

The Politics of Media and 9/11

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Abstract:

This MRP was inspired by my ongoing interest in the media's role in educating the public about current events, specifically how the media's coverage after the terrorist attack on September 11th, 2001 influenced their audience. The MRP focused on the broadcast news coverage the week after the terrorist attack and how the framing of the attack, influenced who the public's understanding of who the enemy of the War on Terror. The MRP conducted a content analysis of FOX News and CNN's 6:00 broadcast news coverage. The MRP found that the media had a tremendous influence over the public at this time and significantly contributed to their understanding of who the enemy was in the war. It also discovered the role that the Bush Administration had in framing the media's agenda and they used broadcast television to push their own political agenda. The MRP will teach the reader about the overpowerful role the news media can have, especially in times of crises and how the media can shape and present news events to with significant bias. Winston Churchill once said that with great power comes greater

responsibility. This MRP teaches about the great responsibility of the news media and how during the news coverage after the terrorist attack, they unfortunately, did not live up to.

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Introduction:

This major research paper will examine the role of the mass media, broadcast television, the 24-hour news cycle and their influence on the public's perception of current events. The MRP will focus specifically on broadcast television's coverage of the War on Terror in the United States beginning on September 11th, 2001 and ending on September 16th, 2001. In my undergraduate studies, I took a course entitled “The Politics of Fear and the War on Terror”. Since then, I have been interested in learning about the media’s role throughout the war, and the influence they had on the public’s perception of the war’s progression, and the events surrounding the conflict. For the purpose of this MRP, the beginning of the War on Terror will be identified as September 11th, 2001 after the two commercial airplanes crashed into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The War on Terror is different from any previous war because it is not against a specific state but rather against an ideology (Mustapha, 2014). The media coverage of the war was very unique, as audiences were beginning to witness news coverage at all hours of the day (Cushion & Lewis, 2009). Immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Centre, viewers were constantly updated and able to watch the story unfold. Journalists would discover new information about the attack and within minutes a broadcaster would be announcing the information on the air. As the conflict developed, the coverage increased. Simultaneously, technology advanced, creating new platforms for the news media (Cushion, 2010). For example,

in 2006, 5 years into the War on Terror, Twitter was created, which allowed news agencies to “tweet” coverage as opposed to having to wait to announce an event through a print or broadcast outlet.

The 24-hour news media are among the most powerful and influential actors in modern society (Croteau & Hoynes, 2016). They are responsible for informing and educating the public about the events that occur around the world. If an event is not mentioned or highlighted by the media, it is unimportant, and is not a priority for the media’s agenda and therefore the public’s. The mass media can use various tools and strategies in order to present the news in a certain way that will lead to a particular response of the public (McCombs M. 1997). The media is aware of the proper vocabulary and tone of voice necessary to invoke specific emotions onto their audience. The beginning of the War on Terror was an extremely emotional time for the United States of America (Altheide, 2009). The terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre, on September 11th, 2001, led to the loss of thousands of lives and the country was in a state of fear and panic (Mustapha, 2014). The public was fixated with the news, hoping to find answers during the chaotic time. The power and responsibility the 24-hour news media held throughout the war was and continues to be very large. It is important to understand this when relying on the media for one’s understanding of current events (Monahan, 2010).

Literature Review:

This literature review is organized in a series of three separate sections. The first is understanding the theory. The MRP applied two different theories throughout the research, Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. These two theories have allowed me to focus my research on this specific topic. Once the reader understands how these theories contribute to foundation of today’s media landscape, one is able to then move on to second part of the literature review, the

rise of 24-hour news coverage. This is an important element of the MRP as the focus is on the role of the 24-hour news media and its influence on the public. In order to properly understand the role of the media, it is necessary to examine the history of the media and how it has evolved. The final section of the literature review is The War on Terror, Othering and the State of Exception. The act of othering is the driving force behind the MRP. The MRP will be arguing that the broadcast television media influenced their audiences so strongly that there was a united act of othering among the American people. Othering is not a term that most people are aware of and that is why it is so important that the research and literature present the reader with a definition. Throughout the War on Terror, the United States government operated in a state of exception, creating new laws that allowed them to act outside international derestriction. This impacted the actions of the mass media and the emotions of its audience. The result being that the American people lived in a state of fear. The following literature review will allow the reader to understand the importance of the role of the American government and media, and how they both have a significant effect on how the public audience views and understands the world around them.

Part One: Understanding the Theory

The theories of Agenda Setting and Framing are often associated with research regarding the mass media and the public. These theories explain the significant role the mass media have in informing the public about world events. In order for the MRP to examine the role and power of 24-hour news coverage it must first explain the importance of the relationship between the news media and the public. Both of these theories argue that the way in which a news event is framed and then presented to the public can influence the audience's interpretation of the event (McCombs M. 2014). If the media present an issue, in which they frame certain actors as winners or losers or as an enemy or victim, the audience digests the information and often

mimics the same opinions as the media (Steuter and Wills, 2010).

Lippmann was the first academic to touch on Agenda Setting Theory in 1922 (Lippmann, 1922). He argued that the thoughts and ideas individuals have about all public affairs were constructed and placed by the media (Lippmann, 1922). Building off of Lippmann's work, Agenda Setting Theory was then further developed by McCombs, Weaver and Shaw in 1963. McCombs argues that "what we know about the world is largely based off of what the media tell us" (McCombs, 2014, p. 2). The theory argues that the media are able to make certain issues more salient by strategizing how particular issues are more prominently placed in media coverage (Shaw & McCombs, 1972). "The development of this theory began when McCombs and Shaw were trying to explain how the media can influence a change in political behavior during a presidential election" (Klaczkowski, 2015, p. 3). This theory was then further developed into Second Level Agenda Setting which builds on the first level, arguing that the level of salience the news media places on a news event impacts the amount and the way in which the audience thinks about the event (Ghanem, 1997). Entman "defines the act of framing as a selection of events orchestrated by the media, done in a distinct way to promote a specific problem definition" (Klaczkowski, 2016, p. 3) and interpretations of the event (Entman, 1993). By understanding the theory behind the news media, one is able to draw conclusions about the mass media's political objectives and how they are able to strongly influence the public. When examining the historical coverage of international conflicts, such as the Cold War, Vietnam War, and the Gulf War, it is clear that broadcast companies such as CBS, ABC, NBC, BBC and CNN all rose to power and became influential figures (Giloba, 2005). Throughout times of government elections, foreign conflict, and natural disasters, the public's trust in the news media is increased and therefore so is the news media's power. This MRP research will use these

