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A visual and textual framing analysis of terrorism: The case of Beslan, Russia

by

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Program of Study Committee:
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2005

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This is to certify that the master's thesis of
Laura Marie Patridge
has met the thesis requirements of Iowa State University

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

On Wednesday, Sept. 1, 2004 in North Ossetia, Russia, gunmen took over Beslan's Middle School Number One and held 1,180 students, teachers and parents hostage. Immediately, shooting broke out, and an estimated two people were killed with at least a dozen wounded (Baker & Glasser, 2004). This school hostage crisis began shortly after a traditional first day of the school year ceremony where students, most of them under 14 years old and often accompanied by parents, arrived at school with bouquets for their new teachers (Baker & Glasser, 2004).

Authorities began communicating with the hostage takers shortly before eight in the evening (Baker & Glasser, 2004). The school remained under the control of the gunmen overnight and into Thursday afternoon (Baker & Glasser, 2004). The media reported that the militants placed a sniper on an upper floor of the school, and sporadic gunfire and sounds of explosions were heard throughout the day (Baker & Glasser, 2004).

Around five in the evening on Thursday, the gunmen began to let women and young children hostages leave, freeing a total of 26 people (Baker & Glasser, 2004). The standoff continued into the night, and 20 male hostages were reportedly executed in the early morning hours (Baker & Glasser, 2004). On Friday, the siege climaxed around 1:00 p.m. when blasts set off massive amounts of explosives in the gymnasium, causing the roof to cave in and kill many hostages (Baker & Glasser, 2004). Hostages began fleeing from the school, and gunmen opened fire on them, killing many, including children (Baker & Glasser, 2004). Gunmen also began fleeing the school, allowing police and rescue workers to finally approach the building. Although many hostages were freed, many others were discovered

dead. At 10:15 p.m. on Friday, Sept. 3, the Russian Crisis Centre reported the resistance as over and all the hostages free (Baker & Glasser, 2004). Russian officials reported 334 hostages killed in the school siege, 156 of whom were children (Finn and Glasser, 2004). Close to 200 people remained missing, out of the 1,180 total hostages (Finn and Glasser, 2004). Russian authorities speculate that there was a total of 32 hostage takers, 31 of whom were killed and one – shown Sunday on state television – who was arrested (Finn and Glasser, 2004).

Because of the very brutal nature of this incident, it became a subject of prolonged coverage worldwide. Events like this raise questions with societies worldwide about “global security, global terror, global power, religious fundamentalism, and the relationships between... [and within] countries” (Nord & Strömbäck, 2003, p. 55). They offer the opportunity to study how similar media cover the same international news. It has been found that only one third of all terrorist acts are reported by world media (Weimann & Brosius, 1991). This is important because “one of the mechanisms through which the mass media exert their influence on social norms and social change is assessing the newsworthiness of people and events” (Weimann & Brosius, 1991, p. 335).

According to Clayman and Reisner (1998), journalists often view the newspaper as a well-judged selection of the most newsworthy events of a day. “Sociologists, in contrast, have demonstrated the journalists work within a complex institutional and cultural environment that leaves its imprint on the daily news” (Clayman & Reisner, 1998, p. 196). Further, Weimann and Brosius (1991) report that coverage of international terrorism often is based on certain criteria, such as “the level of victimization, the type of action, the identity of perpetrators, and an attributable responsibility” (p. 333).

News coverage of events like the Beslan school siege is of great interest to many scholars not only for its value as information, but also for its contribution to international news coverage, its coverage of terrorist activities, and its impact on perception of the event. International news coverage is often fairly limited. Husselbee and Stempel (1997) found that international news coverage has been decreasing since the 1970s in the U.S. In the late 1980s, only 2.6 percent of daily newspapers were dedicated to international news (Husselbee & Stempel, 1997). Kim (2002) says that this decline is due to the post-Cold War world view. News professionals feel the world is a safer place than it used to be, causing them to shift their coverage closer to home. However, the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon have raised awareness and increased international news coverage again (Kim, 2002). Therefore, Chang and Lee (1992) state that audience interests tend to play a major role in what editors choose to cover. They say that this should be particularly true with international news coverage because the events are as unknown as they could get. "As such, the way editors perceive readers' new interest clearly becomes an important factor in the gatekeeping process" (Chang & Lee, 1992, p. 556).

News media's coverage of terrorism is highly discussed by groups outside of the media for several reasons. Former Secretary of State George Shultz stated "Terrorism is war. It's a shadow war involving direct and brutal assaults on the lives of our citizens, on our national interests overseas, and on our basic values," before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1987. Laqueur (1976) states that the media play a key role in terrorist activity. Without coverage of the event, a terrorist activity is nothing (Laqueur, 1976). While newspapers provide a record of an event, they are not an unbiased source of information. Journalists do not view the world neutrally; they form relationships between what they

witness and their emotions (Messaris, 1997 & Clayman & Reisner, 1998). Before an article is printed in a newspaper, it has been influenced by at least the reporter, the photographer and the editor. The viewer never knows what was cut from the story or what was beyond the picture frame. What is missing may radically change the message. On top of that, verbal techniques such as dominant and exaggerated headlines and active leads as well as visual techniques such as size, placement, cropping, and the use of lighting, perspective and color, may introduce commentary and bias. Besides how something is shown, there is also the matter of what is not shown. "Journalists select certain news stories while rejecting others based on many different levels of considerations – personal judgment, newsroom routines, restraints laid out by their news organizations, and socio-cultural influences" (Kim, 2002, p. 431).

Terrorist acts, or violent acts in general, are portrayed to the public in ways that are often overlooked or taken for granted by audience members. Awareness by the audience of the importance of graphics in today's visual age is imperative when reading skills and interests are declining, and almost everything is part of a visual environment (Griffin, 1993).

Of all the ways by which events like this can be reported, images are perhaps the most powerful (Hiebert, 2003). Indeed, Meggs (1992) posits that in the 20th century, images have abandoned their traditional supporting role to convey messages with greater impact. Now, he says "...text often becomes a supporting message used to connote and sharpen the image" (Meggs, 1992, p. 41). An image does not say what an event was like and let the reader envision it in his or her head; an image shows what happened at an event. Meggs stresses that "the persuasive power of photography is based on our perception that the photograph is a powerful vehicle for denotation: a record of reality that is recorded by a

machine" (1992, p. 20). Messaris (1997) agrees, stating that photographs are trusted to be direct copies of reality. The credibility photographs are given in the U.S. is evident in the judicial system where photographs of crime scenes are submitted as factual evidence.

However, as Dauber (2001) states, "focusing on the image alone, without acknowledging the interplay of images and words, is a mistake... The words that accompany the images can provide the basis and grounding for interpretations..." (p. 657-658).

Wilkinson and Fletcher (1996) concur, stating that "violent crime, death, and graphic scenes depicting such events may be called 'sensational' if they are removed from the broader moral context and packaged as isolated instances" (p. 169).

Beyond images, headlines are the next most viewed part of a newspaper, sometimes called "pre-texts" (Bleske, 1995). Pasternack (1987) states that newspaper headlines are all that are often read and may actually carry more weight with a reader than the article due to its bold type and lasting impression. They serve as a graphic device that attracts readers to the article, clue readers in to the topic of an article and summarize it, suggest the level of importance of the article, help readers organize material in the news story and integrate the material into the readers' long-term memories (Pasternack, 1987 & Bleske, 1995).

"Headlines may enlarge, explain or restrict or be enlarged, explained or restricted by the article" (Pasternack, 1987, p. 35). Hines and Hilliard (1995) contend that headlines are significant because they are among the most visible indicators of a newspaper's quality.

Following the headline, the lead brings the reader into an article and must give "a clear sense of what is new or interesting about the material" (Kessler and McDonald, 2000, p. 53). In today's world where information can be overloaded on a reader, and the media have to compete for attention, Nord and Strömbäck (2003) report that journalists are adapting their

reporting techniques. “It has led to a journalism that often tends to interpret rather than describe and speculate rather than stick to known facts, which blurs the line between straight reporting and so-called news analysis and give the journalists themselves a more prominent position within the news” (Nord & Strömbäck, 2003, p. 58). Further, Nord and Strömbäck (2003) state that media use storytelling techniques like simplification, personification, polarization, intensification, concretion, stereotyping, and enhancement to make stories grab and hold a reader’s attention.

Frequently, trends in media coverage are studied through content analysis. However, this method has most often been used to do textual studies of events in history. Little research has been done on visual aspects, especially those combined with textual research. In fact, the study of images in general has been derived from studies of language.

It is the purpose of this study to examine the texts, headlines and images from the Beslan school siege for how gatekeepers framed the story to the public in newspapers. Nordström (1996) says there are three types of newspaper readers. There are readers who only look at the pictures, those who only look at pictures and headlines, and readers who look at it all the parts—pictures, headlines and texts. “It is the creation of a team of editors working with pictorial editing, layout and headlines. It is this team which dramatizes reality, creating on the basis of the material at hand the dramatic discourse which readers will partake of” (Nordström, 1996, p. 2).

This study will contribute to the limited literature on visual and textual framing together. The results of this study can help reporters, photojournalists and editors recognize potential sources of bias or censorship in covering international and local conflicts.

“Although journalists hate formal censorship, they sometimes fail to recognize the equally

abhorrent form of self-censorship which they must impose upon themselves” (Gallez, p. 494). Gallez states that this often happens in time of high violence, like war or terrorist attacks, for security sake. It also happens when journalists photograph and edit images they think are suitable for home viewing.

CHAPTER 2.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This study aims to examine how newspapers textually and visually framed the Beslan school siege, a terrorist act. While theories on framing will be the main focus of this study, an overview of the theoretical approaches developed for both gatekeeping and framing and how these were used in previous studies will be provided for information on coverage of events like the Beslan school siege. Background information related to the Beslan school siege terrorists also will be provided to better understand the event in its context.

Gatekeeping

The theory of gatekeeping is attributed to Kurt Lewin, a psychologist researching post-World War II social change (Shoemaker et al, 2001). Lewin observed that the most efficient way to bring about widespread social change was to concentrate on people in key positions of influence. These are often called “gatekeepers” of the flow of goods and ideas in a society (Clayman & Reisner, 1998). Lewin said the theory of gatekeeping deals with how items are selected or rejected as they pass through channels (Shoemaker et al, 2001).

White (1950) was the first communication scholar to apply gatekeeping to the media. White (1950) extended studies on gatekeeping, indicating that the way editors view various news factors has an impact on the selection of stories they receive and select daily for dissemination.

According to Shoemaker et al. (2001), gatekeeping in the media is defined as

“the process by which the vast array of potential news messages is winnowed, shaped, and prodded into those few that are actually transmitted by the news media. It is often defined as a series of decision points at which news items are either continued or halted as they pass along news channels from source to reporter to a series of editors... In fact, gatekeeping in mass communication can be seen as the overall

process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed, and is not just a series of 'in' and 'out' decisions" (p. 233).

Shoemaker (1991) asserted that gatekeeping in a communication context can be studied on at least five levels: individual, routines of work, organizational, social and institutional, and the social system. The individual level deals with the personal likes and dislikes of a journalist. The work level is based on pre-established rules for practice. The organizational level is the result of a combination of decisions by journalists and media owners as well as policies, budget, and other agencies. The socio-cultural level looks at parts of the world as the influence on gatekeeping. This study will use the organizational level because it best fits with the targeted area of study – what is in the newspaper and how it is shown.

Studies of gatekeeping typically look for values that determine newsworthiness. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) found that news was run by the media based on its prominence or importance, human interest, conflict/controversy, novelty, timeliness, and proximity.

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), there have been historically eight general factors that affect how news is selected by the media: frequency, threshold (including absolute intensity and intensity increase), unambiguity, meaningfulness (including cultural proximity and relevance), consonance (involving both predictability and demand), unexpectedness (including unpredictability and scarcity), continuity and composition.

McGregor (2002) adds four new criteria to these basic eight: visualness, emotion, conflict, and celebrification of the journalist. She suggests that the presence or absence of visualness, and the ability of journalists to 'get pictures' determines whether an event is selected as news. "A news subject who cries, expresses anger, or is moved to display some other

emotion because of the poignancy, frailty or fragility of the human condition is inherently more visually interesting, and therefore has heightened newsworthiness as a source” (McGregor, 2002, p. 4). McGregor further states that without conflict, an event cannot be news because journalists cannot satisfy notional fairness required by most codes of practice for broadcasting or statements of principle regulating and guiding press behavior. The last new criteria, the celebrification of the journalist, “means the news is relying on journalists not just to bring us the news, but to be the news, to be the source of news and its presenter, even though there may be a news programme host who is separate from the journalist” (McGregor, 2002, p. 5).

Gans (1979) found that international news was most likely to run in the U.S. media if it included information about U.S. actions abroad, foreign activity that affects the U.S., relations with totalitarian countries, foreign elections and transfers of power, major wars, disasters with great loss of lives, and oppression under foreign dictators. Chang and Lee (1992) noted that threat to the U.S. and world peace along with anticipated reader interest, timeliness and U.S. involvement were major factors in covering international news.

Stempel (1985) did a study on the concerns of standardization of news due to gatekeeping. He was looking to see if gatekeeping would cause a national consensus on what is news. He utilized 14 categories of news: politics and government acts, war and defense, diplomacy and foreign relations, economic activity, agriculture, transportation and travel, crime, public moral problems, accidents and disasters, science and invention, public health and welfare, education and classic arts, popular amusements, and general human interest. Stempel (1985) found that politics and government, war and defense, crime, and accidents and disasters ranked in the top half for nearly all media. Transportation, science and

invention, education and classic arts, and popular amusement ranked in the bottom half for nearly all media. He found “substantial agreement between ...media as to the mix of various news topics, but substantial disagreement as to which stories should be used. This in turn suggests that the concern about standardization has been overstated. The major media are not all simply reporting the same news stories” (Stempel, 1985, p. 796).

International news coverage

A study done by Chang and Lee (1992) about editors as the gatekeepers of foreign news in newspapers examined how the editors view the criteria of selecting what international news to run.

“In foreign news reporting, this [gatekeeping] means the perceptions of foreign events could help an editor organize and classify information coming from different parts of the world, reduce the amount and volume of foreign news flow in the newsroom and decrease uncertainty concerning the potential newsworthiness of foreign events (Chang & Lee, 1992, p. 555).”

The authors say that there tends to be two theoretical perspectives on how foreign news gets covered. The first is context-oriented, which looks at the origin of foreign news and its relationship with contextual variables like trade, culture, politics, and proximity geographically. “Unlike the contextual perspective, the content-oriented approach focuses more on the characteristics inherent in the foreign event itself regardless of the external setting. It follows the long-standing definition of what is newsworthy: timeliness, impact or consequence, human interest and conflict” (Chang & Lee, 1992, p. 556). This study will utilize the content-oriented approach because it is more suited for looking at differences among papers than the contextual approach.

Chang and Lee (1992) used a mail survey to understand how newspaper editors rate factors in their selection of foreign news. These factors are: physical distance of the event

from the U.S., U.S. involvement in the event, cultural relevance to the U.S., U.S. trade relations with the country, readers' interest in the event, timeliness of the event, threat of the event to the U.S., threat of the event on world peace, human interest of the event, economic development of the country in which the event occurs, military strength of the country where the event occurs, and the loss of lives and property. They found that editors perceive security and national interest to be important factors in determining what to cover. This includes threat to the U.S., threat to world peace, and U.S. involvement being ranked as highly important. Trade relations, physical distance, and economic development were ranked as unimportant when selecting news.

Terrorism and violence

Many scholarly studies focus on the unique coverage of terrorism, war and violence in general. The portrayals of these types of events often are highly discussed by media producers. Terrorism is defined as “the use of violence or threat of violence calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm” (Weimann & Brosius, 1991, p. 337). “The use of violence or threat of violence is often directed against civilian targets. The motives of most terrorists are political and are intended to produce effects beyond the immediate physical damage they cause” (Weimann & Brosius, 1991, p. 337).

Weimann and Brosius (1991) studied the newsworthiness of international terrorism. Their study is based on the concept of deviance as a predictor of newsworthiness to the specific attributes of terrorist events and the impact on media selection (coverage or no coverage) and prominence of coverage (amount of space and location). In terms of terrorism coverage, the level of victimization, the type of action, the identity of the perpetrators, and an attributable responsibility were found to be the best predictors of media coverage.

The authors found many studies of international news coverage revealed an emphasis on bad news. The list of factors that were found to be significant predictors of coverage include: timeliness; proximity; importance, impact, or consequence; interest; conflict or controversy; sensationalism; prominence; and novelty, oddity, or the unusual (Weimann & Brosius, 1991). The authors argue that these are indicators related to deviance, and most of those deviance-newsworthiness criteria are normative.

Weimann and Brosius (1991) also state that changes over time in coverage of terrorist events may be due to a loss of appeal simply because the events become regular and lose their newsworthiness. They also state that "print media show a larger variance [than broadcast media] in the nature and magnitude of attributes that determine whether or not to report a certain event" (Weimann & Brosius 1991, p. 350).

Framing

One of the first scholars to develop a definition of the general concept of framing was Goffman (1974) who says that a frame is the "principle of organization which governs events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them" (p. 11). Explaining their use, Goffman (1974) describes frames as "strips" of everyday life that help people organize what they see.

Framing as a theory was further refined by Entman (1993) who contends that to frame is to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text [or visual], in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). He defines salience as "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Entman (1993) also notes

that frames "are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters or facts of judgments" (p. 52).

Entman (1993) says frames have four locations: the communicator, the text [or image], the receiver, and the culture, and he contends that frames generally perform four functions: they (1) define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgments, and (4) suggest remedies.

Other scholars who have helped develop operationalizations of framing include Iyengar and Kinder (1987), who defined framing in relation to other concepts like agenda setting and priming in the mass media. McCombs (1972) also suggests that agenda setting and framing are related, and that framing is an extension of agenda setting.

Trying to make order of the variety of meanings used in framing studies, Scheufele (1999) compiled the different operationalizations and came up with two major dimensions of framing. He said framing tends to be examined as (1) media frames or audience frames, and the frames tend to be viewed as (2) independent variables or dependent variables (Scheufele, 1999). Media frames, according to Scheufele (1999), are an idea or story line embedded into the news that "provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (p. 106). According to Entman (1993), audience frames, also called individual frames, are "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" (p. 53). Audience frames are unique for each individual and frequently change based on personal experiences (Scheufele, 1999). Thus, this study will focus on media frames rather than audience frames. "Studies of frames as dependent variables have examined the role of various factors in influencing the creation or modification of frames" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). On the other hand, frames as

independent variables are looking for effects of framing on audiences (Scheufele, 1999). Because this study incorporates perspectives about news values and examines what frames exist about the Beslan school siege, this study will look at frames as the dependent variable.

Application of the framing theory was studied further by D'Angelo (2002), who found three general paradigmatic outlooks: cognitive, constructionist and critical. The cognitive application of framing looks at how schemata are affected by frames presented in media. "Schemata recently activated by frames, especially those that have been used frequently in the past, will remain on the top of the mental bin, enabling these schemata to direct how an individual recognizes and uses framed information" (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 875). The constructionist approach is based on the journalists' interactions with the news and the framing that occurs due to these interactions. "Constructionists hold that journalists are information processors who create 'interpretive packages' of the positions of politically invested 'sponsors' in order to both reflect and add to the 'issue culture' of the topic" (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 877). The final method, the critical approach, is based on the claim that frames are produced by journalists who convey information "about issues and events from the perspective of values held by political elites" (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 876). This approach is assumed to cause the presentation of limited news that will give audiences a single viewpoint to support the status-quo (D'Angelo, 2002). This study will utilize the constructionist approach as it is most suited to studying framing as a dependent variable.

Visual Framing

Framing is not limited to one medium; however, it has not been highly used to study all types of media. Images are one area that has received minimal attention because they are not easy to define (Messaris, 1997). "Visual communication is characterized by a lack of

explicit means for identifying other ways in which images might be related to each other" (Messaris, 1997, p. x).

Images have been studied through visual cognition and perception. Visual cognitive theories deal with how the brain breaks apart images into units that it can store and retrieve easily (Lester, 1995). French semiotician Fernande Saint-Martin said these units are color, texture, size, boundaries, direction, and position (Lester, 1995), while Irving Biederman said these units are primitive shapes or parts that make up every object (Lester, 1995). He called these "geometrical ions" and discovered 36 are needed to make up all objects (Lester, 1995). While visual cognition deals with how the brain breaks apart images, theories about visual perception look at how mental states affect what people see. Studies have found visual perception to be affected by people's memory, projection of objects into an image, what they expect to see, what they select to see, what they see normally and take for granted, what has importance, what is out of place, their culture, and how they verbally label what they see (Lester, 1995).

Studies of the persuasive power of images in advertising have found that images play three major roles (Messaris, 1997).

"[1] They can elicit emotions by simulating the appearance of a real person or object; [2] they can serve as photographic proof that something really did happen; and [3] they can establish an implicit link between the thing that is being sold and some other image(s)" (Messaris, 1997, p. vii).

There is an obvious link between the power of images in advertising and in news media, especially since both can be viewed through the same channels.

Mass media scholars generally argue that media coverage of events cause them to be more visible and widely recognized by the public so that eventually public opinion tends to

align with issue portrayals in the media (Staples, 2003 & Lemert, 1981). Experts currently debate how the U.S. public reacts to images of war and terrorism.

The power of images to influence public opinion has attracted the attention of scholars. Because of their high attraction value, images seen on a page, site, or screen often give the first impression of a story, and they are readily remembered (Rodgers & Thorson, 2000).

"Framing is believed to produce social meaning" (Wall, 2003, p. 4) and "research has generally established the primacy of visual cues over verbal cues in the creation of social meaning" (Burgoon, 1985; Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996; Folger & Woodall, 1982). Abraham (2001) notes that "between 60 percent and 90 percent of the meaning in any social situation has been found to be carried by nonverbal information" (p. 5). In judging the validity of cognitions derived from visual analysis, Messaris and Abraham (2001) agree that visuals rely on a person's intuition and senses to create meaning. This, they say, can lead viewers to be less conscious of a visual set of claims than they would if the claims were made verbally.

