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## Media's ISIS crisis: how ISIS came to be through framing and naming

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## Introduction

Since the US occupation of Iraq in the early 2000's, tensions among governments and constituents in the Levant have militarized. The addition of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as a player in that militarization came about rapidly around January 2014. Prior to that, ISIS was an unknown, had no agency, and no framework; most coverage focused on the Syrian civil war which erupted in Spring 2011. Yet, on February 24, 2015, Pew Research reported that American support for fighting ISIS grew since October 2014 from 57 to 63 percent, with 47 percent being in favor of “boots on the ground” action. In January 2014, President Obama referred to ISIS as the “JV team;” January 2015, President Obama implores Congress to back the effort to fight ISIS, saying, “Tonight, I call on this Congress to show the world that we are united in this mission by passing a resolution to authorize the use of force against ISIS” (Sinha; Bordelon).

Why does such a large change in public perception happen so quickly and what does the naming of ISIS have to do with catalyzing that action?

In order to that question, I will examine the rise of ISIS through Western media, particularly The New York Times and The Guardian to investigate the genesis of ISIS as we know them today. In order to break down the second part of the research question — What does naming have to do with catalyzing the fear of ISIS? — framing theory and analysis, and Bennett's source-based interpretation of frame analysis, indexing theory, will be used to analyze: 1) who is naming; 2) what they are saying; 3) how that fits into a larger trajectory of ISIS.

This will all be used in an attempt to understand the larger frames which the West uses to talk about the Middle East and how those frames build over time. In understanding who is talking and how they are talking, I plan to determine how meaning is created from chaos, and potentially, who has the power to make meaning.

### **Literature Review**

First put forward by Goffman, framing theory originates from the idea of a “primary framework” which one has innately to render and organize meaning. Goffman distinguishes between natural and societal frameworks. Natural frameworks relate to scientific fact, whereas societal frameworks provide background understanding for events (Goffman, 1974). A “primary framework” is no longer considered useful in framing research because it suggests that a person is not able to adapt or evolve and refine frames. Yet, the concepts which stem from societal understandings are essential to the modern rendering of framing theory. Modern framing theory emerges from the work of Entman, who defines the concept’s utility in regards to communication: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (Entman, 1993: 52). He continues that frames should not only make meaning but define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements, and suggest remedies. In carrying out those actions, frames are given an agency or rhetoric.

The process for refining the theory hinges on opinion formation and targeted rhetoric. Unlike traditional rhetoric, it is not a form of persuasive media wherein the objective is explicit or even wholly known, as O’Keefe argues (O’Keefe, 2002). Persuasive media with an explicit motive might suggest a knowledge outside of the social

discourse while still maintaining the ability to comment on that society. Nor is it a cognitive linguistic process (Lee, Lewenstein, and Scheufele, 2005). Even though Gitlin explains framing in terms of cognition, the importance of the information and its rhetoric comes through in his idea that symbols can be “emphasized and excluded” to “routinely organize discourse” (Gitlin 1980: 7). While framing has intention insofar as it is a cognitive process, it lacks the explicit knowledge outside the framework necessary to control the framework. Therefore, framing focuses on the presentation rather than the content of information because that would suggest a deeper knowledge at the time of construction (Scheufele, 2014). This starkly distinguishes it from other sociological-based writings such as agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1968), which establishes a relationship between the media and government agendas. Framing might acknowledge this relationship, but only insofar as the terminology and the sources lend themselves to governmental rhetoric. Framing is, at its core, about the relationships between news elements, such as headlines and body copy of articles, pictures and their captions, and metaphors (which would be a relationship between text and the referent) that lead to meanings and associations. Furthermore, framing is generative. This relationship and the evolution of the relationship leads to construction of meaning over time into a public discourse (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

The theory in application is examined through frame building and frame analysis. Goffman (1974) first acknowledges frame analysis as essential because “the reporting of an event and its documentation are not only seen as reductions of or abstractions from the original, but are also understood to possibly affect later occurrences of the real thing.

Thus, for example, there is a concern that the detailed reporting of a crime may lead to further crimes modeled after the report” (79). This process, which Goffman calls “keying,” is the generation or building of frames. In his example of crime reporting, we can think in terms of patterns and begin to interrogate how those come about:

Example RQ1: Is there an influx of police shootings?

Example RQ2: Is there a correlation between those shootings and black deaths?

Example RQ3: What does correlation suggest about causality?

In these questions, we can begin to break down crime into incidents, then into frames, then into a pattern, and into a trope which might catalyze other incidents of a similar nature.

Entman (1993) takes frame building a step further, assuming that consciousness can be constructed through frames. Essential to Entman’s ideas is “salience”: “making piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (53). He argues that increasing salience of a subject will draw the person’s eye to the subject and increase the probability that they will store the frame for future engagement. Entman’s essay does not elaborate extensively on analysis or what that engagement will look like, rather stressing how analysis can provide insight.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) use the term “packages,” a “catalog of the metaphors, catchphrases, visual images, moral appeals, and other symbolic devices that characterize this discourse” used to argue for the presence of frames and how they should be analyzed or broken down. Foremost, frame analysis should be done by examining symbolic devices from which meanings can be determined. According to Gamson and

Modigliani, meaning over time leads to a core frame or dominate frame, and the endurance of those frames can be determined through three classes: cultural resonances, sponsor activities, and media practices.

Yet, while constructed and existing frames can be analyzed retrospectively, the genesis or creation of frame is harder to define. Therefore, to examine the genesis, we can examine more fundamental pieces within a story, particularly sourcing (who is quoted?), the structure (defined as episodic or thematic), and the power, expressed through larger, pre-existing ideas of race.

Bennett's (1990) index hypothesis examines sources within an article, and implies that media favor institutional voices over the direct popular expression of majority opinion, most notably in discussions on national security and foreign policy which are seen as having little immediate effect on the public. Bennett writes, "The presence of an implicit 'indexing' norm shared at all levels of the news industry would keep the news compatible with the shifting political and economic interests of the state while enabling managers and directors to think and communicate in a relatively benign vocabulary of press responsibility and balanced journalism" (109). Unpacking this, what Bennett thinks motivates framing in political spheres, where issues are in constant motion, is consistency, and frames are consistent. Not only do we gravitate to consistency in talking about complex topics (e.g. the 'Middle East'), but also to credibility. When assessing frame building and analysis, Bennett examines the sources as the ultimate indicator of objective discourse. Limited sources suggests more trust in the system; more trust in the system leads to little investigation and more governmental rhetoric. He concludes that the

assumption of the media as “watchdog,” where government interests are checked by the media, cannot persist. Rather, the press settles for keeper of the record. In this, we can see Gamson and Modigliani’s (1989) terms of endurance in shaping the media’s practices and the culture, through all three classes: cultural resonances, which relate to assumptions about the media’s nonbias; sponsor activities with government sources; and media practices, which incorporates both sourcing and assumed practices.

Structure attempts to assess the greater narrative structure within an article. Generally, structure is divided into two classes: episodic and thematic. Thematic coverage is typified by Iyengar (1991) who suggests that episodic frames are event-oriented and focus on hard news; they are ‘visually compelling, and compatible with the economics of the news cycle,’ according to Papacharissi (2008). Thematic frames focus on larger narratives, and are more analytical.

Power is most acutely understood within narratives of race. As to how those play out on a national stage, Said’s *Orientalism* claims that deep seated ideas about race, particularly the Middle East and Arab peoples, currently affect the way we cover Islam and the Middle East in objective news media (2003). “There’s been so massive and calculatedly aggressive an attack on the contemporary societies of the Arab and Muslim for their backwardness, lack of democracy, and abrogation of women’s rights that we simply forget that such notions as modernity, enlightenment and democracy are by no means simple and agreed-upon concepts that one either does or does not find, like Easter eggs in the living-room,” writes Said. It is with this inherent cultural frame — a foundation, of sorts — which we build new frames by using structure and sourcing.



*A Look at Contemporary Applications of Framing Theory and Analysis*

In Lee and Maslong's (2005) analysis of Asian regional conflicts in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines they determine the value of war journalism as a frame. War journalism is characterized by "a focus on the here and now, an elite orientation, and a dichotomy of good and bad" (311). They continue that the coverage of conflict and war is "grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value." The alternative to war journalism is peace journalism, which is motivated by a communitarian objective. This notion was pioneered by Galtung (1986), who argued that war journalism is inherently propagandistic and that only in understanding all the facets can the conflict be understood. Lee and Maslong synthesize: "War journalism [in contrast to peace journalism] plays up conflict as an arena when participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides ("them vs. us") in a zero-sum game and focuses on visible effects of war (casualties and damage to property)" (314). Therefore, war journalism is narrow, with heavily condensed frames that generally focus on agents ("them vs. us").

McGoldrick and Lynch (2005) take the analysis of peace journalism as a frame a step further, suggesting "17 Good Practices" for journalists, such as "avoid only showing two sides fighting for the same end," and "try to trace the links and consequences for people in other places." This advice in the light of the orchestration of frames is unique: not only has analysis yielded two frames styles — war v. peace — in opposition to one another, but the analysis is attempting to construct and invest in peace journalism as superior rhetorically because it upholds assumptions of the media, such as nonbias.

This dialogue is also present in the conversations on the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. In Dimitrova and Strömbäck's (2005) analysis of the Iraq war through US and Swedish coverage, they showed that "the military conflict frame was more common for the US war coverage while the responsibility and anti-war protest frames were more common for the Swedish war coverage" (399). Furthermore, the US, in limiting its frames, worked to corral public opinion toward an end that seemed advantageous: "By selecting some aspects of war reality – such as military success – and ignoring other aspects – such as anti-war protest – the media text constrains audience interpretations. This is especially important in the case of international conflict where national media may engender different interpretations for the national audience" (404). Dominant frames in US coverage focused on a limited number of sources — as Bennett's (1990) indexing suggests it would — and created a cohesive voice for war.

Zooming out to the "War on Terror" which in this paper will refer to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Azpîroz (2012) claims the frames used to characterize the evolution of Bush's discourse focus around the progression from terrorist-centric rhetoric to weapons of mass destruction (WMD):

In 2001, Bush's discourse on the "War on Terror" defines the problem in a clear and simple way: 9/11 terrorist attacks have been "acts of war" against the "civilized world" carried out by terrorists driven by hatred of freedom and democracy. The President initially focuses on Al Qaeda and its leader, Osama Bin Laden. In a few days, he adds all those governments that somehow support international terrorism to the initial description of the enemy, pointing specifically

to the Taliban regime of Afghanistan. At the end of 2001, Bush introduces a new element to his problem definition, which will be the main focus of his message during the Iraq crisis: terrorists could search and use weapons of mass destruction. (192)

This transition from person-based (Al-Qaeda) to problem-based (WMD) rhetoric is a frame which Azpîroz later claims gives rise to a shifting subject. The shifting subject is a tactic wherein the subject of the agency becomes unclear, giving media the ability to equate Iraqi and Taliban regimes so long as the agency — the WMD in this case — remains a threat. At some end, the “axis of evil” is generated through this frame as an instigator, making the subject even more ambiguous and the terms more abstract, as we see with the example research questions under Goffman’s (1974) theories.

