see if Lafayette students adhered to the statistics of all Americans and how they get their media. This would help me to determine whether my method of analyzing television broadcasts was sufficient to support my hypothesis. This section on media included 4 questions plus 1 question that was possible of being answered. The first question of the set included a set of multiple choice questions to answer the question “What is the primary source you use to get your news?” Depending on how the survey taker answered they would then be directed to a question that asked what specific company/broadcast/station they use to get their information. Next, to gauge how often the survey taker check up on news in general, the following question asked “How often do you catch up on news?” with multiple choice answers ranging from Never to Daily. To better gage how much time the survey taker spent on the news when they did catch up on news I asked: “How long on average do you spend catching up on the news?” The options ranged from 5 minutes to over 60 minutes.

Part 2 of my survey consisted of three questions about media and the Middle East. These questions were a way for me to see the range of survey takers. The first of the three questions was: “Do you pay attention to news about the Middle East?” with the options Yes or No for an answer. The next question, “How important is news in the Middle East to you?” had six options
for answers, ranging from extremely important to not at all important. The third question was for me to see if any of the survey takers had any educated knowledge about life for women in the Middle East outside of the media.

Part 3 of my survey was the bulk of the survey, concentrating on the subject of media and women in the Middle East. This section consisted of 10 to 14 possible questions depending on how the first 10 questions were answered. This section was focused on the perception that the students at Lafayette hold about women in the Middle East. Questions were asked to be answered in a variety of ways, as I was looking to incorporate as much understanding as possible. In some cases the survey would ask questions that only slightly varied from one another yet had different ways of responding. This was to see if the results for survey participants were consistent throughout their answers and in an attempt to be the most inclusive to surveys with different levels of understandings of women in the Middle East. The first question asked in the series was for the participant to briefly describe what they thought life is like for women in the Middle East.

One section of this part asked about if the attacks on September 11, 2001 impacted the survey participant's viewed women in the Middle East. The following question was whether or not the participant believed that the media had a role in this shift in perspective. The next set of questions was to gauge the beliefs of the participant on what they believed life was like for women in the Middle East after September 11th. The survey asked for the participant to provide their opinions between the choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree to four positive statements about what life is like for women in the Middle East. These statements included: "Women in the Middle East are treated fairly;" "Women in the Middle East are given equal rights to those of men;" "Women in the Middle East are given equal opportunities for education that men are;" and "Women in the Middle East are given equal opportunities for jobs that men are."

The next section concentrated around the veil and women in the Middle East. This was to see if people had a stance on the question of the veils and how well they understood why they are worn by women in the Middle East. The topic of veils was a big issue that boomed in the media following September 11th.

The last section of this survey concentrated on the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring was the demonstrations that started in Tunisia in 2010 and spread throughout the Middle East. Women
had a bigger role in organizing and participating in these demonstrations than ever before.\textsuperscript{14} This part of the survey was to see if the media 1.) portrayed that 2.) did an accurate job in doing so. The surveyors were asked: “Do you believe that women had an active role in the protests dubbed the "Arab Spring" in the Middle East?”, “How active do you believe women were?” and “Has your perspective on women in the Middle East changed as a result of these protests?” Surveyors were then asked to elaborate on their answer to the last question.

Results and Analysis

Results of Method 1 Content Analysis: Counting Key Words

The results of Method 1 were that there were a total of 1,046 broadcasts that came up on LexisNexis using they key searches "Women in the Middle East"(391) and "Muslim Women" with a sub search of "Middle East" (655) between January 1, 2001 and December 31, 2012. CNN had more broadcasts in both searches of "Women in the Middle East" broadcasts of "Muslim Women" with a sub search of "Middle East" compared to that of Fox News. A breakdown of the total broadcasts that CNN and Fox News aired is shown on Table 1. This table makes it very obvious that CNN produces 17% more broadcasts than Fox News using the key terms that I searched.

Overall "Women in the Middle East" are shown to not have as many broadcasts come up in the search as the terms "Muslim Women" with a sub search of "Middle East." This could be for a variety of reasons. One reason that I believe that the duel search was more prevalent was because it was just that: two searches. The breakdown of using two short terms in the searches probably allowed for more broadcasts to come up. The other reason and what I believe is the main reason for the duel search to have more results is because there is a lot of interest about Islam in America, especially after the events of September 11, 2001 where an Islamic extremist group killed over 2,700 Americans.\textsuperscript{15}

Results of Method 2 Content Analysis: Content Conceptualization

The method of conceptualizing the content within the articles that came with the key word searches "Women in the Middle East" and "Muslim women" with a sub search of "Middle

\textsuperscript{14} Dabash, \textit{The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism}.
\textsuperscript{15} "9/11 by the Numbers."
East" proved to be quite informative. Although there was not a huge different in the amount of positive and negative connotations that were found in the broadcast transcripts (as seen in Table 2 and Table 3), it was very interesting to go through the process of deciding what is positive or negative.