Visual framing, however, has been slow in following the analysis of frames in textual discourse. It was not until 1994 that Messaris and Abraham stepped up to define the parameters of visual framing. They contend that there are three visual characteristics that determine how a viewer interprets an image: analogical, indexical, and propositional syntax (2001). The analogical quality of images refers to the relationship of images and their meanings in comparison to verbal and written words and their meanings (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). According to them, images have some similarity or analogy to their

meaning, while words have an arbitrary relationship to them (Messaris & Abraham, 2001).

Citing Peirce (1991), they define the indexical quality of images as follows:

"This true-to-life quality of photographs, their ability to bypass human agency in certain respects, is the basis on which Peirce called them 'indices' (i.e., direct pointers, as opposed to constructed representations of reality). Because of their indexicality, photographs come with an implicit guarantee of being closer to the truth than other forms of communication " (Messaris & Abraham, 2001, p. 217).

The propositional syntax of images, on the other hand, is similar to that of verbal syntax. It deals with the relationship between two or more images the way verbal language is combined to make propositions (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Messaris and Abraham (2001) say there are routines in verbal language that create causality, comparisons, generalizations, and many other connections. However, visual communication does not have the same well-defined conventions (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). While propositional syntax is "often implied in the visual structure of commercials, political ads, or other visual formats, the conventions for making such connections are loose, imprecise, and unsystematic" (Messaris & Abraham, 2001, p. 219).

Messaris and Abraham (2001) used these three qualities of images to study the depiction of African-Americans in the news. They found subtle stereotyping of African-Americans. Although verbal statements of societal problems were free from stereotyping, stating those problems while showing pictures of African-Americans implied a connection between the race and the societal problem (Messaris and Abraham, 2001).

Curkan-Flanagan & Bowles (2001) utilized visual framing in combination with verbal framing in examining the militia movement in the United States. Overall, the major frames found included: international terrorism (committed by foreigners), domestic terrorism (committed by locals), paramilitary, disaster and crisis, war and peace, and government

control. The study found three dominant visual frames: military (such as camouflage uniforms, guns and weapons), the American flag, and symbolic images from major news events like the Oklahoma City bombing. Curkan-Flanagan & Bowles (2001) explain that because "news focuses on immediacy and events, not on underlying conditions," the frames the media used tended to emphasize the drama and conflict of the event (p. 12).

Entman (1991) conducted a framing study of the U.S. coverage of international news looking at both texts and images. He contrasts narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents, but his discussion of the images is secondary to the text. Images were used to confirm frames gleaned from textual coverage.

In a study of online newspaper coverage of the first 48 hours of the Iraq war, Dimitrova, Kaid, and William (in press) also looked at both textual and visual frames. The study focused on "how the event was framed around the globe and how the war was justified" (Dimitrova et al., in press, p. 4). Textual frames compared military conflict, human interest, diagnostic frames, media self-reference, and prognostic frames (Dimitrova et al., in press, p. 5). The study found that many sites used visuals to imply personal battle between Bush and Saddam by placing them literally facing off against one another (Dimitrova et al., in press). Other visual frames included images of the city of Baghdad, images of the bombing of Iraq, and images of U.S. military carriers (Dimitrova et al., in press).

Textual Framing

While visual framing is still a nascent research methodology, verbal framing has already been used to analyze coverage of a number of topics. Baden (2003) says framing studies are often used to study campaign elections, social movements like feminism and anti-

nuclear activism, and to look at critical incidents such as the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Cold War. Many studies on the framing of international news have been done.

Bailie and Frank (1992) examined how three newsmagazines, Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report, framed the Gulf War. The study found news frames portraying Arabs as deceitful, violent and feral, and Islam was portrayed as static, warlike and anti-intellectual (Bailie & Frank, 1992). American coverage of non-Western countries in particular has been criticized for tending toward stereotypes, according to Said (1981) and Wall (2003). Bailie and Frank (1992) found that the newsmagazines framed the problem as Saddam Hussein attacking the Kurds. The cause seemed to be the Kurds themselves for being backwards and helpless, and the U.S. was presented as the solution.

"Arabs and Muslims most often tend to be represented as threatening and violent by [the] Western media. This analysis reveals that the Kurds are to a certain extent infantilized and made to look like a lost tribe of helpless victims who may never make it into the 21st century without modern machinery and moral superiority of the West for guidance" (Wall, 2003, p. 8).

The media coverage of the Gulf War also was examined by Kanjiranthinkal and Hickey (1999) for possible frames. The researchers found four stages of "media-created myths" which were believed to increase drama (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999). These included "the hero's quest, the encounter with evil, fulfillment, and return (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999). The hero was said to be President Bush, and his quest was to stop Iraq's attack on Kuwait (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999). Evil was portrayed as embodied by Saddam Hussein. "[M]edia representatives progressively stripped away Saddam's socially acceptable personas such as the popular Western prewar favorite of a Middle East head of state who had successfully contained Islamic fundamentalism. What remained was a demon ..." (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999, p. 107). Fulfillment involved the U.S. military

stopping Iraqi forces in Kuwait and forcing them to surrender (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999). The return involved the coverage of the military as they re-entered the U.S. (Kanjiranthinkal & Hickey, 1999).

Another study done by Tankard (1997) looked at the public relations efforts surrounding the crisis in Kuwait and Bosnia. Using Entman's four framing functions (i.e., to define the problem, diagnose the cause, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies), Tankard (1997) finds that the situation in Kuwait was framed as: (1) Kuwait is the problem, (2) the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is the cause, (3) morally, Iraqis are atrocious (because they supposedly removed babies from incubators), and compared Saddam Hussein to Hitler, and (4) military action by the U.S. and its allies is the solution (p. 6). In Bosnia, the frames included: (1) Bosnia is the problem, (2) the civil war in Bosnia is the cause, (3) ethnic cleansing is the moral problem, and (4) remedies include U.S. support for those opposing the Serbs (Tankard, 1997, p. 6).

A general study of the media's role during crisis events by Li, Lindsay and Mogensen (2002) illuminates these potential frames and aids in analyzing how such frames may change over the course of an event. The authors studied the television media's responses to the Sept. 11 attacks, predicting that media coverage would move through a series of stages that determined the type of information they present.

"The National Research Council Committee on Disasters and the Mass Media postulated that the press had the following functions during a crisis: 1) warning of predicted or impending disasters; 2) conveying information to officials, relief agencies and the public; 3) charting the progress of relief and recovery; 4) dramatizing lessons learned for purpose of future preparedness; 5) taking part in long-term public education programs; and 6) defining slow-onset problems as crises or disasters" (Li et al., 2002, p. 3).

The study found support for these stages beginning with a dominant disaster frame, moving into a political and criminal frame, and resting on human-interest frames along with environmental and economic frames (Li et al., 2002).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) took a deductive approach to their framing study of European politics. They used predefined frames such as conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and mortality found by Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992). To this list, they added a responsibility frame. Frames from Semetko and Valkenburg (1999) as well as Li et al. (2002) are useful in anticipating the frames that may result from this analysis.

Looking specifically at some studies of the war will also help explore possible frames. Framing studies of war tend to look for implied metaphors. Lule (2003) conducted a study of war and its metaphors using Aristotle's explanation of a metaphor. "A metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (Lule, 2003, p. 3). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) say that metaphors are fundamental to the way people think and create meaning. Lule (2003) conducted a framing analysis of television newscast coverage of the events leading to the Iraq war. The study looked at metaphors used to frame the war. "[A] metaphor provides a means to understand how the prelude to war was framed and portrayed by news media that anticipated rather than debated the prospect of war" (Lule, 2003, p. 10). The study found four dominant metaphors: 1. the timetable for the war, 2. the games of Saddam Hussein, 3. the patience of the White House, and 4. making the case for war or selling the plan (Lule, 2003).

"As a nation makes the decision to go to war, the news media should play a number of crucial roles. The news media can evaluate the rationale for war. They can verify claims. They can seek alternate views. They can weigh human and material costs. They can assess outcomes. And, they can give voice to wide-ranging debates" (Lule, 2003, p. 10).

Hiebert (2003) studied the public relations and "propaganda" framing of the Iraq war and noted that "public relations would play an increasingly significant role in warfare" (p. 2). Because of evolving communication technology, "wars would be more transparent, and thus cleaner, shorter, and faster" (p. 2). Using framing specific to war, Hiebert (2003) says wars are either framed as "self-defense" or as "rescue stories" (p. 3). In his preliminary review, he says the Iraq war used both frames. Self-defense was implied by the threat of terrorism (Hiebert, 2003). Another self-defense theme was to show that Saddam's militias wore civilian clothes to ambush U.S. soldiers. A rescue frame "was that the Iraqi army was shooting civilians and terrorizing Iraqis to fight against their will" (Hiebert, 2003, p. 4).

Textual Frames in Headlines

Included with textual framing is framing with headlines. "Headlines have long been identified as establishing 'frames of reference' within which stories may subsequently be interpreted (Griffin et al., 1995, p. 207). Topics are expressed and signaled by headlines, which sensitize readers to certain aspects of a story and encourage them to interpret stories accordingly (Griffin et al., 1995). According to Griffin et al. (1995), repetition of content in the headline and the story can make the information more salient or enhance the reader's awareness of it.

In a study by Tannenbaum (1953), headlines were tested for their effect on interpreting news stories. Tannenbaum (1953) states that headlines tend to be extremely condensed and brief, which make it virtually impossible for a headline to tell the whole story.

"In most cases, then, the headline writer is forced to select a single aspect of the story to 'play up' in the headline... A glance at the newsstand will show that editors do not always select the same communicate, nor choose the same aspect for emphasis, and no two have identically the same wording" (Tannenbaum, 1953, p. 190).

The study found support for effects of headlines on interpreting news stories. The headlines tended to influence or establish a frame of reference for how the story was perceived, if the story was read. “In a way, [the headline] provides a lens through which the remainder of the story or article is perceived” (Tannenbaum, 1953, p. 197).

Headlines work by cueing readers; readers in turn use the information to organize material in the news story and integrate the material into their long-term memories (Bleske, 1996). Similarly, Ausubel (1963) theorizes that headlines are advance organizers for the texts. “The consensus of reading research is that any device that prepares readers for new material will increase the probability that the readers will be able to later produce new information” (Bleske, 1996, p. 2). In a study about framing in headlines and reader learning, Bleske (1996) found subjects who read news stories with headlines remembered different aspects of a story than subjects who read stories without a headline.

Similarly, Pasternack (1987) conducted a study on the impact of libelous statements in headlines and their ability to affect readers’ interpretation of news stories. The study found libelous statements in headlines led people to judge a person more likely to be guilty. In agreement, Tannenbaum (1955) found that a positive or negative slant in the headline affected how readers judged the guilt or innocence of an accused criminal in a news story.

Background on Chechnya and Russia

With theory in mind, it is important to study the context of a news event to learn what frames might appear. The events in Beslan signify a new extreme in the interactions between Russia and Chechnya, a region that wants to break away from the federation. The number of casualties alone is enough to bring this incident to the attention of every nation’s media, and

the very graphic way in which the events unfolded provided news accounts and images, both moving and still, that captured the world's attention. "The history of Chechnya reflects nearly three centuries of brutal conflict with Russia over territory and independence" (Badkhen & Bensinger, 2002, p. A11). The Beslan school siege is the most recent drastic statement of defiance by the terrorists to Russia.

The desire for independence in Chechnya was "fueled by the memories of Stalin-era deportations, which killed approximately half of Russia's Chechens. Almost half of the population died during the mass removal, and more than 15,000 were jailed over the next nine years for attempting to return from exile, which lasted until 1957" (Badkhen & Bensinger, 2002, p. A11). In 1991, as the Soviet Union was ending, Chechnya declared independence from Russia.

Strongly opposed to this, the Russian Federation has launched two wars against Chechnya "in the interest of keeping Russia whole, of preventing the federation from disintegrating" (Evangelista & Conan, 2004). The first war, during President Boris Yeltsin's rule in 1994, lasted two years and resulted in the deaths of thousands of Russian troops and tens of thousands of Chechen civilians (Badkhen & Bensinger, 2002). Russian "leaders banned alcohol, dissolved the secular courts and announced plans to make Arabic the official language" (Pleven, 2004, p. A44).

A two-year wave of violence began in 2002 with Chechen rebels acting out against Russian control. In October 2002, Chechen gunmen took 700 hostages in a Moscow theater. One hundred and twenty-nine hostages died (Pleven, 2004). In August 2003, a suicide bomber drove a truck with explosives through the gates of a military hospital in Mozdok, in southern Russia, where soldiers were recovering from wounds suffered in Chechnya. Fifty

people were killed in the blast (Pleven, 2004). In September of 2003, a truck blew up outside the regional headquarters of Russia's federal security service in Ingushetia, killing five people (Pleven, 2004). In May of 2004, the president of Chechnya, Akhmad Kadyrov, was killed in a stadium bombing with six others (Pleven, 2004). The Beslan school siege was a powerful act by all standards, but only one of many.

Research Questions

This study will utilize the background information from both gatekeeping and framing studies of terrorism, crisis and war to begin an analysis of newspaper images of the Beslan school siege. Gatekeeping and framing are well-related theories. Both theories look at what the media portray in their coverage of events, how they portray it, and what they emphasize. Based on both the visual and textual studies from gatekeeping and framing, the coverage of Beslan school siege is likely to be influenced in some form, whether by the gatekeepers or through framing. However, questions related to framing will be the focus of this study. Thus, the following research questions will guide this study:

Research Question 1: To what extent did the newspapers cover the Beslan school siege? Do the six newspapers differ in their extent of coverage?

International news coverage in general declined in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s to include only a small percentage of the total news (Husselbee and Stempel, 1997). This is due to feeling that the world is a safer place than it used to be, causing people to shift their coverage closer to home (Kim, 2002). Sept. 11, 2001 raised awareness and increased international news coverage again (Kim, 2002). Therefore, Chang and Lee (1992) state that audience interests tend to play a major role in what editors choose to cover. They say that

this should be particularly true with international news coverage because the events are as unknown as they could get.

It is difficult to predict the extent of coverage an event, such as the Beslan school siege, will receive. Weimann and Brosius (1991) said international news often is shown if it is novel. The terrorist acts between Russian and Chechnya are not new; however, an attack of this intensity, taking 1,180 people hostage with many being children, is not something that has been done by this terrorist group. It has many other qualities of newsworthiness found by Weimann and Brosius (1991) for international coverage: impact, or consequence; interest; conflict or controversy; sensationalism; and prominence.

Research Question 2: How were the issues from the Beslan school siege framed in newspaper headlines, texts and images?

The frames include Entman's four functions: (1) define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgments, and (4) suggest remedies, which were discussed previously in this chapter.

Research Question 3: Are there differences in textual or visual framing of the siege across the six newspapers?

As previously stated, international news coverage has increased and decreased over time with changes in activities like war and terrorist attacks. Gatekeepers' opinions on what is acceptable to show or tell in newspapers also change with time in all countries. An example of this in Russia is the firing of the Izvestia editor, Raf Shakirov, on September 6, 2004 for prominently displaying images of the event and disputing information given by the government about the school siege in their article (Yablokova, 2004 & Cozen, 2004). This

question will compare frames between newspapers for similarities and differences in coverage.

Research Question 4: Are there differences between the frames in the visuals and the texts?

Similar to the idea that advertisers say with images what they can't say with text (such as what a product can do or the role of a gender), Messaris and Abraham (2001) state that framing in news images is often overlooked or taken for granted by audience members. This question will look for similarities and differences in textual and visual frames within newspapers.

CHAPTER 3.

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to determine how the Beslan school siege was framed in American, British and Russian newspapers. To do so, a content analysis of newspaper articles that discussed the Beslan school siege was conducted.

Research Design

Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as a "research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). Similarly, Wimmer and Dominick (2003) describe content analysis as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for purposes of measuring variables" (p. 141). Content analyses are systematic and objective derives having well-defined categories that can be consistently applied by different researchers on the same data to arrive at consistent results (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). The quantitative nature of content analysis, therefore, comes from recording the number of times a defined content occurs in the analyzed texts (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

Some scholars look at content analysis as a quantitative process, while others view it as a qualitative one (Macnamara, 1999). Neuendorf (2002) defines content analysis as "a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method... and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured of the context in which the messages are created or presented" (p. 10). She feels qualitative analysis should fall under rhetorical analysis, structuralist analysis, or critical analysis, although she agrees that the techniques applied to both qualitative and quantitative analyses are highly similar.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) categorize content analysis into two groups, behaviorist and

humanist. According to them, the behaviorist approach uses content analysis to try to predict future effects using quantitative techniques, while the humanist approach uses content analysis to try to determine "truths" about societies using qualitative methods (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) say that the task of content analysis is

“to impose some sort of order on these phenomena in order to grasp their meaning. Part of this ordering process consists of singling out the key features that we think are important and to which we want to pay attention. Researchers approach content in different ways, using different conceptual and methodological tools” (p. 31).

Krippendorff (1980) says content analysis can make replicable and valid reference from data to their context, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Critics of quantitative content analysis argue that the strict reliance on quantitative analysis to find meaning puts the reliability of quantitative data in question (Macnamara, 1999). However, Krippendorff (1980) insists that qualitative procedures are necessary to place an element in its wider cultural context, which means that interpretation is a necessary part of the technique.

This study used content analysis in both quantitative and qualitative ways. A quantitative approach was used to determine the occurrence of topics and issues for comparison, which can be calculated through the frequency of content appearance. A qualitative approach was applied to examine the issues evident in the frames and how they are emphasized, through an in-depth look at the messages inherent in newspaper images and texts about the Beslan school siege.

Sampling

This study's sample consisted of U.S., British and Russian newspaper articles about the Beslan school siege. Newspapers were chosen for this study because they provide “in-depth, analytical coverage on existing issues, which has been called the ‘new long

journalism” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 311). This implies thorough consideration of what to cover and how to cover them with images and texts. This is unlike broadcast journalism, which often offers live or very brief coverage. The newspaper medium presents several viewing conditions unlike that of television or web sites. Unlike television, newspapers allow viewers the opportunity to see an image for as long as they want. Newspapers can also present a variety of images and stories to viewers without having to select what to attend to as they would with an online news source. Newspapers also allow viewers to take articles virtually any place they can go; thus the articles can be read in a variety of environments and with other people.

Newspapers that used staff writers or photographers for international articles and images instead of a wire service are stating by example that the event is important. Three U.S. newspapers were selected for this study due to their use of staff writers to cover the Beslan school siege and their place in the top five largest U.S. newspapers in terms of circulation according to Editor & Publisher International Year Book 2004, as of Sept. 30, 2003. The U.S. papers selected include: USA Today of Arlington, Virginia, with a circulation of 2,154,539; New York Times of New York, New York, with a circulation of 1,118,565; and Los Angeles Times of Los Angeles, California, with a circulation of 914,584

The British newspapers London Guardian of Manchester and The Times of London also were analyzed in this study. These are two of the top three newspapers in the U.K. in terms of circulation. According to the Ulrich’s Periodical Directory, the London Guardian had a circulation of about 378,516 and The Times had a circulation of about 619,682 for 2003. The Times will be called the London Times in this study to differentiate it from those with a similar name.

One major newspaper from Russia, Izvestia, also was examined. Izvestia is a national newspaper started by Lenin in the early 1900s and was an official party or government mouthpiece in the former U.S.S.R. (www.countrystudies.com, 2003). Izvestia, with a circulation of 234,500, is one of the country's long standing and largest daily newspapers, according to The Moscow Times (Yablokova, 2004). During the Beslan siege, the editor of Izvestia was forced to resign for the highly graphic and critical nature of its Sept. 4 issue (Baker & Glasser, 2004).

Because these newspapers reach a large number of people nationwide in their respective countries, they have a large potential to affect people with their frames. These papers were not chosen to allow for generalizations to all newspapers, but to give an indication as to how newspapers covered the event.

This study examined articles regarding the Beslan school siege from Sept. 1, 2004, the day the terrorists took control of the school, until Sept. 16, 2004, two weeks after the take over. This two-week span was selected to allow for the inclusion of articles trailing the end of the siege on Sept. 3, 2004 in the sample.

A census sampling method was used with these six newspapers. As Wimmer and Dominick (2003) describe, a census, or population, study involves examining every member of a known population. This comprehensive process allowed for the analysis of all articles related to the school siege that ran in these papers during the two-week time period.

Measuring instrument

For this study, all parts of an article were examined: photographs with captions, headlines with subheads, and body texts. The units of analysis was each single newspaper

photo of the Beslan school siege and its accompanying caption if available, each single headline about the siege, and the complete text in each article about the siege.

This study involved two parts: a quantitative analysis with close-ended questions and a qualitative analysis using mostly open-ended coding. These methods were applied to analyze the extent of coverage of the Beslan school siege and the frames raised in the newspaper articles as well as compare how the event was framed by each of the six newspapers. The questions were developed from the preliminary textual analyses and visual studies examined in Chapter 2.

Entman (1993) says texts can make bits of information more salient by "placement or repetition, or by associating them with culturally familiar symbols" (p. 53). Salience can involve other considerations in relation to images. A look at research in the advertising field can provide this information. Advertising uses several methods for attracting, intriguing, and communicating with images. Coleman (2002) says that "dominant photographs increase perception of importance" (Wanta, 1988, p. 3). "Unexpected or unusual images are remembered better than typical ones" (Bower, Black and Turner, 1979). In a study of television images, Graber (1990) found that images of people are more visually intriguing than images of objects.

"Close-ups of human beings are rich information sources because people draw a multitude of inferences from human physical appearance and movements (Graber, 1990, p. 26, 30, 32). Facial close-ups readily reveal mental states, such as pain, happiness, sadness, curiosity, doubt, fear, and embarrassment (Graber, 1990, p. 7). Unlike close-ups of people, pictures of identified objects and locations do not readily elicit rich inferences and emotions. In fact, they tend to capture attention only when the objects are unusual or are rarely seen" (Graber, 1990, p. 138, 139).