The frames which have pervaded war dialogues favor distinct motives (e.g. peace or preservation). Moreover, in relation to the Middle East and the frames that have previously been generated through the War on Terror, and based on Azpiroz's and other scholars' findings America falls heavily in line with Bennett’s indexing theory: limited sources, strong patriotism, and lack of dissenting voices. The reduction and abstraction of subjects through time creates a better frame, as the limited terms must carry more weight (e.g. “axis of evil”), laden with connotations in relation to one another and finally becoming a “how” rather than a “what” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Scheufele, 2014).

In relation to the coverage of Syria, these tactics for building frames from the coverage of the War on Terror are echoed. The Syrian civil war began in the Spring of

2011 as part of a large series of uprisings in Egypt and Libya against tyrannical governments. Syrians began protesting President Bashar al-Assad's government after a series of crackdowns on peaceful protest. In December 2012, the UN released a report that defined the Syrian conflict as "overtly sectarian," meaning that religious as well as political groups were being used to divide the population and the government (UN, 2012). As of January 2015, the White House proposed that some members of the Assad regime remain to better secure political stability. UN Special Envoy for Syria, Staffan de Mistura, said that "new factors" should be taken into account in the civil war, such as ISIS. Ceasefires have occurred to deliver aid, but none have been long-lasting (NYT; January 2015).

Proxy wars within the larger Syrian civil war between Sunni and Shiite Muslims are seen by the media as a consistent problem, and are largely behind the genesis of ISIS. Yet, ISIS' ties to Al Qaeda give it a long-standing, if not widely discussed, history in Syria and Iraq. It was reported in 2006, though not widely, that al-Qaeda in coalition with "Baghdad, Anbar, Diyala, Kirkuk, Salah al-Din, Ninawa, and in other parts of the governorate of Babel," were forming a Sunni Islamic State of Iraq (Roggio, 2006). This would suggest that ISIS is a result of the War on Terror, before major action in Iraq. In 2013, a brief history and summation of al-Qaeda was released. It claims that post-2007, the group was pushed back to Baghdad after major attacks known as "the Surge" and "the Awakening" (Lewis, 2013). Yet, as of January 2014, al-Qaeda renounced ties with ISIS (New York Times' sample). Comparison of the two organizations remains a prominent

tactic in news media, and during the early coverage, it is unclear to whom each site contributes certain acts of terror in Syria and Iraq.

A contemporary issues which the media faces when discussing ISIS is the naming. While this paper will refer to the organization as ISIS, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, ISIS is also known by ISIL, the Islamic State in the Levant; IS, the Islamic State; Daesh, used in several Arab countries, and does not directly translate to an acronym, but is understood to be pejorative. While ISIS and ISIL are used to state geographic ambitions and locations. IS is used not only to highlight expansion ambitions, but also recognizes the organization as its own state. Because of the latter connotations, many countries have shied away from shortening the acronym. Most recently, Britain switched to using the term Daesh instead of ISIL, joining France in favoring the Arabic pejorative (Waugh, 2015).

## **Methodology**

### *News Sources*

The New York Times and The Guardian were chosen because they represent, holistically, a standard of journalism in the West. Particularly in the U.S., The New York Times is not only seen as a historical record but is a news organization from which other sites take their cues (Bennett, 113). The Guardian was chosen for its similar history to the New York Times: it has been family-owned for the majority of its circulation and widely cited within its community of readers as a standard of journalism (Papacharissi, 2008). Together, these news organizations represent a Western ideal for journalism and content. Western is understood in the traditional sense, but in this case acutely refers to that which

affects the industrialized ideology of economically developed countries (UN, 2001). Those assumptions inherent in journalism — objectivity, the journalist as watchdog — which are discussed at length in Bennett’s work, are also taken into account when constructing the ‘ideal.’ This ideal is necessary to acknowledge because it allows us to assess the efficacy and legitimacy within a frame, a claim to be explored at greater length in my conclusions.

### *Sample Description*

The sample is approximately 110 articles, including 72 articles from The New York Times and 38 from The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014. Articles were gathered from a mixture of Lexisnexis, New York Times archives, and Guardian archives. In order to determine when the genesis of ISIS occurred and how it evolved over the next several months, a sample with breadth and variety of coverage was necessary. The sample of 1,000+ articles from this time was refined for word count (around a minimum of 500 words), subject, and relativity to major events. Word count was a factor because frames could not be fully generated in smaller reports from this time, as smaller reports used terminology without context. Context was necessary in order to understand how words and their connotations were evolving, especially during the genesis of ISIS. Subject and relativity were factored in relation to major events. The major events were drawn from a timeline, which I constructed through analysis of several major news sites — CNN, MSNBC, Al Jazeera, BBC, The Daily Mail — to determine significant dates in the trajectory of ISIS. Dates were prioritized by the number of articles posted on the day and the continued coverage of the event. The last criteria was to focus

on those articles that had been printed, possibly moved online with minor editing. A full list of articles used and their reach can be found in Appendix A.

### *Sample Analysis*

Much like Papacharissi's (2008) study of the War on Terror using framing, my paper translates qualitative analysis of the text into quantitative patterns traced within the larger sample. Frames were identified using Capella and Jamieson's (1997) criteria for recognizing and classifying frames: (a) frames should have "identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics," (b) they should be "commonly observed in journalistic practice," and (c) they should be "reliably distinguishable from other frames" (47). Structure — defined as episodic or thematic — was not used as limiting criteria in the sample, only to classify the analyzed articles; nor was the expression of the frame. Expression of the frame refers to Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) specifications of the frame as a metaphor, stories, traditions, slogans, jargons, catchphrases, artifact, using modes of contrast, and value judgements. Without limiting the structure or setting an expectation for the expression of the frame, I created a more diverse sample.

### *Coding Sheet*

A final list of over 106 sources were found between the two sources, and can be found in Appendix B. They were broken down into General Sources (defined as 'officials' without mentioned affiliations or 'analyst'), Governmental Sources, Syrian Resources, and Outside Officials (defined as other governments or think tanks who were consulted for an opinion but without intimate knowledge of the news itself). The sources were mapped out over time to show frequency of use and how they shaped the article. A

source was given '1' for his appearance in an article. For example, President Obama being quoted in November 2013 received a '1,' because he was quoted in one article during the month of November. Frequency of a source within a single article was only documented for General Sources, as I could not verify each mention as a distinct source.

A list of 49 terms were coded. These terms were determined from a base of 10 frequently used words and expected mentions (such as, 'Islamic State' and 'civil war'). Words were added to the list if the term was being used to modify a 'frequently used' word or if the word was being used as a buzzword (such as 'beheading' which was used both to describe ISIS and as a buzzword for archaic imagery, falling into the "identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics" defined by Capella and Jamieson). The term had to be used a minimum of three times before it was added to establish consistency. From these terms, relationships can be drawn (e.g. between 'Sunni' and 'Shiite') and the trajectory of ISIS can be mapped using the questions, 1) when did it first appear, and 2) how often is it used after that. Other qualitative questions which examine context will be used in the Analysis to assess how ISIS is being characterized.

## **Findings**

### *Sources*

A list of over 110 sources was pulled from the two sources. The New York Times used a total of 55 sources over the year, with the bulk of their sources coming from the US Government category. Overall, 18 of the 55 came from US Government Sources; 10, from general sources; 11, from Syrian resources; and the remaining 16, from outside



officials, some of which were prominent US think tanks and humanitarian organizations. The Guardian used a total of 51 sources, and a majority belonged to the Syrian resources, 17 out of the 51; 14, from Government officials, both UK and US officials; 9, from general sources; and the remaining 11, from outside officials, several of which were from think tanks and Universities.

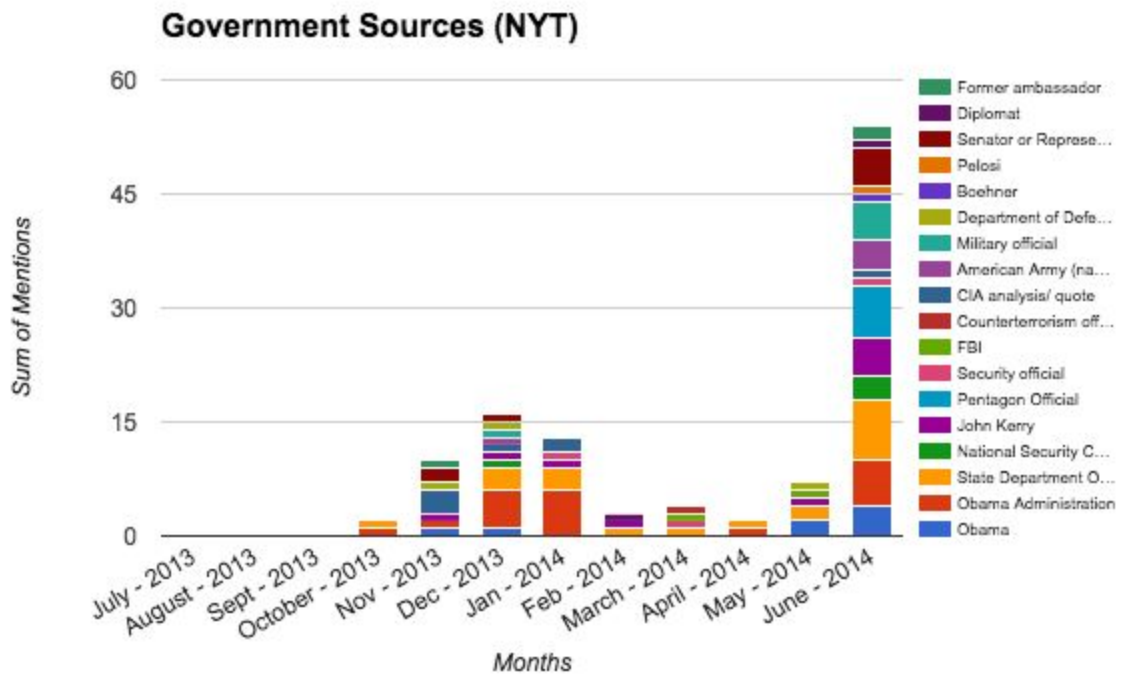


Fig. 1.1: Government Sources in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014

The New York Times had the greatest variety of government officials in the last month, June 2014. Sources within the administration were used more, with President Obama going from one article mention to four in the final month. Among members of his administration, overall referents grew to six article mentions. Other high months for the Obama administration included December 2013 and January 2014, with five and six article mentions respectively. Other popular sources in the final month include the State

Department and Pentagon officials, with seven mentions each. Overall, government sources, while used heavily throughout the entire sample coverage, saw a spike around December 2013 that did not die down. Diversity in the agencies used increased during this period, too. During November 2013, coverage relied heavily on CIA analysis and deferred more to officials in the General Sources rather than naming officials. December 2013 saw heavy use of Administration and State Department sources, with added military officials beginning to weigh in on situations. The ‘officials’ source still remained high during December, too. Military officials also make a resurgence around June 2014, with army officials with the name and rank stated as well as the general ‘military official’ gaining four and five mentions, respectively.