theories and apply them to the 24-hour broadcast television coverage that occurred throughout the first week of the War on Terror. The 24-hour broadcast media's framing of victims and enemies during the first week after the attacks contributed to the way the American public processed the terrorist attack (Aradua & Munster, 2009). The news media worked very hard to evoke certain stereotypes and beliefs onto their audiences, which then allowed the American government to declare to the world that we were all living in a state of exception (Mustapha, 2014). A state of exception allows governments to act unconfined by legal structures and carry out illiberal policies that are legitimized solely based on the irregular state of fear (Aradua & Munster, 2009). By applying the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing, this MRP identifies how the mass media constructed certain values and influenced their audiences' understanding of who the enemy was in the war. This MRP will also explain how the government of the United States was able to manipulate the news media to their advantage and justify their illegitimate and inhumane actions throughout the war. In order to apply the theory to the 24-hours news media coverage throughout the war, it is crucial to have an understanding of the 24-hour news cycle and its historical significance.

Part two: The Rise of 24-hour News Coverage

Rolling news coverage can easily be found throughout many public spaces, such as cell phones, bus and subway stations, office waiting rooms, gym changing rooms, shopping centers, hotel lobbies and more. The 24-hour news channel has similarly become an inescapable component of modern society and "a visual wall paper in their daily routines" (Cushion & Lewis, 2010, p. 1). With the evolution of technology has also come the evolution of media coverage. At one point, families would sit in their living room, patiently waiting to listen to the radio for an update on news events. Now, a news update is at one's fingertips and one is able to easily

examine and compare countless perspectives on one given event. Cushion has purposed three overlapping stages throughout the evolution of 24-hour television broadcasting. The first was the launch of the Cable News Network in 1980, formally known as CNN. The second stage quickly followed the first as a race towards a transnational reach and influence. The third and still ongoing stage, was the regionalization and increasing competitiveness of rolling television news channels (Cushion, 2010). CNN were the first leaders in 24-hour news television, the network became a staple for many American homes from its start in 1980 (Bromely, 2010). CNN's broadcasting technique was new and original; especially their ability to be on location when a story broke and could produce immediate coverage, commonly understood as going live (Cushion, 2010). This element of liveness created a huge gap between what CNN could do and other broadcasting outlets (Cushion & Lewis, 2009). Audiences were now able to watch the news story unravel before their eyes (Couldry, 2004). CNN's ability to go live in Kabul Afghanistan, hours after the attack on September 11th, played a large role in the framing of the attack, not just for the CNN broadcast but by other networks as well. This amazing feature of news television has sparked some criticism which was voiced through the theory of The CNN Effect (Robinson, 2002). Robinson developed the theory in 2002 to explain how going live or communicating in real time provoked extreme responses from both domestic audiences and political audiences. CNN informed the public about world issues in a similar timeline as political elites, forcing governments into impulsive actions because of public exposure (Robinson, 2002).

In many places around the world, 24-hour news channels are a part of competitive, fast paced and high stakes environment. There are many networks that have an international reach and are watched by audiences around the world. However, as these global networks gained popularity, many smaller scaled networks emerged, networks that focus on news in specific

geographic region such as Al Jazeera and Euro News (Rai & Cottle, 2010). It is important to recognize that the evolution of the 24-hour news media was not restricted to the United States and many other networks have benefited from the new technology (Cushion, 2010). Through these other networks, audiences are able to receive much more focused content on news events occurring in a closer proximity but also delivered by broadcasters in their native tongue and without an American influence (Cushion, 2010).

The final stage in the evolution of 24-hour television news is the rise of disposable news, which involves a “built-in obsolescence that serves a profit motive but impedes public understanding of the world” (Lewis, 2010, p. 83). What is important one day, can easily be tossed aside the next because there is an overwhelming access to new information. The 24-hour news cycle and its repetitive rush is the strongest form of disposable news. Lewis argues that with the rise of the 24-hour news cycle one can also see the decline of democracy (Lewis, 2010). The United States government has over time put the role of educating the people in the hands of the private sector and with that comes the overall desire to entertain viewers but more importantly to make a profit (Lewis, 2010). The term “yesterday’s news” is a perfect example of how news has become disposable and how audiences are always concerned with what is new and exciting and news is now no longer dated by the day but by the hour. The value of a news network lies in its ability to be first to present a breaking story, and decreasingly in the value and authenticity of the information (Cushion, 2010). In theory, a 24-hour news cycle should provide its viewers with factual information about world events. However, according to a study of 24-hour news channels, this is not the reality. The study compared 24-hour news channels with conventional TV news bulletins and concludes that there was actually less analysis of all topics on every 24-hour channel (Lewis, Cushion, & Thomas, 2005). The study outlined that 24-hour

news television provides its audiences with less context, less historical background, less comparative information and, most unfortunately, is less likely to explain the significance and meaning of a story (Lewis, 2010). Given this information, it is very easy to become skeptical of 24-hour news channels and the quality of information that is being delivered to audiences.

After the terrorist attack on September 11th 2001, the Bush administration was able to manipulate the media and change the power dynamic between the two actors. The media's high demand for 24-hour programming worked to the administration's advantage as journalists became dependent on government sources for information (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). This change in power transformed the information the American public received about the war, as the Agenda Setting and framing of news events was no longer in the hands of the news organization but in the hands of the government. The constructions of others, which will be discussed in further detail in the next section, was orchestrated by the government and the mass media (Aradua & Munster, 2009). The Bush administration wanted the American public to believe and think of the enemies of the War on Terror in a very specific way.

Part Three: The WOT, Othering and the State of Exception.