The way advertisers manipulate the gaze of a person in an image can draw in a viewer (Messaris, 1997). Facial expressions and gestures in images can also direct attention to the

implied message (Messaris, 1997). In advertising, the point of view the image shows or the distance of the person or object from the viewer also can create different meanings and imply importance (Messaris, 1997).

Messaris (1997) says visual metaphors can be used in many ways. "We can define visual metaphor somewhat narrowly as the representation of an abstract concept through a concrete visual image that bears some analogy to the concept" (Messaris, 1997, p. 10). Metaphors "...are particularly well-suited to the requirements of visual advertising precisely because of their ability to combine an eye-catching first impression with a more substantive message" (Messaris, 1997, p. 17). Based on these characteristics of images, the following variables were identified and analyzed.

Questions/Codebook

The coding system used in this study involved a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of each body text, headline and image. It was made of six parts: (1) a quantitative analysis of the body texts, (2) a quantitative analysis of the headlines, (3) a quantitative analysis of the images, (4) a qualitative analysis of the body texts, (5) a qualitative analysis of the headlines, and (6) a qualitative analysis of the images. To label articles for future reference, the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page number of the article were recorded.

The first part of the code sheet quantitatively examined the newspapers for the number of articles published, the length of the texts, and the text's dominance in the issue, or how much importance it is given in the paper. Coverage intensity was measured by determining the number of texts about Beslan published in each article. The length of the texts was coded in square inches. The text's dominance on the page was ascertained by

comparing the size and placement of text in relation to the whole page. The most dominant element is often the largest object in the page and/or the closest to the top (Meggs, 1992). Articles, like images, draw more attention from readers if they are placed on the front page. Rasmussen (2002), an editor for The Oregonian, states that “Photos played on the front page, in full color, receive the most attention and generally the most reaction. Inside photos seldom evoke the same kind of commentary” (p. 68). Texts and headlines also can be perceived in the same way.

The second part involved a quantitative analysis of the headlines to determine the level of importance the school siege was given in terms of number of occurrences, size and dominance, similar to the first part. The page number where the headlines were found was recorded to represent placement. Then, the headlines’ sizes were recorded in square inches. Dominance on the page was determined in reference to other headlines on the page, similarly to the text.

The third part was a quantitative analysis of the images. It also ascertained the number of occurrences, image size, dominance, and source. The images were coded with the newspaper title, page number and location, and they were counted. The size of the images was recorded in square inches. Dominance was determined by the placement on the page as well as by image size. The source of the image also was coded.

The fourth section was a qualitative analysis of the whole text in order to identify frames. First, the lead paragraph was examined for frames. Following the headline, the lead brings the reader into an article and must give “a clear sense of what is new or interesting about the material” (Kessler and McDonald, 2000, p. 53). Second, the frames emphasized in the rest of the text were recorded. Nord and Strömbäck (2003) report that journalists are

adapting their reporting techniques to today's fast-paced lifestyles. "It has led to a journalism that often tends to interpret rather than describe and speculate rather than stick to known facts, which blurs the line between straight reporting and so-called news analysis, and gives the journalists themselves a more prominent position within the news" (Nord & Strömbäck, 2003, p. 58). To code for emotional content, the methods developed by Cho et al. (2003) were used. To analyze emotional response to terrorist events, Cho et al. (2003) operationalized emotion in three ways. One is negative emotion, consisting of variables such as aggression and blame. "Aggression implies 'forceful action' and was indicated by the presence of words such as 'crash,' 'conquest,' 'demolish,' and 'shove.' Blame was indicated by the presence of words such as 'mean,' 'stupid,' and 'cruel'" (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The second type, positive emotion, is made up of praise and satisfaction. "Praise implies the good qualities of a group or entity such as importance and intellect. Praise was indicated by words such as 'delighted,' 'witty,' and 'vigilant.' Satisfaction is associated with positive emotion states and was indicated by words such as 'fun,' 'pride,' and 'good'" (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The third aspect is emotional intensity, operationalized as having two dimensions, tenacity and motion. "Tenacity implies confidence and was indicated by the presence of variants of the verb 'to be.' Motion implies movement and was indicated by words such as 'fly,' 'leap,' and 'momentum'" (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). Finally, the type of people quoted was coded. These included relatives of hostages, officials/experts, hostages, terrorists, and civilians.

The fifth section qualitatively examined headline frames. Because "journalists craft headlines to highlight the most important theme of the story," (Graber, 2003, p. 554) the

details given in the headline, including specific facts like death totals, were examined for their frames.

Finally, the sixth section looked at the images for the frames they portray about the event. When examining the images for frames, the captions were included to assist in the analysis, as it is a tool a typical newspaper reader might use to help interpret the image. Dauber (2001) states that “focusing on the image alone, without acknowledging the interplay of images and words, is a mistake... The words that accompany the images can provide the basis and grounding for interpretations...” (p. 657-658). Elements like the dominant aspect or focal point were examined to define the frames. The dominant or focal point in an image is what draws a viewer's eye into the image first (Lester, 1995 & Meggs, 1992). It is often the largest object in the image, the most in focus, or the closest to the camera (Meggs, 1992). The elements present in the image as well as the setting were used to determine the frames. As Graber (1990) discussed, people and unusual objects can be highly influential in an image. Fishman and Marvin (2003) did a study comparing representations of violence by national U.S. groups and non-U.S. groups. The study compared images of latent violence to images of explicit and dramatic violence. It found that the U.S. newspaper used almost 70 percent latent violent images and only 10 percent explicitly violent images. This is compared to about 50 percent latent and 45 percent explicit images in the non-U.S. paper. This may be due to U.S. newspapers self-censoring images more than newspapers in other countries. The authors contend that “front-page images in The New York Times effectively sanitize U.S. violence, concealing it from the inspection of citizens who might find its most graphic forms disturbing. Conversely, these representations delegitimize the violence of non-U.S. states, repeatedly rendering it in brutally explicit terms” (p. 43). Any evident visual metaphors also

were used to identify the frames. Visual metaphors are powerful devices that show one thing while textually saying another (Lule, 2003). A visual metaphor in this study is a representation of an abstract concept through a concrete visual image that bears some analogy to the concept (Lule, 2003). Emotional display was measured using methods similar to those by Cho et al. (2003) for the text. To analyze emotional response to terrorist events, Cho et al. (2003) categorized emotion as negative when the image displayed aggression and blame, positive when it portrayed praise and satisfaction. Intensity was coded by identifying the presence of tenacity and motion. Finally, the point of view of the camera was coded as they often occur in conjunction with visual metaphors. For example, leadership is portrayed by looking up to a person – when the camera angle is below the leader, the subject. They show how a story is told to an audience. For example, looking at a person straight on shows the viewer the situation the way that person sees it, versus looking down on a person and seeing the whole situation.

A standardized coding sheet tracked the variables for analysis. Prior to coding the six newspapers, the coding system was tested by two individuals, the researcher and another graduate student. An inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a separate sample comparable to those used in this study. The test was conducted on a selection equal to 10 percent of the sample. To ensure reliability of the results, Holsti's (1969) formula for reliability was used, where: $\text{Reliability} = (2M)/(N1+N2)$. A result of 80 percent or higher was achieved prior to conducting the analysis. Because Izvestia is written in Russian, the newspaper was analyzed using a translator in addition to the coder.

Variables

This study is concerned with identifying the extent to which the six newspapers covered the Beslan school siege, how the issue was framed, and if differences exist in the framing in the six newspapers as well as the textual and visual framing.

Texts about the Beslan school siege: Texts from the Beslan school siege refer to the complete articles about the siege published from Sept. 1, 2004 to Sept. 16, 2004 in the six newspapers under study.

Headlines about the Beslan school siege: Headlines from the Beslan school siege can be the main headlines and secondary headlines, or subheads in the articles about the siege published from Sept. 1, 2004 to Sept. 16, 2004 in the six newspapers under study.

Images of the Beslan school siege: Images of the Beslan school siege are the photographs published from Sept. 1, 2004 to Sept. 16, 2004 in the six newspapers under study.

Frames: Frames are interpretive packages used to organize complex issues and events (DeSousa, 1984). Entman (1993) describes frames as helping "to select some aspects of a perceived reality made more salient in a communicating text, to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items discussed" (p. 52). Frames pull together elements to suggest how a particular topic or issue should be understood (Gamson & Lasch, 1983).

Frames Emphasized: Emphasis refers to the aspects that are discussed the most, shown the most, discussed the longest, the largest, in sharpest focus, closest to the camera, and in color.

Visual Metaphors: A visual metaphor is "an abstract concept through a concrete visual image that bears some analogy to that concept" (Messaris, 1997, p. 10).

Methods of analysis

Microsoft Excel software was used to conduct the statistical analysis for this study, which consist of descriptive statistics, frequencies and comparisons. Because the coding process involved open-ended questions, the topics inherent in the texts, headlines and photographs were first listed and later categorized. Qualitative and quantitative analyses were used to answer the following research questions:

Research Question 1: To what extent did the newspapers cover the Beslan school siege? Do the six newspapers differ in their extent of coverage?

To determine the extent to which the six newspapers covered the Beslan school siege, a quantitative analysis of the texts, headlines and images was completed to determine occurrence, size, dominance, and location.

Research Question 2: How were the issues from the Beslan school siege framed in newspaper headlines, texts and images?

To determine the frames, the analysis included examining Entman's (1993) four framing functions: who or what is the problem, who or what is the cause of the problem, who or what is the moral choice in the issue, and who or what is the solution to the problem. The frames also were deduced from other information such as the details of a headline, the lead and details of an article, and the focal point and visual metaphors in images. This was extracted through a qualitative analysis of the frames, emotion, emotional intensity, (for texts only) people quoted, and (for images only) point of view.

Research Question 3: Are there differences in textual or visual framing of the siege across the six newspapers?

Assessing textual frames against textual frames and visual frames against visual frames, comparisons were made within and between the three countries' newspapers in terms of frames, emotion, emotional intensity, (for texts only) people quoted and (for images only) point of view.

Research Question 4: Are there differences between the frames in the visuals and the texts?

This question looked for similarities and differences in textual and visual frames within the newspapers. This included comparisons between frames only – as emotion, quotations, and point of view do not apply to all three parts of an article.

CHAPTER 4.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to determine how newspapers from the U.S., Britain and Russia framed the Beslan school siege, which received worldwide coverage. The analysis was completed using quantitative and qualitative methods.

A total of 309 headlines, 295 texts and 257 images published in the USA Today, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, London Times, London Guardian, and Izvestia from Sept. 1, 2004 to Sept. 16, 2004 were analyzed in this study. These elements varied in placement, quantity and size; however, the school siege was covered fairly regularly by the newspapers during the two-week time period examined. The media's coverage of the school siege not only documented the crisis itself, but also governmental actions and policy changes resulting from the siege.

Every newspaper within the two-week period was analyzed except the Sept. 6, 2004 print edition of Izvestia, which was unavailable. The headlines and texts for the Sept. 6, 2004 edition of Izvestia were taken from the online version for analysis, as they are essentially the same articles taken from the printed version. These articles were used only for textual content analysis. Images from the Sept. 6, 2004 edition of Izvestia were not included in this study.

Research Question 1

To what extent did the newspapers cover the Beslan school siege? Do the six newspapers differ in their extent of coverage?

An examination of headline, text and image occurrences shows that Izvestia, the Russian newspaper, covered the event the most intensely with 87 headlines and 101 texts. This was followed by the London Times, with 68 headlines and 67 texts, and the New York

Times, with 59 headlines and 60 texts. However the London Times led the visual coverage with 63 images followed by the New York Times with 49 images and then Izvestia with 47 images. The Los Angeles Times and the London Guardian were in the middle of the group in terms of number of occurrences of headlines, texts and images published followed by USA Today with the least amount of coverage overall. Figure 1 shows the quantity of coverage across all six newspapers.

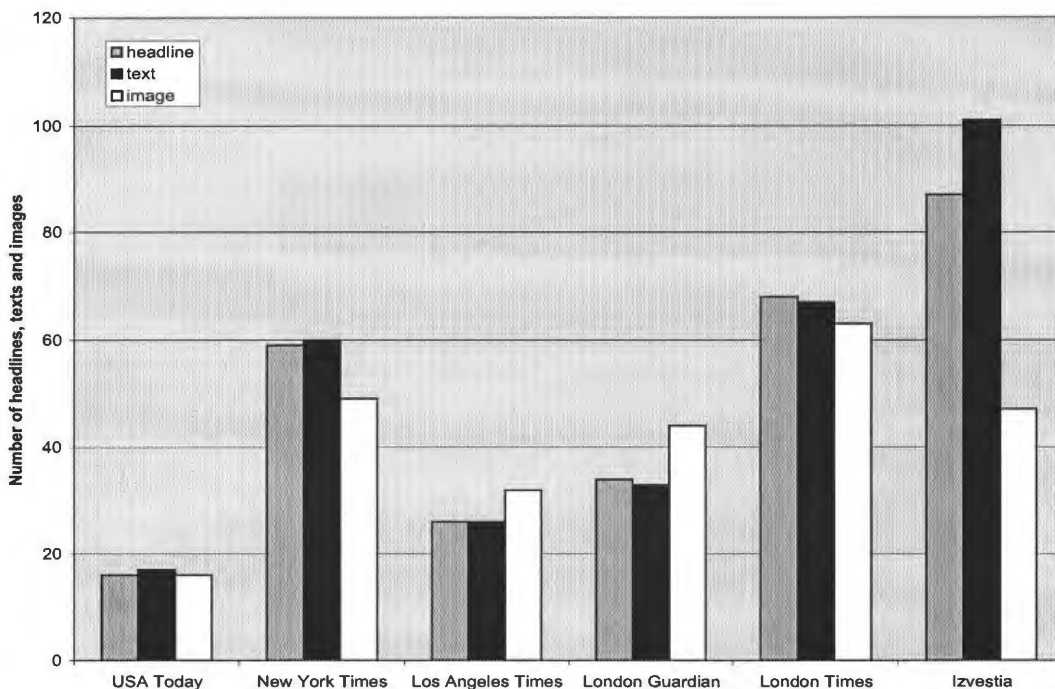


Figure 1. Number of headlines, texts and images across all six newspapers

As discussed in Chapter 2, national news tends to receive more coverage than international news in any given country (Husselbee & Stempel, 1997). This is perhaps why Izvestia covered the school siege with greater intensity than the other newspapers which treated the incident as an international terrorist event. Overall, USA Today had the least coverage of the event. This may in large part be due to the fact that it is published only five days per week, Monday through Friday, compared to seven days for most other newspapers

with a national circulation. As well, the climax of the siege and most intense coverage overall occurred on Friday through Sunday (Table 1), meaning that USA Today missed timely reporting of this critical period. Although Izvestia is published only six days a week, the fact that the incident happened inside its service area heightened the salience of the Beslan siege to its gatekeepers.

Table 1. Percentage (actual number) of occurrences of headlines, texts and images over the two weeks analyzed

Headline						
	USA Today	New York Times	Los Angeles Times	London Guardian	London Times	Izvestia
9/2/04	24% (4)	5% (3)	11% (3)	18% (6)	6% (4)	17% (17)
9/3/04	6% (1)	5% (3)	15% (4)	12% (4)	7% (5)	17% (17)
9/4/04	0% (0)	11% (7)	15% (4)	18% (6)	8% (6)	6% (6)
9/5/04	0% (0)	8% (5)	19% (5)	0% (0)	19% (14)	0% (0)
9/6/04	0% (0)	7% (4)	4% (1)	15% (5)	10% (7)	11% (11)
9/7/04	18% (3)	7% (4)	15% (4)	15% (5)	11% (8)	9% (9)
9/8/04	24% (4)	7% (4)	4% (1)	3% (1)	11% (8)	23% (23)
9/9/04	6% (1)	8% (5)	4% (1)	3% (1)	4% (3)	6% (6)
9/10/04	6% (1)	3% (2)	7% (2)	6% (2)	3% (2)	3% (3)
9/11/04	0% (0)	11% (7)	0% (0)	3% (1)	3% (2)	1% (1)
9/12/04	0% (0)	3% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	7% (5)	0% (0)
9/13/04	0% (0)	5% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
9/14/04	0% (0)	7% (4)	7% (2)	3% (1)	0% (0)	1% (1)
9/15/04	6% (1)	11% (7)	0% (0)	3% (1)	3% (2)	4% (4)
9/16/04	13% (2)	2% (1)	0% (0)	3% (1)	8% (6)	4% (4)
Text						
	USA Today	New York Times	Los Angeles Times	London Guardian	London Times	Izvestia
9/2/04	25% (4)	5% (3)	11% (3)	17% (6)	6% (4)	14% (12)
9/3/04	6% (1)	5% (3)	15% (4)	14% (5)	7% (5)	18% (16)
9/4/04	0% (0)	12% (7)	15% (4)	17% (6)	9% (6)	7% (6)
9/5/04	0% (0)	8% (5)	19% (5)	0% (0)	20% (14)	0% (0)
9/6/04	0% (0)	8% (5)	4% (1)	14% (5)	10% (7)	13% (11)
9/7/04	13% (2)	5% (3)	15% (4)	14% (5)	12% (8)	10% (9)
9/8/04	25% (4)	7% (4)	4% (1)	3% (1)	9% (6)	19% (17)
9/9/04	6% (1)	8% (5)	4% (1)	3% (1)	4% (3)	3% (3)
9/10/04	6% (1)	3% (2)	7% (2)	6% (2)	3% (2)	5% (4)
9/11/04	0% (0)	10% (6)	0% (0)	3% (1)	3% (2)	1% (1)
9/12/04	0% (0)	3% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	9% (6)	0% (0)
9/13/04	0% (0)	5% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
9/14/04	0% (0)	7% (4)	7% (2)	3% (1)	3% (2)	1% (1)
9/15/04	6% (1)	12% (7)	0% (0)	3% (1)	3% (2)	5% (4)
9/16/04	13% (2)	2% (1)	0% (0)	3% (1)	3% (2)	5% (4)

Table 1. Continued

Image						
	USA Today	New York Times	Los Angeles Times	London Guardian	London Times	Izvestia
9/2/04	24% (4)	6% (3)	12% (4)	12% (7)	6% (3)	8% (4)
9/3/04	12% (2)	8% (4)	6% (9)	9% (5)	4% (2)	6% (3)
9/4/04	0% (0)	14% (7)	27% (9)	25% (14)	13% (7)	31% (15)
9/5/04	0% (0)	10% (5)	9% (3)	0% (0)	38% (20)	0% (0)
9/6/04	0% (0)	14% (7)	6% (2)	14% (8)	10% (5)	0% (0)
9/7/04	35% (6)	2% (1)	9% (3)	7% (4)	10% (5)	13% (6)
9/8/04	18% (3)	8% (4)	9% (3)	4% (2)	6% (3)	6% (3)
9/9/04	6% (1)	6% (3)	9% (3)	4% (2)	6% (3)	4% (2)
9/10/04	0% (0)	2% (1)	6% (2)	2% (1)	2% (1)	19% (9)
9/11/04	0% (0)	2% (1)	0% (0)	2% (1)	2% (1)	2% (1)
9/12/04	0% (0)	6% (3)	0% (0)	21% (12)	0% (0)	0% (0)
9/13/04	0% (0)	4% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
9/14/04	0% (0)	4% (2)	6% (2)	0% (0)	2% (1)	2% (1)
9/15/04	0% (0)	10% (5)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	6% (3)
9/16/04	6% (1)	4% (2)	0% (0)	2% (1)	2% (1)	2% (1)

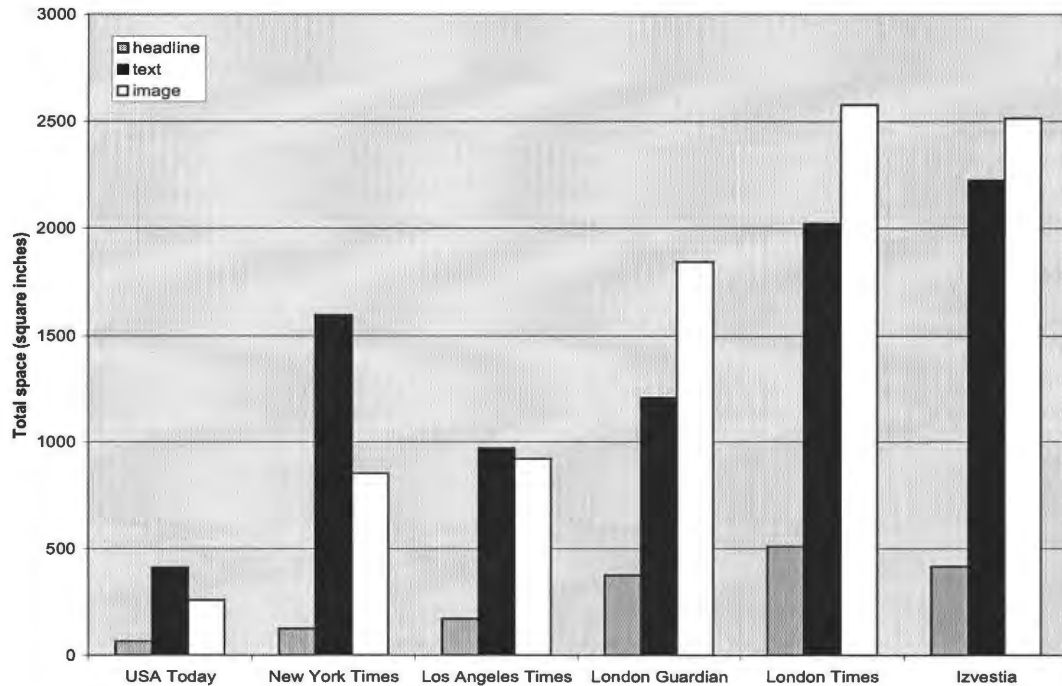


Figure 2. Total space in square inches allocated for headlines, texts and images regarding the school siege across the six newspapers.