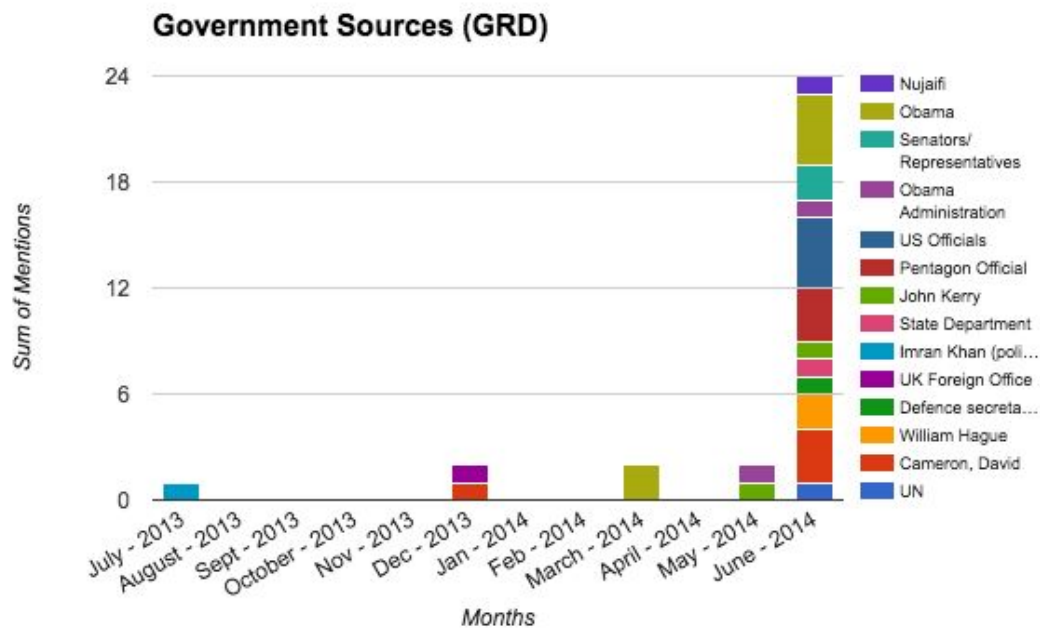


Fig 1.2: Government Sources in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014

The most diversity for The Guardian was similar to the US, with source variety spiking among Government Officials in June 2014. The bulk of mentions went to Prime

Minister David Cameron, with three in the last month. Other strong sources used were Pentagon officials, with three mentions, and US officials, unnamed but identified by country, with four mentions. While the ‘general officials’ category is also a strong category for The Guardian, they make one specification of the ‘official’ in classifying him as a security official. Security officials were consistently strong across the months, but particular in the last month with five mentions.

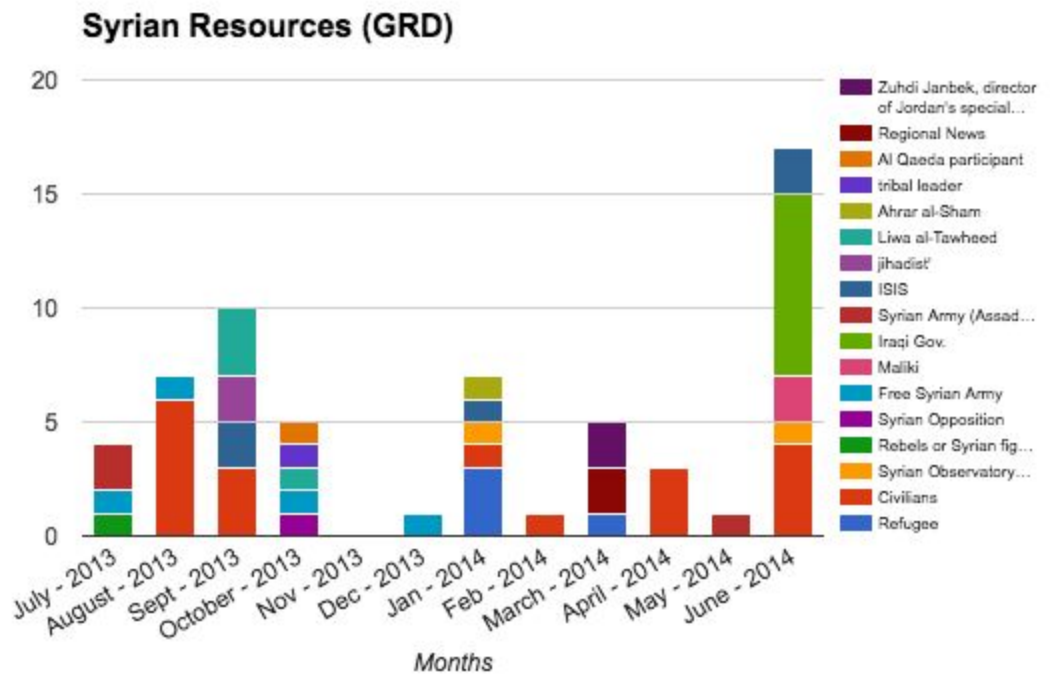


Fig 1.3: Syrian Sources in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014

Prior to the last month, though, almost no government officials were used, and The Guardian relied heavily on the Syrian resources to give information. When we address overall variety, in no particular month, the Syrian resources stand out because of the use of civilians who were predominantly shopkeepers and the term ‘jihadist’ early on in their coverage. Civilians topped out at six mentions in August 2013, and the next

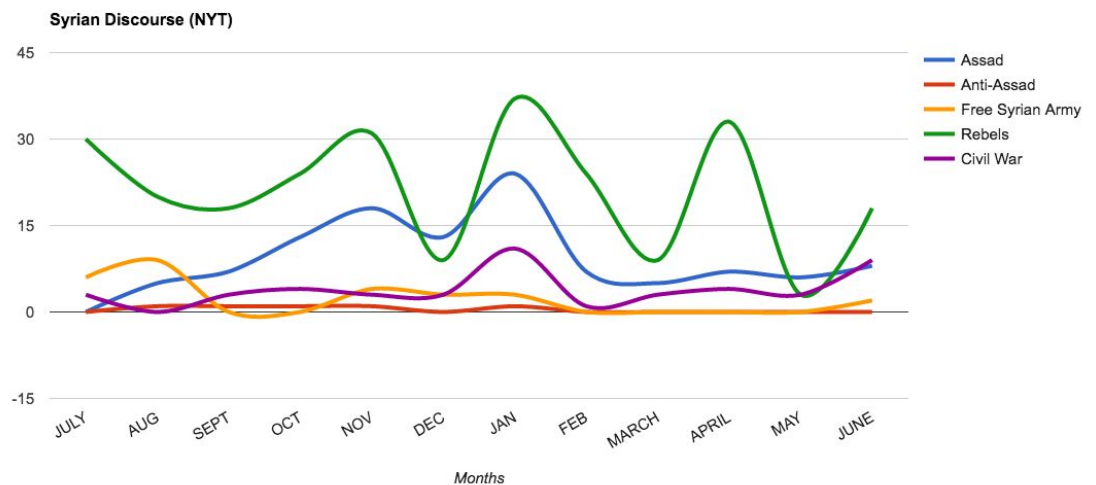
highest source used was Iraqi officials in June 2014. Across the board, use of tribal leaders and militants gave diversity to The Guardian's coverage which we don't see in The New York Times until June 2014. Still, the use of Iraqi government sources by The New York Times in June is found more often in conjunction with US government officials and narratives of policy than the UK coverage, which focuses on testimonials from Iraqi government officials.

Other trends in sourcing are sporadic. Quotations from video or internet sources among both The Guardian and The New York Times were inconsistent, and while sources on the ground were used more by The Guardian, overall frequency was also inconsistent even though diversity of sources was wide. Generally, this puts the focus on Government sources for The New York Times and secondarily for The Guardian, and Syrian resources primarily for The Guardian.

#### *The Evolution of Words and the Beginning of Frames*

Unlike the sources, which followed a definite pattern over time, the evolution of words is more abstract. To see how the codified term compared over time, I divided the 49 terms into eight groups: organizations like Al Qaeda and ISIS mentioned in the articles, adjectives used to describe the organizations, Syrian discourse, US mentions, Religious terms and mention of the Internet. Whereas adjectives have overt relations to framing a perception, frequency of terms like 'ISIS' or 'drone strikes' help to shape the conversation and frame in more subtle ways. A full list of mentions across the months and the terms is included in Appendix C.

Syrian discourse: The terms tracked under this subgroup were determined through their relation to the greater Syrian narrative. These include mentions of “Assad,” “Anti-Assad,” “Free Syrian Army,” “Rebels,” and “civil war.”



*Fig 2.1: Syrian Discourse in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014*

In the New York Times, mentions over time decreased as the coverage shifted to a tumultuous Iraq, specifically in Baghdad. The only general trend observed is an collective uptake in January 2014 across all the terms. The spike is notably reflected in “civil war,” “Assad,” and “Rebels,” although it should be noted that “Rebels” remains consistently high across all months. It is because of this that the second general trend ignores “Rebels,” and reflects the shift in coverage to Iraq after January. Mentions of “Assad,” “Anti-Assad,” “civil war,” and “Free Syrian Army,” drop after January. “Rebels” picks up again in April with 33 mentions, and reflects how the flexibly the term was used in the news coverage, such that “Rebels” can acutely refer to “Syrian Rebels” or generally refer to “those who rebel against the government.” The latter case creates a

confusion as to whether or not the article refers to the insurgent organizations like Al Qaeda or ISIS, and this ambiguity is responsible for the high number during the early coverage of the Syrian discourse, between July and November.

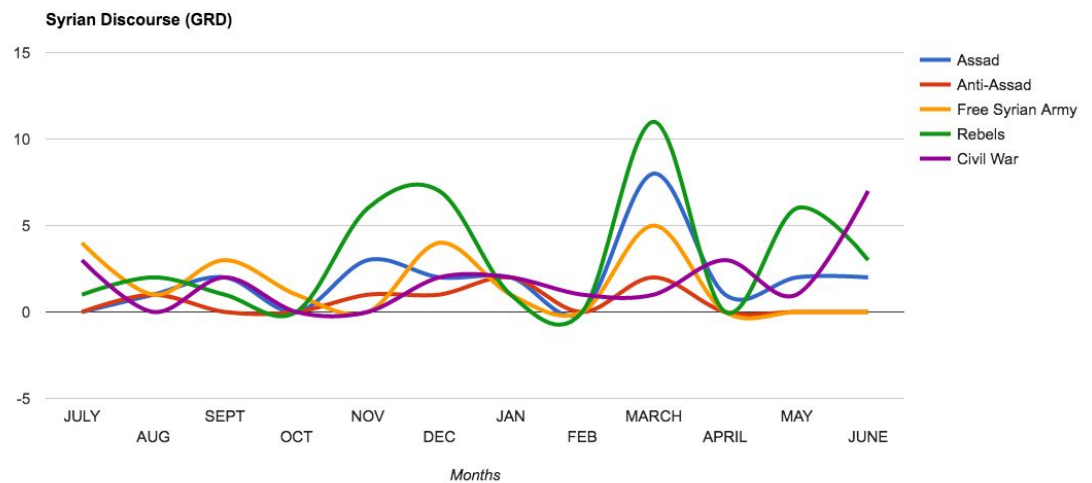


Fig 2.2: Syrian Discourse in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014

Coverage in The Guardian looks slightly different. While overall mentions are low in relation to these terms, there emerges a clear influx of all the terms in March, noticeably later than The New York Times’s influx in January. After January, The New York Times shifts to Iraq, while The Guardian remains in Syria until March, and slightly thereafter. “Civil war” steadily and consistently increased from December 2013 onward. “Free Syrian Army” has a clear up-and-down, month-to-month frequency, which builds in amplitude each time it peaks. “Anti-Assad” sentiment was also more frequently used so the Assad-Anti-Assad was the central conflict covered in The Guardian, rather than Assad-Rebels which was used in The New York Times.

