Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001: Examination of the Visual Agenda set by Time and Newsweek

Paula Hoffman Hall

University of Nebraska at Omaha

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/2031
Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001:
Examination of the Visual Agenda set by Time and Newsweek

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Communication
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Paula Hoffman Hall
December 2003
Acceptance Page

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Committee

Name

Department

Chairperson

Date

December 14, 2003
Acknowledgements

I extend my sincere gratitude to the members of my thesis committee. To Dr. Michael Sherer, I thank you for your constant encouragement and knowledgeable advice. To Dr. Donald Greer and Dr. Marshall Prisbell, I thank you for the generous contribution of your time and advice, which has enhanced the quality of this thesis.

A special thanks to Dr. Frank Harpnadft, for volunteering his time and knowledge of SPSS software.

As I complete the requirements for my graduate degree, I dedicate this thesis to my family. A special thanks to my husband, Ryan who knows the true miracle behind the completion of this graduate program. Ryan, I thank you for your patience and understanding during the course of this journey. To my children Jessica and Lukas: thank you for sacrificing our time together so that I could attend classes, complete coursework, and write this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my parents and grandparents, my children’s grandparents, and close friends for their continuous support and words of encouragement.
Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001: Examination of the Visual Agenda set by *Time* and *Newsweek*

Paula M. Hoffman-Hall, MA

University of Nebraska, 2004

Advisor: Dr. Michael Sherer

This study examines the visual agenda relevant to the attacks of September 11, 2001, presented by media sources; *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine. Photographs immediately following the attack, six months later, one year later, and eighteen-months later, were observed in this study. The research produced a total of 493 photographs. Images were coded for the primary subject, portrayal, perspective, topic, and location. Crosstabs and Chi-square tests were run, and the data collected was used to answer the central research question and sub-questions developed with the assistance of past research. Significant differences in the visual agenda between *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine were found for subject, perspective and topic. Similarities were found in the presentation of the location and portrayal of the primary subject. Significant differences were found for all dependent variables from the results of the tests which examined the data over time. The research unfolded a story told from news photographs, capturing a horrifying event that the American people will not forget.
# Table of Contents

Introduction ............................................................................................................................1

Review of Literature ..................................................................................................................4

Sector I: Agenda Setting ..............................................................................................................4
  Mass media communication .............................................................................................4
  Understanding Agenda Setting .........................................................................................6
  Agenda Setting History ......................................................................................................8
  Policy Innovation and Agenda Setting ...........................................................................11
  Agenda Setting and Voting Behavior .............................................................................18
  Agenda Setting as a Two-Step Flow ..............................................................................19
  Issue Obtrusiveness in Agenda Setting ..........................................................................23
  Agenda Setting, Priming, and Framing ..........................................................................28
  Advantages and Disadvantages of Agenda-Setting Research .........................................32

Sector II—Media and Terrorism ...............................................................................................33
  Media and Crisis ..............................................................................................................33
  Legal considerations in crisis management ..................................................................33
  The role of the mass media during a social crisis .........................................................35
  Terrorism and the Media ..................................................................................................36
  Free Media versus Regulated Media ..............................................................................39
  Suggestions for balanced reporting ...............................................................................43
  Media Regulations ...........................................................................................................44

Sector III—War Photojournalism ............................................................................................49
  Photographs ....................................................................................................................49
  War Photography History ...............................................................................................50
  Photojournalism Research ...............................................................................................51
  The War on Terrorism .....................................................................................................55
  Summary ..........................................................................................................................57
  Central Research Questions .............................................................................................59

Methodology ...............................................................................................................................60
  Coder Reliability ..............................................................................................................62
  Instructions for Coders .....................................................................................................63
  Coding Categories .............................................................................................................63
  Statistical Tests ................................................................................................................68

Results ........................................................................................................................................71
  Coder Reliability Test ......................................................................................................71
  Statistical Tests ................................................................................................................72
  Photograph Sample .........................................................................................................72
  Primary Subject ................................................................................................................73
  Portrayal ............................................................................................................................75
  Location .............................................................................................................................77
  Perspective ........................................................................................................................79
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Summary of the frequencies of the primary subject</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Summary of the crosstab/primary subject by magazine by %</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Chi square tests for primary subject by magazine</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Summary of the frequencies of the portrayal</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Summary of the crosstab/portrayal by magazine by %</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Chi square tests for portrayal by magazine</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Summary of the frequencies of the location</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>Summary of the crosstab/location by magazine by %</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Chi square tests for location by magazine</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>Summary of the frequencies of the perspective</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>Summary of the crosstab/perspective by magazine by %</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>Chi-Square tests for perspective by magazine</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII.</td>
<td>Summary of the frequencies of the topic</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV.</td>
<td>Summary of the crosstab/topic by magazine by %</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>Chi square tests for perspective by magazine</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>Summary of crosstab/subject by date by %</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Summary of chi square/subject by date</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Summary of crosstab/portrayal by date by %</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Summary of chi square/portrayal by date</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>Summary of crosstab/location by date by %</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XXI. Summary of chi square/location by date.................................90
XXII. Summary of crosstab/perspective by date by % ......................90
XXIII. Summary of chi square/perspective by date ..........................91
XXIV. Summary of crosstab/topic by date by % .............................91
XXV. Summary of chi square/topic by date..................................92
Chapter I
Introduction

September 11, 2001, a day that began like any other day, now etched in history. That morning, people all over the Nation turned on their televisions, and tuned in their radios to hear the shocking news. In New York, American Airlines Flight 11 Boston to Los Angeles crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center; minutes later, United Airlines Flight 175 Boston to Los Angeles crashed into the South Tower of the World Trade Center. The World Trade Center collapsed, the attacks continued. In rural Pennsylvania, United Airlines Flight 93 Newark, New Jersey to San Francisco crashed into an open field. In northern Virginia, American Airlines Flight 77 Dulles to Los Angeles crashed into the Pentagon (CNN, 2001, September 28).

Through audio and visual devices, media sources told the story of the attack: the loud explosions, the violent shaking, the flames and smoke, people free-falling to their death, the shattered glass, the blood, the tears, the chaos, the rubble, thousands dead...the grief, the fear, the families of victims, the survivors, the rescue hero’s, the financial and material support sent from all over the world, and last but not least, the beginning of a world changed by a day that began like any other day (CNN, 2002, March 11).

The 2001 terrorist attack can be described as a high profile event, receiving not only national media coverage, but worldwide coverage as well. The purpose of this paper is to experience the horrifying terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 through photographs presented by print media. The importance of examining terrorist coverage is best summed up by Publisher Brassey’s Terrorism Library, quoted in the publisher’s note, “As terrorism continues as one of the most serious and lasting threats to the security
of nations and to the safety of innocent citizens everywhere, the systematic and rational
analysis of terrorism becomes even more important” (Alexander & Latter, 1990).

In preparation for research of media images surrounding the events of 9-11, the
literature review will focus on three concepts: agenda setting, terrorism, and war
photography. Sector-one will provide a thorough review of the media theory agenda
setting; offering a better understanding of agenda setting, and reviewing past studies on
the role of agenda setting. Agenda setting research will include the following: agenda
setting in policy innovation, agenda setting as a two-step flow, agenda setting and
obtrusive issues, and additional communication concepts that have evolved from agenda
research; specifically, priming and framing. After presenting research on the concept of
agenda setting, sector-two will review past research on terrorism. Terrorism research
includes the following:

- Legal considerations in crisis management
- The role of the mass media during a social crisis
- Terrorism and the media
- Past research on the effects of mass media coverage of terrorists and terrorism
- The debate for and against monitored terrorist coverage, including
  suggestions for balanced reporting
- An outline of media regulations currently in force by other print and news
  organizations.
Considering the knowledge gained from the first two sectors, sector-three will focus the research and direct the methodology through a review of past research on war photojournalism.

This organized review of literature will build a foundation for examining the media coverage of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States, which began America's *War on Terrorism*. The present study is a content analyses of photographic images published in *Time* and *Newsweek* relevant to the attacks of 9-11. The purpose of this research is to examine the visual agenda set by the media as they told the story of September 11, 2001.
Chapter II  
Review of Literature

Sector I: Agenda Setting

Mass media communication

The media is our way of knowing what goes on in the world. Mass media is all around us in the form of print, television, film, and radio. Together the human desire to seek out information and the abundance of information produced by the mass media makes the topic of media influence an important one. One of the most important contributions mass communications makes in building a community; is building consensus (McCombs, 1997).

Agenda Setting is a role of mass communication (McCombs, 1997). Agenda setting is a theory about the transfer of objects and attributes (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). A central idea in the agenda setting theory is that the news media determine what issues the public will talk about and think about based on their display of the news (Severin & Tankard, 1992).

Early research, later identified as agenda setting research, includes Walter Lippman’s WW1 experience of military intelligence and propaganda, which he wrote about in his 1922 book titled Public Opinion, and the work of Bernard Cohen in his 1963 book titled The Press and Foreign Policy (Rogers et al., 1993). Research of the mass media on the agenda-setting process stems directly from Bernard Cohen (1963) who suggested that the mass media, “may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (Brosius & Weimann, 1996). This small, yet clever, twist of phrases focuses attention
away from persuasion, breaking out of the limited-effects paradigm and moving toward other cognitive factors; specifically, an agenda of issues (Kosicki, 1993). The main attraction of agenda setting research is that it offers an alternative cognitive viewpoint to the scholarly search for direct media effects on overt behavior change and attitude change (Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993). The success of the agenda setting theory is based on its “fruitfulness;” its ability to continually generate new questions and identify new avenues for inquiry (McCombs & Shaw, 1993, p. 58). In the review of the evolution of agenda setting, McCombs listed three features that document the fruitfulness of agenda setting research (McCombs & Shaw, 1993):

- Steady growth of literature over time
- The ability to encompass several communication research sub-fields under one theoretical umbrella
- The ability to continually generate new research

Who sets the media agenda, who sets the public agenda, and who sets the policy agenda, are questions that have linked agenda setting to sub-fields of journalism, communication, and social science (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). Agenda setting has transformed gate-keeping research and Breed’s (1955) research on diffusion now known as inter-media agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw). The integration of agenda setting links similar communication models: including, McCombs’ and Weaver’s 1985 concept of need for orientation, and Noelle-Neuman’s 1984 spiral of silence theory (McCombs & Shaw). Agenda setting has generated further research of other communication concepts
including priming, framing, issue obtrusiveness, images, stereotyping, etc (McCombs & Shaw).

**Understanding Agenda Setting**

Media personnel sorting through the daily information flow and applying their professional news values as they discard the less important events has long been considered a valuable service to the nation (Glasser & Salmon, 1995). This general role of journalism termed by Harold Lasswell in 1948 as the *surveillance function* of mass media has long been recognized (Glasser & Salmon). Public surveillance, for the political community at large, puts the spotlight of publicity on select organizations, people, and events like the 2001 terrorist attack on the United States (Glasser & Salmon). Due to public attention, politicians and the public are encouraged to demonstrate concern for issues highlighted by the media (Graber, 1997). The publicity received may then determine what to expose, and what to conceal (Graber).

Graber (1997) said, “News people determine what is news” (p. 6). The choices of news people are politically significant because they determine if the story of a person or event will receive media attention (Graber). Media personnel not only decide if a story is covered, they also decide how much coverage, and the type of coverage an event will receive (Graber, 1997). Important stories placed on the front page, with pictures, and large headlines signify the degree of their importance (Graber). Although many decisions about what issues will get covered by the news media are determined by the news people, some events are deemed “necessary to report” via professional considerations which demand coverage on news about major domestic events,
international events, or news about prominent people (Graber, 1997, p.9). Over the last two decades, close attention is directed toward the agenda-setting role of journalism, in which media have the ability to focus public attention on select issues (Glasser & Salmon, 1995).

Although there have been vast amounts of research studies on agenda setting, it is still difficult to understand exactly how agenda setting works. Research by Manheim (1987) offers an interesting aid to the understanding of agenda setting (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Manheim proposed that agenda setting is the interaction of three agendas: the media agenda, the public agenda, and the policy agenda (Severin & Tankard). The theoretical interrelationships between these three agendas make up the agenda setting process (Rogers et al., 1993). The dimensions of these agendas outlined by Manheim are listed in Severin and Tankard as follows:

The media agenda has three dimensions: visibility (the amount of coverage an issue receives), valence (if the coverage is favorable or not), and audience salience (how relevant the news content is to the audience needs).

The public agenda also has three dimensions: familiarity (the degree of public awareness), favorability (the judgment on the topic based on if it is favorable or unfavorable), and personal salience (the perceived relevance to one’s self or one’s interest).

The policy agenda has three dimensions as well: likelihood of action (this is the probability that action will be taken by a government body), support (position on an issue
being more or less favorable), and the freedom of action (the range of governmental actions that are possible).

The media agenda examines media content as it relates to issue definition, selection, and emphasis; research comes largely from sociology as well as mass communication and political science (Kosicki, 1993). The public agenda considers the link between issues framed in mass media content, and the public’s priority of issues; research stems directly from the original McCombs and Shaw article of 1972 (Kosicki). The policy agenda stems from political science literature on institutional analysis perspectives, and focuses on issues in the legislative arena as they pertain to media content and procedures (Kosicki). Often, dependent variables in policy agenda studies are elected officials, or the issue agendas of public bodies (Kosicki). Rogers and Dearing (1988) define the agenda-setting process as the combination of the public, policy, and media agenda (Kosicki). By themselves, each one is incomplete; together these three perspectives can help build a contemporary model of what media influence ought to be (Kosicki). The identification of this work by Manheim (1987) and the brief history on the position of the agenda setting theory provides a better understanding of agenda setting.

*Agenda Setting History*

The first systematic research of agenda setting is the *Chapel Hill* study of 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (Severin & Tankard, 1992). McCombs and Shaw examined undecided voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina during the presidential campaign of 1968 (Severin & Tankard).
Rogers et al. (1993) explain that the frequently cited *Chapel Hill* study contains several methodological and theoretical innovations. First, it gave a name to research done by early scholars, now known as agenda setting (Rogers et al.). Second, it incorporated a content analysis examination of the media with a public agenda survey; providing an empirical methodology for examining the agenda setting process (Rogers et al.). Third, the research supported the idea that mass communication has indirect effects on the public’s agenda (Rogers, et al.). Finally, the article gave exposure to mass communication scholars, political scientists, and sociologists; sparking interest for public, policy, and media agenda researchers (Rogers et al.).

Another early researcher of agenda setting is G. Ray Funkhouser. Funkhouser focused on the reality aspect of an issue, and the importance of an issue assigned by the media and the public (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Funkhouser’s research implied that the media do not portray an accurate picture of what was really going on in the world (Severin & Tankard).