As shown in Figure 2, the London Times and Izvestia dedicated the greatest amount of space to the siege in terms of headlines (511 and 417 square inches, respectively), texts

(2023 and 2226 square inches, respectively) and images (2576 and 2514 square inches, respectively). Again, Izvestia's intense coverage supports the idea that national news tends receive more coverage than international news (Husselbee & Stempel, 1997). However, the London Times' high intensity of coverage, compared to other newspapers, is contrary to this expectation. The extensive coverage by the London Times may be an indication that the London Times covers international news more than other newspapers, or that the newspaper's staff felt the topic was important to cover, more so than other newspapers in this study. The NI Syndication Web site (Retrieved: 7 April 2005), the publisher for the London Times, describes the newspaper's news service as having unique international depth and diversity in their papers, and being unique due to the type of content they cover. The New York Times, the London Guardian, and the Los Angeles Times allocated what might be termed a medium amount of space to the coverage. The New York Times gave 125 square inches of space to headlines, 1596 square inches of space to text, and 855 square inches of space to images. The London Guardian had 375 square inches of headlines, 1205 square inches of texts, and 1845 square inches of images about the siege. The Los Angeles Times had 173 square inches of headlines, 971 square inches of texts, and 923 square inches of images. USA Today had the least amount of space dedicated to the topic with 65 square inches of headlines, 412 square inches of texts, and 260 square inches of images. The minimal space USA Today used to cover the school siege is partly due to the limited number of articles the newspaper published over the two-week period. USA Today also may have limited its coverage due to the highly graphic and negative nature of the incident. They may have different news values for selecting news than the other newspapers studies, and,

therefore, limited their coverage due to lack of newsworthiness, such as novelty since the conflict has been going on for decades in this area.

Izvestia and the two British newspapers dedicated more space to images than to text, while the three U.S. newspapers gave more space to text than to images. The New York Times, well known for putting primacy to textual rather than visual reporting, is a dramatic example of this. USA Today known in the business as the prime purveyor of images broke this tradition in its packaging of news about the school siege.

Izvestia produced the largest number of headlines (28) and texts (28), with most of them appearing on the front page (Figure 3). In line with the amount of coverage, the New York Times and London Times had the second largest numbers of headlines (12 and 12, respectively), texts (12 and 8, respectively) and images (7 and 10, respectively) on the front page followed by the London Guardian with 7 headlines, 7 texts and 7 images and Los Angeles Times with 8 headlines, 8 texts and 7 images. USA Today had the fewest number front page articles with 1 headline, 1 text and 4 images. In Figure 4, it can be seen that although Izvestia had the most front page headlines, texts and images, the London Times put emphasis on these items as it had the most front page dominant headlines (7) and texts (9), and the same number of dominant images (8). It treated the siege in a bold way although it is tabloid size during the weekdays. The tabloid size limits space, therefore, allowing only a few front page articles which the London Times prioritized for the school siege coverage during that time. This further illustrates that the London Times had a strong motive for covering the siege – getting reader attention, separating itself from its competition, covering international news extensively, or feeling that the topic was important to cover.

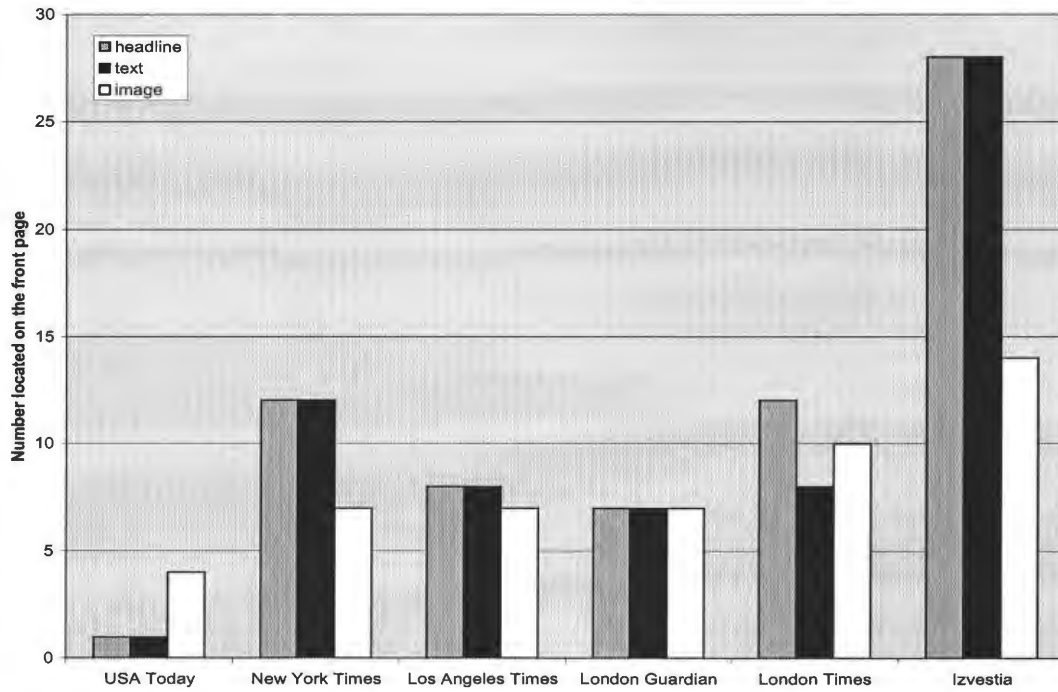


Figure 3. Number of headlines, texts and images on the front page of the six newspapers

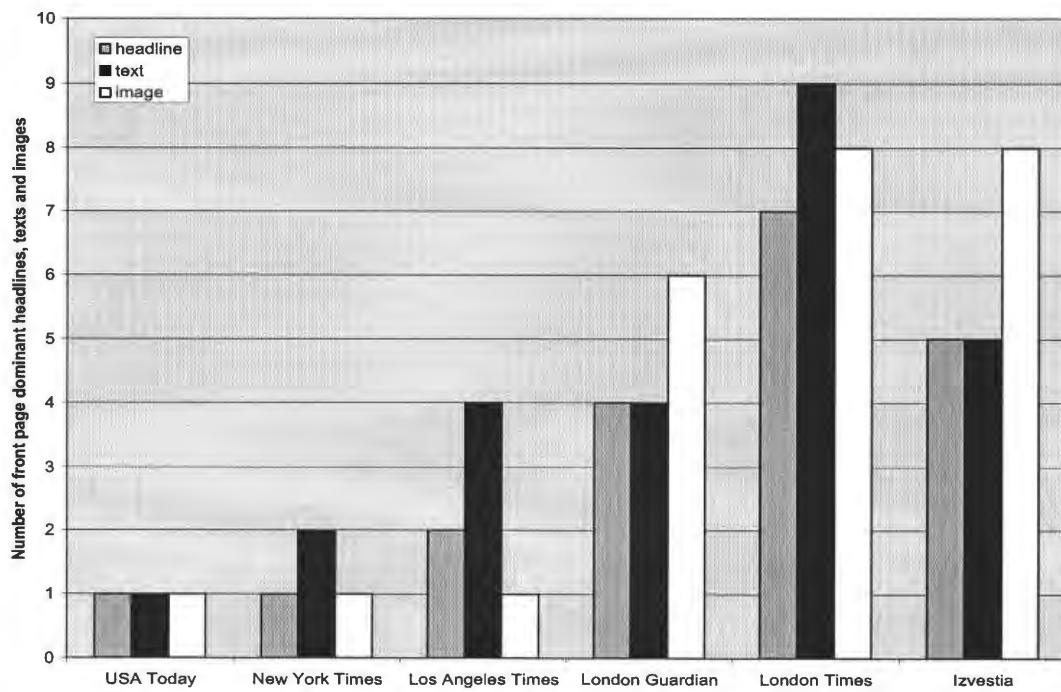


Figure 4. Number of front page dominant headlines, texts and images in the six newspapers

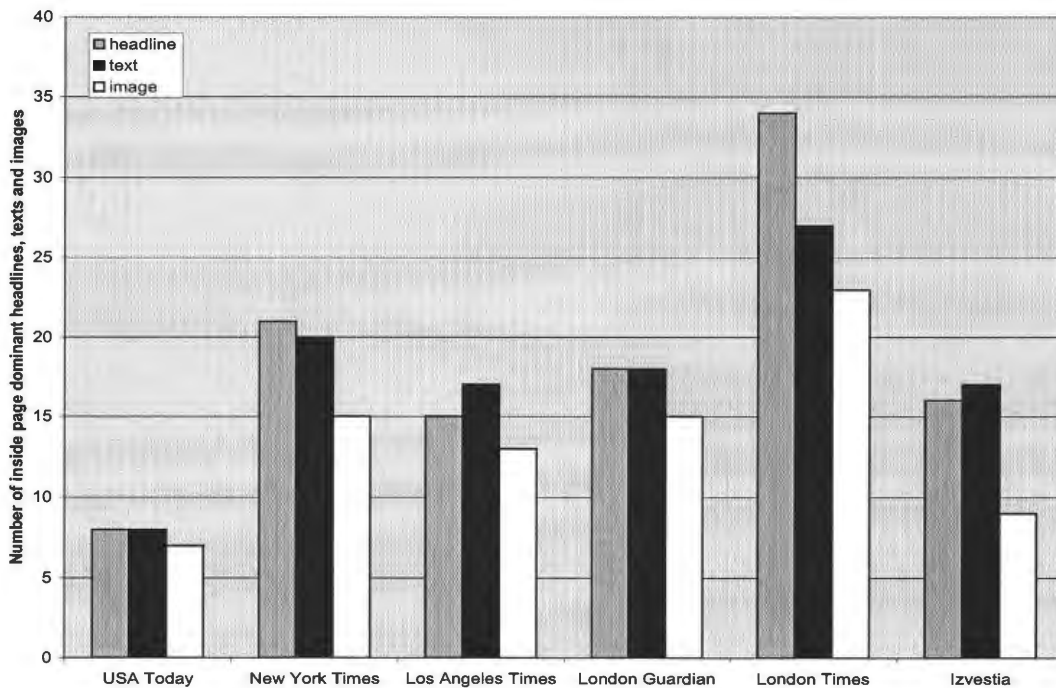


Figure 5. Number of headlines, images and texts dominant on inside pages in the six newspapers

As Figure 5 demonstrates, the London Times also had the most dominant headlines (34), texts (27) and images (23) on its inside pages. This was unlike all the six newspapers which had fewer dominant images than dominant headlines and texts on the inside pages.

Izvestia had many more headlines (23) and texts (22) that were not played as dominant on the front pages in comparison to the other five newspapers (Figure 6). This is most likely due to the tendency to provide sidebars and related short articles about newsworthy national events. The New York Times ranked second in terms of not prominently displayed front page headlines (11) and texts (10). The USA Today's front page coverage was the minimal – only front page images (3) were not played as dominant, and no headlines or texts. This may be due, perhaps, to the visual nature of the newspaper. Images rather than headlines are used as teasers on the USA Today's front pages.

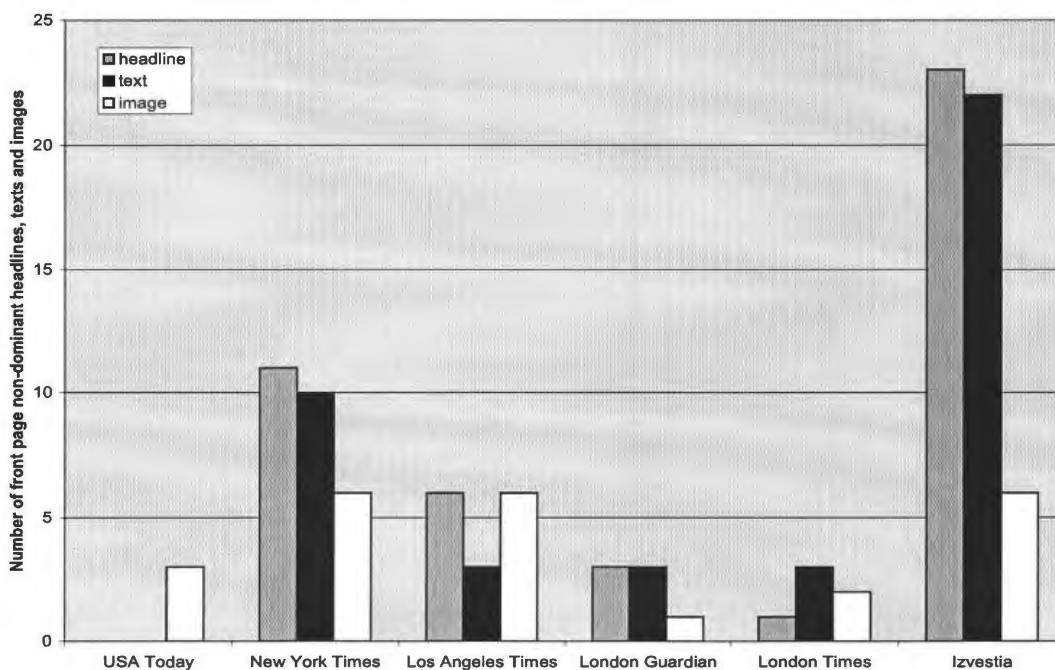


Figure 6. Number of headlines, texts and images not dominant on the front pages of the six newspapers

The number of headlines, texts and images on inside pages that are not dominant in all newspapers can be seen in Figure 7. Izvestia had the most coverage with 33 headlines, 47 texts and 25 images. The New York Times and the London Times showed fairly similar coverage in terms of headlines (27 and 27, respectively), texts (29 and 29, respectively) and images (28 and 31, respectively) in this type of less dominant coverage. Both the Los Angeles Times and the London Guardian had more non-dominant images (13 and 23, respectively) than non-dominant headlines (3 and 10, respectively) or texts (3 and 9, respectively). This is due to a large number of images used on the interior pages. As editor Rasmussen (2002) of the Oregonian stated, some newspapers elect to print graphic images on the interior pages rather than on the front.

Examining the dominance and location of the articles shows some differences between newspapers. Likely related to its extensive coverage, Izvestia reported the siege

more non-dominantly on the front and inside pages than the other newspapers. The New York Times covered the siege less dominantly than the other newspapers on the front and interior pages; while the New York Times had a high amount of coverage, it was generally not dominant coverage. The Los Angeles Times covered the crisis equally dominant and non-dominant on the front pages, but it covered the siege more dominantly than non-dominantly on the interior pages. The London Guardian and London Times, in general, gave the school siege more dominant than non-dominant coverage on the front and interior pages. USA Today reported the primarily on interior pages, whether dominant or non-dominant.

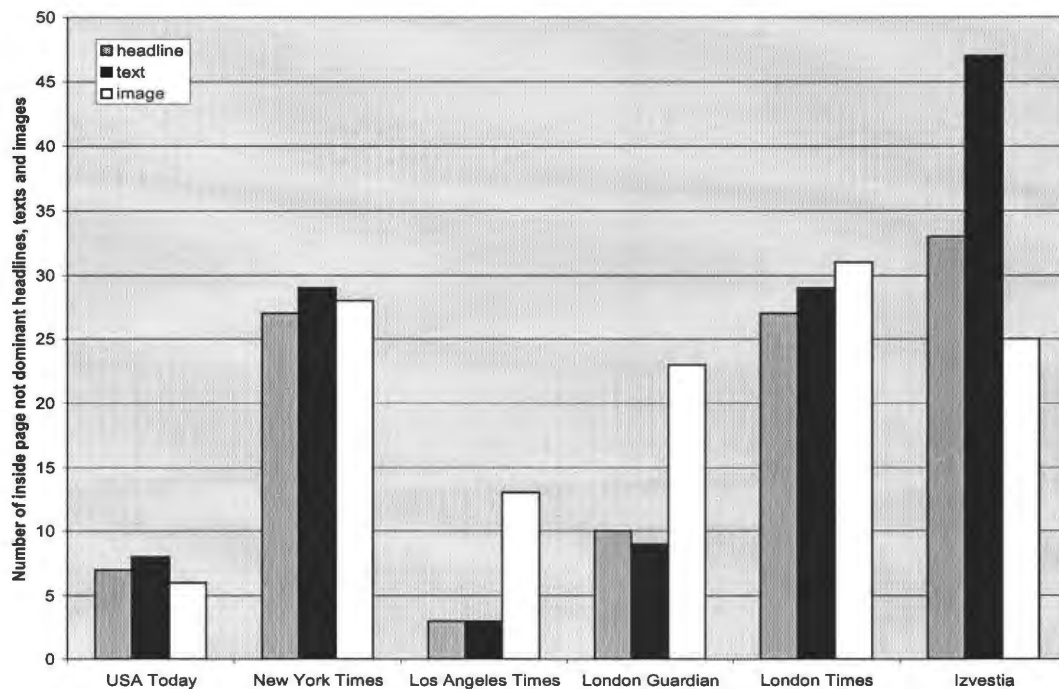


Figure 7. Number of headlines, texts and images not dominant on the inside pages of the six newspapers

Research Question 2

How were the issues from the Beslan school siege framed in newspaper headlines, texts and images?

This research question seeks to discover how the school siege was portrayed in the newspapers in Russia, Britain and the U.S. The frames were elicited from a qualitative analysis of the headlines, texts and images and were deduced from the information emphasized and detailed. The focal point and visual metaphors were included in the overall framing assessment. The emotion depicted in the articles as well as the intensity with which such emotions were present were analyzed to further explain and buttress the frames.

Frames

The analysis revealed six frames the newspapers used to report the school siege to their respective publics. The frames are (1) how the siege was conducted, (2) the actions the government took in response to the siege, (3) military tactics and actions, (4) civilian responses and actions, (5) the history of Chechen terrorist acts and the future of terrorism in general, and (6) those responsible and blamed for the siege. A description of each of these frames follows:

1. *Siege*: This frame portrays the details of the school takeover. In the beginning of the coverage, when little was known about who was behind the event or why the event was taking place, the details of what transpired from witnesses and released hostages were highly discussed. This frame includes witness recollections of the crisis; descriptions of the hostage-takers actions, threats and demands; weapons and explosives used; and the number of hostages involved, injured and killed.

This frame was built by headlines and subheads, for example, from the Los Angeles Times announcing that “Militants offer a woman and her baby freedom – but only if she leaves her other child behind” (Murphy, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 1) and “26 Russian hostages released amid talks; Demands unclear” (Murphy, Sept. 3, 2004, p. A4). A headline from

USA Today proclaimed that “Militants hold hundreds at Russia school” (Korchagina, Sept. 2, 2004, p. 1).



Explosions and gun battles left signs of extensive damage, including the collapsed roof of the gym, where most of the hostages were confined.

Image 1. Example of siege frame from New York Times, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 6

The text provided almost a blow-by-blow account of what happened. The New York Times, for instance, explained that “At least 1,200 people had been crammed into the school gymnasium, with no food and little water, and with a frightening network of bombs laced overhead” (Chivers, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 1). The London Times reported “Through binoculars less than 100 yards away, the terrible details of the scene that awaited the girl were all too visible: perhaps 60 bodies scattered with shards of glass lay among the debris” (Franchetti & Belikov, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 1). The Los Angeles Times relayed the experience of “one freed hostage, Zalina Dzandarova, 27, [who] said there were not 354 hostages, as Russian officials

had estimated, but more than 1,000 crowded in the school gym in stifling heat with no water and little food” (Murphy, Sept. 3, 2004, p. A4).

This frame also was depicted in images of missing children, the destroyed school gymnasium (Image 1), injured children hostages in the hospitals, dead hostages, children running or being carried from the school.

Image 1 focuses on the overall damage to the school where the siege occurred. The image was shot from a distance, providing an overall perspective of what and where it happened. The focal point is the damaged roof to the school’s gym. The image is not focusing on the human aspect of the siege, as many images did, but it is focusing on the setting. The framing/cropping of the image created several asymmetrical, angular lines that create movement through the photograph.

2. *Government action:* The government’s actions during and after the siege received a great deal of controversial coverage. This was partly due to the scanty information it doled out initially. Later, the information that was provided, such as the number of hostages and the ethnicity of the hostage-takers, proved to be incorrect. After the siege, the government spoke of measures to improve security, such as limiting travel and eliminating general elections, measures that led to outcries of impingement of democracy and human rights. Government action frames include references to negotiations, officials’ statements, officials’ travels, Pres. Putin’s announcements of changes in policies and laws, and government investigations about the siege.

The government action frame was exemplified by headlines from the London Times bemoaning that the “Kremlin cracks down on free press: An editor who ran a graphic report of the massacre was sacked on Putin’s orders...” (Cecil, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 8), “Putin struggles

to find right words for an angry nation” (Cecil & Beeston, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 8), and “Moscow hits back after criticism of Putin’s grab for power” (Browne, Sept. 16, 2004, p. 36).

Examples of government action frames in the texts generally question the president’s actions, such as this lead paragraph from the Los Angeles Times: “President Vladimir V. Putin on Monday proposed measures that would enhance his own power and the Kremlin’s political control of the country, arguing that stronger authority is needed to fight terrorists in the wake of a school hostage crisis earlier this month” (Holley, Sept. 14, 2004, p. 1). The London Times echoes such strong-arm tactics in these opening lines: “The Kremlin attempted yesterday to silence unprecedented criticism of President Putin in the Russian press, forcing the resignation of the editor of the country’s most respected newspaper for his graphic coverage of the massacre in Beslan” (Cecil, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 8), and “Mr. Putin visited Beslan fleetingly early on Saturday. He addressed the nation a full 24 hours after the chaotic storming of the school” (Cecil & Beeston, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 8).

This frame also was evident in images that showed Putin visiting injured hostages at a hospital, the North Ossetia president announcing his resignation to a crowd, Putin in meetings with the Kremlin (Image 2), and Putin addressing the nation on TV.

Image 2 portrays Pres. Putin sitting. It is a fairly close shot, providing a personal view of Putin. It seems to represent the president in a moment of thought or listening. The focal point is his eyes, which are low and looking past the camera. The angle of Putin’s head, looking down, suggests a quiet, reflective expression or perhaps a saddened expression. This is contrary to the typical image shown of a strong leader. The angles in the image create a fairly static visual movement, leading to his face in the center. The background is vague, and does not provide any information about the setting.