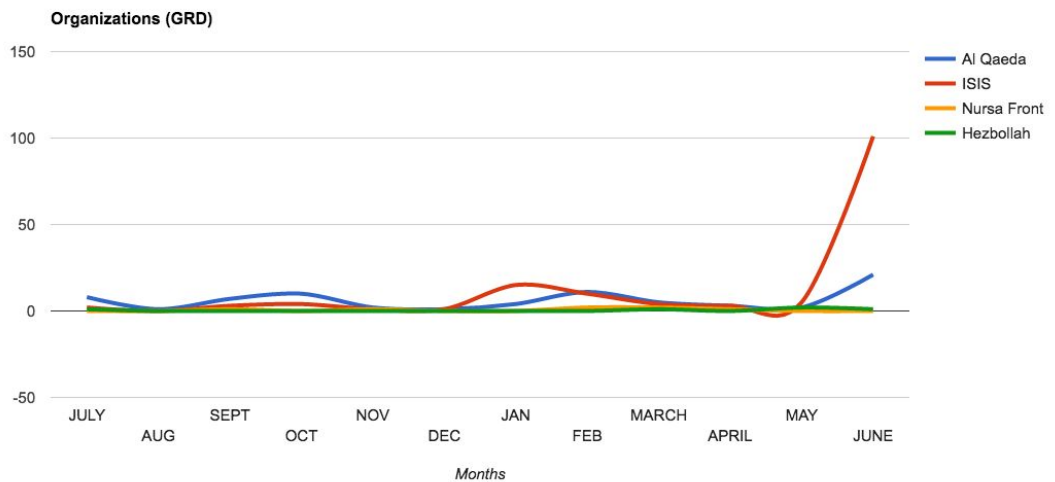
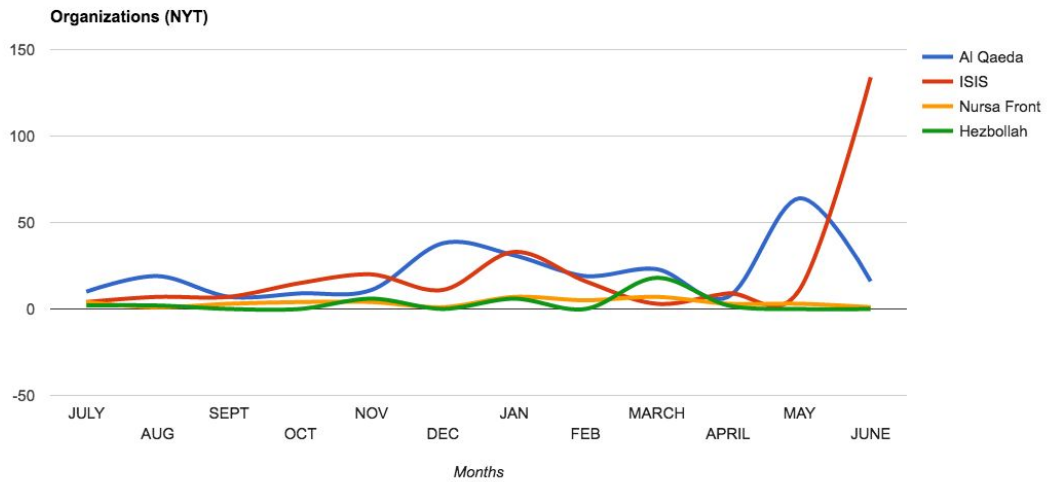
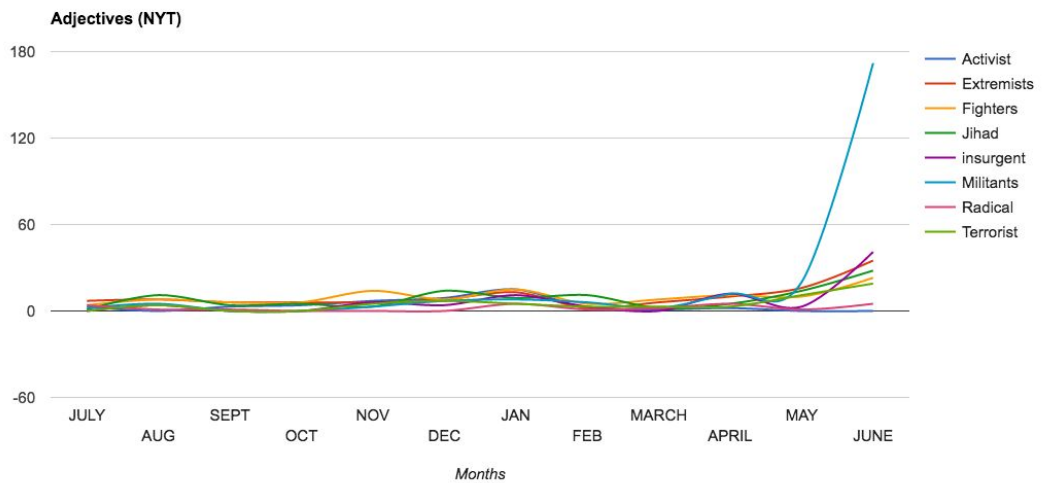


Fig 2.3: Organizations in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014

Fig 2.4: Organizations in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014

Organizations: In order to get a better picture for how ISIS is framed, it was important to establish context, especially of those organizations mentioned in conjunction with ISIS. Noted are four organizations: Al Qaeda, ISIS, Hezbollah and Al Nursa Front. Hezbollah and Al Nursa Front remained low across The New York Times' coverage, with a slight spike in March. Between ISIS and Al Qaeda, there remains an interesting

consistency, following similar trends until May. This is appropriate, as in the articles ISIS is mentioned almost exclusively with Al Qaeda until January 2014. Before this, ISIS is mentioned as an ‘affiliate’ or a subset of Al Qaeda, much like Al Nursa Front. This separation is reflected in the Figure 2.3, yet both numbers remain high for Al Qaeda and ISIS. It isn’t until May that ISIS carries its own weight in the coverage. May 29 in The New York Times, President Obama is quoted and draws a hard line on terrorism, recognizing ISIS as a unique threat. The Guardian was more likely to use ISIS than The New York Times. We see a similar spike around January, but unlike The New York Times, ISIS spikes before Al Qaeda in mentions. Al Qaeda and ISIS do stay close, and affiliate is used much similarly in both papers, with a clear break in May. Continuing through June, there is heavier use of the acronym and by late June, we see their name being used in headlines: A June 10 headline in The Guardian read, “Isis insurgents seize control of Iraqi city of Mosul;” and a June 24 headline in The New York Times read, “Kerry Says ISIS Threat Could Hasten Military Action.”





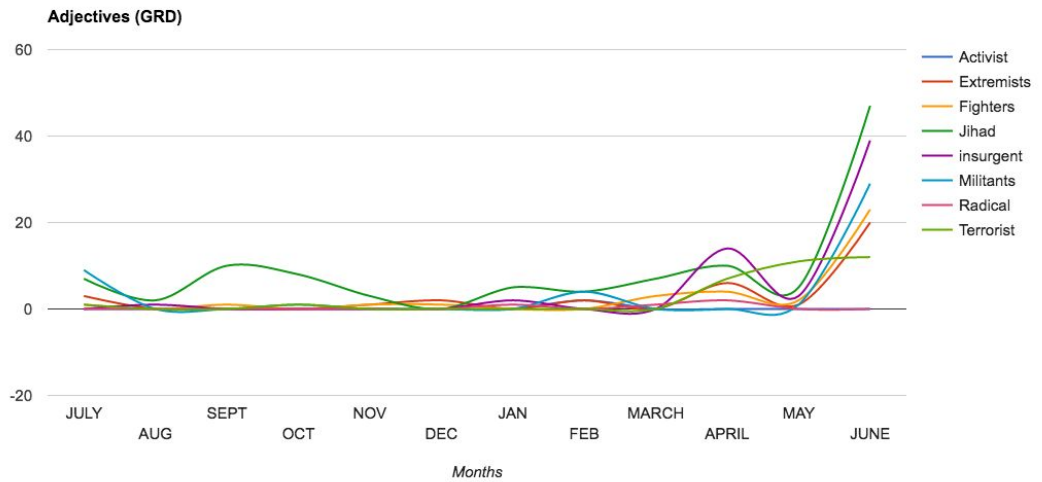
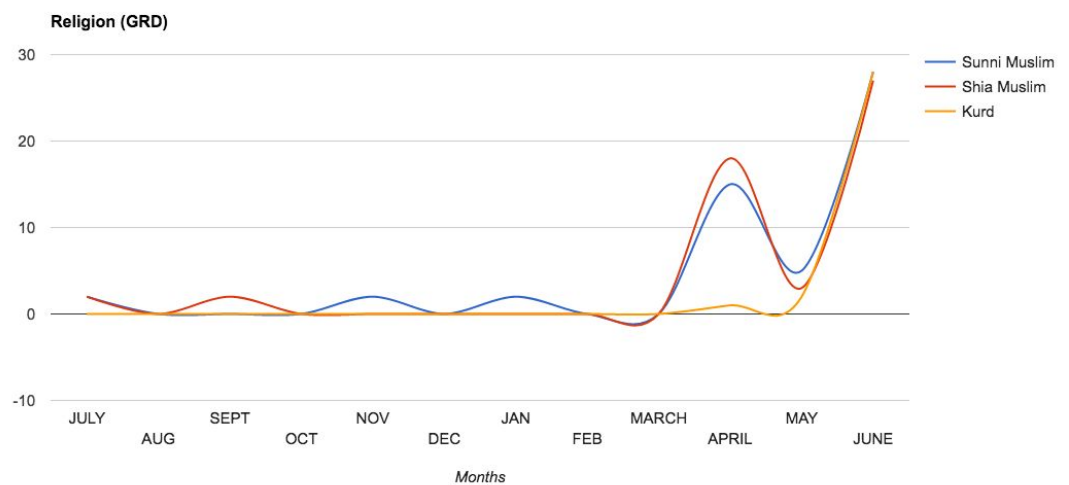
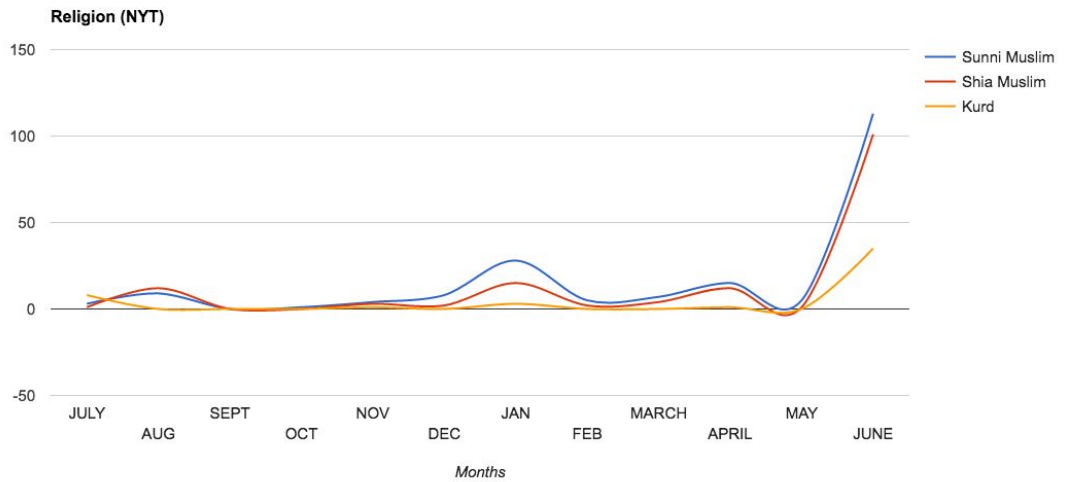


Fig 2.5: Adjectives in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014

Fig 2.6: Adjectives in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014

Adjectives: The way the media begin to characterize the organizations varies over time. In this subgroup, eight terms were codified: activist, extremist, fighters, jihadist, insurgent, militant, radical, and terrorist. In The New York Times, all terms remain equally used with slight peaks. In November, “fighters” breaks out with 14 mentions; and in December, “jihadist” is the most frequently used with 14 mentions. “Jihad” also breaks from the pack again in February and May. It is not until June that “insurgents” and “militants” become the salient terms used by the publications when describing the organizations. The Guardian is slightly more consistent with its terminology. From August until December, “jihadist” is The Guardian’s most common way to characterize organizations in Syria. January saw an uptake in the term, with steady increase until June. “Militant” peaks in February and “insurgents” surpasses “jihadist” in April; yet all three finish strong in June” “jihadist” with 47 mentions; “insurgents” with 39; and “militants,”

29.