Through the mid 1980’s researchers continued to mimic the methodology of McCombs and Shaw in an attempt to answer the basic question of how the public agenda is set (Rogers et al., 1993). After 1984, scholars started to consider additional forces that influence the media such as the political staff, and political candidates (Weaver, 1996). By the end of the 80’s, the question of “how the public agenda is set?” appeared to be answered and researchers began to pursue other related questions about agenda setting including, “how the public, policy, and media agenda are set, and how they influence one another” (Rogers et al.).
Donald Shaw and Shannon Martin (1992) published what they considered a state­wide follow-up to the original North Carolina Chapel Hill study of 1968 to demonstrate that the media do more than just set the agenda; they provide a limited and rotating set of public issues used by social and political systems to engage in dialogue. Shaw and Martin reviewed data from a February 1990 telephone survey conducted by the University of North Carolina (UNC) School of Journalism and Mass Communication, published in the Carolina poll, and did a two-month review of a major North Carolina Newspaper called the Charlotte Observer (Shaw & Martin). Participants of the survey received a list of the following current public affairs issues: drugs, education, pollution, poverty, crime, and housing; and evaluated their importance (Shaw & Martin). In addition, researchers asked participants standard media-use questions: “How many days out of the last seven did you read a daily newspaper?” “How many days out of the last seven did you watch the local or national news on television?” and as in most polls, subjects were asked to report gender, race, age, level of education, and household income (Shaw & Martin, 1992, p. 908).

Researchers compared agenda agreement and media use for various reference groups: men vs. women, non-whites vs. whites, young vs. old, rich vs. poor and formally educated vs. low educated (Shaw & Martin, 1992). Shaw and Martin did a content analysis of reported news found in the Charlotte Observer, and compared it with the audience ranking of issues. The author comments that although one newspaper cannot provide statewide representation, there is high agreement on news pages across newspapers and television (Shaw & Martin).
The results of this study supported the agenda setting theory (Shaw & Martin, 1992). Males and females who reported reading the newspaper 4-7 days per week were in complete agreement on the agenda of the four issues examined in the research (Shaw & Martin). It appears that an increase in newspaper reading and an increase in television watching, results in increased reference group consensus on key issues (Shaw & Martin). The article concludes that one major function of the mass media is to offer issue agenda options that are more attractive than the ones historically learned such as gender, age, race, education, and wealth, in order to increase group consensus within the larger social system (Shaw & Martin).

**Policy Innovation and Agenda Setting**

Agenda setting variables influence the policy agenda as well as the media and public agenda. For decades, one of the most important sources of political power is the influence over the policy agenda. Although scholars have always assumed the President of the United States has the most influence over the policymaking agenda in Washington, few studies have attempted to measure the president’s influence (Edwards & Wood, 1999). This next section of research examines the role of agenda setting in policy innovation, and policy adoption; including, the role of the president with the spotlight off and on the media.

Research by Wayne Steger examined whether or not presidents have more success on legislation initiated by their administrations versus legislation initiated by others in the government (Steger, 1997). With the spotlight off the media agenda, Steger’s research introduced two aspects of agenda setting: influence, and
accommodation. In Steger’s research, influence takes place when the president maximizes his influence, causing legislation to accept an outcome that matches the president’s preferred position. Accommodation happens when the president expresses influence by adjusting his proposal content toward a position favored by the legislative majority (Steger).

Throughout the article, Steger discusses differences of influence between minority presidents and majority presidents, referring to political party dominancy in the House and Senate. Steger’s research defines legislative agenda as issues addressed by the president and his staff, then submitted to Congress by the administration (1997). In his research, Steger examines the success rates of roll call votes on legislation, which are on and off the president’s legislative agenda. In addition, Steger reviewed the 1953-1974 results of the poll question, “Do you approve or disapprove of the way the president is handling his job?”

Steger drew three conclusions from his research (1997). First, if presidents work with congress they can maximize their legislative success, and can use their agenda setting choices to pursue the politics of accommodation or confrontation with a real chance of enacting legislation (Steger). Second, presidents are more successful on close votes when their administration initiates the bill (Steger). Third, majority party presidents possess a clear advantage in the House and Senate (Steger).

Researchers have examined legislation at the state and national level for agenda setting effects. Kathleen Bratton and Kerry Haynie performed a study that looked at the agenda setting behavior of black and female state legislators (1999). Bratton and Haynie
reported that since 1970, the number of females elected into public offices of American politics has increased five times, and the number of blacks tripled. Past literature provided evidence that blacks and women make a difference in policy-making (Bratton & Haynie). Bratton and Haynie formulated research questions to determine if legislative members of minority groups were less likely to achieve the passage of their bills, compared to legislative members of majority groups. The researchers intended to determine if two different minority groups with non-conflicting interests would advance one another’s agenda, and to understand the effect that black and women legislators have on the behavior of the state legislature as a whole (Bratton & Haynie).

Bratton and Haynie used a six-state/three-year sample, testing a descriptive representation model in which black and female group members represent group interests (1999). The results of this study indicated that blacks and females do indeed have distinctive legislative agendas. Individuals from these minority groups introduced bills applicable to race and gender (Bratton & Haynie). The findings also supported the hypothesis that black males are less successful than Caucasians in passing legislation, which is consistent with the social distance between races concept (Bratton & Haynie). Bratton and Haynie stated that their contribution to research is the evaluation of the effects of race and gender on agenda setting and bill passages in legislation.

Additional agenda setting research on policy adoption, which removes the focus from media coverage, is that by Scott Hays and Henry Glick (1997). These authors examined the role of agenda setting in the adoption of living-will laws (Hays & Glick). Hays and Glick formulated a model that accounted for variables of both agenda setting
and innovation. The authors added variables of agenda setting to state-specific context variables that are associated with policy innovation as a means to combine agenda setting and state contexts empirically and theoretically to policy adoption (Hays & Glick). Hays and Glick stated that their goal is to use agenda setting variables for policy adoption, not to build the agenda-setting model.

The researchers analyzed cross-sectional time series data on the adoption of living-will laws, only to find out that the best model of living will adoptions incorporated both state context and agenda setting variables (Hays & Glick, 1997). Results of the research found agenda setting forces to be conducive and strong (Hays & Glick). To sum the results, Hays and Glick explain that although media coverage sparks public interest and encourages a response from public officials, internal state conditions or characteristics must be supportive of the adoption of a new policy, and neither process alone can predict the adoption of laws; there cannot be one without the other.

The following studies examine the policy agenda with the spotlight on the media agenda. In 1998, Dan Wood teamed up with Jeffrey Peake to do a study they refer to as, “the first systematic analysis of U.S. foreign policy agenda setting” (Brenner, 1999). Although there have been other researchers of agenda setting in domestic politics including e.g., Cobb and Elder, 1972, Downs 1972, Light 1991, Baumgartner and Jones 1993, Jones 1994, and Kingdon 1995; their research fails to address foreign policy issues (Brenner). The theory of presidential attention by Wood and Peake explains that presidential attention is a limited resource and the president rarely pursues foreign policy issues of his own choosing (Brenner). Often, the president focuses on persistent
intractable issues, issues that rise abroad, and issues that the public believes are important based on the media attention that they receive (Brenner).

Research by Dan Wood and colleague, George Edwards, addressed both foreign and domestic policy issues (Edwards and Wood, 1999). Edwards and Wood tested the president's ability to focus issue attention of the mass media and the congress. The objectives were to determine if the president had influence over the policy agenda, and to assess whether or not the actions of the president, Congress, and the media were related or independent of one another (Edwards & Wood).

Edwards and Wood performed a content analysis using time-series measures. They examined an annual publication called Public Papers of the President between 1984 and 1994, looking at five important political issues: crime, healthcare, education, Soviet vs. U.S. relations, and Arab-Israeli conflict (1999). One focus was to investigate domestic policy issues as well as foreign policy issues (Edwards & Wood). Results imply that the primary relationship between the president, Congress, and the media will change as issues change (Edwards & Wood). Findings regarding the ability of the president to set the agenda of the media and Congress were inconclusive (Edwards & Wood). The broad conclusion of this research is consistent with previous research by George Edwards as he urges people to be skeptical regarding the president’s ability to dominate the political system (Edwards & Wood).

Work by Carl Brenner built off of Peake and Wood’s theory of presidential attention (Brenner, 1999). Brenner constructed a more integrative model of this theory, to better understand the formation of the president’s security agenda (Brenner). The
Vanderbilt University television news archives (tvnews.Vanderbilt.edu) were used to measure media attention (Brenner). The archives were searched for references to the major combatants in each conflict as broadcast on the evening news of ABC, CBS, and NBC (Brenner). Keywords in the abstracts of the Vanderbilt archives were calculated, and the number of stories referencing each conflict counted, in order to assess monthly media attention (Brenner). Results of Brenner’s research relevant to policy and media agenda are as follows:

- Generous media attention to conflict will increase the chances that the president will include the conflict on his agenda, increasing his involvement.
- An issue is more likely to be on the president’s agenda in the current month, if it was on his agenda in the previous month.

The overall conclusions of media attention demonstrate that media influence on the president’s agenda is greater than the president’s influence over the media (Brenner, 1999).

Wanta and Foote also examined the relationship between the president and news media. Wanta et al. (1989) performed four previous studies that looked at the role of the US President, and State of the Union Addresses (Wanta & Foote, 1994). Their research resulted in mixed findings (Wanta & Foote). President Nixon-1970 influenced the press, Carter-1978 and Reagan-1985, were influenced by the press, and Reagan-1982 influenced the print media (Wanta & Foote, 1994).

The current research examined the media coverage that George Bush received as the U.S. President during his first eighty weeks in office (Wanta & Foote, 1994). This
quote taken from Broder (1987), found in the publication Wanta & Foote (1994), best sums up the impact of the President's status in the nation, “Only the President can command simultaneous live coverage on all the television networks. Only the President can gather the nation at his feet, as if it were a family, and say ‘Dear friends, here is how I see things” (Wanta & Foote, 1994, p. 4.).

Wanta and Foote believe that few researchers attempt to analyze the president/press relationship due to the difficulty in determining how to analyze it (1994). Wanta and Foote used an agenda-setting framework, implying that the President’s influence may reflect in the issues covered by the media. According to the original agenda-setting hypothesis, presidential influence on the media would in turn influence the perceived salience of these issues by the public. Authors performed a statistical cross-correlations time-series analysis of Presidential documents and media stories from three national networks.

Wanta and Foote (1994) improved the methodology of past research by making three changes:

- Authors examined the Weekly Compilation of Presidential documents as well as the State of the Union addresses, which provided continuous agenda-setting information
- Authors focused on individual issues rather than an entire media agenda
- Authors use time-series analysis versus Spearman rank-order correlations

Sixteen issues, divided into four categories: social issues, social problems, the economy, and international problems (Wanta & Foote, 1994). Results of the research
reinforced the fact that the President has some influence on the media agenda, but only on select issues (Wanta & Foote).

**Agenda Setting and Voting Behavior**

A small amount of research exists on voting behavior via the agenda setting tradition. Past research used the framework of three approaches to examine the influence of mass media on electoral decisions and party preference, they are as follows: the presentation of candidate image, the presentation of political parties, and media references as to the acceptance of parties and candidates (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1992). Hans-Bernd Brosius and Hans Mathias Kepplinger considered the effects of the media agenda on voters in West Germany. The focus for this research was to determine how TV news coverage of political issues affected the electoral votes for the four political parties represented in the German Federal Parliament during 1986 (Brosius & Kepplinger).

Researchers used time-series content analysis data from major television news programs and compared it with opinion poll data taken by the Emmid polling institute (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1992). Fifty-three weekly opinion polls were available from the West German population survey during 1986, with an estimated total response from 1,000 people (Brosius & Kepplinger). Data from a content analysis conducted by the Adenaver Foundation by Kepplinger, Gotto, Brosius, and Haak (1989) was re-analyzed (Brosius & Kepplinger). The results implied that the framing of issues could influence voter intentions (Brosius & Kepplinger).
In 1996, David Weaver reviewed past literature of mass media as it pertained to the political arena. Weaver concluded that there is support for mass media influence over the public; however, the strength of media effects depends upon the length of time considered as well as the type of effects being measured. The author explained that media emphasis of candidate characteristics played an important role in audience perception, and noted that the more complex issues of issue and image agenda setting such as prior knowledge, exposure patterns, frequency of discussions, etc., need consideration (Weaver, 1996).

An additional study on voting behavior and agenda setting explains agenda setting as a two-step process, and is outlined in the following paragraphs. Although only a few researchers have examined the role of agenda setting in policy adoption, the influence of agenda setting variables in policy innovation create a need to focus more research in this area (Hays & Glick, 1997). The next section discusses agenda setting as a two-step process and includes the study on voting behavior and agenda setting with agenda setting as a two-step flow.

*Agenda Setting as a Two-Step Flow*

Similar to the small amount of research on agenda setting in policy adoption, is research that examines agenda setting as a two-step flow (Roberts, 1992). Understanding agenda setting as a two-step flow is an attempt to move agenda setting from awareness, to behavior (Roberts). The limited research in this area includes work by Roberts (1992), and Brosius and Weimann (1996).
Roberts reviewed the 25 year history of agenda setting, finding only 3 articles up to 1992 that examined agenda setting as a two-step flow (1992). Roberts explained the two-step process as the transfer of mass media salience to public mind, and public salience to the behavior. As stated previously, salience is the degree of relevance of the information.

A two-step flow takes the position of an active audience, versus a one step-flow, which assumes that the public passively receives media messages (Brosius & Weimann, 1996). Simply put, the two-step process involves actions influenced by thoughts from the media. Roberts performed a content analysis of local TV newscasts, newspaper stories, and political ads from the 1990 election, Clayton Williams versus Ann Richards, using coding instruments similar to McCombs and Shaw 1977, Ghorpade 1986, Bryan 1987, etc (Roberts, 1992). In addition to the content analysis, Roberts used the professional staff of the Communication Department at the University of Texas, Austin to perform random sample telephone interviews. The time-frame for the interviews replicated McCombs and Shaw 1977; group one was questioned one month before the election, group two was interviewed one week before the election, and group three was polled immediately following the election (Roberts). The population sample totaled 238 participants who read and/or watched local news an average of 5-6 days per week (Roberts).

Data results suggested that the function of agenda setting might occur in a two-step process (Roberts, 1992). Limitations of the research stated that researchers correctly classified only 70% of the respondents. In addition, variables such as gender, media
reliance, level of political concern, and involvement, which have the ability to re-define the accuracy of this research, were not taken into consideration. Other limitations of the study include voter sensitivity to telephone interviews as well as the use of self-reported responses (Roberts).

Hans-Bernd Brosius and Gabriel Weimann approach the study of the two-step flow of agenda setting by combining research on the agenda setting process, influential individuals, and personal influence with hopes of gaining a better understanding of how issues, themes, and concerns relate to one another between the public and the mass media, as well as within the public (1996). The authors explain that many agenda setting studies focus on the effects media agendas have on decision makers and the public, yet little attention is given to public-to-media flow, and within the public (Brosius & Weimann).