On Tuesday September 11th 2001, four commercial airplanes were hijacked and terrorists performed suicide attacks in the United States. Two of these planes crashed into the North and South Tower of the World Trade Centre, the third plane hit the Pentagon and the fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania (Birkland, 2004). The attack completely transformed the psyche and morale of the American people and triggered the most rapid and dramatic change in U.S foreign policy (Walt, 2001). One of the main functions of the news media is to collect, create and circulate narratives to the public. They play a critical role in supporting the values and interests of the dominant groups in society.

Historically, television has been effective in presenting conflicts within a framework of binary opposition, a dichotomy of us versus them (Aradua & Munster, 2009). Relevant to this discussion is the dichotomous story presented on news coverage, where the Islamic opposition is presented as irrational and eccentric and is set against a strong, reasonable United States leader (Thussu, 2006). It is very easy for television networks to broadcast a bearded, turban wearing Muslim. It fits the criteria of the stereotypical Islamic east, which has strong cultural and historical roots (Said, 1981). Throughout the duration of the war, the Bush administration and media were very smart (Lewis & Reese, 2009). They understood how demonizing a leader could be an incredibly effective propaganda tool. By claiming that the terrorist attacks on September 11th were orchestrated by a single individual, the response of the United States government of invading Iraq was actually a personal attack on leader Saddam Hussein and not the entire country (Thussu, 2006). Walker states that when you “construct the other as barbarian, as that which must be civilized or destroyed, the way is open to the declaration of exceptions that affirm the suspension of modern achievements and the authorization of absolute authority” (Walker, 2006, p. 76). The media’s breakdown of the enemy of the war targets their religious, moral, economic and ethical characteristics and focuses on defining the enemy by what the American people are not (Schmitt, 1996). 24-hour news media’s construction of the enemy significantly influenced the way in which the American public understood the war (Edy & Meirick, 2007). Framing the enemy as someone so foreign caused the public to fear anyone who shared any similar characteristic (Kellner, 2006). This was a not only a tool of the news media, but of the Bush administration as well, since at the time the administration were the ones truly controlling the news media. When examining the news media throughout the war it is important to always recognize the power the Bush administration had over the institution.

The United States responded to these horrid attacks by invading Iraq and launching the War on Terror. The attack on September 11th, 2001, signified the beginning of a state of emergency and the start of the Bush administration operating in a state of exception (Aradua & Munster, 2009). A state of exception allows governments to act outside the borders of international law. After the attacks the Bush administration began making exceptional political decisions under threatening and stressful circumstances; this was a new kind of war with a new kind of enemy (Dudziak, 2010). There is a very strong link between a state of fear and governments action throughout a state of exception. “Exceptionalism plays upon the panic of the citizens and the communal fear of the enemy can unite people (Aradua & Munster, 2009, p. 689). Huysmans theorizes that a state of exception reshapes a political and cultural society in three ways (Huysmans, 2004). Exceptionalism redistributes fear and trust, it reconsiders inclusion and exclusion and it institutes a predisposition towards violence (Huysmans, 2004). The Bush Administration was able to foster fear within its citizens to create a greater sense of American unity, thus allowing the government to act in exceptional illegal ways in order to terminate such fear.

By understanding the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing theories, one can understand that all news sources, especially broadcast television, play a huge rule in educating the public about current events around the world. Historically, the public has relied on the news sources to keep them informed and up to date. This relationship involves a great amount of trust between the public and news organizations, to report accurate information. With the development of 24-hour news reporting, the public has become more dependent on news organizations and thus, the responsibility of news organizations has substantially grown. With the rise of 24-hour news coverage, there has also been a rise in disposal news. This changed the

way broadcasters reported current events as well as the way audiences digested new information. After the terrorist attack on September 11th, 2001, another very important actor joined the relationship between the public and news organizations, the Bush Administration. News organizations became reliant on the government for new information. They could no longer depend on their own journalists to provide new information for the broadcast. The bush administration, were now the puppet masters, pulling the strings behind the curtains. The puppets were the news anchors and the American public were the audience. However the government wanted the public to understand and process the attack, they just had to pull the strings in the right direction. The government quickly declared that they were living in a state of exception, meaning that this was an unusual circumstance and they as a government, were legally allowed to do whatever was necessary to counter terrorism. A priority for the Bush Administration was for the public to understand who the victims and who the enemies were in this war. This was done through the process of Othering, the enemy was anyone that resembled Middle Eastern culture, Islamic religion but most importantly, anyone who was not American and disagreed with the values of the United States. These definitions, allowed the government to invade Iraq and Afghanistan, with minimal push back from the public. Combining the three sections of the literature review, it is very obvious that the Bush Administration and news organizations worked very hard to craft the presentation of the War on Terror to the public. In order for the audience to support the government's actions, they had to first understand the attack and those that carried out the attack in a very specific way.

Research Questions:

Similar to the literature review, the research questions for this MRP are structured in a specific way. The questions are targeted to the three sections of the literature review:

understanding the theory, the rise of the 24-hours television news media and the War on Terror, Othering and the State of Exception.

As demonstrated by the literature review, there are many theorists, specifically McCombs, Weaver, Shaw and Entman who have argued that the mass media influences the way in which the public understands and interprets events. Based off of the literary research presented, the academic inferences and conclusions, I have used their findings a foundation and focus for the research questions listed below.

1. What was the role of the 24-hour news media throughout the War on Terror?

It is difficult to define the role of the 24-hour news media throughout the War on Terror because before answering the question, one must first define the 24-hour news media as well as the War on Terror. The literature review above provides a historical background of the 24-hour news media as well as a description of how it functions in today's society. Mustapha (2014), defines the war as series of military and nonmilitary actions at home and abroad led by the United States as well as a variety of missions with the objective of eliminating the terrorist organization Al Qaeda (Mustapha, 2014). According to Mustapha, the War on Terror is different from other wars because it is not a war against a specific person, but against an ideology: terrorism. The mass media were able to convince the United States public that this was a war against a particular individual, even though it was not. They were able to do this through the act of Othering, which will be a focus in the proceeding sections.