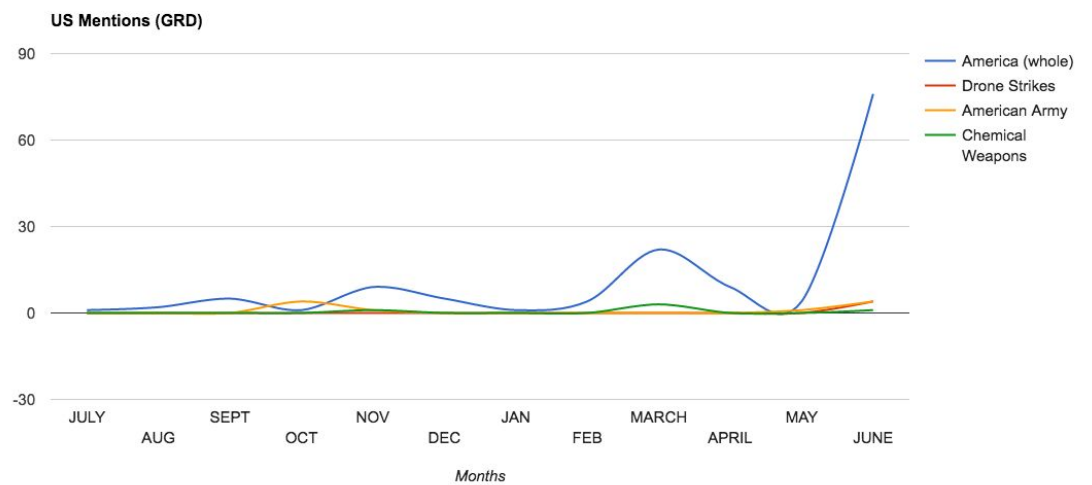
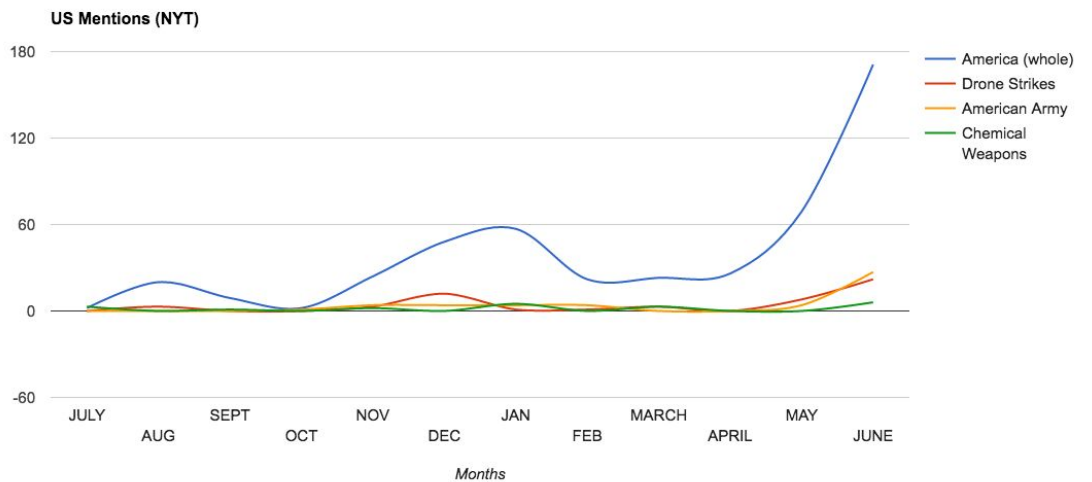


*Fig 2.7: Religion in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014*

*Fig 2.8: Religion in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014*

Religion: Similar to using adjectives, use of religious affiliation characterized conflict and the groups involved in that conflict. The question that framing poses for this group is a matter of frequency: “How often are those religious affiliation being used to characterize?” The New York Times does not incorporate religion into its coverage until January and June, similar spikes to the organizations itself. While Sunni and Shia

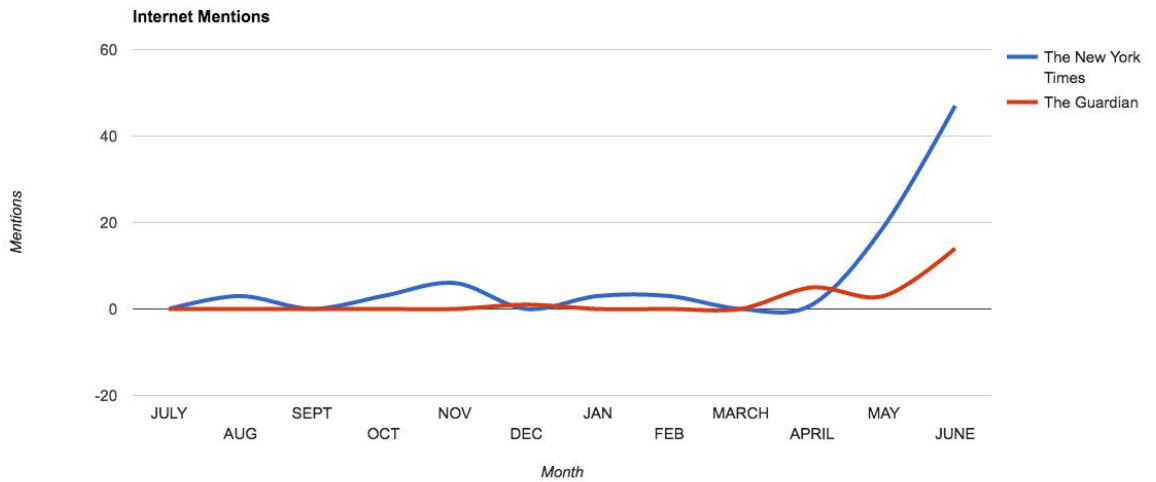
Muslims followed similar trends, Sunnis were mentioned more than Shia, whose affiliations are with the Syrian government. Of interest in both of those spikes was the incorporation of Kurds as a demographic and religion distinct from Sunni and Shia Muslims. Similarly, The Guardian doesn't use of religion until later in their coverage, with significant spikes occurring in April and June, also modeling their respective coverage of organizations.



*Fig 2.9: US Mentions in the New York Times from July 2013 to June 2014*

*Fig 2.10: US Mentions in The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014*

US Mentions: Tied into the coverage is the interrogation of US intervention in the Syrian crisis, mostly through air intervention, but indirectly through boots on the ground action. “America” which includes the terms US, United States, and America, “Drone Strikes,” “American Army,” and “Chemical Weapons” were codified in this group. Mention of “America” was coded for frequency purposes; “drone strikes” and “American Army” were used as direct means of intervention; and “chemical weapons” was uniquely codified as a reason to intervene and because of its resonance with past frames in the War on Terror and weapons of mass destruction. The New York Times integrates “America” into its coverage particularly around December and peaking in January. The numbers plateau around February, but take off again in April, reaching a maximum height in June with 171 mentions. The other terms stay relatively low, with a slight peak in “drone strikes” around December with 12 mentions. Use of all the of these terms rises around May, with “drone strikes” and “American army” showing the most change; “drone strikes” goes from eight mentions in May to 22 in June, and “American army” increases from four mentions in May to 27 in June. The Guardian doesn’t use “America” as frequently as The New York Times, but the numbers in November, March and June remain high. The other terms remain consistently low. There is one peak of “American army” in October, but with only four mentions in context.



*Fig 2.11: Internet in the New York Times and The Guardian from July 2013 to June 2014*

The Internet: ISIS uniquely uses the Internet to engage and recruit with a larger public outside of Syria and Iraq. Because of this, I thought it essential to see how often the media acknowledged this in its coverage of ISIS, particularly after May, after ISIS drops its affiliate modifier. The graph (Figure 2.11) shows that, around May, mentions of Internet engagement take off in both The New York Times and The Guardian. The New York Times changes drastically, from one mention in April to 47 mentions in June; The Guardian is less dramatic, but still significant, from five mentions in April to 14 in June.

### **Analysis**

#### *Synthesis: Characterizing the Coverage and Defining ISIS*

The New York Times' coverage, the months of January and May/June are fundamental to the genesis of frames. In January, the general topics of the articles begin to steer away from the Syrian civil war, with a consistent and steady fall across all terms after the slight uptake. Subject matter begins to focus on Al Qaeda, ISIS, and US

intervention in Syria with air strikes. The New York Times differentiates between ISIS and Al Qaeda, and the affiliate modifier on ISIS drops. Coverage of US interventions spikes at this time, too, with “America” reaching its highest mentions — 57 — up to this point. “Drone strikes” also peaks in December, with more mentions coming at the end of December leading into January. Religion becomes a source of conflict around January, and “jihad” is also used heavily in December and February. Not included in the subcategories are the terms “suicide attack” and “tribe.” Because of the uptake in religion, it follows that “tribe” would increase, but the uptake in “suicide attack” is more reflective of how the organizations are being characterized. Therefore, coverage in January is defined by a heavy emphasis on Al Qaeda and ISIS, with introduction of America into the conflict as a major player rather than engagement with the Syrian conflict. ISIS and Al Qaeda are tied to their religion and actions; these modify the organization rather than traditional modifiers, although “jihad” is used to further characterize those beliefs held by the organizations. The coverage can be characterized by the conflict established: America v. Jihadist Organizations. Coupled with the heavy use of Government sources which spiked in December 2013, the conflict becomes characterized as distinctly American. This struggle is made more personal by the use of State Department officials and military officials.

Coverage in May moves toward Iraq, and Syrian discourse becomes practically irrelevant. Starting in May, ‘ISIS’ takes over the coverage and Al Qaeda begins to drop; Al Qaeda drops from 64 mentions in May to 16 in June, whereas ISIS rises significantly from 11 mentions in May to 134 in June. ISIS is further characterized through by the

adjectives “insurgents” and “militants” overwhelmingly in June. There is also an uptake in the mention of “suicide bombings” in relation to ISIS, as well as religion in conjunction with both. “America” reaches its all-time high with 171 mentions. Yet, what distinguishes May from January coverage is the uptake in Internet mentions, from one mention in April to 47 mentions in June. Therefore the coverage that emerges and defines ISIS is not based in conflict, but characteristics; ISIS is defined as violent (suicide bombings), religious insurgents who are also militant and sophisticated (internet mentions). This complexity rivals the unrefined “jihadist” which has connotations to fundamentalist rhetoric. The dominant frame still carries religious connotations related to their insurgency and militancy. It is important that insurgency and militancy are distinguished but paired; “insurgency,” connotes a usurpation and relates to government discourse, whereas “militancy” relates to their ability to retrofit and militarize their soldiers. Both are reflected in an American intervention, especially given the context and history of Iraq rather than Syria. This also reflects uptakes in “American army” and “drone strikes” as means of intervention. We see a greater dependence on government sources to steer this conversation, as well as military officials to weigh in on strategy for intervention.