In their 1996 research, Weimann and Brosius examine the effects of the media to the public, accounting for influence by early recognizers as well. Authors define early recognizers as being reporters, gatekeepers, or people from social and organizational networks that gather and submit news information (Weimann & Brosius). For this study, Weimann and Brosius re-examined data sets found in Weimann and Brosius (1994) in Germany, which incorporated the Strength of Personality (SP) scale; and Weimann (1994) in Israel. Authors concluded that only four possible two-step models existed in which the early recognizers precede the public or the media (Weimann & Brosius). The four models presented by Brosius and Weimann were outlined as follows:

Model 1: The Classical two-step flow = media agenda> early recognizers> public agenda
Model 2: Reverse two-step flow = public agenda > early recognizers > media agenda
Model 3: Initiating the classical model = early recognizers > media agenda > public agenda
Model 4: Initiating the reverse model = early recognizers > public agenda > media agenda

The method used for this study was a re-examination of previous work performed by the authors (Brosius and Weimann, 1996). The data sets that were re-visited included coded information from German television news broadcasts which represented the media agenda, and a survey of 1,000 individuals living in either East or West Germany between September 1990 and December 1992, which represented the public agenda (Brosius & Weimann, 1996). Strength of Personality questions asked in the survey included socio-demographic, personal characteristics, and issue importance. The results of the research implied that there is not just one correct model; rather all four tested models may be accurate. The SP scale modified for agenda setting studies identified the importance of early recognizers. As a dependent variable, early recognizers served as a contributing factor. In all sixty equations, early recognizers preceded the media agenda and the public agenda. The public agenda of East and West Germany were clearly different. Issue salience was similar between the four news broadcasts, yet the issues on the public agenda did not match the television coverage. The contribution of this research is to take notice of those who act as mediators between the media and the public (Brosius & Weimann, 1996).
**Issue Obtrusiveness in Agenda Setting**

Factors viewed as having influence on public perception of issue salience include the obtrusiveness of issues, prominence of media coverage, and how the media covered the issues in the past (Watt, 1993). Past research defines obtrusiveness as the degree of direct experience (Yagade & Dozier, 1990). The more obtrusive the issue, the closer it is to one’s own life experience. Less obtrusive issues are those that are further away from one’s own experience (Yagade & Dozier). Agenda setting researchers have made arguments for both sides. Some researchers argue that the agenda setting effect is stronger for unobtrusive issues because people have less of their own real-life experience, placing a heavier reliance on the media (Yagade & Dozier). Other scholars claim that the greater the personal experience with an issue or an event, the more information a person will seek out (Yagade & Dozier).

To strengthen the design of agenda setting research, Charles Ader conducted a longitudinal study over 20 years (1970-1990) examining the media agenda, the public agenda, and the real-world factor of environmental pollution. (1995). Ader claims that up to this point most agenda research has been qualitative content analysis on the media and survey of issues on the public agenda, yet little attention has been given to personal contact with individuals. Ader chose to study agenda setting for the issue of environmental pollution because previous research cited by Ader implied that the environment is one of the strongest unobtrusive issues. All of the past literature reviewed in this article took the position that the agenda setting effect is stronger for unobtrusive issues (Ader).
To build a case, Ader cited Walter Lippmann who claimed that the media shape people's perceptions of those things that they cannot directly experience (1995). Ader used a content analysis of the *New York Times* to represent the media agenda. Environmental stories were measured in column inches and coded into three categories (Ader). The percentage of respondents who rated environmental pollution as, “the most important problem facing the nation today” represented the public agenda (Ader, 1995, p. 303). Real-world pollution conditions were determined by examining secondary analysis of data from the Characterization of the Municipal Solid Waste Foundation in the United States 1960-2000 and Environmental Quality (Ader). The overall findings of the research: the relationship between the public agenda and real world conditions was statistically insignificant, the media agenda and the real world agenda had a statistically significant relationship; however, the correlations of pollution sub-issues was negative, implying that the amount of media attention given to pollution influenced the issue’s degree of public salience (Ader).

Like Charles Ader, James Watt reviewed past work on issue obtrusiveness and agrees that although some results are mixed, most research supports the idea that the less people know about an issue, the more likely they will rely upon and readily accept the information and interpretation from the media (Watt, 1993). Watt’s research examined the effects of television news coverage and the effects of the decay curve. Watt explained that past researchers have supported the idea that television is more credible than print media, and others such as Brosius and Kepplinger (1990), and Behr and
Iyenger (1985), have agreed that television testing of agenda setting is important since so many of the earlier studies chose print media.

Watt’s research considers public perceptions of issue salience on the obtrusiveness of an issue, the prominence of media coverage, and the amount of past coverage given to an issue (1993). Watt chose three issues with varying levels of obtrusiveness and prior coverage: inflation, Iran, and the Soviet Union. Daily entries in the Television News Index and Abstracts (TNIA, 1979-1983) from the Vanderbilt Television Archives were coded. Researchers coded stories regarding the three issues for prominent features including: amount of time devoted to the story, whether or not film or videotape footage was used, time placement within the broadcast, and the main sentence describing the story content. Stories coded during 1,826 days, totaled 9,948 (Watt).

Archives obtained from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut, measured public opinion (Watt, 1993). The standard poll question, “What do you think is the most important issue facing this nation?” was used to assess opinions about the salience of an issue (Watt, 1993).

The agenda-setting effect pertained to all three issues, yet each effect was different (Watt, 1993). The strongest agenda setting effect was found in the Iran news story. It was the most unobtrusive issue, and the earliest in the news cycle (Watt). Inflation news, a more obtrusive issue and later in its news cycle, had a moderate agenda setting effect. Little agenda setting effect was found in Soviet news; very late in its news cycle and labeled as unobtrusive. The research did not support the hypothesis that the less obtrusive the issue, the more the public will rely on the media (Watt).
To challenge the argument that personal experience diminishes the use of mass media David Demers relied on theoretical perspectives other than agenda setting to qualify a hypothesis (1996). Demers reviewed agenda setting studies from the 1970's that failed to find a consistent relationship between issue salience and news content. This proposition was later termed obtrusive contingency (Demers).

Demers’ research incorporated two communication concepts: community attachment and cognitive priming. The community attachment model shares common ground with agenda setting as it attempts to explain how personal experience and social roles determine the effects of mass communicated messages; however, community attachment takes the position that personal experience encourages the need for communication (Demers, 1996). The cognitive priming hypothesis theoretically challenges obtrusiveness. This hypothesis explains that people are drawn to specific issues as a result of their environment (Demers).

Demers used research on the community attachment model and the cognitive priming hypothesis to contrast previous agenda setting research, and propose that personal experience would increase rather than decrease the reading of a local newspaper. In addition, Demers rationalized that since an individual’s personal experience in a large community is limited, and the media only cover a fraction of stories, the relationship between personal experience and newspaper reading will be stronger for local community newspapers than for the metropolitan papers.

Demers examined two data sets and two community papers (1996). Random selection interviews of adults from the telephone directory in River Falls, Wisconsin
resulted in a sample of 334 participants who answered questions about how frequently they read the River Falls paper, and their personal experience with issues in the community (Demers). Random phone interviews of students attending the University of Wisconsin in River Falls resulted in a sample of 349 students who answered questions about how frequently they read the campus paper, and how involved they were in university organizations (Demers).

The data from the community newspapers supported the hypothesis that the greater one's personal experience with a community, the more frequently they read the community newspaper; however, the data collected from the metropolitan daily newspapers did not support the first hypothesis (Demers, 1996). The data did support Demers’ second hypothesis stating that the relationship between newspaper reading and personal experience would be stronger for the local newspaper versus the metropolitan paper. Although the results of personal experience and community attachment were not significant for the larger metropolitan paper, Demers stated that personal experience is not a substitute for media generated messages, and that personal experience stimulates a need to search out more information (1996).

Using a method similar to Charles Ader, Aileen Yagade and David Dozier examined what they termed as abstract and concrete issues (Yagade & Dozier, 1990). Here, authors make a distinction. The obtrusiveness of an issue is the degree of issue influence based on an individual’s direct experience with the issue; the abstractness of an issue is the degree of difficulty one has comprehending the issue (Yagade & Dozier).
The more difficult an issue is to comprehend, the more abstract it is. The easier an issue is to comprehend, the more concrete it is.

The study applied a content analysis sample of *Time* magazine for two abstract issues (federal budget deficit and nuclear arms race) and two concrete issues (energy and drug abuse) to measure the media agenda (Yagade & Dozier, 1990). The popular Gallup Poll question, “What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today” measured the public agenda (Yagade & Dozier, 1990, p. 6). An additional questionnaire administered to 79 students in two journalism classes determined the assumed *abstractness* of the four issues in question (Yagade & Dozier). The purpose was to identify if the media in fact set the agenda for these four issues. Results suggested that the media set the agenda for issues the public could easily visualize, but not for the more abstract issues in which people had difficulty relating to (Yagade & Dozier).

**Agenda Setting, Priming, and Framing**

Hundreds of scholarly journals on agenda setting hypothesize that the degree of emphasis placed on an issue or event will affect the degree of importance an issue has in the public’s eyes (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997). The selection of objects for attention, and attributes to think about these objects; as well as, perspectives and frames of journalists used to draw attention to some attributes and draw attention away from other attributes, are powerful roles of agenda setting (McCombs et al., 1997).

In the 1990’s agenda setting research began to move from Level 1 agenda setting to Level 2 agenda setting (McCombs, et al, 1997). McCombs et al., elaborate on first and second level agenda setting. Level 1 agenda setting is the transmission of object salience,
Level 2 is the transmission of attribute salience. The authors explain that the success of agenda setting is its capability to be compatible with other concepts of communication and social science, including; the spiral of silence theory, gate keeping, status conferral, and priming (McCombs et al.). Second level agenda setting applies theory to another prominent concept, framing (McCombs et al.).

In 1991 researchers Iyengar and Simon applied the three media effects: agenda setting, priming, and framing to the news coverage and public opinion of the gulf crisis (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Agenda setting is considered a quantitative approach to understanding the effects of the media, and was defined in this article as, “the ability of the news to define the significant issues of the day” (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). The agenda setting hypothesis was used to support the idea that an increase in the level of media coverage of the Persian Gulf would be associated with increases in the number of respondents naming the Gulf crisis as the number one problem facing the nation (Iyengar & Simon). Authors identified the public agenda by gathering data from Gallup poll, revealing that the number one concern for the nation was indeed the Gulf crisis (Iyengar & Simon). This concern was proportionate to the level of news coverage supporting the agenda-setting hypothesis (Iyengar & Simon).

Priming is explained as an extension of agenda setting which addresses the impact of news coverage on the prominence assigned to specific issues used when making political judgments (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). In general, the more prominent the issue is on the national platform, the greater its impact on political judgments (Iyengar & Simon). Evaluations of presidents and members of congress are often used to assess the
weight of political judgments (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Overall, news coverage of political issues increases priming effects for performance assessments (Iyengar & Simon). In this research, priming effects considered the relationship between the criteria the public uses to evaluate politicians, and patterns of news coverage (Iyengar & Simon). The priming hypothesis stated that, “the weight that respondents accord foreign policy performance when evaluating the president will significantly increase during and after the Gulf crisis” (Iyengar & Simon). To identify the effects of priming, researchers collected data from the National Election Studies of 1988, 1990, and 1991 (Iyengar & Simon). The research supported the priming hypothesis. Evidence from the 1990 election revealed that Americans relied more on their own opinions and beliefs when forming impressions about the current president, George Bush (Iyengar & Simon). The overall impression of the president was more positive after the Gulf situation, and the public rated the president very favorable on foreign policy survey questions (Iyengar & Simon). This change is believed to be an effect of the positive presentation of the president by the media during the Gulf crisis (Iyengar & Simon).

Framing is also linked to agenda setting. Framing focuses on the qualitative features of news and public opinion, and the connection of the two (McCombs et al.). Kiousis, Bantimaroudais, & Ban cite McCombs and Estrada (1997) who define perspectives and frames as semantic devices used to draw attention to some attributes, and away from others (1999). There is an assumption that through the use of framing an object, the press has influence over the salience of issues and attributes (Kiousis, Bantimaroudais, & Ban, 1999). The media uses selection, emphasis, elaboration, and
exclusion when framing an issue (Kiousis et al.). McCombs advises that framing an object helps bring order to the vast amount of information available for use to the media (McCombs et al., 1997). As a result of the effects of framing, McCombs and Shaw suggest that, “the media may not only tell us what to think about” (as suggested by Bernard Cohen), “but also how to think about it, and consequently, what to think” (1993, p. 65).

Framing includes psychological and sociological aspects (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). The psychological aspect examines psychological changes in judgment encouraged by the alteration of the judgment or issue (Iyengar & Simon). Sociological aspects of framing include story lines, stereotypes, and symbols in media presentations (Iyengar & Simon).

The concept of framing is further broken down into attributions of responsibility and frame networks that are episodic or thematic in nature (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Episodic frames are often the method for covering political issues. Episodic frames describe in specific detail, for example; a homeless person, a rape victim, or an unemployed worker, etc. (Iyengar & Simon). Thematic frames describe in generalities, for example; changes in employment opportunities, reductions in government welfare etc. (Iyengar & Simon). Thematic frames use the language of numbers, and speak in terms of crowds, and multiples (Iyengar & Simon).

The framing hypothesis proposed by Iyengar and Simon stated, “respondents reporting higher rates of exposure to television news will express greater support for a military as opposed to a diplomatic response to the crisis” (1993). ABC news coverage
of the Gulf crisis was found to be mostly episodic and event orientated (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Policy preferences relevant to conflict resolution were all affected by the control variables: partisanship, race, gender, and education (Iyengar & Simon). Findings revealed that those less attentive to public affairs (women and minorities) were more influenced by television coverage of the Gulf crisis. Exposure to episodic news programs increased support for military resolution to the end of the gulf crisis. Overall, television coverage of the gulf did influence the direction of Americans political concerns, and their attitudes towards President George Bush (Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

Level-two agenda setting, a combination of priming and framing, is often examined in the context of political issues and public agenda. Additional research of level-one and level-two agenda setting can be found in Takeshita and Mikami 1995, a study of the Japanese general election; McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey, 1997, a study of second-level agenda setting effects of candidate images in Spanish elections; Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, and Lennon, 1998, an examination of level one and two agenda setting among news and advertising in the 1995 Spanish election; and Kiousis, Bantimaroudais, and Ban, 1999, research on the substantive dimension of level two agenda setting using candidate image attributes.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Agenda-Setting Research

There are advantages and disadvantages to agenda-setting research. The advantages include a broad concept and multiple methods (Rogers, Dearing, Bregman, 1993). Agenda setting is not limited based on methods of study. Agenda-setting research includes macro and micro level, cross-sectional, as well as longitudinal research by using
multiple research designs that address a single issue or agenda, and relies on archival data, not field data (Rogers et al.). The disadvantages include the danger of generalizing to include additional variables measured differently, and non-conclusive results (Rogers et al.).

**Sector II—Media and Terrorism**

*Media and Crisis*

High profile events including crisis events will no doubt attract the media. Common crisis events include natural disasters, health scares, fears created by technology including the anticipation of Y2-K, and terrorist attacks. Few researchers have yet to examine media coverage of natural disasters or the anticipation of the Y2-K event; yet, communication scholars have considered how the media cover health scare stories, and terrorist attacks. This section on media and terrorism will outline legal considerations in crisis management and in the reporting of crisis events. In addition, this section will explain the role of the media during a social crisis as presented by Alan Bush and Gregory Buller; link terrorism and the media including, past research; present the debate for regulatory media coverage; provide suggestions for balanced reporting; and outline current regulations in force by other print and media organizations.

*Legal considerations in crisis management*

Crises situations are stressful and demanding. This section discusses the consideration of legal issues that arise during a crisis. Frequent legal issues likely to arise in the event of a crisis include the Fourth amendment proscription of unreasonable seizures and searches, the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, and the
enforcement of promises made by negotiators, and the control of the media as protected by the First Amendment (Higginbotham, 1994).