Image 2. Example of government action frame from Izvestia, Sept, 10, 2004, p. 5

3. *Military action*: This frame generally occurred during the siege, and it consists of what soldiers, special forces and police did to quell the siege. It included whether the soldiers, special forces and police would storm the school; actions of snipers; soldiers, special forces and police rescuing hostages; and soldiers, special forces and police battling with the hostage-takers. This frame also appeared vaguely after the siege, during the funerals of some of the special forces members because this was the first time in 10 years that special forces soldiers had been killed.

Instances of the military action frame included headlines that said: “Special forces find relatives of terrorists” from Izvestia (Izvestia, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 1), “Security special forces lacked control and command” from the London Guardian (Norton-Taylor et al., Sept. 4, 2004, p. 3), “Military’s failure to prepare took its toll” from the London Times (Evans,

Sept. 6, 2004, p. 7), and “When Russian troops stormed the school, a crack Alfa team was deployed to take out the hostage-takers” from the London Times (Belikov, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 2).

In the texts themselves, Izvestia states that “1,500 special forces officers were at the cemetery for a funeral honoring special service men killed” (Izvestia, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 1). Other examples from the London Times include “Russian forces had no plan to cope with such an outcome. But at that moment they decided that their only option, with hapless children under fire, was to use maximum force to storm the school in an effort to free those still held inside” (Beeston, Sept. 14, 2004, p. 4), and “Russian forces seized up to 50 civilians related to Chechen rebel leaders, including women and children, and held them captive in a military base while the hostage crisis unfolded in neighboring North Ossetia last week” (Beeston, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 9).

Images that portrayed this frame are vivid. They show snipers aiming at the school (Image 3), soldiers running with or carrying children away from the school, police with search dogs, and soldiers holding the captured terrorist.

Image 3 shows a lone sniper kneeling in a room full of rubble. The image is a profile perspective of the sniper, creating some dramatic angles that visually create movement through the image and down the wall. The asymmetry of the image with its strong angles and unusual shapes created by the room and the rubble continue the movement through the image. The sniper is the focal point, as he is positioned with the rifle aimed to the left. The image implies a dramatic, precise action. The photo was taken from a distance that allowed the entire view of the sniper and most of the room; however, it does not portray the overall perspective of what was occurring.

4. *Civilian action*: This frame showed the responses of relatives of the hostages as well as general civilians. This included worried relatives waiting outside the school, civilians dodging hurricane fire to rescue hostages, relatives searching for missing hostages, relatives mourning and burying the dead, and families being reunited. This frame also depicted Russians and people worldwide donating goods, money and blood to help the victims of the school siege.



Image 3. Example of military action frame from Izvestia, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 1

The civilian action frame was evident in headlines such as “Parents frantic outside besieged school” from the USA Today (AP, Sept. 2, 2004, p. A13), “Frantic search for missing as Beslan begins to bury its dead” from the London Guardian (Walsh, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 1), and “Sorrow and anger as blood donors queue to help” from the London Guardian (Steele, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 5).

Examples of the civilian action frame portrayed in the texts include: “People brought toys to the hospital in Moscow” from Izvestia (Izvestia, Sept. 14, 2004, p. 1), “But three quarters of the town’s 10,000 schoolchildren stayed at home, too scared to leave their families or forbidden by parents still grieving for loved ones and worrying about further attacks” from the London Times (Page, Sept. 16, 2004, p. 36), and “One by one, grieving relatives laid bouquets, icons, bottles of water and packets of biscuits at a makeshift shrine in the middle of the sports hall...” from the London Times (Page, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 11).



Sergei Dolzhenko/European Pressphoto Agency

People seeking information about survivors of the siege of Middle School No. 1 in Beslan, Russia, crowded the entrance of a hospital yesterday in Vladikavkaz, the capital of the republic of North Ossetia.

Image 4. Example of civilian action frame from New York Times, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 1

The civilian action frame was present in the images that include shots of parents with worried, concerned or stressed looks on their faces as they wait outside the school for the

siege to end, civilians with guns running toward the school, civilians running with children from the school, civilians searching for missing hostages (Image 4), and parents mourning the loss of children at funerals.

Image 4 shows a large crowd of people standing outside the hospital door seeking information about missing or injured hostages. The focal point is the woman with the intense look directly in the middle of the doors. The expressions of the crowd seem eager, somber and hopeful. The dark interior and the light exterior also imply a sense of hope, or light coming inside. The sharp angles of the doors and the sea of faces create visual movement around the image. The image is asymmetric and taken from above, giving an overall view of the sheer number of people impacted by the siege.



Image 5 (left) and Image 6 (right). Examples of history/future of terrorism frame from New York Times, Sept. 15, 2004, p. A8

5. *History/future of terrorism*: Because much of the coverage was international, the history of the embattled relationship between Chechnya (where the hostage-takers were from) and Russia was included frequently. Other terror attacks attributed to the Chechen separatists occurred close in time to the school siege. These prior attacks were in all the newspapers in an effort to offer ways of dealing with this crisis. All newspapers also foresaw the possibility of the school siege leading to more attacks in terms of revenge and war.

Headlines that portrayed the history/future of terrorism included examples from Izvestia “Vengeance will be cruel” (Izvestia, Sept. 2, 2004, p. 5), and from the London Times “Russia plots its revenge on terrorists” (Page & Beeston, Sept. 9, 2004, p. 33) and “A decade of slaughter” (London Times, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 15).

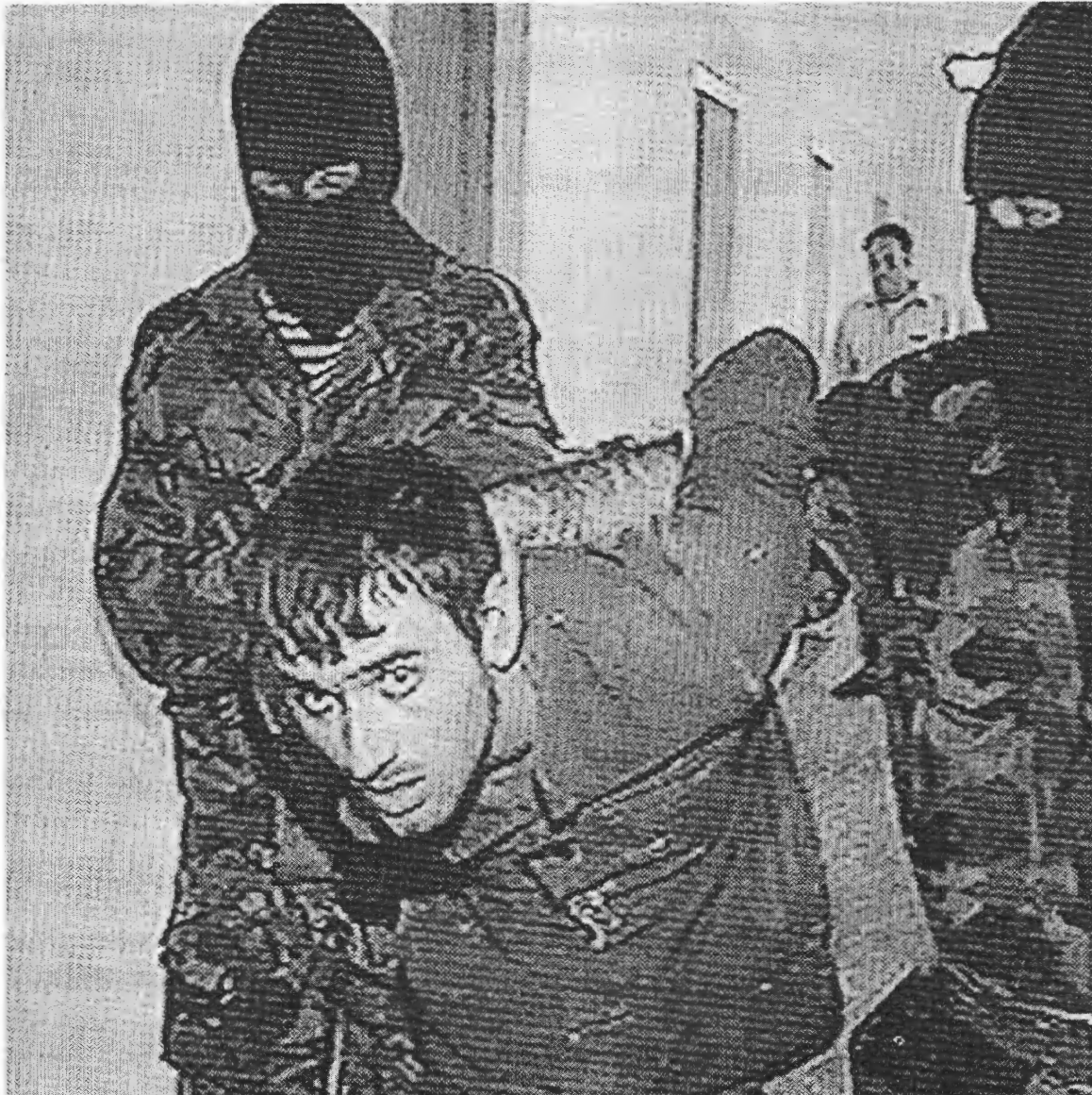


Image 7. Example of blame frame from Izvestia, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 2

The history/future of terrorism frame was played up in the text of the Los Angeles Times, which explained “Even with the downing of two Russian jetliners and two street bombings coming in just one week, the thought of school children surrounded by veiled female suicide bombers and masked guerrillas has traumatized the country” (Murphy, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 1) and “A senior Russian security official said authorities were faced with a dilemma even worse than the 2002 seizure of the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow by Chechen militants” (Murphy, Sept. 3, 2004, p. A4). The London Guardian described that “Wary villagers fear ethnic backlash after massacre” (Wheeler, Sept. 10, 2004, p. 20).

This frame also was clear in images of previous terror attacks like those of a female suicide bomber in a theater in Moscow, a dead terrorist in the theater in Moscow (Image 5), and a dead police officer after the attack in June (Image 6).

Image 5 shows a rebel’s dead body draped over a seat in a theater in Moscow. While the image was used small in the newspaper, it was cropped fairly close on the body. It is very graphic, but the face of the person is not recognizable. The outstretched arms and hands become the focal point because of the contrast. The image is asymmetric with the dramatic angles of the body and the row of seats. Image 6 also depicts a dead body. The image shows a dead Russian soldier lying in the street with an unoccupied Jeep in the background. Because of its size and location in the image, the Jeep is the focal point. However, the body creates visual movement. The body is shown from the top of the head and from a distance, taking away some of the graphic subject nature. Overall, the image has a strong movement from bottom left to top right.

6. *Blame*: Initially, this frame was speculated based on previous Chechen militant attacks, and government statements and responses to those attacks. This led coverage to

generally blame Chechen separatists, while Pres. Putin faulted other international terrorists and the Arabs. Later articles tended to place the blame consistently on Chechen separatists and rebel leaders Doku Umarov, Aslan Maskhadov and Shamil Basayev. Blame also was placed, though not as frequently, on the local and national governments as well as on Pres. Putin.

Headlines and subheads that triggered this frame include the London Times statements: “Chechen terrorists refuse food and water” (Page, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 1) and “Chechen rebels slaughtered hundreds of men, women and children as they gathered last week to celebrate the first day of the new school year” (Ostrovsky, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 13). An example from Izvestia states “ ‘Colonel’ was leader in Beslan, main prosecutor told president” (Izvestia, Sept. 9, 2004, p. 3).

In the texts, the London Times reported that “Russian claims that up to 10 Arab fighters had been among the terrorists were being treated with growing skepticism last night” (Franchetti & Belikov, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 1), “Security sources said several hostages had identified Doku Umarov and Magomet Yevloyiev as leaders of the terrorist operation after being shown photographs of them by investigators” (Franchetti & Belikov, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 1), and “The only hostage-taker captured in the Beslan school siege claimed last night that the raid was ordered by the Chechen rebel leader Aslan Maskhadov and radical warlord Shamil Basayev...” (Hoyle, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 11).

The blame frame was constructed in images that include portrait shots of Doku Umarov, Aslan Maskhadov, Shamil Basayev and the one terrorist that was captured from the school siege (Image 7).

Image 7 shows the captured terrorist held by two masked soldiers. The terrorist's face is young and wide-eyed with a harmless or scared expression. The terrorist's face is the focal point of the image. The soldiers only have the eyes showing, suggesting they have something to hide, while they put the terrorist on display. The setting is a nondescript hallway, suggesting the place also is hidden.

Frame Occurrences

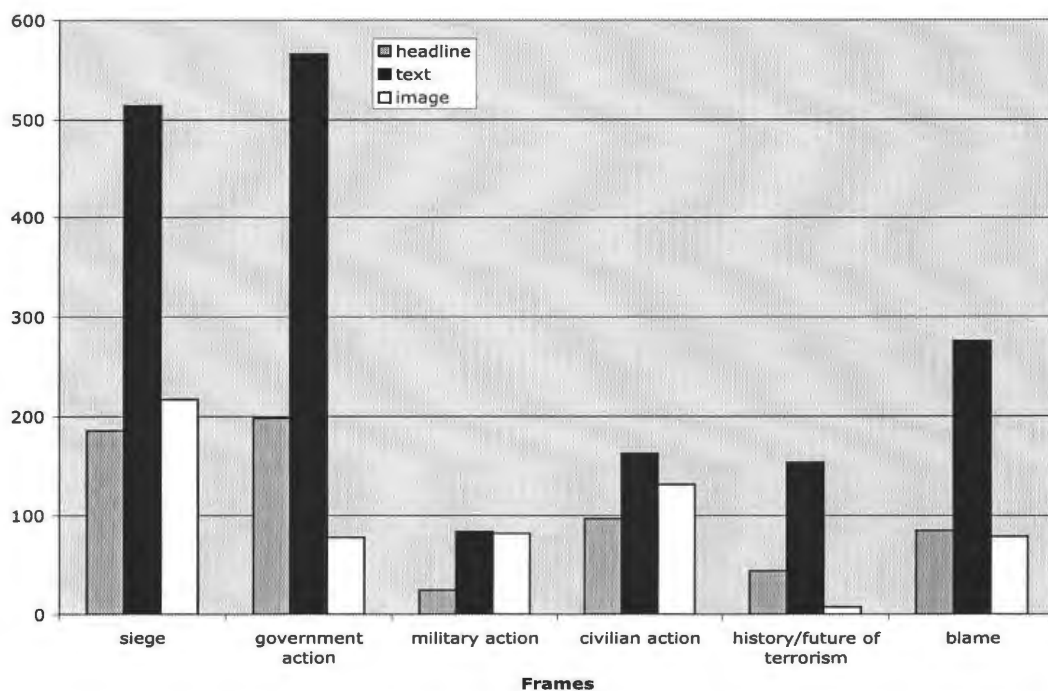


Figure 8. Total occurrences of frames in headlines, texts and images in the six newspapers

Examining the combined totals of the frames used in the six newspapers (Figure 8) shows that in headlines and texts, the siege and government action frames were used the most, and military action was used the least. In images, the siege and civilian action frames were predominantly used while the history/future of terrorism frame was rarely used.

Figures 9 through 14 show the occurrence of each frame in the headlines, texts and images in the six newspapers studied. Frames of the siege, government action, military

action, civilian action, the history and future of terrorism, and those blamed for the siege were fairly well developed and incorporated throughout the coverage in all newspapers.

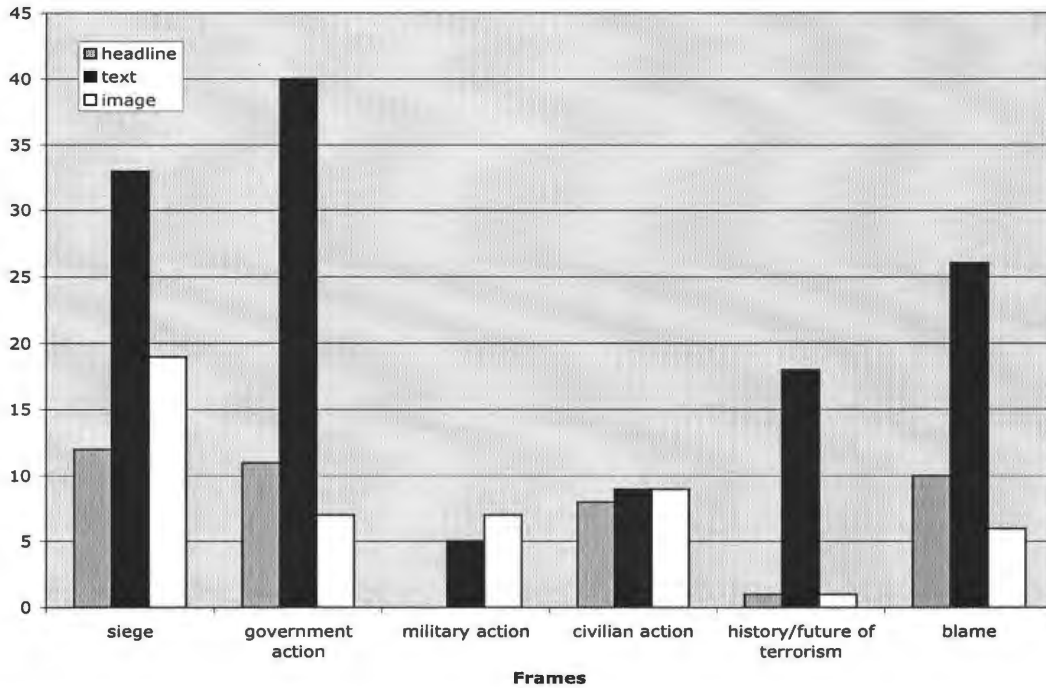


Figure 9. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in the USA Today

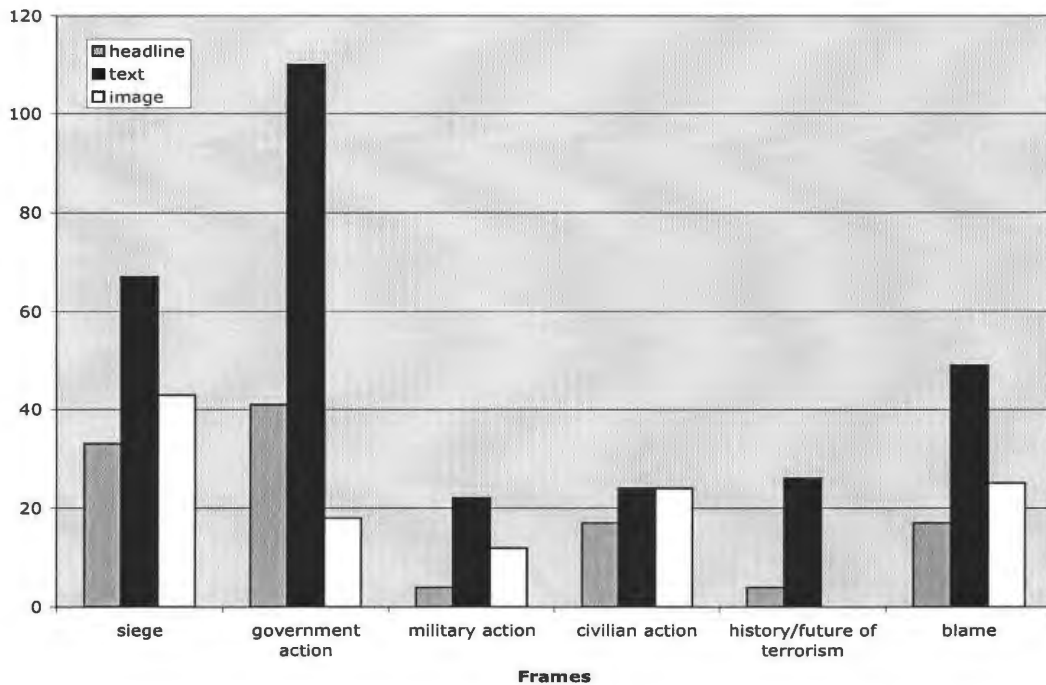


Figure 10. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in the New York Times

As evident in Figure 9, USA Today headlines predominantly used frames about the siege, government action and blame. Because headlines typically highlight the most significant aspect of a story (Pasternack, 1987), this most likely indicates that USA Today felt the siege, government action and blame aspects of the school siege were the most important or most interesting to their readers. Similarly, USA Today's texts focused primarily on government action, siege and blame frames. This may indicate a reliance on the government for information that is not local as well as an emphasis on what actually took place. The high percentage of blame frames indicates a desire to hold someone responsible. The images in USA Today emphasized siege frames. However, the images included some civilian action, government action, blame, and history/future of terrorism frames as well. This indicates an emphasis on the details of the siege as well as actions of the people associated with it, which may be due to more dramatic imagery.

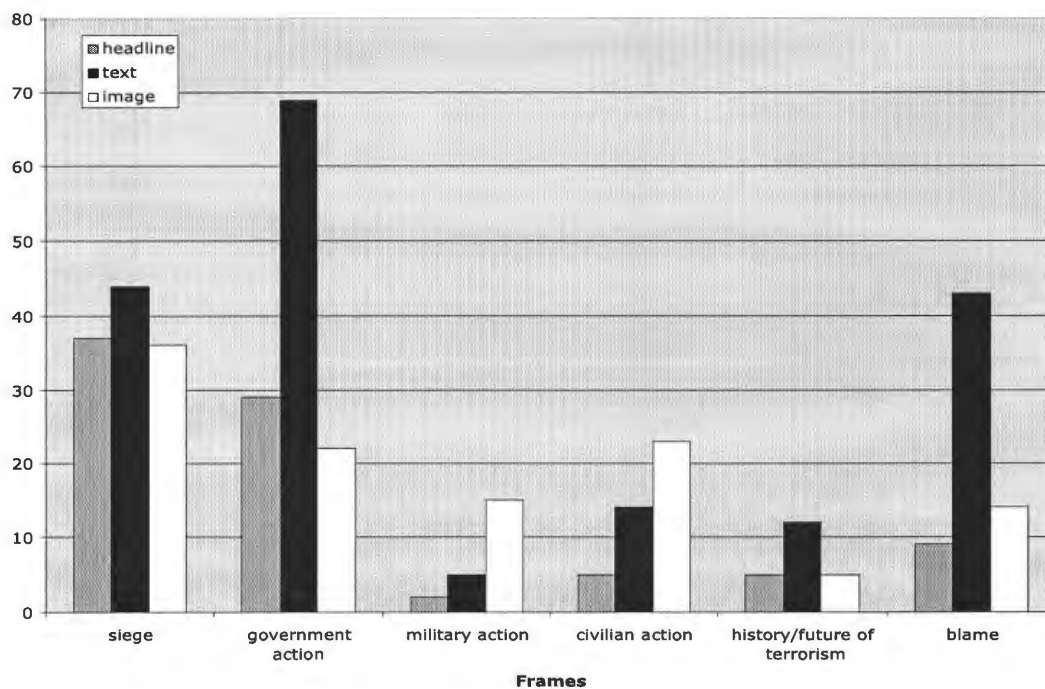


Figure 11. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in the Los Angeles Times

The headlines in the New York Times predominantly assigned importance to government action and siege (Figure 10). The text focused on government action, siege and blame frames. This may indicate a reliance on the government for information that is not local. Also, it may demonstrate an emphasis on what actually took place and a desire to hold someone responsible. The New York Times' images primarily emphasized siege frames with some blame, civilian action, government action, and military action frames. The dominance of the siege frames indicates an emphasis on the dramatic images of the event while the rest symbolized the actions of people.