There are similar spikes in The Guardian’s coverage around March and June, with trends showing that coverage shifts focus from the Syrian conflict to ISIS. Still, what is interesting about The Guardian’s coverage is the mixed of coverage on Syria despite the heavy use of Syrian sources. This could explain the greater fluctuations we see in terminology, and it might also explain the larger influx in April when The New York

Times had moved away from strict coverage. When looking at the organizations, even though The Guardian is eager to name ISIS, we don't see a clear break from Al Qaeda until June, with 101 mentions. Yet, they are consistent in their branding of ISIS as "jihadist," even through June, although we do see a resurgence of "militants" and "insurgents." It follows that The Guardian would incorporate heavier use of religion discourse because of the "jihadist" terminology. Even US mentions remain low, with only "America" spiking in March and June. The Guardian doesn't incorporate the Internet into its coverage until June, and even then, numbers remain low at 14 mentions. Therefore, the coverage, while similar, roots itself in Syria through sources and creates frames through conflict with Syria. ISIS is defined as a religious group who threatened the rebel forces in Syria. Because of this conflict, the US should intervene, hence fluctuations in March and June. The breakaway in June reflects a bending to contemporary coverage of ISIS rather than holding consistent with their prior rhetoric in Syria. The coverage in this case models the earlier New York Times frame: Syrian civil war begets Jihadist Organization. Government sources used later encourage intervention, but heavy sourcing on the ground in Syria distinguish Syrian voices in the conflict rather than personalizing the conflict as American.

### *Frames Established*

In this way, both The Guardian and The New York Times' coverage supports Lee and Maslong's (2005) definition of war journalism: "War journalism [in contrast to peace journalism] plays up conflict as an arena where participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides ("them vs. us") in a zero-sum game and focuses on visible effects of war



(casualties and damage to property)” (314). When distilling frames from this coverage, Strömbäck (2005) argues for abstracted sources and a focus on and a limited ‘war reality’ to create a cohesive voice toward war. Azpîroz (2012) claims the frames used to characterize the evolution of Bush’s discourse on the War on Terror progress from terrorist-centric rhetoric to inanimate threats, like WMD. Papacharissi (2008) focuses on the difference between episodic and thematic coverage as to assess whether coverage was militaristic or diplomatic. Thematic coverage is typified by Iyengar (1991) who suggests that episodic frames are event-oriented and focus on hard news; they are ‘visually compelling, and compatible with the economics of the news cycle,’ according to Papacharissi. Thematic frames focus on larger narratives, and are more analytical.

The New York Times is consistent with Papacharissi’s (2008) conclusion: their coverage is more more militaristic, but it is unclear whether it is distinctly thematic or episodic — 38 of the articles were coded as thematic, 34 episodic. The Guardian was also consistent, with 21 of the articles coding as thematic, with more diplomatic leanings. This is also consistent with Strömbäck’s conclusion that American coverage was more war-oriented, and limited to a select number of players (e.g. America and ISIS, which are the dominate players at the end of June). While ISIS and America are also strong players at the end of June for The Guardian, they consistently source outside of official and government sources, making for a larger Syrian narrative and conflict encapsulating ISIS and America. The only framing that wasn’t upheld was Azpîroz’s theories; ISIS was not translated into an inanimate object, although the use of religion and modifiers helped to

further abstract the group, particularly in The Guardian's coverage which abstracts them as jihadist.

### *Dominate Frames*

Therefore the dominant frames in The New York Times are: 1. Militarization on both side of the conflict between America and ISIS, which is consistent with prior research. Because ISIS is a new threat, 2. rhetoric from Al Qaeda and from 'jihad' which typified the War on Terror coverage is used to make them an agent. Because of this history, their 3. sophistication is understated, favoring an uncivilized and archaic image of ISIS. Even when acknowledged in June, use of the Internet is only done to create a direct connection to the US and introduce another threat. Communication and coordination within ISIS isn't discussed; the 'state' of Islamic State is deemphasized. Instead, suicide bombings are mentioned and connected to religious motivations. This violent imagery, while important to the gravity of ISIS, relates to larger structures based in Orientalism, and contributes to the archaic, uncivilized frame.

Dominate frames in The Guardian's coverage are: 1. Deferential diplomacy which is consistent with prior research. While The Guardian uses 'affiliate' in conjunction with Al Qaeda to establish ISIS, they use 'jihad' more frequently Their mentions of Sunni/Shia conflict was also more frequent than The New York Times. 2. Religion is characterized as something to be suspicious of, especially Middle Eastern religion. Because of the characterization of the Sunni/Shia conflict and because of the lack of coverage of the Internet, The Guardian also 3. understates sophistication, favoring an uncivilized and archaic image of ISIS in terms of older conflict.

## Conclusions

Findings of the study support Bennett's indexing hypothesis; war journalism not only exists as a genre, but can be broken down into distinct frames within the West's coverage of an event. But, to return to our research question: why does such a large change in public perception of ISIS happen so quickly and what does the naming of ISIS have to do with catalyzing that action? My acute and limited answer is that news coverage, in responding to heavy government sources, names and defines the organization through a complex set of frames, which then allows public sentiment to take off in response. Yet, to fully answer this, we must acknowledge that while frames help to generate a narrative about a subject, that that narrative, in order to be fully effective, must support a larger notion or structure about the subject itself. In the case of terrorism in the Middle East, Papacharissi (2008) suggests that the frames generated about the War on Terror yielded a policy change, creating a connection and correlation between policy agenda and the press. Similar to Strömbäck's "war reality," he argues that the West's coverage of terror events "inadvertently highlights particular aspects of perceived reality, so as to promote particular perspectives and exclude others." Not only is there the implication of agenda setting, but "budget begetting," wherein the news' agenda is impacted by the interests of policy makers. Because these policy makers are the sources, they can then frame the narrative in a way that is advantageous. In this way, Bennett's conjecture that the modern news has taken on a different role that "watchdog" is affirmed.

The media's effect on public perception is more noticeable. Noted in the introduction, on February 24, 2015, Pew Research reported that American support for fighting ISIS grew since October 2014 from 57 to 63 percent, with 47 percent being in favor of "boots on the ground" action. Even earlier, in September 2014, MSNBC reported that a poll which they conducted in conjunction with the Wall Street Journal showed that "47 percent say the country is less safe [than it was in 2001], while just 26 percent say it's safer" (Murray, 2014). While no direct causation can be linked between this study and the greater public sentiment of ISIS, a correlation can be seen between increased coverage of ISIS in conjunction with war rhetoric, and increased fear of tension in the Middle East and American security.

Security is often a powerful word used to coerce. While there have been proposals to reduce federal spending for national security purposes, the U.S. still currently budgets "\$534 billion in discretionary funding for the base budget of the Department and \$51 billion in Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) funding for a total of \$585 billion to sustain the President's national security and defense strategies," according to the Department of Defense fact sheet (2016). Combatting ISIS and providing training to "Iraqi security forces and properly vetted members of the moderate Syrian opposition" is listed second in the DoD's objectives. Yet The Fiscal Times reported as early as October 2014 that spending in the "war against ISIS" had already factored into a \$40 billion a year expenditure. "The United States has spent about \$1.1 billion since mid-June on military operations in Iraq, including the more recent airstrikes in Syria, according to the Defense Department. That works out to roughly \$7 million to \$10 million a day – a drop

in the DOD bucket compared with the hundreds of millions of dollars it spent daily fighting in Afghanistan in 2013,” the report continued (Pianin, 2014).

Another systematic power structure comes slightly out of the realm of framing, with Said’s notion of Orientalism. Because the nature of this paper takes a strict approach using framing theory and analysis as its method, I would argue that a theoretical reading of the sample and the situation for issues of hegemony, power, and racism is essential for a greater understanding of the “why” and “what” of naming ISIS. As Said argues in “Covering Islam” (2003) and supports in subsequent texts, there exists a monolithic fictional Islam for the West:

There’s been so massive and calculatedly aggressive an attack on the contemporary societies of the Arab and Muslim for their backwardness, lack of democracy, and abrogation of women’s rights that we simply forget that such notions as modernity, enlightenment and democracy are by no means simple and agreed-upon concepts that one either does or does not find, like Easter eggs in the living-room. The breathtaking insouciance of jejune publicists who speak in the name of foreign policy and who have no knowledge at all of the language real people speak has fabricated an arid landscape ready for American power to construct there an ersatz model of free market “democracy” (2).

We see an indictment of policy and power structures which condemn and simplify Islam. It also argues that there be a particular sensitivity shown to Islam since the ‘knowledge of the language real people speak’ has a fabricated context. And it is that context that has generated a large societal frame in which the smaller frames I’ve found fit and perpetuate

stereotypes and archaic imagery. In “Islam and Edward Said: An Overview,” Golam Gaus Al-Quaderi and Md. Habibullah (2013) touch on the Arab Spring uprisings using Said’s work, and say that, generally, the West’s interest is not only political, but economic. “Frankly speaking, the focal purpose of USA is to establish strategic control and economic hegemony in the Muslim countries through USA’s obedient democratic governments because the Western powers especially USA considers the Islamic Orient important for its resources or its geopolitical location” (40). Another scholar Frank Lemke, even goes so far to suggest that ‘peace journalism’ should be used in reparation in “How Journalistic Training Can Help to Deescalate Conflicts” (161).

What I have concluded with my sample is a limited understanding of Western coverage of the ISIS crisis. Still, the evolution of ISIS persists at the publication of this work, and it will be important to assess our interaction with them through media analysis, as I have done, as well as theoretical frameworks which address broader narratives. I also suggest focused studies on social media and its impact on the Middle East and terrorism, which the media seems only partially responsive to. Additionally, given that ISIS seems to use the media to boost its popularity — videos of beheadings and inflammatory messages posted over the Internet — a study focusing on social media and traditional media is necessary to define what inherent paradox lies within covering ISIS.