2. What role did the television broadcast media have on the presentation and framing of the War on Terror and its potential impacts on audiences?

It is very important to apply the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing when answering this question. Once one understands these two theories, it is obvious that news media around the

world have a very strong influence on the way in which their audiences interpret news events. The United States' rolling coverage throughout the War on Terror is no exception to these theories. The news media are the ones who communicate to their audiences how to think and respond to world events. Their role in educating the public about the terrorist's attack on September 11th was extremely crucial to the public's understanding and approach to the war. By examining the archived videos of broadcast television news during the first week of the war, it is clear that media used framing tools to present the enemy of the attacks in a very clear and specific way. This depiction of the enemy was engraved into the minds of Americans which led to strong emotions of fear and disgust towards the other.

How did the television broadcast media frame and present events and conflict during the first week of the War on Terror to enforce certain values and ideals of the enemy onto its audience? Did they use specific language? Were specific images or labels used?

According to second level Agenda Setting theory, the way in which news events are constructed and presented, evokes a certain set of feelings and values from the audience (McCombs M, 2014). Throughout the war, if the broadcast media wanted to have the audience relate to a victim or come together against an enemy, they were able to construct these emotions through the broadcast. By using specific language, such as words with negative connotations, the audience begin to formulate a negative opinion of the enemy and anyone associated with him or her. When watching the archived video footage, the use of a banner at the bottom of the screen with a brief summary of the report or the label breaking news is often used. This banner is visual tool for the broadcast media as it creates a focal point for viewers, allowing them to glimpse at the television screen and receive new information. If certain words are used to summarize the report, then those words are what will stick to the viewer when attempting to make sense of an

event. The MRP will analyze the use of the banner throughout news broadcasts the first week after the terrorist attack and its ability to frame news events.

When answering this question, it is very important to recognize that the news media were partially under the control of the news media throughout the war. The government was able to manipulate the 24-hour news cycle to its advantage. Because the media outlets were so reliant on receiving new information about the war so often, the Bush administration was the only actor that could credibly comment on the war or provide the outlets with a new information. If the Bush administration wanted the news cycle to focus on a particular event, or if they wanted to cover up an attack or set back, they could simply feed the media which ever story they wanted to dominate.

What is the framing strategy of Othering? How did broadcast television use Othering to potentially shape public opinion?

The act of Othering is defining something by what he/she is not. The American public was confronted by understanding that the enemy of this war was the opposite of the American. By using the strategy of othering, the public believed that they were living in state of fear and uncertainty and that they should trust their government to do whatever it takes to return life to the norm. This allowed the Bush Administration to declare a state of exception, where they were able to act beyond the constructs of the law. The actions of the Bush Administration were very much illegal and illiberal and went against many aspects of the constitution. It is unclear if these actions were able to end the War on Terror and bring justice to the American people. The news networks used othering to convey this message to the American people. They manipulated the viewer's emotions of panic and fear and then

presented them with a description of the enemy, intensifying their emotions.

Method of Analysis:

The method of analysis the MRP will be using is a content analysis. The content being analyzed is a collection of archived footage of broadcast news segments from CNN and FOX news during the first week of the War on Terror. The MRP specifically focuses on the 6:00 PM news. Although the attack had taken place much earlier in the day, I thought that 6:00 pm would be a time where the majority of people would be watching the news, throughout the week. Also, immediately after the attacks, all news organization could really only speculate about what was happening as they did not have enough information to properly confirm much. As the day progressed, more information became available. The television news archives online database has a specific database entitled *Understanding 9/11, a television news archive*. This archive contains hundreds of hours of live footage from 20 different broadcasting outlets from around the world. The week following the terrorist attack, broadcast news organizations became almost 24 hours.

According to the Washington Post, 80 million people were glued to television sets on the day of the attacks (Moraes, 2001). Regularly scheduled program was interrupted on September 11th and the public was being constantly updated on any new information regarding the attack, the victims and the enemies. They were also broadcasting live updates regarding school closures, where victims were being treated and how to cope psychologically with the events. Because of the unconventional programming schedule, some of the samples collected in the data set, begin shortly before 6:00 PM. As previously stated, the news coverage the week following the terrorist attacks was watched by millions. This MRP infers that the news hour where the majority of people watched was the 6:00 PM news time slot. All students were home from

school and the majority of people would be home from work. This news slot audiences was the most impressionable and vulnerable. If you were at school or at work all day, 6:00 pm was when you would finally be updated on events and be thirsty for new information. In times of crisis or unrest, the public turns to their media experts for information of calm and instruction (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). After a day away from media, the public's first priority was to watch the 6:00 PM news.

Data Collection Approach:

In order to answer the proposed research questions, the MRP research will examine two television news network's coverage of the 9/11 terrorist attack, specifically the six o'clock news during the first week after the attack. By examining the archives of CNN and FOX News, the MRP will be able to analyze a variety of sources and opinions of the attack, from both democratic and liberal media outlets. The MRP analyzed the daily 6:00 P.M broadcast that was presented to the American public at a time of conflict, panic and uncertainty

The sample size was collected manually. 6 days of 30 minute news coverage beginning on September 11th, 2001 and ending on September 16th, 2001. The television archive database had uploaded the full 30 min broadcast for September 11th, 12th and 13th. However, the full broadcasts were not uploaded for the 14th, 15th and 16th. Instead, the news coverage of the day was uploaded in 30-40 second clips. This delayed the data collection process, as it took much longer to watch a complete news broadcast. As each broadcast was viewed, it was recorded as well as transcribed. Photos were also taken of the broadcast if certain images or headlines were displayed on the screen. The images and headlines a broadcasting outlet uses, can aid in setting the agenda of a news story. An image can be interpreted in many different ways. This MRP will show how CNN and FOX news displayed the same live video coverage of Kabul, Afghanistan

on September 11th, 2001, but each had different interpretations of what the video was.