The Fourth Amendment right to privacy recognizes that threats to life and safety may excuse the usual need for a warrant (Higginbotham, 1994). The Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, protected by the Miranda rule, holds that the now-familiar warnings and a valid waiver must precede statements made by a defendant while in custody interrogation in order to be admissible into evidence; however, this does not apply during crises (Higginbotham). In addition, the Fifth Amendment privilege allows negotiators to seek the surrender of suspects (Higginbotham). The law will not absolve the hostage taker from legal responsibility based on promises made by the negotiator (Higginbotham).

Crises, especially those involving response from law enforcement, draw media attention (Higginbotham, 1994). Therefore, law enforcement officials must remember that the media play a unique role in our government system (Higginbotham). In order for the press to fulfill its essential role in our democracy, the founding fathers enacted the First Amendment to protect the free press (Higginbotham). The First Amendment abolished the government’s power to censure the press, enabling the press to “serve the governed, not the governors” (Higginbotham, 1994). Repeatedly, cases brought before the Supreme Court have upheld the First Amendment, prohibiting government regulation of news media coverage on terrorism (Alexander & Latter, 1990). William Brennan (1971) explained that restrictions of media only become possible when the nation is at war. As a country, Americans would not want the release of transport sailing dates, or
the location and number of troops (Alexander & Latter). The only other guideline to be followed by news personnel is that they do not have a constitutional right to go into restricted areas in which the general public has been excluded (Higginbotham).

Creating a crisis response plan will reduce the risk of errors affecting legal issues, credibility, injury, and the loss of human life (Higginbotham, 1994). The suggestion to law enforcement personnel is to establish perimeters around the crisis scene excluding both the media and the public, sectioning a safe area for the media in which an officer or public official would provide updated briefs (Higginbotham). Pre-planned measures to accommodate the media will encourage an orderly response to the crisis at hand.

**The role of the mass media during a social crisis**

Communication scholars Alan Bush and Gregory Boller have researched the role of mass media and television advertising during health crises. Their review divides the role of mass media influence during a social crisis into three eras (Bush & Boller, 1991). In the 1930’s and 40’s it was believed that the mass media had consistent and immediate effects on the masses (Bush & Boller). During this era, public policymakers and health officials used the mass media to help build awareness about Polio (Bush & Boller). The 1950’s and 60’s was labeled the *minimal effects* era (Bush & Boller). Research as to the impact of mass media on individual behavior during this period left many inconclusive findings (Bush & Boller). It was then that communication experts deemed the mass media useless and unable to affect individuals (Bush & Boller). From the 1970’s forward, the third era was labeled *contingent effects* (Bush & Boller). During this era, communication experts again discovered that the mass media indeed influence
individuals; however, they believe that the effect is cumulative and more indirect. Bush and Boller wrote, “Through sheer repetition, mass media are believed to provide an effective means of imparting the latest scientific information to large groups of people” (1991).

**Terrorism and the Media**

For purpose of clarity, Alexander and Latter define terrorism as, “the deliberate, systematic, murder, maiming, or menacing of the innocent to inspire fear in order to gain political ends” (1990, p. 13). Alexander and Latter refer to a pamphlet by Paul Johnson who wrote *Seven Deadly Sins of Terrorism*. Characteristics of terrorism described by Johnson are as follows:

- Idealizes violence (makes it appear admirable)
- Rejects human morality (successful terrorists ignore morals identified with civilized human beings)
- Terrorism rejects political processes
- Terrorism promotes a totalitarian system and threatens democratic systems: terrorism can and has destroyed democracies.

Johnson explains that one goal of terrorists is to undermine people, making them so sick of violence that they no longer want to defend themselves or their way of life (Alexander & Latter).

With thoughts similar to Paul Johnson, Brazilian terrorist theorist Carlos Mirejeva presented two goals of terrorism as cited in Alexander and Latter (1990):
• To create an environment in which life becomes unbearable for ordinary people
• To force a climate of collapse.

The focal point of research linking the media to terrorism is that terrorism would not be effective without publicity. Terrorism requires the press to hold public attention with its dramatic presentation (Alexander & Latter, 1990).

Research on terrorism attempts to explain terrorist attacks as communication. Researcher David Paletz borrows from Weimann (1987) the explanation of terrorism as coercion, a new kind of media event (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Terrorists’ strategically fight using a psychological battleground (Paletz & Schmid). The purpose of this strategy is to encourage change in opponents’ attitudes and or feelings. Some deem terrorism as “the weapon of the weak” (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 31). From his research, Paletz unfolds four goals of terrorists listed in Paletz and Schmid:

• To get their objectives on the public and policy agenda
• To get publicity about their purpose
• To have themselves and their ideas viewed as legitimate
• To confirm their status, undermine authority, persuade others to join their violence, and possibly settle grievances.

How do terrorists achieve publicity? Exploitation by the media is far from a new phenomenon: Free Press (Alexander & Latter, 1990). An indispensable factor in the framework of a democracy is the media. When democracy is under threat, those involved, including; government, politicians, police force, and media personnel must
make difficult decisions (Alexander & Latter). Terrorists target free societies, with the knowledge that free societies support a free media (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Terrorists are aware of the common idea that media coverage focuses on violent events, and media in a free society have the means to respond freely (Paletz & Schmid). Terrorists commit acts, which are of interest to the media (Paletz & Schmid). The reporting of such acts is up to the media (Paletz & Schmid). Paletz supports these ideas with a quote from Laqueur (1977), “The success of a terrorist operation depends almost entirely on the amount of publicity it receives” (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 7). Alexander and Latter agree with other communication scholars that the media provide the means for the advancement of terrorism.

Terrorists engage in press relation activity to advance their cause by use of visual material, press releases, press conferences, personal interviews etc (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Techniques chosen depend on factors including the act of terrorism (i.e. bombing, hijacking, kidnapping etc.), the size of the event, and the location and target of the attack (Paletz & Schmid). Robin Gerrits sub-authored a section in Paletz and Schmid (1992), outlining three ways terrorists can increase the news value of their acts:

- Increase violence and victim count
- Use symbolism
- Perform for the media.

Choosing optimal time and place is often relevant to the terrorist goal of “achieving the maximum psychological advantage” (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 50). Terrorists often attack in large cities versus the country (Paletz & Schmid). They attack
during a scheduled event covered by the media for example, the Olympics (Paletz & Schmid). Terrorists plan attacks around peak hours of the media (Paletz & Schmid). In most places the Sunday paper is the largest circulation; therefore, terrorists plan their attack the day before, leaving little time for editors to select, edit, or change their message (Paletz & Schmid). Terrorists not only gain media attention and publication of their purpose with the well-planned demonstration of their terrorist act, they may prepare a print or broadcast communication for the media, or they may make violent threats demanding broadcast and/or publication (Paletz & Schmid). Terrorists believe that even if the action fails, when publicity is attracted, the event is a success (Paletz & Schmid). The results of terrorists' successful ability to manipulate the media are shocking and disturbing (Alexander & Latter, 1990).

**Free Media versus Regulated Media**

The largest dilemma in news reporting is the public’s First Amendment right to a free press and some regulation in how the media present the news. Media personnel claim that their focus is to maintain “a truly free media” in order to protect democracy (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 169). Media view terrorism and power as inseparable, claiming that violence and power keep history going (Paletz & Schmid).

Much of the literature on terrorism and the media claim that the media willingly and unwillingly encourage terrorism and obstruct the means to stop it (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). The argument for those opposing unregulated media coverage of terrorism explain that media presence prolongs incidents, jeopardizes the lives of police and hostages, increases the pressure for authorities to settle or meet the demands of terrorists,
interferes with police operation, and allows the opportunity for the media to become participants of the event versus observers (Paletz & Schmid).

Some consider media a hindrance for these two reasons: (Paletz & Schmid, 1992)
- They are accused of encouraging and facilitating the terrorists objectives
- They are accused of creating damaging effects by their presence at, and their reporting of terrorist attacks

Critics complain that censorship of the media is necessary due to the broadcast of sensitive information (Alexander & Latter, 1990). There have been cases where the media released information, endangering the lives of other human beings (Alexander & Latter). One of the extreme incidents was a situation in which radio broadcasters alerted the public of a Lufthansa Jet in which the captain was transmitting information to authorities on the ground; hijackers heard this broadcast over the radio and immediately killed the captain (Alexander & Latter).

Critics also claim there is a need for media censorship because the media affect the conduct of terrorist incidents and media presence imposes upon the successful resolution of incidents (Alexander & Latter, 1990). In TWA flight 847, some believe that hijackers prolonged the situation due to the extensive press coverage they were receiving (Alexander & Latter). Incidents like these provide cause for some regulation of how the media cover terrorist events (Alexander & Latter).

To what extent can media coverage facilitate or hinder terrorists’ objectives? Paletz and Schmid (1992) reviewed numerous case studies involving various methods, and results. Neither side in the media encourages terrorism dispute has been able to
produce systematic research on terrorist attacks and its relationship to media coverage, to
public attitude, or terrorist activity; however, authors advise that one can make a
legitimate case claiming that the media play an important agenda setting role (Paletz &
Schmid). In Paletz and Schmid (1992) popular research is reviewed as follows: Tan
Researchers performed a quantitative analysis of the Irish Times, London Times, and New
York Times (Paletz & Schmid). Conclusions of this research state that the abundant
amount of newspaper coverage alone would increase the scale of terrorist violence
(Paletz & Schmid).

Weimann (1983) compared important issues on the public agenda and the media
agenda (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Weimann asked participants to evaluate terrorists and
terrorist attacks on two different violent acts after reading press clippings from one of the
leading daily papers in Israel (Paletz & Schmid). Evaluative dimensions included kind-
cruel, valuable–worthless, brave-cowardly, just-un-just, good- bad (Paletz & Schmid).
The study revealed that evaluations of terrorists and terrorism by subjects were somewhat
enhanced after reading the press clippings; however, evaluations remained negative
(Paletz & Schmid).

In 1990, Weimann performed a more elaborate and detailed version of the 1983
research study (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Although there was no change on the kind-cruel
and the valuable-worthless evaluative dimensions, a substantial change showed up in the
brave-cowardly, just-unjust, and good-bad scales (Paletz & Schmid).
Weimann (1990) also reported that status conferral and agenda setting had occurred: “subjects who were exposed to press reports of terrorist incidents tended to see the issues as more important, to believe that an international solution is desirable, and to hold that media coverage and public attention were merited” (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 18). Participants maintained disapproval of terrorism (Paletz & Schmid). Weimann explained that press reports may have generated these effects by rationalizing terrorism, labeling terrorism as positive, and depicting the terrorists as the underdogs (Paletz & Schmid).

In addition to the above research by Weimann, Paletz and Schmid comment on a 1991 article, explaining that Brosius and Weimann applied sophisticated methodological techniques to the Rand Corporation’s chronology of international terrorism and news coverage of nine newspapers from several countries, and news coverage on U.S. television networks (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). The conclusion drawn from this research implied that U.S. news coverage contributes to trends found in terrorist activity (Paletz & Schmid).

Trends of two agenda setting effects discussed by Schmid are as follows; increase public fear of terrorist attacks, and encourages copycat crimes (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Although other researchers have noted trends of copycat crimes, not all acts of terrorism are modeled equally (Paletz & Schmid). For example, bombings, hijackings, and kidnappings are more likely to be replicated than raids or assassinations (Paletz & Schmid). Based on research, Schmid claims that the media create an inaccurate image of terrorism (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Schmid cautions that agenda setting may become
self-reinforcing when reality starts to reflect how the media is presenting the news (Paletz & Schmid).

Other writers claim that the media exaggerate the threat of terrorism, resulting in the magnification of public fears (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). Media place the emphasis on terrorist violence rather than terrorist cause, influencing how the public perceives the issue. Paletz and Schmid (1992) cited the following quote from Merari and Friedland (1985) to explain fear created by the media:

The printed space and broadcast time devoted to terrorism and terrorist incidents turn terrorism into an ever present threat in individuals’ consciousness. The media’s technical capabilities, which allow them to convey information in real time; by word, sound, and image, force millions to experience vicariously, the horrors of terrorism (p. 196).

The response of a German public in a 1988 poll found that the media create fear with constant implication and innuendos that terrorism can hit anyone at any time (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Suggestions for balanced reporting

Alex Schmid presents information on the editor’s role. Editors decide what to print and/or broadcast, and how to present it (Paletz & Schmid). Editors act as, “the filter between a silence of reality and the audience’s perception, a selective slice of reality” (Paletz & Schmid, 1992, p. 128). It is apparent that reporters need to cover terrorism because it is newsworthy; the hope is that media will not sensationalize the already sensational (Paletz & Schmid). Schmid explains that although it would be impossible not
to give media-orientated violence news coverage, these acts could at least be downscaled (Paletz & Schmid). Editors can avoid negative social impact by delaying the print and broadcast of sensitive information, avoid repetitive broadcasting of the same dramatic film sequence, act as an observer rather than a participant of a violent situation, and keep a time/space balance between the terrorist story and other news (Paletz & Schmid). Schmid's advice to editors is to respond to the situation after the event has reached a natural end, rather than increase the intensity by media interference (Paletz & Schmid).

Researchers like Alex Schmid and David Paletz are not alone in their concern for balanced reporting of terrorism. Yonah Alexander and Richard Latter state that media personnel have not always shown good judgment; however, the media do their best reporting when they use a middle of the road approach inclusive of fair, decent, honest reporting (1990).

**Media Regulations**

What regulations do media personnel follow when reporting the news? Currently, media personnel are free to report the news as they see fit (Alexander & Latter, 1990). There have been many proposals for self-regulation, but they do not differ much from the guidelines presented in the *Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism (Washington: National advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1976)* (Alexander & Latter). The main concepts of this proposal as found in Alexander and Latter (1990) include the following:

- Limitations on interviews during hostage incidents
- Delays upon the release of inflammatory or sensitive information
• Minimum intrusiveness in the course of terrorist incidents
• Balanced and non-inflammatory coverage of such incidents

Although some media groups oppose self-regulation, several print and broadcast news organizations have set their own guidelines to follow during terrorist attacks (Alexander & Latter, 1990). Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the United Press International, and the Sun-Times and Daily News are three of these (Alexander & Latter). The best known is CBS news division (Alexander & Latter). CBS promotes balanced coverage (Alexander & Latter). They avoid staging a platform for kidnapper/terrorist and also avoid the use of inflammatory phrases and catch words (Alexander & Latter).

During the 1985 U.S. hijacking of Flight 847, media were asked to restrain their coverage of terrorist events in order to starve the terrorists (Alexander & Latter, 1990). After the 1985 TWA event, United Press International and CBS News aware of their dilemma between the public’s right to know versus restraint in coverage, introduced policies into their organization to avoid giving terrorist an excessive platform (Alexander & Latter).

In the CBS News Standards, it states that although there cannot be any specific self-executing rules for the handling of terrorist/hostage coverage, CBS news will apply the standard tests of news judgment, and state that newsworthy stories will be reported even at the risk of contagion (Alexander & Latter, 1990). CBS News claims that failure to report the news affects their credibility, allows free rein over sensationalized rumors, and distorts the news judgment of media personnel for the purpose of some extraneous judgment (Alexander & Latter). It is also written that conscientious care and restraint
should be taken to avoid over sensationalizing beyond the facts, and care should be exercised when dealing with a terrorist/kidnapper (Alexander & Latter).