## **Appendix A**

| Date        | Headline |
|-------------|----------|
| Thematic or |          |
| Episodic    |          |

|               |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|
| July 4 (NYT)  | Opposition In Syria Continues To Fracture   | T |
| July 13 (GRD) | Syria faces spectre of war within civil war: Senior rebel assassinated by anti-Assad jihadists Tensions between Syrian fighters and foreigners  | E |
| July 22 (NYT) | Across Syria, Violent Day Of Attacks And Ambush   | T |
| July 28 (NYT) | Syrian Government Blamed for Deadly Missile Attack  | T |
| July 31 (GRD) | Warning of more jailbreak attacks after Pakistani Taliban free up to 300 militants: Security failings exposed by assault on prison 'Contagion' fears following similar escape in Iraq | T |
| Aug. 6 (NYT)  | Rebels Gain Control of Government Air Base in Syria   | E |
| Aug. 7 (NYT)  | Messages by Qaeda Chief Spur New Look at His Sway   | T |
| Aug. 9 (NYT)  | Militants Flood Havens in Syria, Posing a Threat  | T |
| Aug. 29 (NYT) | Deadly Blasts Stoke Fears Of Sectarian Strife in Iraq   | E |
| Aug. 31 (GRD) | Syria crisis: Syrian voices: 'We knew the west would disappoint us, just as they have been since war started'   | T |

|                |  |   |
|----------------|--|---|
| Sept. 9 (GRD)  | Syria: American threats widen fault lines among rebels<br>-Use Obama v. Assad lede<br>-Episodes within | T |
| Sept. 19 (NYT) | Extremists Take Syrian Town Near Turkey Border   | T |
| Sept. 26 (NYT) | Syrian Rebels Will Abandon Exile Leaders   | E |
| Oct. 1 (GRD)   | Middle East: 'We don't want their jihad. They can go back to the dark past they came from'             | E |
| Oct. 2 (NYT)   | Qaeda Branch in Syria Pursues Its Own Agenda   | E |
| Oct. 22 (NYT)  | Qaeda-Linked Group Is Seen Complicating the Drive for Peace in Syria                                   | T |
| Nov. 1 (NYT)   | As Security Deteriorates at Home, Iraqi Leader Arrives in U.S. Seeking Aid                             | T |

|               |  |   |
|---------------|--|---|
| Nov. 8 (GRD)  | Front: Saudis to spend millions 'fighting two wars' in Syria                     | T |
| Nov. 12 (NYT) | Leading Syrian Opposition Group, Yielding to Pressure, Votes to Join Peace Talks | E |
| Nov. 19 (NYT) | Death of Pragmatic Leader Further Muddles Syrian Rebellion                       | E |
| Nov. 21 (NYT) | U.S. Says Dozens of Americans Have Sought to Join Rebels in Syria                | T |
| Nov. 23 (NYT) | Powerful Rebel Groups in Syria Announce Creation of Umbrella Alliance            | E |
| Nov. 29 (NYT) | Syrian Forces Press Rebels With Gains  | T |
| Dec. 4, (NYT) | Jihadist Groups Gain in Turmoil Across Mideast                                   | T |
| Dec, 11 (GRD) | Syria: US and UK suspend aid after Islamist fighters seize weapons stores        | T |
| Dec. 11 (NYT) | Rights Lawyer Among 4 Abducted in Syria; 2 Journalists Are Also Being Held       | E |
| Dec. 12 (NYT) | U.S. Suspends Nonlethal Aid To Syrian Rebels                                     | T |
| Dec. 26 (NYT) | U.S. Sends Arms To Aid Iraq Fight With Extremists                                | E |
| Jan. 1 (NYT)  | Shelling of Bus in Northern Syria Caps a Merciless Year                          | E |
| Jan. 3 (NYT)  | Qaeda-Aligned Militants Threaten Key Iraqi Cities                                | E |

|               |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|
| Jan. 4 (NYT)  | Qaeda-Linked Insurgents Clash With Other Rebels in Syria, as Schism Grows | T |
| Jan. 5 (NYT)  | Power Vacuum In Middle East Lifts Militants                               | T |
| Jan. 10 (NYT) | U.S. Considers Resuming Nonlethal Aid to Syrian Opposition                | E |
| Jan. 14 (NYT) | Extremist Militant Group in Syria Retakes Ground Lost to Rival Rebels     | T |
| Jan. 16 (NYT) | Flow of Westerners to Syria Prompts Security Concerns                     | E |
| Jan. 29 (NYT) | Rebels in Syria Claim Control of Resources                                | E |



|                |   |   |
|----------------|---|---|
| Jan. 4 (GRD)   | Syria opposition groups turn on hardline jihadis  | T |
| Jan. 13 (GRD)  | We don't know who is fighting, let alone winning, say Syrian refugees: Families flee fight in north between opposition forces: Battle with jihadis 'sees 700 die in past nine days' | E |
| Feb. 4 (NYT)   | Al Qaeda Breaks With Jihadist Group in Syria Involved in Rebel Infighting   | T |
| Feb. 6 (NYT)   | Iraqi Tribes to Take Lead in Falluja Fight, U.S. Says   | E |
| Feb. 15 (NYT)  | Deadlock Remains and Aid Crisis Mounts as 2nd Round of Syria Talks Nears End  | E |
| Feb. 24 (NYT)  | Top Military Body Against Syria's Assad Is in Chaos, Undermining Fight  | T |
| Feb. 3 (GRD)   | Al-Qaida struggles to unite extremist factions  | T |
| Feb. 19 (GRD)  | Smuggled video testimony documents harsh rule of Syrian Islamist group  | E |
| March 2 (NYT)  | Song Opens Musical Front in Civil War Over Syria  | E |
| March 6 (NYT)  | Syria and Security Council Criticized by Rights Panel   | T |
| March 26 (NYT) | Qaeda Militants Seek Syria Base, U.S. Officials Say   | T |
| March 11 (GRD) | Syria war: new push against Assad being planned, reports suggest  | T |
| March 12 (GRD) | Syria: Secret strategy: Saudi Arabia and the US 'backing new front against Assad'   | T |
| March 26 (GRD) | Syrian rebels in assault on Assad's home area: Groups aim to open supply line to Mediterranean: Troops defend enclave close to Turkish border                                       | T |
| April 11 (NYT) | Warily, Jordan Assists Rebels in Syrian War   | E |
| April 15 (NYT) | U.N. Official Condemns Use of Torture in Syrian War   | T |

|                |  |        |
|----------------|--|--------|
| April 16 (NYT) | Iraq Shuts Down the Abu Ghraib Prison, Citing Security Concerns  | T      |
| April 25 (NYT) | Britain: Police Aim to Keep Britons Out of Syria's War   | E      |
| April 26 (NYT) | Iraqi Militants Stage Political Rally, Then Bombs Go Off   | E      |
| April 29 (NYT) | Militants Pose Threat on Eve of Vote in Iraq   | E      |
| April 12 (GRD) | War is inescapable backdrop to Iraqi poll: Fear of extremism is the dominant theme of pre-election rhetoric as violence rages close to the capital                                       | E      |
| April 16 (GRD) | Special report: Social media used to recruit new wave of British jihadis: Messages and photos provide inside track on motives and activities   | E      |
| April 30 (GRD) | Front: War-weary Iraqi town fights a new wave of insurgents: The country goes to the polls tomorrow, but Ghaith Abdul-Ahad finds the people of Buhriz are still fighting for their lives | E<br>T |
| May 1 (NYT)    | Affiliates of Al Qaeda Show Rise in Influence, State Department Says   | E      |
| May 1 (NYT)    | With Security Tight, Iraqis Cast Votes in Unaccustomed Peace   | E      |
| May 13 (NYT)   | Qaeda Affiliate Steps Up Video Propaganda Push   | E      |
| May 29 (NYT)   | The Extremist Organizations 'on the Front Lines'   | T      |
| May 29 (NYT)   | Terror's Front: Local Groups, Eyes on West   | E      |
| May 30 (NYT)   | Foreign Jihadis Fighting in Syria Pose Risk in West  | E      |
| May 1 (GRD)    | Security tight as Iraq makes a nervous return to the polls: Incumbent Maliki calls ballot rebuke to terrorism: Many polling stations stay closed in Sunni heartland                      | E      |
| May 3 (GRD)    | Rebels to abandon Homs district as part of ceasefire deal  | E      |
| May 20 (GRD)   | Terror conviction for Briton who went to Syria jihadist training camp  | E      |
| June 6 (NYT)   | In Brazen Strike, Sunni Militants Storm Central Iraqi City   | E      |
| June 8 (NYT)   | Across Iraq, Insurgents Show Reach in Attacks  | E      |

|               |  |   |
|---------------|--|---|
| June 11 (NYT) | Sunni Militants Drive Iraqi Army From Big City ** change in media                | T |
| June 12 (NYT) | Sunni Fighters Gain as They Battle 2 Governments, and Other Rebels               | T |
| June 12 (NYT) | Militants Storm Turkish Consulate in Iraqi City, Taking 49 People as Hostages    | E |
| June 12 (NYT) | Iraq Is Said to Seek U.S. Strikes on Insurgents                                  | T |
| June 12 (NYT) | Iraq Militants, Pushing South, Aim at Capital                                    | T |
| June 13 (NYT) | U.S. Scrambles to Help Iraq Fight Off Militants                                  | E |
| June 14 (NYT) | U.S. Airstrikes Could Help in Reversing Insurgent Offensive, Experts Say         | T |
| June 15 (NYT) | Suicide in Syria Puts U.S. Face on Jihad Video                                   | T |
| June 16 (NYT) | Obama Pushes Iraqis to Mend Sectarian Rifts                                      | E |
| June 16 (NYT) | Militants Claim Mass Execution of Iraqi Forces                                   | T |
| June 17 (NYT) | U.S. Is Exploring Talks With Iran on Crisis in Iraq                              | E |
| June 18 (NYT) | As Sunnis Die in Iraq, a Cycle Is Restarting                                     | T |
| June 18 (NYT) | Obama Is Said to Consider Selective Airstrikes on Sunni Militants                | E |
| June 19 (NYT) | As Moderate Islamists Retreat, Extremists Surge Unchecked                        | T |
| June 20 (NYT) | Obama Orders 300 Advisers to Iraq  | E |
| June 22 (NYT) | Sunnis in Iraq Make Some Gains in Fighting in the North and West                 | T |
| June 24 (NYT) | Iraqi Insurgents Secure Control of Border Posts                                  | T |
| June 24 (NYT) | Kerry Says ISIS Threat Could Hasten Military Action                              | T |
| June 26 (NYT) | As Calls for New Iraqi Government Grow, Militants Advance Toward Strategic Dam   | T |
| June 27 (NYT) | Support for Maliki Slips Within His Own Party as Armed U.S. Drones Start Flights | T |

|               |  |   |
|---------------|--|---|
| June 29 (NYT) | Iraq's Sunni Militants Take to Social Media to Advance Their Cause and Intimidate  | T |
| June 30 (NYT) | Russian Jets and Experts Sent to Iraq to Aid Army  | T |
| June 10 (GRD) | Isis insurgents seize control of Iraqi city of Mosul   | T |
| June 11 (GRD) | Islamists seize Iraq's second-biggest city: Isis militants take Mosul and threaten Kirkuk  | T |
| June 12 (GRD) | Front: Troops flee as Islamist insurgents rampage through Iraq   | T |
| June 12 (GRD) | Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: Isis chief may be next leader at Al-Qaida Central  | T |
| June 13 (GRD) | Crisis pulls US back towards Iraq: Obama promises to stop jihadists gaining 'foothold' as they close to within 60 miles of Baghdad                         | E |
| June 14 (GRD) | Front: US and Iran join fight for Iraq: Obama considers air strikes against jihadis as Tehran sends top general to Baghdad                                 | E |
| June 14 (GRD) | Al-Qaida video urges Muslims in Kashmir to wage jihad on India   | E |
| June 16 (GRD) | Front: Exclusive: Arrest that exposed wealth and power of Iraq jihadists   | T |
| June 16 (GRD) | Iraq blowback: ISIS rise manufactured by insatiable oil addiction  | - |
| June 17 (GRD) | Front: US and Iran in Iraq talks as jihadists advance  | E |
| June 19 (GRD) | Front: Iraq calls for US air strikes to push back Isis militants   | T |
| June 19 (GRD) | Iraq: Cameron: we'll stop Britons going out to join Islamists: PM warns of security threat to UK as Downing Street reveals arrests linked to Syria         | T |
| June 20 (GRD) | US sends 300 'military advisers' to Iraq: Obama insists America will not enter 'bloody war': Option of targeted air strikes is held in reserve             | E |
| June 21 (GRD) | Three Britons appear in terror training film: Men claiming to be British call on others to join jihad Going to Iraq or Syria to fight is a crime in UK law | E |
| June 22 (GRD) | Isis threat justifies greater surveillance powers in UK, says Liam Fox   | T |

|               |  |   |
|---------------|--|---|
| June 23 (GRD) | Isis takes western border areas of Iraq and threatens to hit country's power supply: Jihadists seize crossings into Syria and Jordan: Desperate moves to form coalition against rebels | T |
| June 24 (GRD) | It's decision time, Kerry tells Iraq's leaders: Maliki urged to assemble coalition to face Isis threat: Country's future 'depends on choices made now'                                 | E |
| June 30 (GRD) | Isis declares Islamic caliphate in area straddling Iraq and Syria  | T |