The overall goal for the data collection, is to answer the research questions proposed in the second section of this document. The first question, *what was the role of the 24-hour news media throughout the war on terror?* will be answered in two parts. First, the amount of media coverage throughout the war on terror was overwhelming. The data collection for this MRP will only represent a snapshot of the media coverage throughout the war. The first air plane crashed into the world trade center at approximately 8:46 AM EST. (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, 2011). President Bush did not address the nation until 9:00 PM that night. The first 12 hours after the attack, the mass media were the only ones the public could look to for answers. The broadcast agencies did not know much about the attack, but they were able to provide their viewers with comfort and speculation of what had happened earlier that day in New York as well as what was happening that day in Afghanistan. The news broadcasters were the sole providers of information throughout the first 12 hours after the attack and continued to consistently provide the American public with information for many months after. It is important to recognize that this was before social media and people were relied the most on broadcasters for new information. Had this attack taken place in 2017, the public would be receiving new information through completely different avenues. Based off the data collected, the news anchors were updating the public with whatever information they had and if they did not have new information, they found other ways to fill their airtime through eyewitness accounts and expert interviews. Their role was to educate and update the public of the events that took place the morning of the attack, the events taking place around the world relating to the war and the actions of the American government in response to the attacks. The second question, *what role did the television broadcast media have on the presentation and framing of the War on Terror*

and its potential impact on audiences? As outlined in the literature review, the media is an incredibly influential player in society. With regard to the War on Terror, the Bush Administration also became a very powerful player with regard to the presentation of the news. The role of the media should be to accurately and truthfully report the current events going on around the world. Their responsibility lies in their credibility. If the broadcast corporations were to deliver anything but the truth, they would be misleading the public and improperly educating them. The first broadcast watched was a FOX news archived from September 11th, 2011 beginning at 5:50 pm. The news anchor stated that the explosion that occurred in Afghanistan's capital city Kabul was orchestrated by the American government. FOX's security expert Richard Horowitz, questions the legitimacy of this statement, implying that the anchor claim that the Bush Administration had already retaliated is likely incorrect. This shows that FOX is willing to make statements on air without proper fact checking. A huge responsibility of the broadcast media is to report factual information which they clearly do not always abide. The third research question, *how did the television broadcast media frame and present events and conflicts during the first week of the War on Terror to enforce certain values and ideals of the enemy onto its audience? Did they use specific language? Was specific images or labels used?* Through the data collection and analysis, this question will be answered. Based on the theory of agenda setting, the way in which the broadcast networks presented the terrorist attack on September 11th, provoked a certain set of feelings and emotions from the public. This MRP analyzed the tone, language and images used throughout the progress to see if certain values and beliefs were brainwashed to the audiences. Specifically, creating an opinion about who the enemies and victims were in the war. According to theories of framing addressed in the literature review, a way to creating an extreme sense of emotion among an audience, is to add personal component to the story. According to the

data collection, the news anchors personalized the story of every victim involved in the attack, often having eye witnesses appear on air to share their story with the public. However, when referring to the enemy, they label them as Arabs or the Taliban. By not adding any personality to the perpetrators, the audience begins to feel a sense of compassion towards the victims any disgust towards anyone associated with the Arabic enemy. This marks the beginning of othering, a tool used throughout the war by the Bush Administration and the mass media which leads into the final research question. *What is the framing strategy of othering? How did broadcast television use othering to potential shape public opinion* builds off of the third question. The act of othering is defining something by what they are not. In the case of the War on Terror, if the enemy was the American public, anyone who is not American is then associated with the enemy. On September 14th 2001, FOX news announced that the FBI had released the names of the 19 Hijackers associated with the attack. Some of these had considered themselves American but this did not fit the narrative of the Bush Administration or the Fox News. Any personal information reported on any of these 19 men had to relate to their foreign, anti-American, Islamic ties, highlighting all of their differences, rather than similarities. Racial profiling was a commonly used tool broadcast media used throughout the war. The data collected will show how the media used othering and racial profiling to describe who the enemy was and how the American public should think and react towards anyone who is similar.

The method of analysis this MRP uses is qualitative. When watching the broadcasts, the MRP examined if the broadcast invoked certain ideas and values of the enemy. This will answer the third research question regarding the framing and presentation of the broadcast. It will also determine if specific language and visuals were used to enforce certain values and ideas about the enemy. By applying this method of analysis, the MRP was able to determine if the framing

strategy of othering was used and how it shaped the public's opinion. This research is deductive as it begins with understanding the theories of Agenda Setting and Framing and then applies those theories to the broadcast media's actions following the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre.

The first part of the code book, the tone, refers to the way in which the broadcaster delivers the news. The tone of one's voice aids in the overall understanding of the seriousness and magnitude of the news report. The tone of the broadcaster indicates the level of emotions involved and if the broadcaster is critical or supportive of an event or issue. The second element of language refers to the lexicon of the anchor throughout the broadcast. The choice of language will either positively or negatively depict an event and it could aid in the framing of a narrative. The broadcaster could also use leading statements which would also influence the public's understanding. The third elements of visual images refers to the language that appears on the screen at the bottom of the broadcast or any images, graphics or visual aids that appears on the full or split screen throughout the broadcast. An example of the visual could be the label of BREAKING NEWS at the bottom of the screen. At times, broadcast networks will put multiple sentences of information for the viewer to read at home. The text used at the bottom of a news segment is another tool used for framing.

By applying this code book to the data collection, the MRP was able to identify how broadcast media influenced public perception and fostered the discourse of fear to create very strong definitions of the victims and enemies throughout the duration of the war. The MRP will argue that the television broadcasters used these three elements to convey a specific ideology and values to their audience, namely that the enemy of the War on Terror is a bearded, frightening, aggressive Arab who should be feared and avoided at all costs.

Findings and Discussion

The following section of the MPR will review the data collected. A summary will be provided of the thirty minute broadcast of Fox News and then of CNN's coverage for that specific day. The summaries below will focus primarily on the information reported in the broadcast that aid in the answering of the research questions.