For the positive connotations, I made sure to include any unbiased references to why women wear the veil or positive remarks from women about their religion. It was important to me to include any instances of Muslim women in the Middle East showing the positives of their religion because often Islam is associated with the Taliban and with the lack of choice. For instance, in one broadcast from CNN from 2007 the journalist said: We hear stories all over the country from Islamic communities where Muslim women are being basically beaten with the Koran over their heads, being told that, to be good Muslims, this is how you should behave. And sadly, Glenn, I have to break it to you, it is the truth. This is not the misinterpretation of the Koran.16 This statement was not followed with any statistical analysis to show that many women do face this and that was no simply just one case that the journalist came across. I counted portrayals of women such as this and any other articles that forthright referenced generalizations about women in the Islamic faith or of women in general without any statistical or historical backup as negative.

If the article referenced statistics from a valid source or stated facts about life for women in the Middle East I did not count it toward a negative or positive connotation.

Results of Method 3 Survey

In total, 145 Lafayette College students completed my survey. The age demographic was between the ages of 18 to 22, with around 36% of the students that answered being 20 years old. The gender break down was almost even, with 42% of males and 58% of females completing the survey. In order to take into account the American aspect, any student who had spent the majority of their life living outside of the United States’ answers were not taken into account. Only 23% of Lafayette students use the television to get their news, with the majority of 70% of students retrieving their news from the Internet. Of those who did get their news source from television, 26% turned to CNN and 29% turned to Fox News. From those who got their news from the internet, 32% went to CNN.com and no students reported visiting FoxNews.com.

16 "Encore Presentation: The War Within."
Half of Lafayette students check the news either daily or 2-3 times a week at time intervals of 10-15 minutes. 61% of Lafayette students answered to pay attention to news about the Middle East, yet only 49% of students believe that news about the Middle East is only somewhat important, very important or extremely important to them. 20% of students reported news about the Middle East being neither important nor unimportant. 83% of the Lafayette students surveyed said that they had never taken a course that touched on any aspect of life in the Middle East. This means that only 17% of the Lafayette students surveyed were getting their information from news sources or personal experience.

On the subject of September 11th changing perceptions of women in the Middle East, 68% of students said that their perceptions were not changed. Of the 32% that said that their perceptions were changed or somewhat changed, 95% of them accounted the media as being the main cause of this change.

In asking about life for women in the Middle East, there were many thoughtful and thought provoking responses to the open answer question. Only 97 survey takers answered this question. A vast majority of around 85% of students answered some sort of responses expressing that they believe life in the Middle East is full of constraints for women. Many adjectives were repeated to express this such as "unfair," "tough," "restricted," "oppressed," "limitations," "no rights." Around 5% of the answers were positive or hopeful; concentrating on the fact that life for women in the Middle East was changing for the better. 20% of responses included some reference or comparison to the life and rights of women in the Middle East with the men of the Middle East. 7% of responses compared life of women in the Middle East with life for women in the United States. Six of these responses said that life for women in the Middle East was not as good as life for women in the United States. One response stood out from the rest and said in response "just as challenging to life is for the western women. The challenges may differ but still just as hard." This response is interesting and different than the majority of responses as a whole as it was one of few that portrayed the United States in a poor light. 4% of the responses were that the survey taker did not know enough to answer the question. In addition to all the other statistics, 10% of the survey takers responded about not being able to generalize the Middle East. I was partially expecting more of these responses, but I believe that the format of a survey is one such that people may not necessarily think beyond what the immediate question is asking them.

I believe that many people may have no responded to this question because it was open
ended and they either did not want to spend time writing out an answer or did not have a response.

The Lafayette students that were surveyed had a pretty understanding idea of the various aspects that went into why a woman may wear a veil. Although religious beliefs were usually ranked the highest, immediately following was the option that women wear it due to social norms.

The Arab Spring did not have a great impact on Lafayette student’s opinions of the Middle East.

Discussion

The American Obsession of the Veil

While conducting my first method of looking for articles having to do with women in the Middle East in broadcast transcripts, I found an interesting spurt in articles about women in the Middle East in the years of 2007 and 2008. During this time, many of the broadcast transcripts that I came across referenced women in the Middle East around the topic of the veil that many Muslim women wear. This topic seemed to explode around the time before America was deciding whether or not to support President Bush on beginning the War on Terror. An interesting point to make on this topic in the media is that in articles, it seems as though so many journalists were willing to comment on this topic in the general sense of the Middle East instead of breaking the reasons wear the veil by region or ever giving a coherent and exhaustive list of why women may chose to wear the veil.