## Appendix B

| Source (NYT)                    | Source (GRD)              |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| General Sources                 | General Sources           |
| Activist (Syrian)               | Security Expert/ official |
| officials (unnamed/ unassigned) | Video                     |

|                                      |                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Analyst                              | Analyst                             |
| local residents                      | officials (unnamed/ unassigned)     |
| Internet - unknown                   | AP                                  |
| Video                                | Reuters (2nd hand)                  |
| AP                                   | US embassy                          |
| Reuters                              | Aid agencies                        |
| UN -- Refugee                        | Other news outlet                   |
| UN -- General                        | Government (US)                     |
| Government (US)                      | UN                                  |
| Obama                                | Cameron, David                      |
| Obama Administration                 | William Hague                       |
| State Department Official            | Defence secretary Liam Fox          |
| National Security Council            | UK Foreign Office                   |
| John Kerry                           | Imran Khan (politician)             |
| Pentagon Official                    | State Department                    |
| Security official                    | John Kerry                          |
| FBI                                  | Pentagon Official                   |
| Counterterrorism official            | US Officials                        |
| CIA analysis/ quote                  | Obama Administration                |
| American Army (name and rank stated) | Senators/ Representatives           |
| Military official                    | Obama                               |
| Department of Defense                | Nujaifi                             |
| Boehner                              | Syrian Resources                    |
| Pelosi                               | Refugee                             |
| Senator or Representative            | Civilians                           |
| Diplomat                             | Syrian Observatory for Human Rights |
| Former ambassador                    | Rebels or Syrian fighters           |
| Syrian Resources                     | Syrian Opposition                   |
| Maliki                               | Free Syrian Army                    |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Security official                              | Maliki   |
| Syrian Official                                | Iraqi Gov.   |
| ISIS   | Syrian Army (Assad's forces)                             |
| Tribe leaders                                  | ISIS   |
| Rebels or Syrian fighters                      | jihadist'  |
| Mujahedeen Army                                | Liwa al-Tawheed  |
| Free Syrian Army                               | Ahrar al-Sham  |
| Union of Free Youths of Idlib                  | tribal leader  |
| Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (2nd hand) | Al Qaeda participant                                     |
| state news service (2nd hand)                  | Regional News  |
| Outside Officials                              | Zuhdi Janbek, director of Jordan's special branch,       |
| News Agency                                    | Outside Officials  |
| University Faculty                             | General Martin Dempsey                                   |
| Iraqi military                                 | Imtiaz Gul, a security analyst in Islamabad              |
| Iraqi security official                        | Peshmurga  |
| Iraqi officials                                | Thinktank  |
| Iranian Official                               | University   |
| Turkish Security Official                      | Hussein Shahrstani, the deputy prime minister for energy |
| Turkish government                             | Iyad Allawi, a former prime minister                     |
| Foreign Office or Ministry                     | Professor Peter Neumann, director of the ICSR            |
| Other Radicalized Group                        | Maher, a Saudi Arabian Muslim                            |
| International Business                         | Kurdish Minister   |
| Thinktank                                      | Shia Cleric  |
| Washington Institute for Near East             |  |
| Foreign Army Official                          |  |

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| US Military               |  |
| Humanitarian Organization |  |

## Appendix C

*Coding Sheets: The New York Times*

|            |      |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |       |       |     |      |
|------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Adjectives | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|



|            |   |    |   |   |    |    |    |    |   |    |    |     |
|------------|---|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|-----|
| Activist   | 3 | 0  | 3 | 4 | 7  | 9  | 15 | 2  | 1 | 2  | 0  | 0   |
| Extremists | 7 | 8  | 6 | 6 | 6  | 8  | 13 | 2  | 6 | 10 | 16 | 35  |
| Fighters   | 4 | 8  | 6 | 6 | 14 | 8  | 15 | 5  | 8 | 11 | 10 | 23  |
| Jihad      | 1 | 11 | 4 | 5 | 3  | 14 | 9  | 11 | 2 | 5  | 14 | 28  |
| insurgent  | 0 | 4  | 0 | 0 | 6  | 4  | 11 | 3  | 0 | 12 | 3  | 41  |
| Militants  | 2 | 5  | 0 | 0 | 3  | 7  | 8  | 6  | 2 | 12 | 20 | 172 |
| Radical    | 4 | 1  | 1 | 0 | 0  | 0  | 5  | 1  | 2 | 5  | 1  | 5   |
| Terrorist  | 0 | 4  | 0 | 0 | 5  | 7  | 5  | 3  | 3 | 3  | 11 | 19  |

| Organization   | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|----------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Al Qaeda       | 10   | 19  | 7    | 9   | 11  | 38  | 31  | 19  | 23    | 7     | 64  | 16   |
| ISIS           | 4    | 7   | 7    | 15  | 20  | 11  | 33  | 16  | 3     | 9     | 11  | 134  |
| Nursa Front    | 4    | 1   | 3    | 4   | 4   | 1   | 7   | 5   | 7     | 3     | 3   | 1    |
| Hezbollah      | 2    | 2   | 0    | 0   | 6   | 0   | 6   | 0   | 18    | 2     | 0   | 0    |
| Suicide attack | 0    | 5   | 1    | 0   | 2   | 0   | 3   | 4   | 2     | 3     | 4   | 12   |
| beheading      | 0    | 3   | 1    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 1   | 2    |
| Tribe/Tribal   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 0   | 1   | 11  | 6   | 0     | 9     | 2   | 9    |

| Syrian Discourse | JUL | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Assad            | 0   | 5   | 7    | 13  | 18  | 13  | 24  | 7   | 5     | 7     | 6   | 8    |
| Anti-Assad       | 0   | 1   | 1    | 1   | 1   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 0   | 0    |

|                  |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |    |   |    |   |    |
|------------------|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|---|----|---|----|
| Free Syrian Army | 6  | 9  | 0  | 0  | 4  | 3 | 3  | 0  | 0 | 0  | 0 | 2  |
| Rebels           | 30 | 20 | 18 | 24 | 31 | 9 | 37 | 24 | 9 | 33 | 3 | 18 |
| Civil War        | 3  | 0  | 3  | 4  | 3  | 3 | 11 | 1  | 3 | 4  | 3 | 9  |

|               |      |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |       |       |     |      |
|---------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| ISIS Mentions | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|               | 2    | 7   | 7    | 15  | 20  | 11  | 33  | 16  | 3     | 9     | 11  | 134  |

|                  |      |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |       |       |     |      |
|------------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| US Mentions      | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
| America (whole)  | 2    | 20  | 9    | 2   | 24  | 48  | 57  | 22  | 23    | 26    | 69  | 171  |
| Drone Strikes    | 0    | 3   | 0    | 0   | 3   | 12  | 1   | 1   | 3     | 0     | 8   | 22   |
| American Army    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 4   | 4   | 4   | 4   | 0     | 0     | 4   | 27   |
| Chemical Weapons | 3    | 0   | 1    | 0   | 2   | 0   | 5   | 0   | 3     | 0     | 0   | 6    |

|              |      |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |       |       |     |      |
|--------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Religion     | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
| Sunni Muslim | 3    | 9   | 0    | 1   | 4   | 8   | 28  | 5   | 7     | 15    | 5   | 113  |
| Shia Muslim  | 1    | 12  | 0    | 0   | 3   | 2   | 15  | 2   | 4     | 12    | 1   | 101  |
| Kurd         | 8    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 1   | 0   | 3   | 0   | 0     | 1     | 0   | 35   |

|          |      |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |       |       |     |      |
|----------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Internet | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|          | 0    | 3   | 0    | 3   | 6   | 0   | 3   | 3   | 0     | 1     | 19  | 47   |

*Coding Sheet: The Guardian*

| Adjectives | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Activist   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2   | 0     | 0     | 0   | 0    |
| Extremists | 3    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 1   | 2   | 0   | 2   | 0     | 6     | 1   | 20   |
| Fighters   | 1    | 0   | 1    | 0   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 3     | 4     | 2   | 23   |
| Jihad      | 7    | 2   | 10   | 8   | 3   | 0   | 5   | 4   | 7     | 10    | 5   | 47   |
| insurgent  | 0    | 1   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 0     | 14    | 3   | 39   |
| Militants  | 9    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 4   | 0     | 0     | 1   | 29   |
| Radical    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 1     | 2     | 0   | 0    |
| Terrorist  | 1    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 7     | 11  | 12   |

| Organization   | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|----------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Al Qaeda       | 8    | 1   | 7    | 10  | 2   | 1   | 4   | 11  | 5     | 3     | 2   | 21   |
| ISIS           | 2    | 0   | 3    | 4   | 1   | 1   | 15  | 10  | 4     | 3     | 5   | 101  |
| Nursa Front    | 0    | 0   | 1    | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 2   | 2     | 1     | 0   | 0    |
| Hezbollah      | 1    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1     | 0     | 2   | 1    |
| Suicide attack | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 1     | 0   | 0    |
| beheading      | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 0   | 0    |
| Tribe/Tribal   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 0     | 1     | 0   | 6    |

| Syrian Discourse | JUL | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Assad            | 0   | 1   | 2    | 0   | 3   | 2   | 2   | 0   | 8     | 1     | 2   | 2    |

|                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|
| Anti-Assad       | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2  | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Free Syrian Army | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 5  | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rebels           | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 6 | 3 |
| Civil War        | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1  | 3 | 1 | 7 |

| ISIS Mentions | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|---------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
|               | 2    | 0   | 3    | 1   | 1   | 1   | 15  | 10  | 4     | 3     | 5   | 101  |

| US Mentions      | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|------------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| America (whole)  | 1    | 2   | 5    | 1   | 9   | 5   | 1   | 4   | 22    | 9     | 4   | 76   |
| Drone Strikes    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 0   | 4    |
| American Army    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 4   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 1   | 4    |
| Chemical Weapons | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3     | 0     | 0   | 1    |

| Religion     | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|--------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Sunni Muslim | 2    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 2   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 0     | 15    | 5   | 28   |
| Shia Muslim  | 2    | 0   | 2    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 18    | 3   | 27   |
| Kurd         | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 1     | 2   | 28   |

| Internet | JULY | AUG | SEPT | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN | FEB | MARCH | APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|----------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
|          | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0     | 5     | 3   | 14   |

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