Alexander and Latter printed the news standards of CBS, the Sun-Times and Daily News, and the United Press International (UPI) with permission (1990). Specifically outlined and summarized in Alexander and Latter (1990), the CBS Standards are as follows:

- Demands of a terrorist/kidnapper are an important part of the story and must be reported.
- To avoid providing an excessive platform for the terrorist/kidnapper, it may be better to paraphrase the demands of a terrorist rather than use the direct voice or picture of the terrorist/kidnapper.
- Only in compelling circumstances, and only with the approval of the President of CBS News, or in the President’s absence, the Senior Vice President of News, should there be live coverage of the terrorist/kidnapper. This suggestion is made to avoid providing an unedited platform for the terrorist/kidnapper.
- Live on-the-spot coverage is not limited; however, care should be exercised to assure context and restraint.
- News personnel should be considerate of the authorities dealing with the terrorist by telephone communication, and should avoid use of such lines likely to interfere with communications by the authorities.
• In acting responsibly, CBS news representatives should attempt to contact experts dealing with hostage situations to inquire how best to phrase questions, and what questions to avoid. Any recommendations made by the established authorities should act as guidance, but not as instruction for CBS News personnel.

• Local authorities should be given the name or names of CBS personnel acting as contacts during the crisis event.

• Story reporters should obey all police instructions but must report immediately to their superiors any instructions that appear to be in place as an attempt to suppress or manage the news. This acknowledgment is in protection of the media’s right to cover civil disturbances.

• The length of coverage given to a crisis event should not create a disproportionate balance, crowding out other important news of the hour/day.

The United Press International and the *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* recognize nine very similar guidelines that can be found in Alexander and Latter (1990). Summarized, they are as follows:

• If a story is newsworthy, it will be covered regardless of contagion, since the adverse effects of suppression would prove to be greater.

• Coverage will be thoughtful, and restrained. The story will not be sensationalized beyond its fact. In addition, *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* states the attempt to avoid inflammatory catchwords, phrases, and rumors.
• The demands of terrorists and kidnappers will be reported as an essential part of a story, but may be paraphrased to avoid providing an excessive platform for the demands.

• Actions that would jeopardize human life will be avoided.

• Editors, photographers, and reporters should not become part of the negotiations or part of the story.

• In all cases the objective will be to provide credible coverage without endangering lives or hampering authorities.

The *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* recognizes several other objectives similar to those written in the CBS News Standards, not listed in the objectives of the United Press International (Alexander & Latter, 1990):

• Reporters should obey all police instructions, yet they need to report all instructions that appear to suppress the news to their supervisors.

• Reporters need to contact authorities for guidance, not instruction, on the use of telephones and other facilities that police may need for negotiation purposes.

• The senior supervisory editor will determine what information, if any, will need to be withheld.

Some people including government officials, victims of media exploitation, and those with a genuine interest express their concern between legitimate news coverage and exploitation. Editors point to the Constitution, the public's right to know, and the credibility of a free press, while others want to avoid the media being used as a forum by
terrorists and kidnappers, requesting some type of guidelines for media personnel to follow (Alexander & Latter, 1990).

The question of whether or not to adopt and enforce restraints of terrorist coverage, and the question of who should enforce it, be it the government, or the media themselves as part of a disciplined press, will continue to be debated (Alexander and Latter, 1990). Although these questions are important, Yonah Alexander and Richard Latter believe these questions to be premature since examinations of media coverage and terrorism have failed to provide conclusive determinations that the media actually promote terrorism, or if they provide a forum for publicity and propaganda (1990).

**Sector III-War Photojournalism**

**Photographs**

In an essay written by Sue Hubbard, *Kensington Gore* and critiques titled *War and Photography* by Ernst Junger and *Emptying the Gaze: Framing violence through the viewfinder* by Bernd Huppauf, authors discuss photographs as an aid to memory and imagination. Hubbard says that photography more than anything, is about memory (1995). Through photographs, people create and recreate personal biographies as well as place themselves and events within the ever-changing framework of the past (Hubbard). For instance, in a family photo album, the images become a substitute for the memory about a forgotten occasion (Hubbard). Hubbard views photography not as truth, but as a means of constructing a personal and social schema.

Bernd Huppauf states, “Photographs not only have the power of leading to emotional responses, to ‘consternation,’ but of involving the senses and the imagination
in the creation of an image of the past that transcends historical knowledge in the conventional sense” (1997). Ernst Junger explains photographs as “impressions left behind in stone” (1993). Photographs offer visual data; however, imagination is required to unfold the life in the picture (Junger).

Images of war serve as a reminder that the past and present are interlinked, and that all lives are touched by the spectra of war (Hubbard, 1995). Photographs of war deny the public the comfort that war happens to others...elsewhere (Hubbard).

**War Photography History**

Photojournalism has changed our experience of the world, especially our view of wartime. Until the end of the 19th century, news circulated through rumor and columns in newspaper (Hubbard, 1995). War appeared to be something that happened some place else “on the front or in theatres” (Hubbard, 1995). The horrors of World War I were not truly visible by those outside the battlefield until young soldiers returned home burnt and shell-shocked (Hubbard). Although photographers had been present during war as far back as the Crimea, the photographs served as records after the event happened, versus being available instantaneously for the public to form opinions about the war, unlike what happened during Vietnam (Hubbard).

Pictures taken by Roger Fenton during the Crimea were some of the first photographs of “life on the battlefield” (Goldberg, 1996). Cameras in those times were not fast enough to stop action; therefore, pictures of battles in progress were not possible (Goldberg). Despite Fenton’s difficulties in capturing, developing, and transporting the photographs, he returned with 360 remarkable photographs (Goldberg). Fenton was not
the only photographer during the Crimea, but the majority of photographs by others were lost or destroyed (Goldberg).

People were suspicious of political bias in Fenton’s photographs of the Crimea (Goldberg, 1996). The conditions in his photos demonstrated truthfulness about the conditions of the battlefield, appearing better than what had been reported (Goldberg). Despite political bias, Fenton’s photographs were exhibited several places in Britain and in London, and published in 1855 by a publisher from Manchester, Thomas Agnew (Goldberg). The photographs were distributed to something that would resemble today’s mass audience (Goldberg). With the peace treaty signed in 1856, interest in the war and the photographs diminished (Goldberg). Fenton was not able to bring home war itself, but he brought home enough of it to call this period a revelation (Goldberg).

Photojournalism Research

Essays, articles, and critiques that discuss war and photography come in abundance. Many discuss the photographs and their characteristics as the story behind the photographs, or the story behind the photographer. During research on war photojournalism, photographs from the essays A Glimpse of War by Victor Goldberg, (1996), and Doorways in Time by B. Zeller (2000) were examined. Examples of images found in these two essays include the following: pictures of soldiers who were not in combat; an empty battlefield; a wagon with supplies; the inside of a photo studio from the Civil War-era; New York Militia marching down Chambers street July 4th 1860; Fort Brady: March 1865-Members of Company C; First Connecticut Heavy Artillery posed with their guns; the dead of Gettysburg, picturing Union and Confederate soldiers who
had fallen to their death; the “almost” finished U.S. capitol building after the assassination of President Lincoln; and a wide angle photograph of Harewood Hospital; Washington, D.C. 1864.

Although hundreds of essays, critiques, and articles about imagery of wartime exist, many authors including Michael Griffin and Jongsoo Lee agree that past studies of war and photography lack a systematic analysis of the visual depiction of war (1995).

Articles published by Michael Sherer in 1988 and 1989, offer a scholarly approach to researching images of war; providing a clear, well-developed method for examining war photography. The 1988 article compares combat photography during a key battle in both the Vietnam and Korean War (Sherer, 1988). The purpose of the research was to determine if images of combat are consistent over time (Sherer, 1988).

The author analyzed 224 photographs published in Time, Newsweek, and Life magazines (Sherer, 1988). Photographs were coded for scene, subject, portrayal, and perspective. Scene is understood as the moment captured in the photograph (Sherer, 1988). The subject is the primary subject in the photograph (Sherer, 1988). The portrayal of the photograph is the way the primary subject is portrayed (Sherer, 1988). Perspective is the way the picture captured the situation (Sherer, 1988). Sherer outlined a specific method used to identify and code each category (1988).

Sherer drew two main conclusions from this research (1988). The images published in the three national newsmagazines from the Vietnam War included many images of brutal combat picturing the dead, the wounded, and people in life threatening situations (Sherer, 1988). This was different from the images presented during the
Korean War in which the public saw photographs of people in shock, yet safe from the combat experience versus the intense brutality of combat (Sherer, 1988). Photographs published from both wars were similar in terms of subject and perspective (Sherer, 1988).

In 1989, Sherer published a second article titled, *Vietnam War Photos and Public Opinion*. The article briefly discussed powerful photographs of the Vietnam War, the debate about televisions impact on the American public, unrealistic images due to the small size of television screens, and censured programming which required television to monitor and cut combat scenes (Sherer, 1989). Sherer cited work by several scholars who agree that the impact made on the American public by magazine photography is significant; emphasizing the importance of research on images published by the mass media (Sherer, 1989).

With the idea that news magazine photography may leave an impression on the American public and that photographs of combat could have changed public opinion; Sherer questions whether or not the images of war changed at the time there was a shift in public support for the war (1989). To answer the question proposed, Sherer examined photographs from three weekly newsmagazines, *Time, Newsweek*, and *Life* (1989). Photographs included in the research were those printed the week before and the week during the Gallup organization polled public support. Using a similar method from his 1988 article, Sherer coded the photographs for scene, subject, perspective, and portrayal; making minor changes to each category to better suit the purpose of the research (1989).

From the 286 photographs analyzed for this study, several trends became obvious (Sherer, 1989). During the time when public support for the war was at its peak, the
images captured in the three national newsmagazines were mainly of American forces and military equipment, equally balanced between the number of close-ups, distant shots, and normal views, with little focus given to the horror of combat (Sherer, 1989). As support shifted to an equal balance of Americans for and against the war, the same three national newsmagazines began to publish more images of combat and American forces in life threatening combat situations (Sherer, 1989). With a definite drop in public support for the war, the images again shifted to an emphasis on Allied personnel versus the American forces (Sherer, 1989). To simplify, the author explained that as the public opinion of war changed over time, the images of war published in the three national newsmagazines also changed (Sherer, 1989).

Updating war photojournalism research to date surfaced an additional piece of research which used a detailed method similar to the one used by Sherer (1988, 1989); a thesis written by University of Nebraska at Omaha graduate student, Victor Paul, who examined media photographs of The Gulf War (1995).

Paul reviewed war photojournalism, the challenges of photojournalists covering wartime, the history of media access during wartime, and the social construction of reality paradigm (1995). Paul differentiated between the unlimited access photojournalists had during the Vietnam War, and the limited access during the Gulf War. The focus of Paul’s research was to determine if images found in newspaper and magazine publications differed, to identify the constructed image that surfaced from the Gulf War, and to compare the media image of the Gulf War with the War in Vietnam. Paul performed a content analysis of photographs found in three national magazines and
three daily newspapers with large circulation. With the influence of several researchers, Paul developed categories of analysis similar to those used by Sherer (1988, 1989). Paul reviewed images depicting scene, subject, portrayal and perspective. The highlights of Paul’s findings after analysis of 1,853 photographs are as follows:

- Over 60 percent of the images had a combat-related setting
- American soldiers were the subject present in over 47 percent of the images
- Over 25 percent of the photographs portrayed the primary subject as soldiers in action, but not in combat
- Over 60 percent of the images were shown in the normal view of people or objects which are identifiable

Paul concludes that the photographic coverage of the Gulf War and the Vietnam War were very different (1995). During the Vietnam War, photojournalists had open access with minimal censorship to all events; however, during the Gulf War, the military determined the conditions by which the media were able to cover the war (1995). If the media wanted to cover the story of the decade, they had to follow the guidelines laid out by the military (Paul). Paul concludes his research by stating, “Photographs are not colorful filler, they are a powerful part of a medium that communicates in visual and nonverbal terms” (Paul, p. 76).

**The War on Terrorism**

The attack of September 11, 2001 has been termed by the media as the *War on Terrorism*. To date, literally hundreds of articles and essays have been published surrounding this event, yet the number of scholarly research articles are limited. In fact,
from a search of several scholarly database systems, only one research article was currently available for review.

Jack Lule, professor and chair in the Department of Journalism and Communication at Lehigh University, offers an interesting piece of research in response to the attack, September 11, 2001 (Lule, 2002). The article examines editorials found in the *New York Times* from a *myth* perspective (Lule). Lule defines myth, not as a false belief or an untrue story, but rather, “a societal story that expresses prevailing ideals, ideologies, values, and beliefs (2002, p. 277).” As a social narrative, myth offers models for social life (Lule). Myth offers meaning to unusual events, helps explain the unexplainable, and reaffirms beliefs and values that are challenged (Lule).

Eighty-four editorials were published in the *New York Times* between the 12th of September and the 12th of October (Lule, 2002). Of the eighty-four articles, 69 percent were directly related to the aftermath of the attacks (Lule). Lule comments that for 17 days following the attacks, the only other news topic given attention in the editorials was the New York mayoral race, a race ultimately influenced by the current events of the terrorist attack. A close review of the *New York Times* editorials for language and logic surfaced four myths (Lule):

- The End of Innocence (everything has changed)
- The Victims
- The Heroes
- The Foreboding Future
The end of the innocence is a myth of mourning (Lule, 2002). The myth evolved from stories of a world shattered, and the loss of normalcy, innocence, and security (Lule). The myth of the victims is used during times of human loss and suffering (Lule). In this myth, the victims represent and symbolize society and its individuals (Lule). Stories found in the *New York Times* attributing characteristics of ordinary to the victims represent this myth (Lule).

The hero is another myth often found in times of crisis (Lule, 2002). Editorials evolved in abundance with stories of heroes including; public officials, emergency workers, and citizens who rushed into the World Trade Center to save the lives of others (Lule). The foreboding future is a final myth examined by Lule, focusing attention towards preparation for a future of more attacks, more suffering, more losses, and more misery.

The four myths that surfaced in the *New York Times* editorials came as no surprise in response to the tragic event of the 9-11 attacks; however, the myth of the enemy created a notable absence (Lule, 2002). Although other media sources focused attention on the enemy, Osama bin Laden, and the political rally for war, the *New York Times* editorials did not (Lule).

**Summary**

In the thirty-years of agenda setting research reviewed for this thesis, there is an assumption that the media do indeed influence the thoughts, and actions of the public. In addition, there is an underlying agreement that the public, the media, and the policy agenda work together in setting an overall agenda of issues.
Terrorism is a high profile event and requires the attention of all three agendas. The terrorism research listed in the literature review provides a framework for understanding the connection between terrorism and the media. Past research agrees that the amount of media coverage determines the success of a terrorist attack. Considerations such as size, location, target, victim count, violence, symbolism and the type of attack, all increase the news value of the event.

The research on terrorism does more than just link the media and terrorism; it explains that democratic societies like the United States are at risk of being destroyed by terrorists. Additionally, the research explains that terrorists want to wear people down with violence until they no longer want to defend themselves, proposing a reason for retaliation against terrorism, which in some cases has lead democratic societies to declare war on other nations.