September 11th, 2001 - FOX News

The broadcast begins with an eye witness account of the attack from a middle aged white man who worked on the 25th floor of the tower one, the North tower of the WTC. He explains his experience and the emotions he felt as he was running for his life. In the middle of his account, he is cut off by the main news anchor and the image on the screen is now a view of a city in the night, and you can see lights flashing. The broadcast was interrupted with a breaking news update courtesy of CNN. Nic Robertson, a CNN reporter is live in Kabul Afghanistan, the country's capital city. The broadcast mentions that the flashing lights on the screen are a counter attack of the United States. The broadcast switches to Mayor Rudy Giuliani of NYC press conference, where he says that United States government will make an example out of whoever was responsible for this attack. The broadcast then switches back the live CNN coverage in Kabul and the FOX broadcaster states that Kabul is where suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden is being hidden. The video switches back to the FOX anchor, welcoming Security Expert, Richard Horowitz. The anchor asks Horowitz to speak to the explosions going off in Kabul, hinting at the thought that they could be from a United States retaliation attack on bin Laden as that is where bin Laden is said to be hiding out. Horowitz responds by saying that this is all speculated and that if Bin Laden is in Afghanistan, he is likely not in the capital city. Horowitz also question where the anchor received the information that these explosions are linked to a US attack. "The broadcast

concludes with Kathleen Colony who worked on the 20th floor of tower two, the South tower and Dr. Sussman, explaining to Kathleen the different emotions she will likely feel over the next few days. Both Kathleen and Dr. Sussman are white middle aged.

September 11th, 2001 - CNN

The broadcast begins with the heading “BREAKING NEWS: AMERICA UNDER ATTACK”. This will remain the heading throughout the next six days of news coverage. Live in Kabul Afghanistan and reporter Nic Robertson reporting about explosions going off. Robertson describes the loud explosions he has been hearing from the city center. The broadcast goes back to the studio in Washington DC. CNN anchor asks former US Defense Secretary William Cohen, a white middle aged man, if these explosions are a retaliation of the United States. In NYC the CNN anchor says that US intelligence has confirmed that a group connected to Osama bin Laden may be involved in the attack. The broadcast concludes with the Cohen saying that in general, we need more human intelligence on the ground in the Middle East to prevent attacks like this from happening.

September 12th 2001 - FOX News

The broadcast begins with the screen reading “Attack on America, the Day After”. FOX hosts terrorist expert Rob Sobhani. A FOX journalist states the main focus is on Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan. An image of bin Laden holding a gun and speaking at a terrorist training camp appears on the screen.

September 12th, 2001 - CNN

The main focus of this broadcast was on the property damage and human toll of the attack and on the closure of the stock market. Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota is interviewed and

addresses the importance of knowing who the enemy is and figuring out exactly who was involved before taking any action. Stressing the importance of needing precise detail of what we are going to and the warning we are going to give. As he says this the banner at the screen says everything points to bin Laden.

September 13th, 2001 - FOX News

The broadcast begins with the screen reading “Attack on America, the Aftermath”. A potential threat was discovered in the Capitol building after an unidentified package was found and the entire building was evacuated. 20 minutes into the broadcast, everything was cleared and the House of Representatives and Senate were allowed back in.

September 13th, 2001 - CNN

The broadcast begins with the evacuation of the United States Capitol and Vice President Dick Cheney being moved to Camp David. In the middle of the broadcast, the anchor confirms that Osama Laden is the number one suspect for this attack. The broadcast concluded with an interview from Joseph McAlinden, an employee at Morgan Stanley who survived the terrorist attack. McAlinden is a young white man.

September 14th, 2001 - FOX News

The broadcast begins with the FBI naming the nineteen hijackers associated with the attack. Bush addresses the nation, focusing on unity and how we need to extend unity against terror across the world. You are either with us or against us. When the 19 names are read out, the first image of one of them appears on the screen. His name is Mohamed Atta and he is 33 years old. The reading of these 19 names played a significant role in the public's understanding of who the enemy was and who should be feared.

September 14th, 2001 - CNN

The broadcast begins with the President of Palestine, Yasser Arafat, saying that he is in shock about the attack that took place Tuesday morning and that this is not in line with Islamic principles. Video clips of violent anti - American protests taking place across the Middle East is on the screen. At the bottom of the screen, the banner reads that \$40 billion has been approved to hunt down the instigators of the attack. Six people are interviewed on this broadcast Jeremy Segal, a business professor at Wharton, Lisa Larter a survivor from the attack, Cathleen Hays, a bond market expert, Diane Swonk, another survivor from the attack, Kenneth I. Chenault, American Express chairman and CEO and former Secretary of State, Colin Powell. Up until this day, every American that appeared on air could be classified as Caucasian. Chenault and Powell were the first non-white individuals to be featured on the broadcast.

September 15th, 2001 - FOX News

The broadcast begins with a montage of the attack and the rescue team. This broadcast is entitled “America United”. Bush said that they will bring the people who did this to justice and once again, declares Bin Laden as the prime suspect. Bush vowed to not only get revenge but a victory over the people who hate what the United States stands for. . The FOX anchor concludes the broadcast by speaking about the need to improve the intelligence in the US to counter terrorism.

September 15th, 2001 - CNN

The broadcast is entitled “America’s New War” and begins with a summary of what President Bush had to say at another press conference at Camp David. “This is a different kind of enemy, fighting on a battlefield without any boundaries”. CNN military consultant, Wesley Clark speaks about the different military options the United States has. Former Secretary of State

Lawrence Eagleburger also spoke to the United States military strategy. Lawrence is a white middle aged man.

September 16th, 2001 - Fox News

The broadcast begins at St. Patrick's Cathedral in NYC, a ceremony for those lost their lives. Back in Washington, the leaders of the country are preparing for War and how they are going to rebuild the Pentagon.

September 16th, 2001 - CNN

This broadcast is entitled “America's New War, Seeking Solace”. The broadcasts goes back and forth between Bush’s press conference at Camp David and St Patrick's Cathedral where a memorial service was taking place. The head of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Grasso is interviewed about how they have prepared to reopen the following day. Grasso is a white middle aged man.