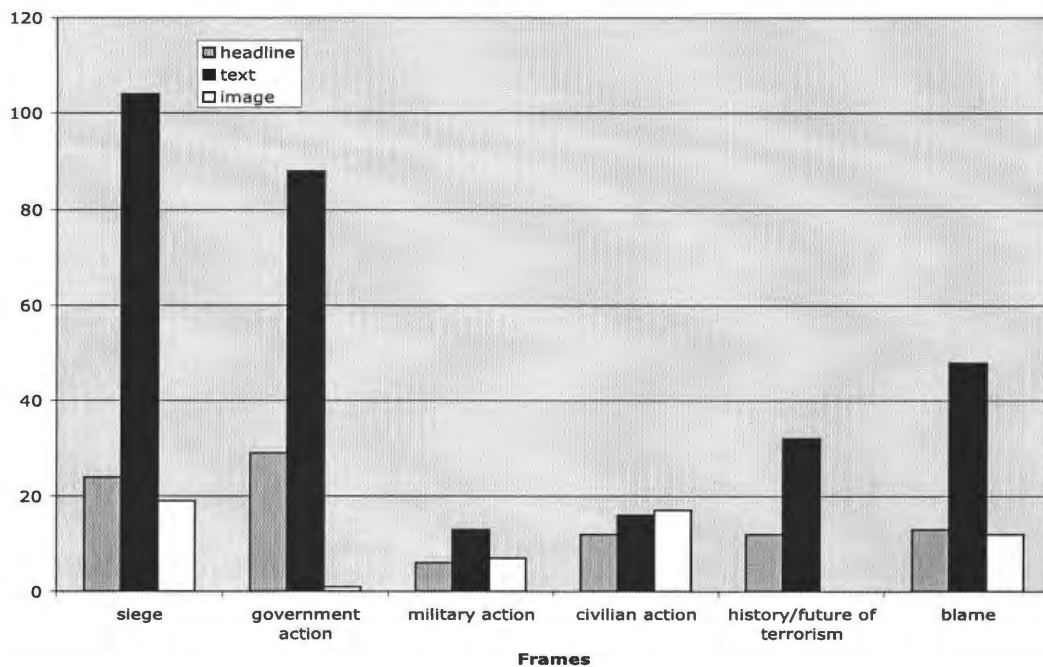


Figure 12. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in the London Guardian

The headlines in the Los Angeles Times primarily included siege and government action frames. This may indicate that to the Los Angeles Times, the most significant aspects or most eye-catching details were of the siege itself and the government's response to it. The texts emphasized government action, siege and blame frames, implying reliance on government information and details of the siege as well as holding someone responsible. The

images in the Los Angeles Times predominantly emphasized the siege with some frames of civilian action, government action and military action. This most likely indicates a desire to use dramatic shots of the siege and people's actions (Figure 11).

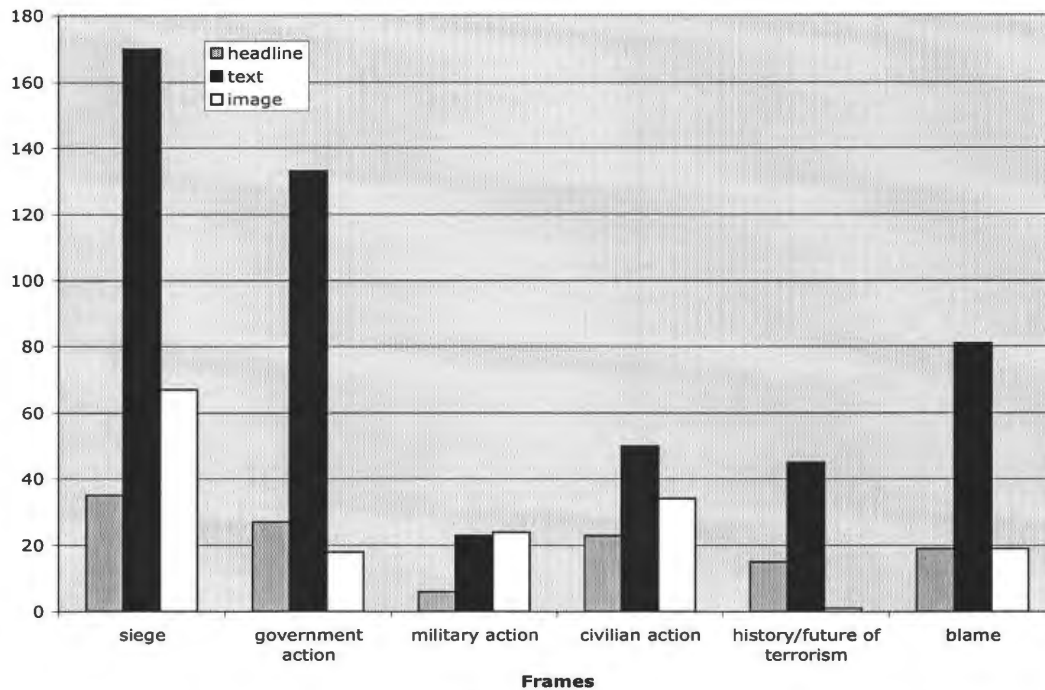


Figure 13. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in the London Times

The headlines in the London Guardian primarily included government action and siege frames. The text frames emphasized siege and government action frames as well. Again, this shows an emphasis on the details of what took place as well as a reliance on government sources for information about the siege. The images in the London Guardian primarily included siege, civilian action and blame frames. This may be due to the use of the most dramatic images with the details of siege and civilians at the siege as well as showing those responsible for this tragedy (Figure 12).

The London Times headlines emphasized siege, government action and civilian action frames. This demonstrates an emphasis on actions of people. The texts predominantly

included siege, government action and blame frames. Similarly, this shows an emphasis on actions of people and the desire to hold someone accountable. Images in the London Times concentrated on the siege. This may be due to the dramatic nature of the siege and its accompanying images (Figure 13).

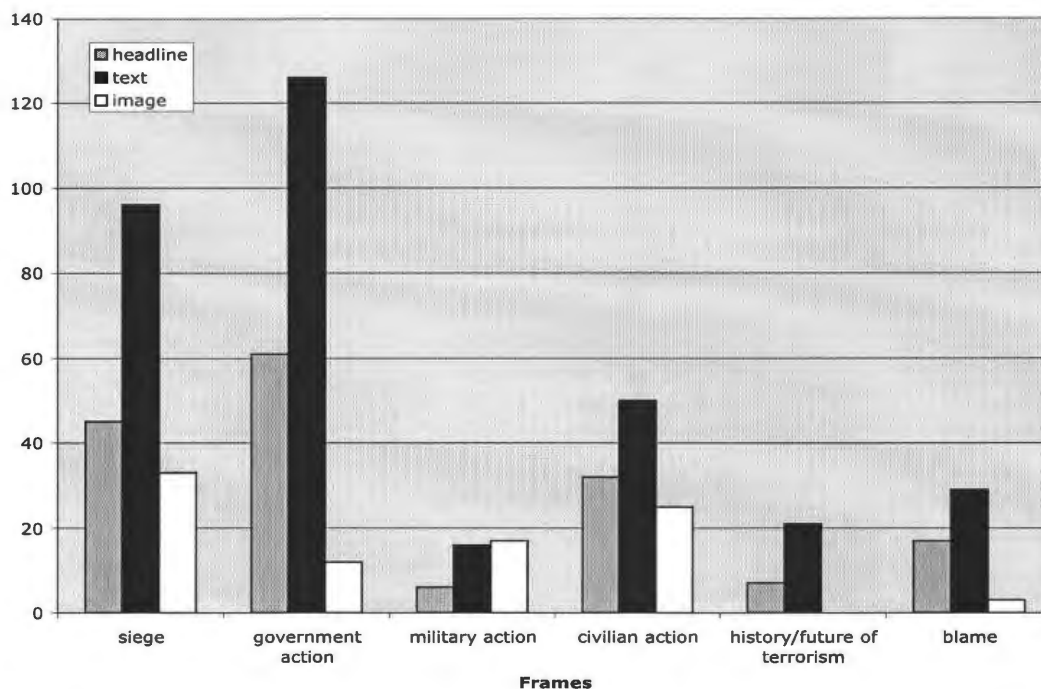


Figure 14. Frame occurrences in the headlines, texts and images in Izvestia

In Izvestia, the headline frames focused on government action, the siege and civilian action. The texts emphasized government action and siege frames. The image frames primarily emphasized the siege and civilian action. This may be due to the strong influence of the government over the media and the proximity of the news sources to the crisis. The newspaper had easier access to the civilians nearby (Figure 14).

Emotion and Emotional Intensity

To further elucidate the frames, the emotional content of the texts and images as well as the intensity with which the emotions were depicted were analyzed using Cho's et al.

(2003) method. Based on the texts and images in this study, emotion, both latent and explicit, was categorized as negative, mixed, positive, and neutral.



Image 8. Example of negative emotion from New York Times, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 6

Examples of negative emotions specific to this coverage included worry, frustration, fear and pain. For instance, the London Times ran the following quote: “ ‘I can’t stand this. We’re going crazy. The government should be able to protect us from these bandits. But they do nothing and now they give us no information’ said Tamara Arutsunova, 63, whose daughter and granddaughter are among the hostages” (Page, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 1). This direct quote demonstrates frustration and worry. Another text example from the London Times states that “Inside, Raya Totyeva was weeping over the dead body of her 12-year-old daughter, Lyuba. The girl had just been brought back from the mortuary in Vladikavkaz, the regional capital, where relatives found her mutilated corpse after searching frantically for two

days” (Page, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 6). The New York Times ran another negative emotion example, stating that “The morgue reached capacity. Children and dead Russian fighters were arranged in rows on the grass. One row contained 13 dead and bloodied children, aged roughly 4 to 16. The youngest, a boy, shirtless and with his hands folded across his stomach was unclaimed” (Chivers, Sept. 4, 2004, p. A9). Negative emotion images include frantic parents and mourning parents, such as those shown in Image 8.



Image 9. Example of positive emotion from Izvestia, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 2.

Image 8 shows a group of women crying outside in the Beslan cultural center. The focal point is the woman’s face toward with top middle with the extremely distraught

expression. The woman's arm leads down to a picture she is holding. The image is cropped so the picture is near the middle, implying the woman is concerned/searching for the person in the picture. The image shows a fairly close, or personal, view of the woman. The women in the picture were caught mid-movement, as can be seen by the blurred arms. This implies action. The image has visual movement with the different people visible in the crowd as well as the asymmetry of the two women in the foreground.



ORDEAL'S SURVIVORS: A boy cries among others freed after three days of captivity in Bastan, North Cassala. Many of the youngsters apparently took off their clothes in the sweltering gym, where more than 1,500 hostages were crammed. The captors reportedly tried to silence the crying children by firing into the air.

Image 10. Example of mixed emotion image from the Los Angeles Times, Sept. 4, 2004, p. A15

Positive emotions include happiness, relief, support, and appreciation. One example of positive emotion was found in the text of the London Times, "In the hours after the British Red Cross opened its lines, it received 18,500 pounds. A spokeswoman said: 'People

have donated a lot, and we would like to thank them for being so generous.’ ” (London Times, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 9). Another example from the New York Times describes that “By the night’s end about \$100,000 had been taken in, more than half of it transferred through cell phone text messages popular with the hip Russian yuppies that the telethon was aimed at” (Kishkovsky, Sept. 9, 2004, p. A8). Image 9 shows a positive example of international support with a shot of a rally in support of the victims in Rome, Italy.



Image 11. Example of neutral emotion image from London Guardian, Sept. 5, 2004, p. 4,

Image 9 depicts a large crowd of people gathered outside in the streets of Rome with candles to show support for the victims in Beslan. The crowd, which goes from the bottom left to the middle right is the focal point of the image and creates a strong diagonal

movement through the photo. The distance of this shot shows the overall impact of the rally, the large number of supporters in this region.

Articles classified as portraying mixed emotions included information about children who survived but were badly injured or mentally traumatized (Image 10). The positive side showed children being freed and safe, but it carried the negative aspect of experiencing the siege and the lasting impact that incident might have. Some examples from the London Times state: “Had he not decided to go to the water fountain, he would almost certainly be among the 350 people still held captive in the school and watched over by women with explosives strapped to their waists” (Page, Sept. 3, 2004, p. 6) and “As grenades exploded, the machineguns rattled and the sniper fire crackled and hissed around them, she and her mother rushed to the hospital hoping against hope that Alana had survived. And there, by miracle, they found her” (Page, Sept. 8, 2004, p. 8). The New York Times ran this example: “There were scenes of sudden reunions between parents and children who had vanished into the clutches of the militants two days before, of nervous searches for the missing and vigils for the wounded, and of incomprehensible waste and loss...” (Chivers, Sept. 4, 2004, p. 1).

Image 10 portrays three hostages, a boy, girl and woman, outside the school. The boy, naked and dirty, is the focal point. He is facing the camera with a distraught expression. The woman is looking toward the right and is in the middle of speaking. The girl, also naked, is facing away from the camera drinking. The image has implied movement with each of its subjects and visual movement with the positioning of the people and stretchers in the background.



Image 12. Example of very strong emotional intensity image from Izvestia, Sept. 4, 2004, p. 5

Neutral articles tended to emphasize facts and leave out emotion. These articles were typically about government policy. For example, an article in the London Times speculated: “It seems that the Kremlin intends initially to focus on Aslan Maskhadov, the former Chechen president, and Shamil Basayev, accused of masterminding the Beslan massacre” (Page & Beeston, Sept. 9, 2004, p. 33). A New York Times text reports that “Mr. Putin also proposed the unification of counterterrorism efforts in a single agency, citing examples of ‘a whole number of countries which have been confronted with the terrorist threat’ ” (Myers, Sept. 14, 2004, p. A14). Another article from the London Times describes “Investigators have been trying to piece together how the hostage-takers executed their operation. Security forces say the attack had been meticulously planned days before pupils returned to school on Wednesday after the summer break” (Page, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 6). Similarly, images of Putin talking on television or in meetings also tended to be neutral in terms of emotion (Image 11).

Image 11 was taken from Putin's address to Russia on television. Putin is looking downward and perhaps somber. His eyes are the focal point. The background is vague and not descriptive of the setting. The image is symmetrical and does not have much implied movement. The visual movement leads toward his face in the middle.

Using Cho's et al. (2003) method of looking for action and tenacity to determine emotional intensity, this study categorized texts and images as showing emotional strength as very strong, strong and neutral. This means looking at the types of verbs or implied action in the texts and the movement or implied motion in the image as a means of determining the intensity. An example of an emotionally very strongly laden text from the London Times: "They're lying to us all the time. They lie that the situation is under control. They lie that our special forces are the most effective and professional. And when these 'effective' and 'professional' special forces doze through the latest act of terror, they start lying so much it makes your head spin" (Moskovsky Komsomolet, Sept. 7, 2004, p. 8). An example paraphrased from commentaries in Izvestia states that "They are people without limits. They must be eliminated" (Izvestia, Sept. 2, 2004 p. 4). The New York Times also reported the incident in very strong emotional terms: "Inside the charred, bullet-pocked wreckage of Middle School No. 1, there lies evidence of the terror Russia faces: Two parts of the library's wooden floor had been pried up, evidently by heavily armed attackers who seized the school last week and held more than 1,100 hostages for 52 hours" (Chivers & Myers, Sept. 6, 2004, p. 1). Image 12, one from the Sept. 4, 2004 issue of Izvestia after which the editor was fired, is an example of a very strong emotional intensity image.

Image 12 portrays the dead bodies of several children and adults in a room inside the school. The bodies are bloody and some are naked. Most of the faces are looking away or not

visible. The focal point is the boy without clothing in the foreground of the image. The shot was taken at an unusual angle, creating a non-level horizon line. This, combined with the visual angles formed by the bodies, creates dramatic visual movement – the leg coming toward the camera and the bodies pointing off to the right.

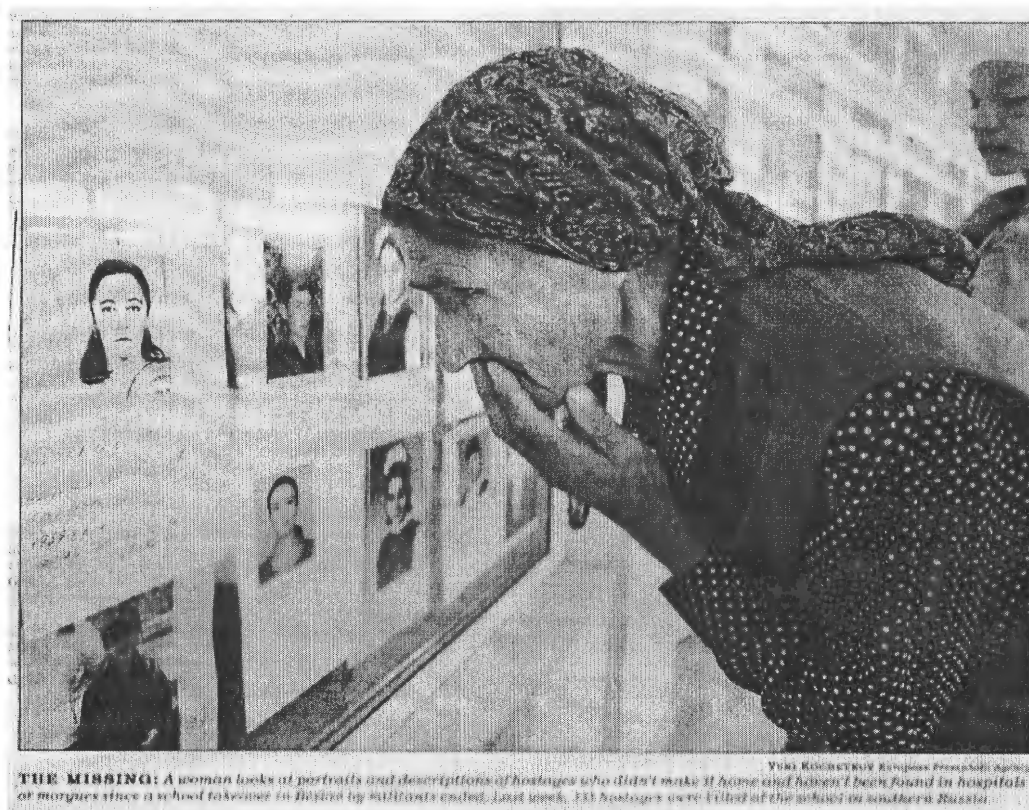


Image 13. Example of strong emotional intensity image from the Los Angeles Times, Sept. 9, 2004, p. A3

Text and images analyzed to be strong in emotional intensity portrayed some emotion but not as intense. For example, a London Guardian text muses that “Although the building was just a school and could not easily be expected to be a target, many people will say that Putin is indirectly to blame. The event will be seen as a sign of the incompetence of the security organs and the police...” (Steele, Sept. 4, 2004, p. 4). The New York Times also ran a strong article about the Russian TV coverage of the siege, stating that “ During one of

Russia's most searing hostage crises, one that struck fear across the country and made news around the world, the country's three networks hesitated, then flailed, and finally turned away" (Arvedlund, Sept. 4, 2004, p. A8). The New York Times also reports: "President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, in an unusual retreat under public pressure after insisting that only a closed investigation would be held, promised an open inquiry into the recent slaughter of hundreds of hostages in a school" (Mydans, Sept. 11, 2004, p. A2).



Image14. Example of a neutral emotional intensity image from London Guardian, Sept. 2, 2004, p. 5

Image 13 shows a woman bent over looking intensely at an image of a missing hostage with her hand over her mouth. Her expression is sadness or perhaps shock. The shot was cropped fairly close up on the woman, and the focal point is her eyes. There is some implied action by the woman and her stance. The angle of her back and the line of images down the wall also create some implied visual movement, which lead toward her face in the middle.

Neutral emotional intensity is related to the seemingly neutral emotions shown mostly by Russian officials. For example, the New York Times states that "Mr. Putin said the change in parliamentary elections would strengthen the national parties, which he said could ensure 'a real dialogue and interaction between power and society in the fight against terror'

” (Myers, Sept. 14, 2004, p. A14). Other examples from the New York Times are paragraphs that state “Aslanbek Aslakhanov, Mr. Putin’s chief advisor on Chechnya, said he hoped the large reward would lead to the capture of the two most prominent rebel figures, Aslan Maskhadov, a former president of Chechnya, and Shamil Basayev, a warlord” (Mydans, Sept. 9, 2004, p. A8), and “ ‘Those who inspire, organize and carry out terrorist acts are striving to disintegrate the country,’ Mr. Putin said in televised remarks that the state channels rebroadcast repeatedly, in their entirety, throughout the day and evening” (Myers, Sept. 14, 2004, p. 1).