Research on war photojournalism and terrorism discuss the dilemma found in terrorism research pertaining to media access, and both reference media imagery. The attacks of September 11, 2001 marked the start of the war on terrorism. Research by Jack Lule (2002) identified the myth of the foreboding future; implying that readers could expect future stories of preparation for more attacks, more suffering, and more losses to come increasing the likelihood that research of the 9-11 attack could be conducted over a selected time frame.

An examination of the role of the mass media, in conjunction with the horrifying terrorist attacks of 9-11, makes the topic of media photographs an interesting avenue to pursue.
Central Research Questions

The review of literature builds a foundation for examining the visual agenda presented by the media surrounding the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on the United States, as well as counter-attacks by the United States, including the declaration of war on Iraq.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the visual agenda found in *Time* and *Newsweek* relevant to the attacks of September 11, 2001. The main research question for this thesis is: What visual agenda of the 9-11 attacks was set by the two national newsmagazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*?

The following sub-questions regulated the design of the method and will assist in the answering of the main research question:

a. Who was the main subject in the photographs?

b. How were the majority of subjects portrayed?

c. In which countries were the majority of photographs taken?

d. How were the majority of the images captured?

e. What were the main topics found in the photographs?

Additional questions that will be answered from the data collected are as follows: Did the visual agenda change over time, and if so, how did it change? How did the visual agenda of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine compare to one another?
Past research on agenda setting, terrorism, and war photography not only provide a better understanding of each topic and how they inter-relate, but also provide a method for examining future research.

To answer the proposed research questions, a content analysis of news photographs relevant to the 9-11 attack, published in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine was examined. These magazines were selected based on their valued reputation and abundant circulation.

A content analysis method was chosen because of its many advantages (Babbie, 1998):

- Content analysis is an unobtrusive method. The subject of the artifact is rarely affected since the event has already taken place.
- Content analysis is economical. This method does not require a research team or expensive equipment; therefore, it saves on time and money.
- Content analysis is safe. If need be, a portion of one’s research can easily be redone.
- Content analysis is time considerate. Researchers are able to look at data over a period of time.
- Content analysis is very reliable. The use of concrete artifacts increases research reliability. High reliability is associated with content analysis.
because one can easily access necessary documents to perform the study repeatedly.

- Content analysis is capable of coping with large volumes of data (Krippendorf, 1980).

Unlike most agenda setting and media research, an examination of media photographs offers the researcher the opportunity to do more than just count column inches. Photographic images versus television images provide a still picture easily coded for empirical measurement.

A time-series approach was used to identify the visual agenda at different time intervals. Other known authors agree that time-series analysis is a good approach, and should be used more often in agenda setting research (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1992). To make the news photograph sample manageable, yet allow enough data for proper representation, photographs found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine were collected for the first 14 days after the attack, 14 days following the six-month anniversary of the attack, 14 days following the one-year anniversary of the attack, and 14 days following the 18-month anniversary of the attack.

Photographic images were collected from microfiche copies and some original copies of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine. The photograph copies were in black and white. Illustrations and photographs used for advertisements were not coded for this research; however, file photographs were coded along with actual news photographs. Photographs from all news stories pertaining to, or discussing the 9-11 attacks and/or any
event resulting from the attack that fell during the time period listed above, were examined.

**Coder Reliability**

The author was the primary data collector and coded all of the photographs that make up the sample; however, two coders representing the general public participated for the purpose of establishing inter-coder reliability. One assistant randomly coded 10 percent of the photographs found in *Time* magazine, the other randomly coded 10 percent of the photographs found in *Newsweek* magazine. The coding results of each assistant were matched with the author’s results for the same photographs. Inter-coder reliability level was established at .8, adopted from Krippendorf (1980). According to Krippendorf, agreements of less than .7 are often found to be statistically insignificant and variables with reliability between .67 and .8 should only be used for drawing highly tentative and cautious conclusions. Reliability was evaluated using the Cronbach Alpha reliability test found in SPSS software. The Alpha scale goes from 0.00 not reliable, to 1.0 which is 100 percent reliable. Similar to other reliability tests of this nature, this test compares the total number of coding agreements, against the coding agreements made by each coder.

\[
\text{Coefficient of reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}
\]

Simply stated, M represents the total number of coding agreements, N represents the number of coding agreements made by each coder, and 1 and 2 represent coder one and coder two.
Instructions for Coders

Coders were instructed that they would be coding news photographs found in selected issues of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine from stories that pertain to, and from the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Coders were advised to look at the image, the caption, and any information surrounding the caption that was useful in coding the image. The purpose of this research was to properly code the images the public saw in response to the 9-11 attacks, not to test the coders knowledge of the image. Coders were given the necessary training to explain the coding key and coding sheet. Sample coding of several photographs which included a verbal discussion between the author and the coder was provided in order to acquaint the coders with the variables that needed to be pulled out of the images. Coders were instructed that there are no right or wrong answers, and that their coding would assist in the determination of inter-coder reliability.

Coding Categories

Coding categories and guidelines for examining news photographs were established from past research. Replication of similar coding systems should have allowed for the anticipation of similar results, as well as confirm and/or enhance the reliability of the coding measure. Work done by Dr. Michael Sherer, and Victor Paul who examined war photography in national newsmagazines guided the framework for the examination and assessment of the news photographs. Both Paul and Sherer utilized a detailed method design, coding photographs for scene, subject, portrayal, and perspective. Authors established categories by use of past research as well as the
anticipation of what they might find during their examination of news photographs. To fit the current project, a pre-test of 70 random photographs found in *Time* magazine during the first 30 days after September 11, 2001 assisted in the adjustment of categories. Further adjustments were made with guidance from the thesis chair, and thesis committee members, as well as an additional pre-test of 180 photographs from *Newsweek* magazine.

The photographs from *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine were coded into the following categories: subject, portrayal, location, topic, and perspective.

The subject was intended to answer *who* was in the photograph. Only the primary subject was coded. The primary subject was the main focus of the image that the photographer was trying to capture. Characteristics of identifying the primary subject of the photograph included size (usually larger than other objects), location (usually towards the center of the photograph), drama (the most dramatic part of the image), and caption (a caption describing the focal point of the photograph). The primary subject was coded as follows:

Subject—the primary subject (s) in the photograph

1. American Citizens
2. Citizens of other countries
3. Terrorist (s)—Citizen from any country shown as suspected or known terrorist
4. American buildings and structures
5. Buildings and structures of other countries
6. Political leaders of America
7. Political leaders of other countries
8. American military

9. Military from other countries

10. Equipment—military and civilian equipment such as ambulance, fire trucks, airplanes, tanks weapons etc.

11. Other

The portrayal category was intended to identify the condition of the primary subject in the photograph, and answer the question of how the majority of subjects were portrayed.

Portrayal—the way the primary subject was portrayed in the photograph.

1. Dead/Destroyed-persons shown as dead or falling to their death/objects damaged beyond repair to the state of destruction

2. Wounded/Damaged-the subject is shown injured or has damage, but the damage in the photograph appears to be repairable.

3. No apparent injury/no damage—yet the situation appears to be life-threatening or a potential for harm

4. No apparent injury/no damage—appears to be a relatively safe situation

The portrayal category was designed to describe the condition of the primary subject that was captured in the image and shown to the public; therefore, if the person in the photograph was shown alive, and with no injury, even though the story was about the death of a person, the photograph was coded as no damage/no injury-safe situation. This decision was made so that the research could more accurately capture what the public
was actually seeing in the photograph, and accounts for the increased drama caused by images of dead bodies.

In addition, to differentiate between the subject being damage or destroyed, definitions were included to clarify that if the subject in the photograph appeared damaged, yet still repairable, then it was coded as damaged. If the photographs showed the subject as being destroyed beyond repair, the portrayal of the subject was coded as destroyed.

The location category was coded to report which country the majority of images were photographed and answer the question of where.

Location—the country in which the photograph was taken.
1. Continental U.S.
2. Middle Eastern Countries
3. Other Countries
4. Unable to determine from photograph

The topic of the image identified the general idea of the photographs, and answered the question of what.

Topic—the general topic of the photograph
1. Humanitarian-related operation—this included the removal of dead and wounded victims, victims brought to safety, continuing searches for missing persons, those experiencing remorse and remembrance for lost lives, and other photographs that focused on humanitarian issues.
2. Combat related—included actual combat, preparation for combat including plans for attack and equipment preparation, and pictures of the aftermath, etc.

3. Support related—photographs of individuals or groups of people demonstrating or discussing support for or against military action.

4. Terrorist related—this included photographs of suspected or known terrorists, as well as damage to buildings and structures directly resulting from a terrorist attack, and safety and security measures that were instigated and proposed as a result of 9/11.

5. Other

These categories were well-defined in order to provide a clear framework for coding the photographs surrounding the events of the 9/11 attack and to reduce the use of the placing items in the other category.

The perspective category documented how the image was captured.

Perspective—the way the photograph captured the situation

1. Close-up views—emphasis on small numbers of people and/or objects shown in tightly cropped photographs or a close-shot of a small crowd of people. Close-up views violate a sense of acceptable distance.

2. Medium Shot—emphasis on full body shots and/or equipment viewed in its entirety. Waist-up shots of one or two objects. Closer to object, yet does not violate a sense of acceptable distance.
3. Wide Shot—backgrounds are highly visible and people/objects occupy a relatively small part of the entire message—demonstrates basic ideas, shows visual contexts of action, crowds of people.

4. Other

Numeric coding was done to identify the magazine, photograph number, and the date of the publication. The publication date identified when the photographs were released to the public. All of the photographs used for this research were photocopied and numbered by the researcher before the coding process began.

Answers to who, what, where, how, and when assisted in answering the main research question. This research applied specifically to the visual agenda surrounding the events of September 11, 2001 as seen in *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Photographs were coded and placed into groups representing the four time periods under consideration: the attack of September 11, 2001; March 11, 2002, 6-months after the attack; September 11, 2002, 12-months after the attack; and March 11, 2003; 18-months after the attack. The data for each variable coded was entered into an excel spreadsheet and saved to a disk. Once the photographs were coded, the information was transferred to SPSS 12.0 software to perform a series of tests including cross-tabs, chi-square, and frequencies.

**Statistical Tests**

The frequencies test produced a summary table of values for each variable, demonstrating how often the components of each variable were coded. The information was shown as the number of times an item was coded and as a percentage of the total...
number of photographs. This approach offered a first look at variables of interest, and was used to check for data entry errors by looking for reported values that were outside the minimum and maximum range established at the onset of the research.

Crosstabs were useful for creating display tables of two variables at a time (Babbie, 1998). Crosstabs were performed by applying each dependent variable to *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine in order to produce data that could be used to compare the magazines, and combine totals for both magazines. Additional crosstab tests were run between the dependent variables and the publication dates, to observe whether or not the visual agenda changed over time.

Chi-Square, often used in research, was rooted from the null hypothesis: the assumption that in the total population, there is not a relationship between two variables (Babbie, 1998). Chi-Square is a test of departure of the observed data versus the expected data. Often, particular values of chi square are identified with the $x^2$ symbol (Williams, 1991). The symbol $x^2$ has a sample distribution which estimates the likelihood that a given value of $x^2$ could be expected based on terms of the null hypothesis (Williams). Using the values of two separate variables, a calculation is made on what the expected conjoint distribution would be if there was not a relationship between the two variables, resulting in a series of expected frequencies, which are then compared (Babbie, 1998). Chi-Square tests were run to determine if the differences between the visual agenda found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine were statistically significant, and Chi-Square tests were applied a second time to determine if there was a significant difference in the visual agenda over time. The significance level of Chi-
Square is .05. This means that data with results of .05 or less are significant, and data above .05 are not significant.

The statistical software produced data used to uncover the story of the vicious attacks on America told through media photographs. The results were used to answer the central research question and sub-questions.
Chapter Four
Results

The magazines and time period examined for this study produced data from a total of 493 valid photographs. The photographs were numbered from 1 to 494; however, a duplicate photograph was discovered. Discarding the photograph completely would have changed the numbers of all of the photographs and the data, requiring all of the information to be re-coded and entered into the system. The decision was made to discard the coded data from the photograph, and leave the photograph number in place. The statistical tests read the photograph as missing data, and produced reports that did not calculate the photograph into the totals. The results of the tests read 494 photographs, one missing; total number of valid photographs, 493.

Coder Reliability Test

Coder 1 coded ten percent of randomly selected photographs found in *Time* magazine, and Coder 2 coded ten percent of randomly selected images found in *Newsweek* magazine. The two coders produced a total of 49 images that were coded and compared to the same 49 images coded by the author. Each of the 49 photographs now had two sets of results, one from the researcher, and one from either coder 1 or coder 2.

With assistance from Dr. Frank Hartranft, professor at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, a test was run to detect data entry errors that fell outside the minimum and maximum range established for each variable.

Cronbach’s alpha reliability test was run for each dependent variable to determine the quality of the measurement method, which in this case refers to the likelihood that others would be able to repeat this measurement method and produce similar results. The
reliability of coefficients compares the total number of coding agreements with the total number of agreements made by each person. As stated above, the alpha scale goes from 0.00 not reliable, to 1.0 which equals total reliability. The target reliability level for inter-coder reliability was established at .8, adopted from Krippendorf (1980). According to Krippendorf, agreements of less than .7 are often found to be statistically insignificant and variables with reliability between .67 and .8 should only be used for drawing highly tentative and cautious conclusions.

The results of Cronbach’s reliability test were as follows: subject .93, portrayal .97, perspective .92, location .86, and topic .87. All five of the dependent variables tested produced an alpha of .86 or above; therefore, according to Krippendorf’s inter-coder reliability level, these measures have significant reliability. Alpha levels of this significance were produced through well-defined categories that developed as a result of category adjustments and pre-tests.

**Statistical Tests**

To answer the research question and sub-questions, a series of tests using SPSS 12.0 were performed. The independent variables were the magazine and the publication date, and the dependent variables were the subject, portrayal, location, topic, and perspective. Frequencies, Crosstabs, and Chi-square tests proved to be most useful in answering the research questions.

**Photograph Sample**

Of the 493 valid photographs collected for research, *Time* magazine was responsible for 304 photographs, and *Newsweek* was responsible for 189. The majority of
photographs (30.8 percent) were published in the September 24th, 2001 issue of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine.

**Primary Subject**

The primary subject is the main subject in the photograph and answers the question of *who* the main subject was in the majority of photographs. The frequency test, shown in Table I, revealed that the primary subject in over seventy percent of the photographs was coded into one of the following categories: American citizens, American military, political leaders of America, terrorists, or American buildings and structures. American citizens was most frequently coded as the primary subject, and was found to be the primary subject in 23.33 percent of the photographs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUMMARY OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE PRIMARY SUBJECT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency Table</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II summarizes the results of the crosstab test run between the primary subject and the magazine. The top three primary subjects for *Time* and *Newsweek*
combined were American citizens, political leaders of America, and American military. The crosstab test between magazines, found that the three most coded subjects in *Time* magazine were American citizens, American military and terrorists; the top three primary subjects in *Newsweek* were American citizens, political leaders of America, and American buildings and structures.