Data Analysis and Findings

Throughout the research process there were three elements of the broadcast coverage that stood out. The first was the FOX news broadcast on September 11th and how they broke the trust between themselves and the public. The second element has three layers and all has to do with the concept of Othering. The race and skin colour of all those who gave eye witness accounts and on air interviews the week after the attack, the reading of the names of the 19 hijackers involved in the attack and the use of animal characteristics to describe the enemy. These three strategies, helped to define the victims and the enemies of the war. The third is the labeling of Osama bin Laden as the primary suspect and target of the War on Terror.

Findings Part One:

On September 11th, the first plane had crashed into the world trade centre at 8:46 AM. The United States was in a complete state of panic and fear. During times of uncertainty, the public turns to any resemblance of a leader (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). The leader of the country, George W. Bush, did not address the nation until 9:00 pm that night. For those 11 hours and 15 minutes, the news media was the closest comparison to a leader and thus, the public entrusted them to share factual and up to date information about the terrorist attack and any relevant information pertaining to it. It can be argued, that FOX news media, did not honour the ethical relationship they have with the public and used strategies of framing and agenda setting, to present a strong, powerful, aggressive and fictitious image of America. The FOX news broadcast showed videos courtesy of CNN of explosions and detonations going off around 2:00 AM Kabul, Afghanistan. They claimed that Kabul is where bin Laden was hiding. They also claimed that these explosions, were curtesy of attacks s carried out by the U.S military as a retaliation from the attacks that happened earlier in the day. This framing of the attack, shifts the narrative from the United States being attacked, to the United States retaliating against those that harm them. It frames the United States as powerful and indestructible. Depending on the way an issue is presented on a news broadcast, will influence the way the public thinks about or digests an event (Shaw & McCombs, 1972). By presenting the explosions in Kabul Afghanistan in the way that FOX news did, frames America in way to so that the public can be less fearful and instead comforted that their government is taking care of them.

The issue with this framing of Kabul, is that it was untrue. The explosions had nothing to do with a United States attack in Afghanistan. Shortly after the FOX news anchor stated that these explosions were a result of a United States Military attack, security expert, Richard

Horowitz, questioned the validity of that statement, arguing that it was highly unlikely that the United States would attack so quickly, and asks the anchor as to where he received that information. The anchor is quick to change the subject. It was CNN who had a journalist on the ground in Kabul that day, not FOX. Any new information about Kabul was coming directly from CNN journalist Nic Robertson and not from The White House Press Secretary or the President and certainly not from FOX. Everything FOX presented was speculation. Even though their statement was discredited, there was still a salience put on the topic of the United States attacking Kabul. FOX's strategy was to frame the United States as strong and powerful throughout the broadcast coverage. Fox News has a reputation for being supportive of Republican Party leaders and throughout the media coverage, framed President Bush as a strong, trustworthy and effective leader.

The War on Terror was a new type of war, the attack on September 11th, marked an outbreak of fear and chaos and the United States was operating within a state of exception. With this unfamiliarity, the United States was able to have greater control over the country. The United States were living within a state of exception and the Bush Administration had almost complete control over the media coverage. Journalist had no choice but to rely on Whitehouse Press Secretary, Ari Fleischer for information. This was a very undemocratic practise and the power equation between political establishments and the media completely changed (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). The War on Terror marked a new error where the medias and public agenda was "built and set in an electronic stage where realities were manufactured, packaged and sold" (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). The agenda of the Bush administration, became the agenda setting and framing strategy for news organizations. The public entrust news networks that their reporting will be fair and objective. The Bush Administration made the media's need to provide

24-hour programming work to its advantage by forcing journalists to completely depend on government sources for information (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). FOX news misleading the public about the attack in Kabul, was only the beginning of this new form of journalistic reporting and marks the decline in journalistic integrity in the United States. FOX news prioritized entertainment and ratings over their reputation and ability to deliver as a news organization. David Altheide recognized that this decline in democracy and journalistic integrity did not just apply to Fox News but to American networks across the board. He argued that television reporting has never performed so poorly in a time of crisis (Altheide, 2010). Instead of doing their job, broadcast organizations focused on creating a loud spectacle rather than an understanding and focused on their partnership or service towards the Bush Administration instead of reporting the genuine options the country and the world was facing during this new conflict with terrorism (Altheide, 2010).

Findings Part Two:

The concept of enemy construction has been studied for many years. Combining the research of Knightly (1975), Said (1997) and Merskin (2004), it can be concluded that the language and depiction of enemies in the public sphere, is not a reality but a reflection of hard construction work, assembled by bits of information, observation and a biased opinion (Steuter and Wills, 2010). After the attacks on September 11th, both FOX News and CNN regularly featured on air interviews with survivors from the attack. Stories of courage and bravery were shared around the world. Both networks also featured individuals who were experts in their various fields to educate the public on issues such as post-traumatic stress disorder, security and terrorism, engineering, the bond market and New York Stock Exchange. There were two individuals that were not white that appeared on air during the 6 days of broadcast, Kenneth I.

Chenault, American Express chairman and CEO and the Secretary of State at the time, Colin Powell. By using primarily white people to speak about the attack or educate the public, the media was able to define the victim as someone who was white, and began to construct the enemy of the war as anyone who was not. This act of the networks can also be understood as the process of Othering, defining something by what you are not. Creating a dichotomy of good vs. evil, us vs. them. This is a very dehumanizing act and is a perpetual cycle carried out by the news media in times of conflict. By defining the victims and enemies in this way, the media were then able to use racial metaphors to further explain to the public who the enemy was in the war (Steuter and Wills, 2010). This racist definition of enemy and victim was used throughout the war and is still used in America today.

The definition of enemy and victim and the act of othering went one step further on September 14th, 2001 when both FOX News and CNN received the list of names of the 19 hijackers involved in the attack. All of the men involved were Arab (Lund, 2002). With these names also came the images of some of the men. The names were written out as subheadings on the screen as well as read out loud by the news anchors. These names, were not your typical John Smith, American names. Following September 14th, the list of names and images of the hijackers consistently appeared on both networks. With this, also came the news anchors descriptions of fear, evil and terrorism. These adjectives were reinforced to describe the men involved in the attack. These men were Middle-Eastern, foreign, and different. Once the public saw and heard the names of the hijackers, it became very easy to target people of Middle-Eastern ancestry or Islamic belief as possibly terrorists or as a threat. The images of bearded men became a symbol of terrorism. The Islamic faith became a symbol of terrorism. Anything resembling Islam or the Middle - East was now justified and encouraged by the media to fear. Both FOX news and CNN

worked very hard to paint a foreign picture of these men.