Image 14 shows Putin and Alkhanov standing, both with their arms straight by their sides. Putin is looking past the camera to the left, and Alkhanov is looking down. The setting is unknown. The image is fairly symmetric, with one man on each side. Their straight stance and placement create little implied action, and only vertical, top to bottom, visual movement.

Occurrence of Emotions and their Intensity

Table 2 shows the occurrences of text and image emotion and emotional intensity across all six newspapers. The texts mainly portrayed negative and neutral emotions with very strong and neutral intensity. The images were predominantly negative and mixed in emotion as well as very strong in intensity.

USA Today had an equal number of negative and mixed emotion images that were predominantly very strong in intensity. This may be due to a use of dramatic images to engage readers. USA Today’s text had equal negative, mixed and neutral emotions, with primarily neutral intensity. This neutrality may be related to the newspaper’s reporting style.

In terms of emotion, the New York Times had twice as many images showing negative emotions as it did mixed emotion images. The images were primarily very strong in

emotional intensity (Table 2). The texts in the New York Times were more neutral than negative in emotional portrayal. They were mostly neutral in emotional intensity. This may be due to more articles about government policy than those that depicted the details of the siege or to a critical, objective reporting style.

Table 2. Percentage (actual number) of newspaper image and text emotion and emotional intensity

Images	emotion				intensity		
	negative	mixed	positive	neutral	very strong	strong	neutral
USA Today	47% (8)	47% (8)	0% (0)	6% (1)	76% (13)	18% (3)	6% (1)
New York Times	60% (30)	30% (15)	2% (1)	8% (4)	66% (33)	18% (9)	16% (8)
Los Angeles Times	58% (19)	30% (10)	0% (0)	12% (4)	61% (20)	24% (8)	15% (5)
London Guardian	42% (19)	44% (20)	2% (1)	11% (5)	76% (34)	16% (7)	9% (4)
London Times	63% (40)	38% (24)	0% (0)	0% (0)	86% (55)	13% (8)	2% (1)
Izvestia	33% (16)	50% (24)	2% (1)	15% (7)	48% (23)	35% (17)	17% (8)
Texts	emotion				intensity		
	negative	mixed	positive	neutral	very strong	strong	neutral
USA Today	38% (6)	31% (5)	0% (0)	31% (5)	38% (6)	19% (3)	44% (7)
New York Times	36% (17)	15% (7)	2% (1)	47% (22)	19% (9)	23% (11)	57% (27)
Los Angeles Times	56% (10)	28% (5)	0% (0)	17% (3)	28% (5)	28% (5)	44% (8)
London Guardian	63% (20)	6% (2)	0% (0)	31% (10)	31% (10)	19% (6)	50% (16)
London Times	58% (34)	20% (12)	3% (2)	19% (11)	41% (24)	22% (13)	37% (22)
Izvestia	45% (36)	21% (17)	13% (10)	21% (17)	49% (39)	21% (17)	30% (24)

In the Los Angeles Times, the images were predominantly negative with most images being negative or mixed in emotion (Table 2). The intensity was very strong. The texts were mostly negative in emotion and neutral in intensity. The negative emotional coverage may be due to the primarily negative nature of the crisis, while the neutral intensity may be related to reporting style.

The images in the London Guardian were equally negative and mixed in emotion (Table 2). They were very strong in intensity. The texts were twice as negative as they were neutral, but most were neutral in intensity. This may be due to more articles in the London Guardian about government policy than the details of the siege.

As Table 2 shows, the London Times published images that were almost twice as negative as mixed. The newspaper also had no neutral emotion images. Therefore, it was very strong in intensity. The texts also were mostly negative. The London Times had extensive coverage of the siege. This may be due to covering the crisis more than the governmental action during and after the siege, which tended to be more neutral in emotion and emotional intensity.



Image 15. Example of highly graphic image used on interior page of Los Angeles Times, Sept. 5, 2004, p. A10

Izvestia's images were mostly mixed in emotion and very strong in intensity, as shown in Table 2. This may be due to governmental influence over coverage or a desire to censor coverage for those so close to the siege. The texts were mostly negative; however, the

numbers of mixed, neutral and positive texts were fairly similar to the amount of negative. The texts were mostly very strong in intensity with several articles being neutral.

Further questions are raised about how different types of emotional depictions and intensities in images are used throughout the newspapers. Rasmussen (2002) proposes that some newspapers elect to print graphic images on the interior pages rather than on the front to allow readers the choice in whether or not to view them. While further analysis of the graphic nature of these images is necessary, this study found support for this theory. The two most graphic images (Image 12 and Image 15) were found on the interior pages. Image 12 was located on page 5 of Izvestia's Sept. 4, 2004 issue. Image 15 was found on page A10 of the Los Angeles Times' Sept. 5, 2004 issue. Both images were used dominantly, being the largest image on the page and located nearest the top. Image 15 also was used by the London Times on Sept. 6, 2004 as part of a graphic/sidebar; however, the image was used so small in size that it was almost unrecognizable. While it is unknown if these images were available to all the newspapers, Izvestia was the only newspaper to run Image 12, and the Los Angeles Times and London Times were the only newspapers to run Image 15.

The limited use of these graphic images suggests that, while some newspapers publish them on the interior pages, the majority of newspapers may elect not to publish the most graphic images of a terrorist act. However, the availability of the images is unknown.

Attributions

Frames are built partly by the strength of claims and interpretations of those cited or quoted in the coverage (Table 2). The people quoted in texts in the six newspapers were categorized into six groups: hostages, officials/experts, relatives, civilians, terrorists, and the media. The six groups were each quoted in almost all the newspapers.

An analysis of these categories used in the six newspapers' coverage shows that officials or experts were most frequently quoted in the six newspapers followed by civilians (Table 2). The newspapers' emphases on government frames as well as civilian frames may be related to those quoted, and its access to civilian witnesses rather than to hostages may have played a role. The Los Angeles Times, London Guardian and London Times used similar amounts of civilian and hostage quotations. This may be related to consistent coverage of the siege both during and after it took place. The terrorists were the least quoted of all six categories identified. In fact, USA Today articles did not quote any terrorists. This may be due to the fact that only one terrorist was captured from the siege.

The newspaper photographs also were examined for the point of view expressed by the camera angle used, the main elements of focus, the dominance in composition, and the size of the element. The points of view the camera adopted – whether above, straight-on or below the elements depicted are summarized in Table 4.

Table 3. Percentage (actual number) of people quoted in newspaper texts

	hostage	officials/experts	relatives	civilian	terrorists	media
USA Today	15% (5)	47% (16)	9% (3)	26% (9)	0% (0)	3% (1)
New York Times	4% (5)	52% (64)	12% (15)	16% (20)	2% (2)	13% (16)
Los Angeles Times	16% (14)	47% (42)	10% (9)	18% (16)	1% (1)	8% (7)
London Guardian	12% (9)	60% (47)	9% (7)	14% (11)	3% (2)	3% (2)
London Times	18% (26)	43% (61)	16% (23)	17% (25)	2% (3)	3% (5)
Izvestia	14% (14)	42% (43)	9% (9)	30% (31)	1% (1)	4% (4)

Table 4. Percentage (actual number) of the camera point of view of in newspaper images

	above	straight	below
USA Today	12% (2)	82% (14)	6% (1)
New York Times	10% (5)	85% (44)	6% (3)
Los Angeles Times	12% (4)	88% (29)	0% (0)
London Guardian	2% (1)	98% (44)	0% (0)
London Times	8% (5)	91% (58)	2% (1)
Izvestia	25% (12)	69% (33)	6% (3)

The newspapers predominantly used a straight-on point of view for images (Table 4). This may be associated with an emphasis on the human aspect of the school siege. *Izvestia*, unlike the other newspapers, had several photographs taken from above the subject. This may indicate aerial views or “god’s eye” view, which tend to give an overall idea of what happened. An example (Image 1) might be an overhead view of the school to show where the hostages were held and the overall amount of damage to the building. *Izvestia*’s more intense coverage or the newspaper’s local aspect of coverage may be the reason for this moderately-high level of overall informative images.

Research Question 3:

Are there differences in textual or visual framing of the siege across the six newspapers?

This analysis compared the textual frames across the six newspapers and the visual frames across the six newspapers for similarities and differences in coverage (Table 5). It also compares emotional depiction, emotional intensity of the depiction, categories of people quoted, and point of view of the camera.

The top frames present in all the newspapers’ headlines were government action and siege, followed by blame and civilian action. Half of the newspapers used the government action frame the most, while the other half used the siege frame the most. There is no similarity in headline frame trends within countries. Neither was there a relationship between frames used the most and the intensity of coverage. A newspaper that primarily used the government action frame, for example, is likely to also employ siege and civilian frames as second and third in terms of most used. A newspaper that primarily used siege frames also was likely to have government action followed by blame frames as the second and third most

used. Military action and history/future of terrorism frames were the least used in headlines by all the newspapers.

Table 5. Comparison in percent (actual number) of headline, text and image frame occurrences across the six newspapers

Headline						
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame
USA Today	29% (12)	26% (11)	0% (0)	19% (8)	2% (1)	24% (10)
New York Times	28% (33)	35% (41)	3% (4)	15% (7)	3% (4)	15% (7)
Los Angeles Times	43% (37)	33% (29)	2% (2)	6% (5)	6% (5)	10% (9)
London Guardian	25% (24)	30% (29)	6% (6)	12% (12)	12% (12)	13% (13)
London Times	28% (35)	22% (27)	5% (6)	18% (23)	12% (15)	15% (19)
Izvestia	27% (45)	36% (61)	4% (6)	19% (32)	4% (7)	10% (17)
Text						
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame
USA Today	25% (33)	30% (40)	4% (5)	7% (9)	13% (18)	19% (26)
New York Times	22% (67)	37% (110)	7% (22)	8% (24)	9% (26)	16% (49)
Los Angeles Times	24% (44)	37% (69)	3% (5)	7% (14)	6% (12)	23% (43)
London Guardian	35% (104)	29% (88)	4% (13)	5% (16)	11% (32)	16% (48)
London Times	34% (170)	26% (133)	5% (23)	10% (50)	9% (45)	16% (81)
Izvestia	28% (96)	38% (126)	5% (16)	15% (50)	6% (21)	9% (29)
Image						
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame
USA Today	39% (19)	14% (7)	14% (7)	18% (9)	2% (1)	12% (6)
New York Times	35% (43)	15% (18)	10% (12)	20% (24)	0% (0)	20% (25)
Los Angeles Times	31% (36)	19% (22)	13% (15)	20% (23)	4% (5)	12% (14)
London Guardian	34% (19)	2% (1)	13% (7)	30% (17)	0% (0)	21% (12)
London Times	41% (67)	11% (18)	15% (24)	21% (34)	1% (1)	12% (19)
Izvestia	35% (33)	13% (12)	18% (17)	27% (25)	0% (0)	3% (3)

The siege and government action frames were the top two textual frames for all six newspapers. The newspapers' textual frames show similarities within countries. The U.S. and Russian newspapers primarily used the government action frame in the texts. The British papers, on the other hand, mostly used the siege frame. The third most-used frame was blame for all the newspapers except *Izvestia*, which used civilian action frames more than blame

frames. This may be due to Izvestia's proximity to the event and its ability to talk to people. The low amount of coverage of the blame frame also may suggest the government censoring the media, as the Russian government was criticized for not discussing the Chechen separatists and their role in the school siege. The government may have downplayed blame in an effort to discourage revenge or regional disputes within Russia. Military action frames were used the least in all six newspapers. This may be a result of a lack of military personnel being available for observation/comment or limited coverage of them because readers are less likely to relate to military actions than they are to civilian actions. Military actions may have been limited in number or lacked drama, as they were criticized for not acting enough at the crisis.

The siege frame was the most predominant frame across all newspaper images. This may be due to the dramatic scenes captured. As Rasmussen (2002) states, news media tend to run dramatic images, but not necessarily graphic images, to grab reader attention. These images may have been used because they depict the school siege most accurately, and they help tell the story of the intense and chaotic crisis. The second most used frame was the civilian action frame for all newspapers. Similar to the siege, these images were dramatic and detail events related to the siege. The history/future of terrorism frames were the least used frames for all the newspapers.

The emotion displayed in the images, as shown in Table 2, was negative for all newspapers, except USA Today, which showed equally negative and mixed emotions, and Izvestia, which had more mixed than negative toned images. Overall, USA Today seems to have downplayed their coverage of the school siege. Their lack of dominantly negative images is consistent with this finding.

Izvestia's images may be less negative than the others due to government censorship, constant or increasing. Early in the timeframe studied, the editor of Izvestia was fired for publishing numerous extremely graphic images in the Sept. 4, 2004 issue. This poses the question of heightened censorship in the newspaper over the period studied. However, as Figures 15-18 show, the emotional depictions and emotion intensities are fairly constant in Izvestia both before and after Sept. 4, 2004. Some increase toward neutrality occurs; however, this may be due to the end of the hostage situation and dealing with the aftermath and political changes. This implies that if government censorship played a role, it was constant throughout the timeframe studied.

Only three newspapers have images with positive emotion: the New York Times (1), London Guardian (1) and Izvestia (1). This may be related to the more intense coverage these newspapers gave the school siege. There are no similarities in frames used within countries; however, all the newspapers published a low number of neutral images, except the London Times.

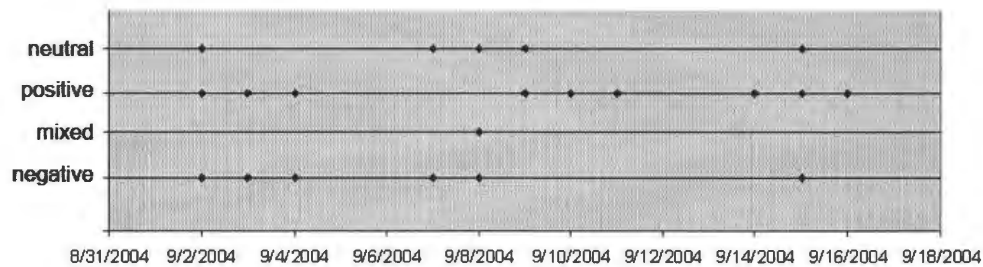


Figure 15. Izvestia's emotional depictions in images over the two-week period studied

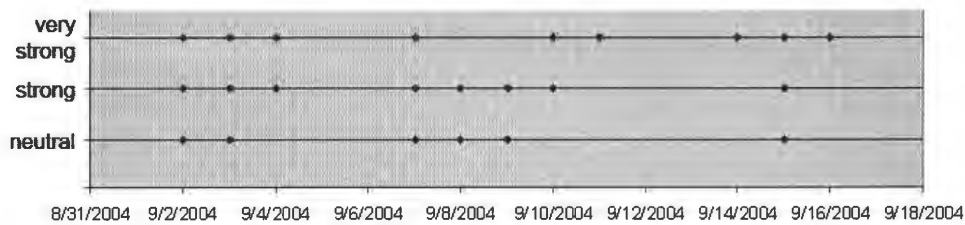


Figure 16. Izvestia's emotional intensity in images over the two-week period studied

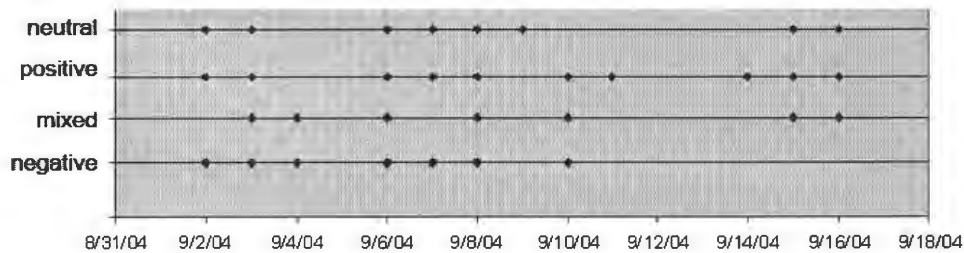


Figure 17. Izvestia's emotional depictions in text over the two-week period studied

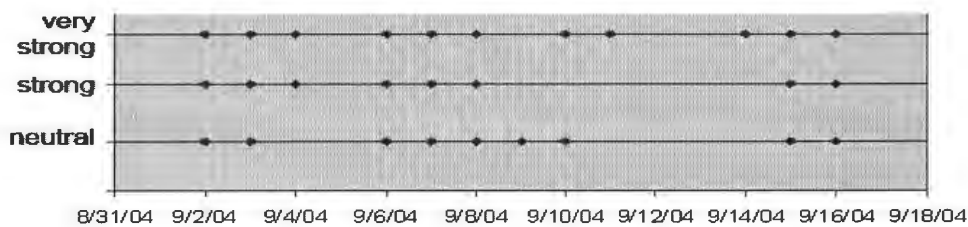


Figure 18. Izvestia's emotional intensity in text over the two-week period studied

Similarly, the emotional intensity shown in the images was primarily very strong for all six newspapers. Izvestia and the New York Times had the most strong and neutral intensity images, which may be related to the heavy coverage these newspapers had compared to the other newspapers.

Table 6. Percentage (actual number) of frames present in the six newspapers

USA Today							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	29% (12)	26% (11)	0% (0)	19% (8)	2% (1)	24% (10)	0% (0)
text	25% (33)	30% (40)	4% (5)	7% (9)	13% (18)	19% (26)	2% (3)
image	39% (19)	14% (7)	14% (7)	18% (9)	2% (1)	12% (6)	0% (0)
New York Times							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	28% (33)	35% (41)	3% (4)	15% (7)	3% (4)	15% (7)	0% (0)
text	22% (67)	37% (110)	7% (22)	8% (24)	9% (26)	16% (49)	0% (0)
image	35% (43)	15% (18)	10% (12)	20% (24)	0% (0)	20% (25)	0% (0)
Los Angeles Times							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	43% (37)	33% (29)	2% (2)	6% (5)	6% (5)	10% (9)	0% (0)
text	24% (44)	37% (69)	3% (5)	7% (14)	6% (12)	23% (43)	0% (0)
image	31% (36)	19% (22)	13% (15)	20% (23)	4% (5)	12% (14)	0% (0)
London Guardian							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	25% (24)	30% (29)	6% (6)	12% (12)	12% (12)	13% (13)	0% (0)
text	35% (104)	29% (88)	4% (13)	5% (16)	11% (32)	16% (48)	0% (0)
image	34% (19)	2% (1)	13% (7)	30% (17)	0% (0)	21% (12)	0% (0)
London Times							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	28% (35)	22% (27)	5% (6)	18% (23)	12% (15)	15% (19)	0% (0)
text	34% (170)	26% (133)	5% (23)	10% (50)	9% (45)	16% (81)	0% (1)
image	41% (67)	11% (18)	15% (24)	21% (34)	1% (1)	12% (19)	1% (2)
Izvestia							
	siege	government action	military action	civilian action	history/future of terrorism	blame	media coverage
headline	27% (45)	36% (61)	4% (6)	19% (32)	4% (7)	10% (17)	1% (1)
text	28% (96)	38% (126)	5% (16)	15% (50)	6% (21)	9% (29)	0% (0)
image	35% (33)	13% (12)	18% (17)	27% (25)	0% (0)	3% (3)	4% (4)

Examining the emotion in texts (see Table 2) shows primarily negative depictions in the Los Angeles Times, the London Guardian, the London Times, and Izvestia. The New York Times is mostly neutral in textual emotion, and USA Today is equally negative, mixed and neutral in textual emotion. USA Today's limited coverage seems to have downplayed the school siege. Izvestia had more positive coverage than the other newspapers. Extensive coverage as well as government censorship may have contributed to the positive tone of

some of the texts. Overall, the U.S. newspapers were more neutral in emotional intensity. This may indicate a cultural reporting style in the U.S. that emphasizes statements of facts rather than interpretation with emotion or an emphasis on government information, which tends to be more neutral in intensity. The British newspapers were equally very strong and neutral in intensity. British reporting styles may include both emphases on factual information and interpretation by journalists. Izvestia was primarily very strong in intensity.

Comparing people quoted (Table 3), all six newspapers used officials or experts the most, followed by civilians. This may be related to the emphasis on government frames as well as civilian frames and access to civilian witnesses rather than hostages. Quotes from terrorists were the least used. This may be due to the fact that only one terrorist was captured from the siege. The six newspapers also predominantly used a straight-on point of view for images (Table 4). This may be due to an emphasis on the human aspect of the school siege.

Research Question 4:

Are there differences between the frames in the visuals and the texts?

Comparing the textual and visual frames used by the six newspapers showed they each differ in emphasis (Table 6). The London Times is the only newspaper that used the siege as the primary frame in headlines, texts and images. The London Guardian used the siege frame dominantly in texts and images, but not in headlines. The U.S. newspapers and Izvestia all employed the government frame the most in the texts and the siege frame the most in the images. The headlines varied between the newspapers, though. The New York Times and the London Guardian consistently used the blame frame as the third most-used frame in the headlines, texts and images. No consistency appears between the visual and textual frames in terms of frames least used.

The siege frame was likely depicted most heavily in the images and the texts because it conveyed the most information about what was occurring, and it contained the most dramatic aspects of the incident. The siege frames also portrayed more newsworthy elements than the other frames. For instance, the frame contains novelty, conflict and human interest. In the images, civilian frames continued these traits, which is perhaps why the frame was the second most used. However, in the texts, this is not the case. The extensive use of government frames in the texts may have been due to the government being a key source of information, particularly for non-local newspapers. Government frames may have been used more in the texts than civilian frames because in some cultures they are thought of as the most reliable source of information. Government frames may not have been used in the images as frequently as civilian frames because government-related images may have been limited, as the government was criticized for not acting or going to the scene of the siege. As well, they most likely did not carry the drama or tell the story of the crisis as well as other images.

CHAPTER 5.

CONCLUSIONS

The very brutal nature of the Beslan school siege made it a subject of prolonged worldwide coverage. Since the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, awareness and international news coverage of terrorism have increased both in the media and the general public (Kim, 2002). The Beslan school siege created an opportunity to study how the newspapers of three countries – England, Russia and the U.S. – covered the topic or issue.