**TABLE II**
**SUMMARY OF THE CROSSTAB/ PRIMARY SUBJECT BY MAGAZINE BY %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crossab Table</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Citizens</td>
<td>23.28</td>
<td>23.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens othr countries</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>9.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorists</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>14.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American buildings/struc</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>9.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bldngs/struc. othr countries</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polit. Idrs of America</td>
<td>19.05</td>
<td>10.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polit. Idrs othr countries</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Military</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>17.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military othr countries</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>7.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total #</strong></td>
<td>189</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III contains a summary of the Chi-Square tests for subject by magazine. The results of the Pearson Chi-Square test was 0.00, meaning that there was a significant difference in the emphasis of the primary subject between *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine.
The agenda of the primary subject between the two news magazines were indeed different. *Time* showed almost twice as many images of terrorists, and over twice as many photographs of the American military. Political leaders of America and political leaders of other countries made up 25.4 percent of the primary subjects found in *Newsweek*, compared to only 7.01 percent of the subjects shown in *Time*. The main commonality in subject between the two magazines was that both of them published a majority of photographs with American citizens as the primary subject. Although the magazines were published for the American public, it is worthy to note that the agenda of subjects were mostly American-related, versus non-American related.

*Portrayal*

The portrayal variable was designed to answer how the primary subject was portrayed. The frequency and crosstab tests, Table IV and Table V, found that over 78.3 percent of the images (386 of the 493) were shown with no injury/no apparent damage—appears to be a relatively safe situation. Only 3.25 percent (16 of 493) showed the primary subject as wounded or damaged, 10.34 percent of the photographs (51 of the
493) showed the primary subject as dead or destroyed, and 8.11 percent (40 of the 493) as having no apparent injury/no damage-yet potential for harm or life threatening situation.

**TABLE IV**

**SUMMARY OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE PORTRAYAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency Table</th>
<th>Portrayal</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Cumulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dead/Destroyed</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td>10.34</td>
<td>10.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wounded/Damaged</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>13.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Damage/Danger</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.10</td>
<td>8.11</td>
<td>21.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Damage/Safe</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>78.14</td>
<td>78.30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing System</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE V**

**SUMMARY OF THE CROSSTAB/PORTRAYAL BY MAGAZINE BY %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Table</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrayal</td>
<td>Dead/Destroyed</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wounded/Damaged</td>
<td>3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Damage/Danger</td>
<td>6.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Damage/Safe</td>
<td>80.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both magazines had only minor differences in their portrayal of the primary subject, and both magazines portrayed the primary subject as no apparent injury/no damage, relatively safe situation in over 76 percent of their photographs.
With a significance level of .71, the Pearson Chi-square test results, found in Table VI, confirmed that a significant difference did not exist between *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine in the portrayal of the primary subject.

**Location**

The location variable was designed to answer *where* the images came from, in this case, which country the majority of photographs were taken. The frequency test results, seen in Table VII, found that 285 of the 493 images (57.81%) were seen as taking place somewhere in the Continental U.S. Images captured in the Middle East accounted for 135 of the photographs (27.38%), and 31 photographs (6.29%) were taken in other countries outside of the United States and the Middle East. Forty-two (8.52%) of the photographs were coded as unable to determine from the photograph, caption, and surrounding information.
TABLE VII
SUMMARY OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE LOCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency Table</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>57.69</td>
<td>57.81</td>
<td>57.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>27.33</td>
<td>27.38</td>
<td>85.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>91.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table VIII, in comparing the crosstab test between *Time* and *Newsweek*, there appeared to be little difference in the location variable between magazines. Both magazines used photos taken in the Continental U.S. in over 57% of the photographs, and both published images taken in the Middle East in approximately 26 to 28 percent of their total photographs.

TABLE VIII
SUMMARY OF THE CROSSTAB/LOCATION BY MAGAZINE BY %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Table</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>57.67</td>
<td>57.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-East</td>
<td>26.46</td>
<td>27.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othr entries</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>5.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IX
CHI SQUARE TESTS FOR LOCATION BY MAGAZINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Df</td>
<td>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>0.709261385</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>0.698290655</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td>0.046836601</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>493</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = .70926, \text{ df} = 3, p < .87 \]

Table IX summarizes the Chi-Square test results for location by magazine. The Pearson Chi-Square test and the Likelihood ratio produced a significance of .087, which confirmed statistically, that there was not a significant difference in the location of the photographs found in *Time* and *Newsweek.*

**Perspective**

The perspective variable was intended to answer *how* the majority of images were captured. The frequencies test, shown in Table X, found that a majority of images were captured as a medium shot, 38.34 percent; however, close-up shots accounted for 34.69 percent of the photographs, and wide shots were coded for 26.98 percent of the images.

TABLE X
SUMMARY OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE PERSPECTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency Table</th>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>34.62</td>
<td>34.69</td>
<td>34.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>38.26</td>
<td>38.34</td>
<td>73.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wide</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>26.92</td>
<td>26.98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>System</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cross-tab results, found in Table XI, show that when dealing with photographs related to 9/11, the perspective most often seen in *Newsweek* magazine was a medium-shot, coded for 46.03 percent of the photographs, and a wide-shot coded for 32.8 percent of the images. The perspective most frequently found in *Time* magazine was a close-up view, coded for 43.09 percent of the photographs, and a medium-shot coded for 33.55 percent of the 304 total photographs. Although the total of the two magazines showed frequent use of all three perspectives, use of perspective between magazines was indeed different.

**TABLE XI**

**SUMMARY OF THE CROSSTAB/PERSPECTIVE BY MAGAZINE BY %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Table</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>21.16</td>
<td>43.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>46.03</td>
<td>33.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide</td>
<td>32.80</td>
<td>23.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XII summarizes the results of the Chi-Square tests for perspective by magazine. The results of the Chi-Square test for the perspective variable reported a significance of 0.00, meaning that there was a significant difference in the perspectives used by the two magazines, with *Time* using close-ups more frequently than *Newsweek*. 
TABLE XII
CHI SQUARE TESTS FOR PERSPECTIVE BY MAGAZINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>24.74742</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>25.74638</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td>18.75033</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N of Valid Cases: 493

\[ x^2 = 24.747, \text{ df=2, } p<0.00 \]

**Topic**

The topic variable was intended to answer *what* main topics the photographs presented. The frequency distribution, Table XIII, shows that the three main topics in the photographs were terrorist-related (32.45%), combat-related (24.95%), and humanitarian related (18.05%).

TABLE XIII
SUMMARY OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE TOPIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency Table</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>18.02</td>
<td>18.05</td>
<td>18.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>24.90</td>
<td>24.95</td>
<td>43.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>15.99</td>
<td>16.02</td>
<td>59.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>32.39</td>
<td>32.45</td>
<td>91.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>8.52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>99.80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing System</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the results of the crosstab test, Table XIV, the three primary topics found in *Newsweek* magazine were support-related, humanitarian-related, and terrorist-related. The three main topics found in *Time* magazine were terrorist-related, combat-related, and humanitarian-related.
TABLE XIV
SUMMARY OF THE CROSSTAB/TOPIC BY MAGAZINE BY %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Table</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>23.28</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat</td>
<td>20.64</td>
<td>27.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>24.87</td>
<td>10.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist</td>
<td>21.69</td>
<td>39.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.52</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XV
CHI SQUARE TESTS FOR TOPIC BY MAGAZINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.1850305</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.2101595</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.17889645</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x² = 33.185, df = 4, p < 0.00

The Pearson Chi-square test, shown in Table XV, produced a significance of 0.00, meaning there was a significant difference in the way *Time* and *Newsweek* presented the topics associated with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. *Time* magazine published a much larger percentage of terrorist related and combat related photographs and *Newsweek* was more proportionate in its agenda of topics.

*Time and Newsweek Compared*

*Time* magazine produced 304 photographs for the time period examined; almost 38% more images than the 189 photographs produced by *Newsweek* magazine for the same time period. The attack happened on September 11th, 2001 which appeared to be past the deadline for changing the issue dated September 17th, 2001 because neither *Time*
nor *Newsweek* mentioned the attack in this issue. The interesting thought was that *Time* released an undated issue after 9-17-01, but before 9-24-01, titled “September 11th, 2001.” *Newsweek* did not provide a separate issue in an attempt to offer more timely coverage to its readers of this horrifying event that directly or indirectly affected millions.

*Time* and *Newsweek* both published a majority of photographs with American citizens as the primary subject; however, other main subjects often captured in *Time* magazine were American military and terrorists, while *Newsweek* focused on political leaders of America and American buildings and structures.

Primary subjects were mainly portrayed as having no apparent injury/no damage, relatively safe situation in both magazines. Only minor difference existed in other portrayal categories, and the differences in the portrayal of the primary subject between magazines were not statistically significant.

Almost 60% of all photographs were taken in the United States, and over 27% were images from the Middle East. The tests revealed that there was no significant difference in the location agenda between *Time* and *Newsweek*.

The combined data from *Time* and *Newsweek* resulted in frequent use of all three perspectives, almost equal use but not quite. Readers of *Newsweek* magazine saw more medium and wide shots, whereas readers of *Time* saw more close-up and medium view points. The tests showed a significant difference in the use of camera shots between *Time* and *Newsweek*. 
Photograph topics between magazines were different as well. *Time* focused mostly on topics of terrorists and American military. *Newsweek* was more balanced in its agenda of topics, publishing about 20-25% of images for each of the four primary topics.

The visual agenda between *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine had some similarities, and some differences. Results of the Chi-square tests support this idea. The primary subject, the perspective, and the main topic between magazines all had significance levels of .05 or less, meaning that there was a significant difference in how the magazines presented each one of these variables.

There was a similarity in the portrayal of the primary subject, and photograph location. The Pearson Chi-square tests for portrayal and location resulted in a significance level above .05, meaning that there was not a significant difference between magazines in neither the way the primary subject was portrayed nor the location of the photographs. In addition, various differences between *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine for each category within the dependent variables can be found in the crosstab summary tables.

**Central Research Question**

The variables for this research were designed to answer the main research question proposed for this thesis: What visual agenda of the 9-11 attacks was set by the two national news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*? The primary subjects most often seen were American citizens, American military, American buildings and structures, political leaders of America, and terrorists, together these accounted for the primary subject in over 73% of the photographs. The primary subject was portrayed as having no
apparent injury/no damage, in a relatively safe situation in over 78% of the photographs. A majority of the photographs (57.8%) were taken within the Continental U.S.; however, 33.7% were taken outside of the U.S. The majority of images were captured from a medium viewpoint; however, only a small percentage separated the wide-shot and close-up view from the medium viewpoint. A well-balanced variation of all three perspectives was found during the examination of the data. The general topic of a majority of photographs was either terrorist-related (32.5%) or combat related (25%). Other topics that made up 43.5% of the topic variable included humanitarian-related operations, and support-related.

The data collected and tested provided the answers to who the primary subject was in the majority of photographs, how the primary subject was most often portrayed, where the photographs were most often taken, and how the majority of images were captured. Answers to these questions assist in telling the story told through the visual agenda set by *Time* and *Newsweek*; however, an examination of the visual agenda over time answered when the images were published and provide additional detail as to the photographic agenda set by the two national newsmagazines.

*Comparison of the Data over Time*

An additional set of crosstabs and Chi-square tests were run to examine how each dependent variable compared over time. The dependent variables were the subject, portrayal, location, perspective, and topic. The independent variable was the publication date of the magazine. The issue dates were combined to examine immediately after the
attack, September 2001; the six-month anniversary, March 2002; the one-year anniversary, September 2002; and the eighteen-month anniversary, March 2003.

The first tests examined the primary subject over time. The crosstab data produced for the subject by date is shown in Table XVI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sept 2001</td>
<td>March 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American citizens</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens othr countries</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terrorists</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American bldgs/struc</td>
<td>9.74</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bld/struc. Othr countries</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polit. Idrs of America</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polit. Idrs othr countries</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American military</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Military otr countries</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>38.13</td>
<td>15.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the crosstab results, Table V XI, one is able to determine that September, 2001 produced the largest number of photographs. The majority of the subjects in these photographs were American citizens and American buildings and structures. American military and citizens of other countries were the top two primary subjects in photographs six-months after the attack, March 2002; however, this time period produced the least amount of photographs included in this research. Political leaders of America and terrorists were the main subject one-year after the attack, September 2002. American
military and terrorists were the focus during March 2003, eighteen-months after the attack. Although slight in some cases, use of all subject categories was made during part of the eighteen month period examined for this research. It is important to note that some cells in the summary table results for subject by date contain less than 5, which means that one should be skeptical in drawing significant conclusions from this table.

### TABLE XVII
SUMMARY OF CHI SQUARE/ PRIMARY SUBJECT BY DATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Subject/Date</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td></td>
<td>298.242378</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td>312.4824565</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>54.97328991</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 298.242, \text{ df} = 30, \text{ p < } 0.00 \]

The Chi-Square tests, seen in Table XVII, produced results of 0.00, which means that there was a significant difference in the primary subject over time. The agenda of subjects changed dramatically from September 2001, which showed many photographs of American citizens and American buildings that were injured and damaged as a result of the attack, to the future months of retaliation and preparation for war which involved American military and U.S. political leaders. In addition, it must be noted that very little focus was given to people, buildings, equipment, etc. that were not U.S. related.

The second set of tests examined the portrayal of the primary subject over time. The data produced from the crosstab of the portrayal by date is listed below in Table XVIII.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dead/Destroyed</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded/Damaged</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No injury/Pot. Dngr</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Injury/Safe</td>
<td>26.78</td>
<td>9.94</td>
<td>20.08</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total %</strong></td>
<td><strong>38.13</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.82</strong></td>
<td><strong>22.31</strong></td>
<td><strong>23.73</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total #</strong></td>
<td><strong>188</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>117</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

September 2001 produced the largest percentage of images (6.49%) which showed the primary subject as dead or destroyed, and wounded or damaged (1.83%). The majority of subjects were portrayed as no apparent injury or damage/relatively safe situation, and this remained true over time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Portrayal/Date</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>49.67610575</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>54.87106014</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td>30.5829678</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x²=49.676, df=9. p<0.00

The Chi-Square tests, shown in Table XIX, revealed a significance level of 0.00, which means that there was a significant difference in the way the primary subjects were portrayed. Although the subjects were most often portrayed as no apparent injury/no damage, relatively safe, an examination of the crosstab for portrayal by date demonstrates an uneven distribution in the portrayal of the primary subject that was accounted for in the results of the Chi-square. These results are partly due to the increased number of
images produced for September 2001, and the increased use of subjects portrayed as
dead/destroyed and wounded/damaged photographs in September 2001. In addition, it
must be noted that the crosstab results for portrayal by date produced five cells with less
than 5, meaning that one must be skeptical in reading the results of this particular
crosstab.

On another note, between the information learned in the literature review and
individual expectations of the media, some may have expected the media to publish
photographs containing more drama of the destruction, the injuries, the danger, and the
dead versus the large majority of photographs that were captured in relatively safe
situations without injury or damage.

The third set of tests examined location by publication date.