American television broadcast corporations, chose to not present any important background about the middle east or these 19 men as it was not consistent with the other their other news themes (Altheide, 2010). Throughout the FOX and CNN broadcasts, whenever a video or image of the Middle – East appeared on air, it was also depicted negatively. For example, on September 12th, FOX news showed a video of bin Laden speaking at a terrorist training camp holding a gun and on September 14th, CNN showing a protest against the United States in Palestine. These examples illustrate how the media use carefully constructed images and video to portray an uncivilized and dangerous middle east. The images of the 19 hijackers and Middle Eastern or Islamic culture was dominated by oriental presumptions and dated colonial definitions (Scutt, 2016). Once the names and faces of the 19 hijackers was revealed, racial profiling became a common tool of the news media and eventually became a common practise for Americans (Lund, 2002). When revealing information about the Terrorists life, the main focus was on how different they were from Americans. When it became public knowledge that all of these men were of the Islamic faith, anyone American who observed Islam was now considered a threat, an enemy and an outsider. The broadcast media were able to use the images and names of these 19 men to enhance the fear associated with their places of birth and religion. This further divided the American people from the enemy and sparked feelings of fear, hatred and disgust onto the Other.

On September 15th 2001, at a press conference at Camp David, President Bush made it very clear that he is willing to hunt down the terrorists that orchestrated this attack. Many other circumstances of terrorist behavior and counterterrorism uses similar language, implying a pursuit of an animal (Steuter and Wills, 2010). Using language such as hunt, as oppose to search,

creates a further divide between the enemy and the victim, leading the public to think of the enemy as an animal rather than a human. Broadcasters, embodies this language of President Bush and it quickly became a part of the news anchors commonly used vocabulary. In the North American culture, there are many positive ways to describe an animal and its behavior. However, when media refer to animal metaphors, they use narratives that emphasize negative connotations (Steuter and Wills, 2010). By using these animal like metaphors, the American public viewed the enemy of the war as an animal and not a human. By describing the enemy is such a way, created a politics of fear where the public believed that this form of retaliation was the only way for them to be safe and be protected. These animal descriptions further divided the American public from the Other. On September 15th and 16th, both FOX News and CNN used this dialect to define the enemy.

Findings Part 3:

On September 11th, 2001, during the 6:00 PM news broadcast, both FOX news and CNN stated the world renowned terrorist, Osama bin Laden, had played a role in the orchestration of the terrorist attacks. In almost every 6:00 pm broadcast from both networks throughout the week, bin Laden was labelled as the primary suspect and the United States most wanted terrorist. Videos of bin Laden giving empowering speeches at terrorist training camps were often shown and journalists spoke of if his violent and disturbing history. There is no argument, that bin Laden was not involved in these attacks. He was guilty of coordinating the murder of thousands of innocent people. Said argues that beginning, at the end of the 18th century, Islam has been described as an Orient, while the rest of the world as Occident (Said 1981). The Occident has always viewed the Orient with fear and hostility (Said 1981). Fast forward to September 11th, 2001, and the Occident negativity towards the Orient is taken to new heights. Bin Laden is now seen as a symbol for

orientalism. By labelling Osama bin Laden as the primary suspect, he became the symbol of the Other. Similar to the 19 hijackers, anything that Bin Laden was associated with also fit into the Other description. Bin Laden was associated with Afghanistan, linked to Saddam Hussein and Iraq, the faith of Islam and the Middle East over all. The daily reminder bin Laden was the number one enemy, was pasted into the heads of anyone who watched FOX News or CNN. By creating an emotion of fear towards Iraq and Afghanistan, as they were associated with the Bin Laden, allowed to the government to invade both countries as this was the obvious solution to counter terrorism. The media painted the picture that if the United States military were able to hunt down Bin Laden, then they would be the winners. The Bush Administration worked very closely with the news media to ensure that their political agenda, matched the frame that was presented to the public.

Conclusion and Future Research

The news reports after the terrorist attack on September 11th, were presented through a “discourse of fear as well as cultural images that proclaimed the moral and social superiority of the United States” (Altheide, 2010. pg. 11) and as the Middle East as weak. These definitions have significant historical roots as well as an established discourse of fear associated with the Arab as being the other. It very obvious that the information that was provided to the public, the week after the war, was a carefully constructed narrative that outlined the important characters in the War and how the American public should think and feel about them. From day one, both FOX News and CNN got to work on constructing the enemy, their character flaws that should be feared and how we as the public are to entrust the government to take care of us during the frightening time. Throughout the data collection, it was clear that news sources were repeating the terminology and agenda of the President. Therefore the frame being presented, did only belong to the news corporations but to the Bush Administration. It is unfortunate, that the public has to rely so heavily

on exterior organizations to stay updated on current events. It is even more unfortunate, when these exterior organization, like FOX News report dishonest information. Based on the literature review and the data collected, it is very obvious that throughout the War on Terror there was a “lack of independent, unbiased, truly informative news reporting” (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). Through President Bush’s control of the media, he was able to keep the country in crisis mode for many years. This allowed him to act outside legislation, as they were allowed to do anything that would ensure American’s safety. America was in a state of fear, shock and panic and it is during these times when the public rely most on leadership.

This MRP contains bias as it only examines two American Broadcast companies. There are many corporations that contributed to the media landscape at the time. One can argue though that like FOX News and CNN, these other companies, would also have had to rely heavily on government sources for new information, due to the nature of the war. Further research on this topic could involve a greater sample size, including other broadcast organization. It could also compare the FOX News or CNN broadcasts with broadcasts from other countries, for example the BBC or Al Jazeera. The coverage would likely be significantly different as those corporations were not as reliant on the Bush Administration.

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