The purpose of this study was to determine how newspapers from the U.S., Britain and Russia framed the Beslan school siege textually and visually. As part of their routines, journalists use verbal techniques such as dominant and exaggerated headlines and active leads as well as visual techniques such as size, placement and cropping that create interpretive packages, or frames, which emphasize certain aspects of an event and downplay or exclude other dimensions of it (Kim, 2002).

This study analyzed headlines, body texts and images in six newspapers, USA Today, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, London Guardian, London Times, and Izvestia, to determine the extent to which they covered the Beslan school siege as well as how they framed the crisis in their coverage of the event from Sept. 1, 2004 to Sept. 16, 2004.

The results indicate a fairly high level of coverage, with a total of 309 headlines, 295 texts and 257 images published about the siege during the two-week period. This result was expected considering the newsworthiness of this event in relation to human interest, conflict/controversy, novelty/unexpectness, intensity, meaningfulness, visualness, and emotion (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996 & McGregor, 2002). As Galtung and Ruge (1965)

state, the meaningfulness of the siege in terms of cultural relevance, particularly after the Sept. 11 attacks in the U.S., may have played a role in the intensity of the coverage in these three nations. The siege also was given high coverage because terrorists want exposure for their cause. Laqueur (1976) states that the media play a key role in terrorist activity because without coverage of the event, the terrorist activity means nothing.

Izvestia, the Russian newspaper, had the heaviest coverage of the event, followed closely by the London Times. Both newspapers also gave the takeover the largest amount of space. Izvestia had the greatest number of front page headlines, texts and images; however, the London Times actually had the most front page-dominant headlines and texts, and the same number of dominant images. The London Times' tabloid style is most likely the reason for the low number of front page articles in its coverage. Also, the London Times had the most number of dominant headlines, texts and images on the inside pages.

Izvestia's intense coverage of the siege supports Husselbee and Stempel's (1997) claim that national news events tend to receive more coverage than international news events from the vantage point of any newspaper. However, the London Times' extensive coverage is contrary to this finding. The London Times may have deliberately given the siege more coverage than the other newspapers because it features dramatic news as a means of engaging more readers, separating itself from its competition, determining newsworthiness, or, in general, having more international news coverage. The newspaper's publisher describes the news service as having unique international depth and diversity to their papers, supporting the latter concept. This finding for the London Times supports the need for analyses based on entire newspapers, rather than just on front-page coverage. This is

particularly necessary for graphic events, where the bulk of coverage may be placed on inside pages (Rasmussen, 2002).

USA Today had the most limited coverage and dedicated the least amount of space of the siege. USA Today only has five publishing days per week, compared to the seven for most other newspapers. This may have contributed to the limited coverage as well as the fact that the climax of the siege occurred during its non-publishing days. The other newspapers had the majority of their coverage during this time. The highly graphic and negative nature of the school siege also may have played a role in the limited coverage. This could suggest a newspaper policy about not extensively covering negative events or international news. USA Today also may have limited its coverage due to a lack of newsworthy values in the siege, such as novelty since conflict has been ongoing in Russia for decades.

Similar to its more extensive coverage, Izvestia covered the siege more than the other newspapers in a non-dominant manner on the front and interior pages, meaning that even if the crisis was not the top story, it was still covered. This further supports the assertion that national news events tend to receive more coverage than international news events (Husselbee & Stempel, 1997). The New York Times covered the school siege more non-dominantly on the front pages and inside pages with headlines and texts than the other newspapers. While the newspaper had a fairly high level of coverage, it was not as dominant, or emphasized, as coverage in the other newspapers. USA Today only had front page non-dominant images – but without headlines or body texts. This may be due, in part, to the visual nature of the newspaper. Images rather than headlines are used as teasers on the front page.

An overall comparison of the dominant and non-dominant use of the headlines, texts and images across all six newspapers, shows the siege received more dominant and non-dominant coverage on interior pages rather than on the front page. The two most graphic images of the siege were used on interior pages of Izvestia, Los Angeles Times and London Times. These findings may support Rasmussen's (2002) contention that some newspapers elect to print graphic images on the interior pages rather than on the front to allow readers a choice in whether or not to see them. However, most papers may have declined to use them at all.

Looking across the three countries, the Russian and British newspapers used more space for images than for text, while the U.S. newspapers dedicated more space to text than images. This may imply cultural differences in news reporting and differences in reporting style across newspapers. Russian and British newspapers may emphasize visuals for explaining events. U.S. newspapers may rely on text more than images to convey details of an incident.

A qualitative look at the six newspapers' coverage revealed the use of six frames: information about the siege, which includes witness recollections of the crisis and descriptions of the hostage-takers' actions; government actions, which includes negotiations, officials' statements, and investigations about the school siege; military actions, which consisted of the actions of snipers, soldiers rescuing hostages, and soldiers and police battling with hostage-takers; civilian actions, which included relatives waiting and worrying, civilians rescuing hostages, relatives searching for missing hostages, relatives mourning, and families being reunited; history/future of terrorism, which consisted of the history of the relationship

of Chechnya and Russia, past terrorist attacks, and the possibility of revenge; and blame, which was assigned to Chechen separatists, specific rebel leaders, and Russian Pres. Putin.

Examining the headline frames, which establish frames of reference, the most used frames by all the newspapers were government action and siege followed by blame. The government frames' extensive use may have been due to the government being a key source of information, particularly for non-local newspapers. Government frames may have been used because in some cultures they are thought of as the most reliable source of information. The siege frame was likely depicted because it contained the most dramatic aspects of the incident. The siege frames also portrayed newsworthy elements, such as novelty, conflict and human interest. Half of the newspapers used government action frames the most, while the other half used the siege frames the most. There was no similarity across the three countries in terms of the frames used. Neither was frame use related to the amount of coverage. Military action and history/future of terrorism frames were the least used in the newspapers' headlines. This may be a result of a lack of a limited number of military actions or a lack drama, as they were criticized for not acting enough at the crisis.

The headline frames were similar to the body text frames. In the texts, the government action frame and the siege frames were the most dominant, further supporting the possibility of key sources and dramatic details. However, USA Today, the Los Angeles Times and the London Guardian all depicted different dominant frames in their headlines and in their texts (one being government action and the other being the siege), a practice that may influence the information readers become aware of and how they interpret such information (Griffin, 1995). By initially stating a frame, such as in the headline, readers are persuaded by that idea and may focus on it, even if it is not the dominant frame in the text. An article

intending to tell a story one way may be interpreted another if the dominant headline frames vary from the dominant text frames (Griffin, 1995).

Siege and government action frames were the top two frames for texts in all six newspapers. The textual frames did show similarities within countries; the U.S. and Russian newspapers primarily used government action frames in the texts, while the British papers mostly used siege frames. This may indicate cultural differences in reporting styles. Russia and the U.S. newspapers may tend to emphasize statements of facts rather than interpretations with emotion while British newspapers may include both emphases on factual information and interpretation by journalists, which heightens the drama. This supports Nord & Strömbäck's (2003) contention that some journalists adapt their reporting techniques to interpret rather than describe and, thus, blur the line between straight reporting and news analysis. The third most-used frame in all newspapers was blame, except for *Izvestia*, which used civilian action frames more than blame frames. This may be due to *Izvestia*'s proximity to the event and its ability to talk to different information sources. No support was found for the Russian government having a role in shaping this coverage when it made moves to censor the media by firing the editor of *Izvestia*. However, it is difficult to analyze changes in coverage since the most dramatic and graphic events were over. Similar to the headlines, military action frames were used the least in all six newspapers' texts.

The siege frame was the predominant frame in the newspapers' images. This may be due to the dramatic scenes captured, which supports Rasmussen's (2002) assertion that news media run dramatic images to engage readers. These images also may have been used because they depicted the school siege most accurately and contained newsworthy qualities, such as conflict and human interest. The second most used frame in the photographs was

civilian action. Similar to photos of the siege, these images were dramatic and newsworthy. History/future of terrorism frames were the least used frames in all the newspapers, perhaps due to a lack of novelty or to avoid confusion with images from the current crisis. All six newspapers also predominantly used a straight-on camera point of view in their images , which emphasizes the human aspect of the school siege, showing the event from the level of one person at a time. While the newspapers varied in the frames they emphasized, they all depicted the human facet of the takeover as the main idea.

To further elucidate the frames, the emotional content of the texts and images as well as the intensity with which the emotions were depicted was analyzed. The texts mainly portrayed negative and neutral emotions with very strong and neutral intensity. The neutrality may be due to more articles about government policy than those that depicted the details of the siege. The London Times had the most negative and very strong emotional coverage in the texts, which may be related to its extensive coverage of the siege rather than governmental action that tended to be more neutral in emotion and emotional intensity. The London Times may have included a high amount of coverage of the siege because it features dramatic news as a means of attracting readers or separating itself from other newspapers. In general, it may feature more international news than other newspapers for similar reasons. On the other hand, the images in the six newspapers showed predominantly negative and mixed emotions that were very strong in intensity. This may be due to the heavy use of dramatic images to grab readers' attention. Unlike the other newspapers, Izvestia's images were mostly mixed in emotion and very strong in intensity, which may be related to governmental influence over the coverage or a desire to control the coverage for those so close to the siege.

Frames are built partly by the strength of claims and interpretations of those cited or quoted in the coverage. The people quoted in the six newspapers' articles were categorized into six groups: hostages, officials/experts, relatives, civilians, terrorists, and the media. These six groups were quoted by almost all the newspapers.

An analysis of these categories used in the six newspapers' coverage shows that officials or experts were cited most frequently in the six newspapers, followed by civilians. The newspapers' emphases on government frames as well as civilian frames may have resulted from the interpretations of those quoted in the texts, and the reporters' greater access to civilian witnesses than to hostages. The Los Angeles Times, London Guardian and London Times used similar amounts of civilian and hostage quotations in their consistent coverage of the siege during and after it took place. The terrorists were the least quoted of all six categories identified, which may be due to the fact that only one terrorist was captured from the siege.

The results of this study are similar to those found by Messaris and Abraham (2001), who examined the depictions of African Americans in the news. They found that the frames in the images were different from the frames identified in the verbal statements. This study found that the dominant frames in the texts and images were similar in that they both used the siege frame extensively. The siege frame was likely depicted most heavily in the images and the texts and images because it conveyed the most information about what was occurring, and it contained the most dramatic aspects of the incident. The siege frames also portrayed more newsworthy elements than the other frames, such as novelty, conflict and human interest (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). The similarity may support Meggs' (1992)

assertion that texts help further explain images, becoming a supporting message used to sharpen the image.

The textual and visual frames differed in that while the stories portrayed government action more, the images depicted civilian action more prominently. In the images, civilian frames continued traits similar to those of the siege frame; however, in the texts, this is not the case. The extensive use of government frames in the texts may have been due to the government being a key source of information, particularly for non-local newspapers. Government frames may have been used more in the texts than civilian frames because in some cultures they are thought of as the most reliable source of information. Government frames may not have been used in the images as frequently as civilian frames because government-related images may have been limited, as the government was criticized for not acting or going to the scene of the siege. As well, they most likely did not carry the drama or tell the story of the crisis as well as other images.

This study also found differences in the emotion and emotional intensity present in the texts and images. Overall, the images were more negative and depicted stronger emotions than the texts. Messaris and Abraham (2001) contend that because of the lack of emphasis on defining and understanding images, the media can use images to say what they cannot say verbally. While the texts may have downplayed the drama of the school siege, the images depicted the opposite – very strong drama. While framing as a whole may produce social meaning, the image frames and their emotional content also are equally as important, if not more so, in understanding the creation of social meaning (Burgoon, 1985, Wall, 2003).

The amount of coverage and the types of frames used support Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) statement that the media select news based on its human interest appeal, its level of

conflict or controversy, its novelty, and its timeliness. The Beslan school siege was loaded with human interest related to the involvement and deaths of children. While the conflict between Russia and Chechnya has been going on for decades, this event was unlike any confrontation before due to the taking of children hostages and the sheer number of the hostages involved. Vivid reports of the siege as it unfolded as well as strong images depicting the event support McGregor's (2002) claim that the visualness, emotion and conflict of an event play a role in determining the amount of coverage, as these factors were all highly interwoven into the crisis.

Looking at the Beslan siege as an example of national and international news coverage of media, this study suggests that the headlines and texts will emphasize the facts of what happened and what actions the government took in relation to what occurred. In the images, the details of the event and how civilians reacted to it will be covered the most. The images will portray stronger emotions than the texts and headlines; however, the images may not be the most graphic available.

Limitations of this Study

This study looked at six newspapers' coverage of the Beslan school siege over a two-week period. This time span may be too limited to fully examine the issues that were developing from the school siege, such as government policy changes related to potential terrorist attacks. Future studies might expand this timeframe to examine the issue in a more longitudinal manner.

As well, issues like the firing of the Izvestia editor and theories about changes in coverage of events over time raise further questions about the framing of the Beslan school siege over time and framing of Russian terrorism over time.

This study used a translator in addition to the coder when examining the Russian newspapers to bridge the lingual and cultural gap. This allowed interpretation of information that may have been overlooked and understand the words in their context. However, a British interpreter was not used for this study, as it was not necessary for comprehension of the texts. A future study could include a coder working with interpreters from all the cultures being studied to maximize understanding of the information in its context.

The texts and images used to describe the Beslan school siege in the newspapers were examined for their emotion and emotional intensity. However, this does not fully portray the graphic nature of the images used. Additional questions are raised about the graphic characteristics of these images in how and where they were used by the newspapers' staffs.

Similar to other content analyses, this study examined frame building only from the point of view of the media. To gain more information about the frame-building process, the media frames need to be analyzed with audience frames. Further research on the Beslan school siege might examine the individual-level effects of framing.

This study only examined newspapers from the U.S., Britain and Russia. This sample constrains the generalizability of the study's results. This study also did not include other forms of news media, such as radio and television broadcasts, news magazine articles, or internet news articles. Future studies might compare verbal and visual framing of the school siege across different forms of news media.

Factors beyond those analyzed in this study also can affect media coverage. Additional factors to examine might include culture, press traditions, economics, government, and demographics for each of the newspapers.

APPENDIX

CODING INSTRUCTIONS

A visual and textual framing analysis of terrorism: The case of Beslan, Russia.

Quantitative Article Text**1. Newspaper title:**

- 1=USA Today
- 2=New York Times
- 3=Los Angeles Times
- 4= London Guardian
- 5= London Times
- 6= Izvestia

2. Date: 9/1/2004-9/16/2004**3. Page number:** string**4. Section:**

- 2=front page
- 1=interior page for local/world/international/global news

5. Size: numeric in square inches**6. Location on page:**

- 2=top or above the fold
- 1=bottom or below the fold

7. Dominance on page:

- 2=most dominant
- 1=not most dominant

8. Source:

- 9=none listed/other
- 7=ITAR-TASS
- 6=newspaper's journalist
- 5=Associated Press
- 4=Reuters
- 3= Agence France-Presse
- 2=European Pressphoto Agency
- 1=RTR and NTV, Russian television networks

Quantitative Article Headline**1. Newspaper title:**

- 1=USA Today
- 2=New York Times
- 3=Los Angeles Times
- 4= London Guardian
- 5= London Times
- 6= Izvestia

2. Date: 9/1/2004-9/16/2004✓ **3. Page number:** string**4. Section:**

2=front page

1=interior page for local/world/international/global news

5. Size: numeric in square inches (both headlines and sub-headlines)

6. Location on page:

2=top or above the fold

1=bottom or below the fold

7. Dominance on page:

2=most dominant headline

1=not most dominant headline

Quantitative Article Image

1. Newspaper title:

1=USA Today

2=New York Times

3=Los Angeles Times

4= London Guardian

5= London Times

6= Izvestia

2. Date: 9/1/2004-9/16/2004

3. Page number: string

4. Section:

2=front page

1=interior page for local/world/international/global news

5. Size: numeric in square inches

6. Location on page:

2=top or above the fold

1=bottom or below the fold

7. Dominance on page:

2=most dominant

1=not most dominant

8. Source:

9=none listed/other

6=newspaper's photojournalist

5=Associated Press

4=Reuters

3= Agence France-Presse

2=European Pressphoto Agency

1=RTR and NTV, Russian television networks

9. Caption: string

Qualitative Article Text

Not all of these will be present in every text.

1. Who or what is framed as the problem? (example: school seized, parent worry about children, relatives mourn losses, hostages not given food and water, threats to kill hostages, mothers had to choose who to save, long battle, government lied)

2. Who or what is the cause? (example: militants, rebels, Chechen rebels)

3. Who or what is the moral choice for the issue? (example: bury/mourn dead, military action, prevent future terrorism, release children, negotiate, revenge, admit to lies)

4. Who or what is the solution? (example: end crisis, search for missing, help hostages escape, kill terrorists, negotiate, seize kin of rebels, military action, commando involvement, sniper action, mourn)

To support these frames, the following questions will be answered:

5. What information does the lead provide? string

6. What is emphasized in the rest of the article? string

7. What other details are included? string

8. What emotion does the article discuss?

1=negative emotion, with a string description (example: aggression like that with weapons or expressions, grief or worry)

2=positive emotion, with a string description (example: happiness)

3=mixed emotion, with a string description (example: a freed hostage happy to be free but terrified and injured from the experience)

4=neutral/no emotion, with string description (example:

9. What is the emotional intensity of the article?

1=very strong

2=strong

3=neutral

To analyze emotional response to terrorist events, Cho et al. (2003) operationalized emotion in three ways. One is negative emotion, defined as variables like aggression and blame.

“Aggression implies ‘forceful action’ and was indicated by the presence of words such as ‘crash,’ ‘conquest,’ ‘demolish,’ and ‘shove.’ Blame was indicated by the presence of words such as ‘mean,’ ‘stupid,’ and ‘cruel’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The second type was positive emotions, which was made up of praise and satisfaction. “Praise implies the good qualities of a group or entity such as importance and intellect. Praise was indicated by words such as ‘delighted,’ ‘witty,’ and ‘vigilant.’ Satisfaction is associated with positive emotion states and was indicated by words such as ‘fun,’ ‘pride,’ and ‘good’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The third aspect was emotional intensity, operationalized by tenacity and motion.

“Tenacity implies confidence and was indicated by the presence of variants of the verb ‘to be.’ Motion implies movement and was indicated by words such as ‘fly,’ ‘leap,’ and ‘momentum’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The visual actions linked to these words will be used.

10. Who do they quote? String

1=victim

2=relative of victim

3=eye witness

4=Russian official

5=international official

6=terrorist

Qualitative Article Headlines

Not all of these will be present in every headline.

1. **Who or what is framed as the problem?** (example: school seized, parent worry about children, relatives mourn losses, hostages not given food and water, threats to kill hostages, mothers had to choose who to save, long battle, government lied)
 2. **Who or what is the cause?** (example: militants, rebels, Chechen rebels)
 3. **Who or what is the moral choice for the issue?** (example: bury/mourn dead, military action, prevent future terrorism, release children, negotiate, revenge, admit to lies)
 4. **Who or what is the solution?** (example: end crisis, search for missing, help hostages escape, kill terrorists, negotiate, seize kin of rebels, military action, commando involvement, sniper action, mourn)
- To support these frames, the following questions will be answered:
5. **What information is emphasized?** string
 6. **What details are given?** string

Qualitative Article Images

Not all of these will be present in every image.

1. **Who or what is framed as the problem?** (example: school seized, parent worry about children, relatives mourn losses, hostages not given food and water, threats to kill hostages, mothers had to choose who to save, long battle, government lied)
2. **Who or what is the cause?** (example: militants, rebels, Chechen rebels)
3. **Who or what is the moral choice for the issue?** (example: bury/mourn dead, military action, prevent future terrorism, release children, negotiate, revenge, admit to lies)
4. **Who or what is the solution?** (example: end crisis, search for missing, help hostages escape, kill terrorists, negotiate, seize kin of rebels, military action, commando involvement, sniper action, mourn)

To support these frames, the following questions will be answered:

5. **What is dominant or the focal point in the image?** string
6. **What else is in the image?** string

This is a general listing of all parts of the image.

7. **What is the setting?** string

This could be the location such as a building or event, and the time of day.

8. **What emotion does the image display?**

1=negative emotion, with a string description (example: aggression like that with weapons or expressions, grief or worry like that shown with crying or expressions)

2=positive emotion, with a string description (example: happiness shown by facial expressions like smiles)

3=mixed emotion, with a string description (example: a freed hostage happy to be free but terrified and injured from the experience)

4=neutral/no emotion, with string description (example: an official's head shot may not show any emotion)

9. **What is the emotional intensity of the image?** String

3=very strong intensity

2=strong intensity

1=neutral

To analyze emotional response to terrorist events, Cho et al. (2003) operationalized emotion in three ways. One is negative emotion, defined as variables like aggression and blame.

“Aggression implies ‘forceful action’ and was indicated by the presence of words such as ‘crash,’ ‘conquest,’ ‘demolish,’ and ‘shove.’ Blame was indicated by the presence of words such as ‘mean,’ ‘stupid,’ and ‘cruel’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The second type was positive emotions, which was made up of praise and satisfaction. “Praise implies the good qualities of a group or entity such as importance and intellect. Praise was indicated by words such as ‘delighted,’ ‘witty,’ and ‘vigilant.’ Satisfaction is associated with positive emotion states and was indicated by words such as ‘fun,’ ‘pride,’ and ‘good’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The third aspect was emotional intensity, operationalized by tenacity and motion. “Tenacity implies confidence and was indicated by the presence of variants of the verb ‘to be.’ Motion implies movement and was indicated by words such as ‘fly,’ ‘leap,’ and ‘momentum’” (Cho et al., 2003, p. 315). The visual actions linked to these words will be used.

10. What is the point of view of the camera?

- 1=camera is above the subject
- 2=camera is at same level (straight on) with the subject
- 3=camera is below the subject
- 9=cannot determine

The point of view of the camera can be used in visual metaphors. For example, the idea of looking up to a leader because the camera angle is below the leader, the subject.

11. List any visual metaphors? string

Visual metaphors can be powerful at showing one thing while textually saying another (Lule, 2003). A visual metaphor will be described as a representation of an abstract concept through a concrete visual image that bears some analogy to the concept (Lule, 2003).

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