The results produced for location by date are shown in Table XX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept 2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>34.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>38.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 2002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>8.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>15.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept 2002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>22.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 2003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>13.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No I.D.</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>23.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total #            | 493          |       |

The majority of photographs were taken in the Continental U.S. The U.S. was the
2003 had a majority of photographs taken in the Middle East, and March 2002, and
September 2002 also produced a significant number of photographs taken in the Middle East. Less than seven percent of the photographs were taken in other countries and about 8.5 percent were listed as unable to determinable from the photograph.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XXI</th>
<th>SUMMARY OF CHI SQUARE/ LOCATION BY DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square Tests</td>
<td>Location/Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>166.0562142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>183.058346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td>59.3684262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x²=166.056, df=9, p<0.00

The Chi-Square test results, found in Table XXI, revealed significance levels of 0.00, meaning that the location of the photographs was significant, and account for the varied distribution of locations over time.

The fourth set of tests examined the perspective of the photograph over time. The results of the crosstab data produced for perspective by date is found in Table XXII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE XXII</th>
<th>SUMMARY OF CROSSTAB/ PERSPECTIVE BY DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crosstab Perspective</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-up</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>15.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide</td>
<td>10.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>38.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total #</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial images produced in September 2001 had an almost even distribution of all three perspectives, with medium-shots being the primary angle. March 2002, the six-
month anniversary of the attack produced more wide angle and medium views, versus close-up shots. The one-year anniversary, September 2002, produced more close-up, and wide angle shots. The photographs from March 2003 were mostly close-up and medium angles.

**TABLE XXIII**

**SUMMARY OF CHI SQUARE/ PERSPECTIVE BY DATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Perspective/Date</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.4256243</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.9048514</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear Assoc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.6645807</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 18.425, \text{ df}=6, \ p<0.01 \]

The Pearson Chi- Square test, summarized in Table XXIII, resulted in a significance level of .01, meaning that the perspectives of the photographs were significant over time, which account for the various changes found in the crosstab table.

The fifth set of tests examined how the main topics changed over time. The results of the crosstab data produced for topic by date are listed in Table XXIV.

**TABLE XXIV**

**SUMMARY OF CROSSTAB/ TOPIC BY DATE BY %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstab</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>March 2001</th>
<th>Sept 2002</th>
<th>March 2003</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>Sept 2001</td>
<td>14.81</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combat</td>
<td>March 2002</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>7.91</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>10.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support</td>
<td>Sept 2002</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terrorist</td>
<td>March 2003</td>
<td>18.86</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>March 2003</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.13</td>
<td>15.82</td>
<td>22.31</td>
<td>23.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total #</td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
<td>15.82</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
September, 2001 presented a clear agenda of topics: humanitarian-related operation and terrorist-related. Only a few of the photographs for September 2001 were coded as combat or support-related. The main topic agenda found in a majority of photographs for March 2002, the six-month anniversary of the attack, were combat-related. The two major topics seen almost equally in the photographs published during the one-year anniversary of the attack, September 2002, were support-related and terrorist-related. The eighteen-month anniversary after the attack, March 2003, focused a majority of photographs on combat-related images. Together, terrorist and support-related topics served as a second majority of topics for March 2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square Tests</th>
<th>Topic/Date</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td></td>
<td>222.2744275</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td>238.5820363</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear-by-Linear</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.79970124</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pearson Chi-square test produced significance levels of 0.00, meaning that over the time periods listed, the topic changed significantly. This would account for the variation in the primary topic over time. The primary agenda of topics immediately after the attack were humanitarian and terrorist-related; however, the focus soon switched to combat issues and support issues, as well as terrorist-related issues. The topic agenda eighteen-months later ended with focus on terrorist and combat related issues.
To summarize, there were significant changes in the agenda of the variables over time. All five variables (subject, portrayal, perspective, location and topic) examined in a cross by date analysis resulted in Chi-square significance levels of less than .05. The crosstabs provided summary tables which identify the changes over time.

Summary

The examination of Time and Newsweek magazine for the time period outlined in this research (two-weeks after 9-11-01, two-weeks after 3-11-02, two-weeks after 9-11-02, and two-weeks after 3-11-03) produced a total of 493 photographs.

The main subject of the photograph primarily found in Time and Newsweek magazine was American related. This included American citizens, American buildings and structures, American military and political leaders of America. Terrorists, although non-American, were also primary subjects coded in the research. Primary subjects that were used sparingly or not at all, included; citizens, buildings and structures, political leaders, and military outside of the United States or non-American. In addition, equipment was rarely the primary subject in the photographs.

Readers of Time and Newsweek most often saw photographs with the primary subject portrayed as having no apparent injury/no damage, relatively safe situation. Readers occasionally saw images with the primary subject shown as dead or destroyed, or as having no apparent injury yet in a situation of present danger. Readers rarely saw a person or object portrayed as wounded or damaged.
Over half of the images were taken in the Continental U.S.; however, almost 34% percent were taken outside the U.S., and 8.5 percent were unable to determine from the photographs, caption, and surrounding information.

The main topics of the photographs were combat-related and terrorist related. Readers did see a good number of images in which the general topic was humanitarian-related operation or support-related. On scarce occasion other topics were presented in the photographs and coded into the other category.

The majority of images were captured from a medium viewpoint; however from the photographs produced for this research, there was almost equal use of all three perspectives.

The dependent variables were tested using crosstabs and significance tests. The results of the data concluded that there was a significant difference in the visual agenda between *Time* and *Newsweek* for subject, perspective, and topic, but not for location, nor the portrayal of the primary subject.

The data which examined the variables in the cross-by-date analysis also found that there was a significant difference in the visual agenda that was presented over time. The significance of these differences was supported by the Chi-square tests and could be seen through a visual examination of the crosstab summary tables.

The visual agenda set by the two national newsmagazines regarding the attacks of 9-11-01, consisted of numerous photographs picturing American citizens, American military, American buildings and structures, and terrorists. Most of the subjects in the photographs were shown in safe situations, away from danger. Images were shown from
a variety of angles, and photograph topics consisted mainly of combat-related, terrorist-related, and humanitarian-related issues.
Chapter VI
Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

This research revealed several interesting findings worthy of discussion. One finding that surfaced was the differences in coverage between *Time* and *Newsweek*. Considering that media sources take many of their stories from a national wire service, it's expected that one would find similar coverage between media sources; therefore, the differences found between the two newsmagazines were quite a surprise. The first unexpected finding was the realization that *Time* magazine printed a non-dated issue before the September 24th, 2001 issue, but after the September 17th, 2001 issue dedicated to the attack of September 11th, titled 9-11; however, *Newsweek* did not. Since the publication deadlines had passed to get the 9-11 story into the September 17th issue, *Newsweek* waited to print stories of the 9-11 attack until the September 24th issue; causing their readers to wait as well. The large difference in the number of photographs published by each magazine was also unforeseen. *Newsweek* printed 189 photographs, *Time*, 309. Readers of *Time* magazine saw over 34 percent more pictures, than the readers of *Newsweek*.

Other unexpected findings surfaced during the analysis of the photographic agenda. For instance, past agenda setting and media research would lead some to expect that media personnel would be interested in printing stories and photographs that would awe the audience and capture their attention. The fact that in over 78 percent of the photographs the primary subject was in a safe situation and without injury was quite a surprise. In addition, the equal use of close-up, medium and distant shots was also
unexpected. To intensify a reader’s response to an image, one would have expected
greater use of close-up and medium shots, versus equal use of all three.

Several trends surfaced from this research that past media research would have
anticipated. For example, the research showed an abundance of coverage immediately
following the attack, that the coverage would have downsized by the six-month marker, a
slight increase in coverage during September 2002 to recognize the one year anniversary
of the attack, and again a slight tapering off in the coverage. This expectation appears to
be consistent with past new-media and agenda research.

Another trend worth noting is that in the majority of photographs published, the
primary subject was American-related. This too is consistent with past agenda setting
research on issue salience; the relevance to the American public reading the magazine. A
majority of photographs with non-American related subjects may disinterest the
American audience, due to difficulty in identifying or relating with the images. Media
research would agree that a weekly magazine administered to the American public would
provide a majority of photographs that were American related.

One final overall understanding of the media is that numerous decisions go into
the writing, editing, and printing of the news. News personnel have the authority to make
decisions based on their education, past experience, the criteria of the media company,
and their own best judgment.
Research Limitations

Similar to the authority of news personnel, is the authority and role of a researcher. It is the position and requirement of the researcher to constantly make decisions about what information to include and discard, where to place information within the research, how to present it, etc.; based on their education, past experience, and the guidelines set forth by the institution and staff overseeing the research project. Therefore, one limitation of this research and all research is the account for individual interpretation, human error, and human judgment. In addition, the availability of resources including time, money, and research assistants also limit the research efforts. Finally, the results of this study are only applicable to coverage found in *Time* and *Newsweek*; data results can not be generalized to the media in general.

Conclusion

Throughout history, terrorism and war has been a constant threat to people everywhere. The threat of terrorism is even greater for a democratic society such as the United States of America.

The media is used as a platform by terrorist to gain attention and state their purpose. A large debate exists between those who believe in First Amendment rights to a free press which is characteristic of a true democratic society and others who believe that media coverage should be regulated in order to avoid interference in overall police operations, including the rescue of hostages, and the capture of terrorists.

Like most individuals and businesses, knowingly or not, the mass media have an agenda of issues that they present to the public everyday. Bernard Cohen, known for his
agenda hypothesis, claims that the media are successful in telling the public what to think about and talk about. Further research into this hypothesis now claims that the media is successful in telling people what to think, as well as what to think about.

Until the end of the 19th century, news circulated through rumor and columns inches. Ideas of war and terrorism appeared to be something that happened to someone else, someplace else, until photograph use entered the picture and changed the way news stories were interpreted. It has always been said that pictures are worth a thousand words, yet even today much of the agenda setting research has examined the agenda of issues versus the visual agenda.

This research examined the visual agenda of the media on the issues of terrorism and war through the use of defined variables applied to photographs that surrounded the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

The research was designed to answer specific questions about the primary subject, the portrayal of the primary subject, the perspective of the photograph, the location of the photograph, and the general topic of the photograph as found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine. Answers to these questions resulted in a story told through the use of photographs. The data collected from the dependent variables was applied to cross-by-magazine and cross-by-date analysis. The tests found many significant differences in the visual agenda of *Time* and *Newsweek*, although a few similarities resulted as well. The tests also revealed that there was a significant difference in the visual agenda over time.
As with most research, the true conclusion is that no final conclusions can be made. Future research is needed to strengthen current research and branch out into other areas of research.

**Future Research**

Research should continue with further examinations of the visual agenda produced by media sources. Additional research of the September 11th attack and comparisons between other terrorist attacks would be worthy. Future possibilities of 9/11/01 would be to examine the visual agenda for a shorter time period that only accounts for the event and aftermath of the attack, or to examine the feelings that were created by the visual agenda through the use of a survey. Additional research opportunities exist for those interested in the examination of the visual agenda of print media sources other than *Time* and *Newsweek*, possibly color photographs versus the black and white copies used in this research, and even an examination of the visual agenda found in television news coverage.
Appendix

*Instruction for Coders*

You were asked here today to participate in my research efforts to perform a content analysis of news photographs relevant to the attack of September 11, 2001, found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazine. One person will code ten percent of randomly selected photographs found in *Time* magazine, the other will code ten percent of randomly selected images from *Newsweek* magazine. The images are photo copies from microfiche and magazines so all of the pictures are in black and white.

During the coding process, please carefully examine the picture, and the caption. Read any information surrounding the photograph that may be helpful in coding the image. News photographs, and file photos relevant to 9-11 were selected for examination; however, illustrations and advertisements were omitted from the research.

Before you begin coding the photographs, we will have a brief training session. Each photograph will be coded for photo number, magazine, date, subject, portrayal, location, topic, and perspective. I will provide an explanation of each category, and we will do several sample photographs together until you are familiar with the variables that need to be extracted from the images. A coding sheet key and an excel spreadsheet for inputting the data will be provided. Your responses will be used to assess coder reliability for my research. There are no wrong or right answers. Please code the images the way you see them. I thank you for your time and assistance.
Coding Sheet Key

A—Photo No.—All photographs used for this research effort have been numbered. Please enter the pre-coded number in the column marked photo no.

B—Magazine—Photographs will be coded as either a 1 or a 2 to distinguish which newsmagazine the photograph was taken from.

1. Newsweek
2. Time

C—Date—Photographs will be coded for publication date. Code the dates 1-9, by using the following coding system.

1. September 17\(^{th}\), 2001
2. Undated Issue of Time Magazine, released after 9-17-01, but before 9-24-01
3. September 24\(^{th}\), 2001
4. March 11\(^{th}\), 2002
5. March 18\(^{th}\), 2002
6. September 16\(^{th}\), 2002
7. September 23\(^{rd}\), 2002
8. March 17\(^{th}\), 2003
9. March 24\(^{th}\), 2003

D—Subject—this category was designed to assess the primary subject in the photograph. For the purpose of this research, the primary subject is defined as the main center of interest. Look for the object that is the largest, most clearly focused, and/or the most dramatic. Subjects will be coded numerically as one of the following:
1. American citizens
2. Citizens of other countries
3. Terrorists—citizens from any country suspected or known terrorists
4. American buildings & structures
5. Buildings and structures of other countries
6. Political leaders of America
7. Political leaders of other countries
8. American military
9. Military of other countries
10. Equipment
11. Other

E—Portrayal—In order to determine the way the primary subject(s) were captured, subjects in the photographs will be coded as follows for their status and condition:

1. Dead/Destroyed—must be dead in the image or death within seconds, i.e. person falling to their death
2. Wounded/Damaged
3. No apparent injury/No damage—yet appears to be potential harm or life-threatening situation
4. No apparent injury/No damage—appears to be a relatively safe situation

This category is intended to describe the condition of the primary subject that was caught in the image and shown to the public; therefore, if the person in the photograph was shown alive, and with no injury, even though the story was about the death of the person, the photograph will be coded as no damage/no injury—relatively safe situation, if all of this applies. This decision was made so that the research could more accurately
capture what the public is actually seeing in the photograph, and accounts for the increased drama caused by images of dead bodies.

**F—Location**—the country in which the photograph was taken.

1. Continental U.S.
2. Middle East
3. Other countries
4. Unable to determine from photograph

**G—Topic**—the general topic of the photograph

1. Humanitarian-related Operation—includes removal of dead, victims brought to safety, those experiencing remorse and remembrance for lost lives etc.
2. Combat related—includes actual combat, photos of the aftermath of combat, equipment being prepared for combat.
3. Support-related photographs of people demonstrating or discussing their support for or against military action.
4. Terrorist related—includes photographs of suspected or known terrorists related to the attack, and photographs of terrorist attacks and damage to buildings and structures, includes safety and security related issues that were a result of 9/11.
5. Other

**H—Perspective**—how the image was captured will be coded as follows:

1. Close-up views—emphasis on small numbers of people and/or objects shown in tightly cropped photographs. Important story-telling image. Dramatically close. Violates acceptable distance.
2. Medium Shot—emphasis on full body shots and/or equipment viewed in its entirety.
Waist-up shots of one or two objects. Closer to object, yet does not violate a sense of acceptable distance.

3. Wide Shot—backgrounds are highly visible and people/objects occupy a relatively small part of the entire message—Demonstrates basic ideas, shows visual contexts of action, crowds of people.

4. Other
Bibliography