In her article, author Lila Abu-Lughod cites the reason for an emergence of media coverage of the veil on the idea that the government wanted to hide behind it's true reasons for going to war and thus was trying to pump misinformation into America so that the people would support the war efforts against a regime that was so oppressive towards it's women. Yet in my research I found more broadcasts on this topic were between 2007 and 2008. In 2007 there was a surge in sending troops to Iraq which could have been the cause for the influx in news stories had the government been influencing the media to do so.

A more viable reason for the obsession, however, may be more simplistic than the government having a conspiracy theory. This reason lies a little closer to home than may be comfortable and it is due to how the American media portrays American women in the Media.

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17 Abu-Lughod, Feminist Frontiers: Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving, 486 - 495.
America tends to show American women and women from other First World Countries' through hyper unrealistic portrayals of women portraying gender stereotypes that "subtly define the contours and limits of the 'proper' ways of looking and being female."\textsuperscript{18} Since the typical Middle Eastern woman that is portrayed in the America media tends to have a veil, as follows the consumer wish for exotic and the producer (media companies) response to that, a lot of the women's body may not be so readily available to the eye. Although many times the American women portrayed in the media are given just a little information about their personal life as the women from the Middle East are, since they adhere to our gender norms we can easily apply our gender stereotypes to them and have a sense of what kind of women they are. The veil provides a literal cover over the women that are shown to wear them in the media and many American viewers become uneasy when our gender stereotypes cannot be so easily adhered to these women.

Relation to Hypothesis

From my first method, I can conclude that CNN and Fox collectively accounted for about a quarter of the news presented via broadcast transcripts about women in the Middle East. My second method had surprising results. I believed that women would be represented in the media far more often in a negative light than a positive light, but I found that in actuality there were even portrayals of both. Often times, the positive connotations were presented to be on a case-by-case account on either an individual level or a state level. My third method gave me the results that most Lafayette College students believe that women in the Middle East are leading lives that are suppressed and have far more barriers than they do opportunities.

Since my second method and third method do not match up, my hypothesis is shown to be disproven. This could be due to many reasons. A small sample size of television broadcasts could be one reason. Another reason could be that the Lafayette student sample size was not large enough. A third reason for this discrepancy is that most Lafayette students do not look to the television for their news, and from those that do only half tune into the two broadcasts that I offered in my first and second method.

Researchers who have done studies on the Media and its effects on our perceptions have also offered other explanations that would tie into why my hypothesis could be proven false. One

\textsuperscript{18} Carilli and Campbell, editors, \textit{Women & Media}, 37.
instance is by three researchers named Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet in 1944. They published an article that portrayed the minimal effects model. In this model the audience of media is portrayed as very strongly and claims that media alone do not cause people to change beliefs and behaviors. The model brings the idea that the best the media can do is to reinforce any preexisting attitudes that the audience may have. This model was supported by many researchers thereafter on the ground that people tended to be more willing to expose themselves to media that expressed views compatible with their own. This model can more or less be seen as the audience "selectively exposing" itself to media.\textsuperscript{19}

Two researchers by the names of McCombs and Shaw tweaked this theory to encompass the idea that the media's focus on particular issues was what made the media so successful in swaying their audience. In their agenda-setting theory they then believe that the media enforces what is "important" and "not important" on its audience. In this case the media will have sway if they present a good enough argument as to why their audience should believe them.\textsuperscript{20}

More recent discoveries have shown that the media in fact is very effective in having sway over "priming" people to pay attention to a certain issue and "framing" or steering the audience to adopt the media's portrayal of an event.\textsuperscript{21} Yet still, there does not seem to be enough empirical evidence to suggest that the impact that the media has on people is either strong or consistent.\textsuperscript{22} The researcher Chaffee point out the perfect reason as to why my hypothesis was proved wrong, and that is because people are exposed to a wide variety of stories due to the abundance of media resources, stories that often have conflicting frames and explanations, the audience seems to become more confused than influenced.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Hopefully the influx of media sources and the vast availability in varying types of mediums for collecting information on news will lead the future generations to be more informed. For the present, Americans must take advantage of the many sources for information that are available and become a more skeptical audience. As world issues become domestic issues in this shrinking world, the American public cannot remain ignorant or feel not informed.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 317.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 318
enough about other places in the world. In becoming informed, there must also be a greater attempt to understand cultural differences and accept these differences to some extent. Obviously any human rights violation or violence that women are exposed to in the Middle East should not be tolerated or perceived as just the culture of the area, but in situations such as Muslim women choosing to wear a veil there should be more accepting.
References

Table 1: Total Broadcasts Aired with Key Terms 2001 - 2012

Table 2: Muslim Women --> Middle East: Positive and Negative Connotations

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