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VISUAL FRAMING OF THE 2003 INVASION OF IRAQ: AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS PHOTOGRAPHS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Diana von Buseck

December 2008

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12/3/08

ABSTRACT

VISUAL FRAMING OF THE 2003 INVASION OF IRAQ:
AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS PHOTOGRAPHS

by Diana von Buseck

This thesis examined the visual frames in the photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The framing analysis found that military frames dominated the photographic coverage at the expense of a wider context for the invasion. The coverage showed the strength and superiority of the military, and focused on soldiers. Two other major sets of frames were politics and humanization. The frames provided evidence that the embed system impacted the visual coverage by providing increased access to combat, soldiers, and Iraqi citizens. The Associated Press' photographs offered an international perspective as compared with the U.S.-centered images in the news magazines. In terms of the compositional elements used in photographs, the study found that the news organizations conveyed a sense of credibility by using images that acted as records of events and that minimized the constructed nature of photographs by using few compositional elements.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

In a complex world with seemingly endless current-events information available around the clock, audiences depend on reputable news outlets to organize information and present it clearly. Individual and societal realities are constructed from the information that is interpreted and shared. It would be difficult to imagine a life with no information about what is happening past one's own front door. Mass communications scholars have long examined the nature of news, and more recently have addressed how news is framed. An ever-growing area of mass communications research is the exploration of how news organizations utilize visuals as framing devices. This study analyzed how the 2003 invasion of Iraq was visually framed by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press.

Research has shown that photographs are powerful communication tools that evoke strong emotional responses and can be more memorable than words alone (Coleman, 2006; Graber, 1988). It is therefore important to further explore the relationship between visual news content and framing. It is also important to look past the subject of an image, and to examine the manner in which the image is constructed. Formal composition decisions can greatly impact how the viewer interprets an image. For instance, the research of Mandell and Shaw (1973) found that a dramatic high or low camera angle could directly affect the viewer's perception of a politician's power and authority. Visuals as framing devices are a crucial part of the overall presentation of news coverage. Particularly during times of critical events, people depend on news,

especially visuals, to learn about events that may be happening at great distances away from them.

Since most individuals collect information about foreign affairs and war through the media, the manner in which news about conflict is presented can be critical to how the public forms opinions about war. In a society that continues to put great value on a free press, it becomes increasingly important to examine how media outlets frame news content as it can significantly influence how audiences understand international cultures and events (Kim, 2002). Particularly during volatile times of conflict, media frames can have a direct impact on public opinion and affect attitudes and behaviors (Chong & Druckman, 2007). How media organizations frame war is therefore an important area that benefits from continuous exploration by mass communications researchers.

On March 20, 2003, the United States along with Coalition forces invaded Iraq on the premise of defending the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, including the threat of weapons of mass destruction, and enforcing the United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq. The invasion sparked controversy worldwide, which meant that American media were faced with a particularly difficult challenge of reporting accurate and balanced accounts of the controversial news event. Before the invasion, many countries agreed that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction should be found, but they were divided as to how this should be accomplished. The American public depended on news organizations to provide concise information up to and during the war in Iraq to help build an understanding about what was occurring, and more so, what it meant.

The invasion of Iraq, which marked the start to the Iraq War, arguably spanned from March 17, 2003, when President Bush gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq, to May 1, 2003, when President Bush delivered his speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln declaring the end of major combat operations in Iraq. During the invasion, the implementation of the military embed system allowed journalists to report on the war in a way that had not been seen during previous conflicts. The advancement of new technologies, such as high-speed Internet, enabled the press to provide quick and extensive worldwide coverage of the conflict. Much of this coverage included powerful visual messages, which utilized certain frames.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the visual reporting of the invasion of Iraq to determine what frames were used by news outlets to present the invasion to the American public. The theoretical foundation of framing was applied to this study of visual frames in photographic coverage. The study also examined the compositional elements of the photographic coverage—camera angle, selective focus, proximity of subject to viewer, size, placement, and color versus black and white.

To determine what frames were predominant, a framing analysis was conducted of photographs that were found in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. One reason for selecting these news organizations was to analyze what visual frames were predominantly shown by news magazines compared with what was made available to them by a major international news provider, The Associated Press. When examining the news magazines' photographic coverage, the photo-credit for each picture was also

analyzed to determine the news magazines' primary sources for images. The implication was that a wider range of photographic sources might equal a wider range of frames presented. Each photograph in the sample was examined for compositional elements that were used in the construction of the image. In total, a sample of 1,028 photographs related to the war in Iraq were selected and analyzed.

A framing study of the invasion of Iraq is important for determining the way media present influential foreign news, and how the American public may interpret that news. The manner in which national news covered Iraq could have directly impacted public opinion, and ultimately even policy. The international significance of the invasion validates an examination of how visual information about the war was presented. Past framing research has often overlooked the importance of visuals, so a study of this nature can also further the understanding of how photographs act as successful framing tools.

In terms of how the thesis is organized, Chapter 2 first reviews the relevant literature pertaining to framing theory. Following this, literature that references the power of visuals is examined, with an emphasis on the characteristics of photographs, including formal composition, which make them strong framing tools. A context for framing war in recent American media is then reviewed by examining the Gulf War and the Iraq War, including a review of critical events that occurred during the invasion of Iraq. Chapter 2 also includes the theoretical framework, overview, and research questions. Chapter 3 presents in detail the method used for this framing study. Chapter 4 discusses the results of this study as they pertain to the research questions. This includes both a qualitative analysis of the frames that emerged as well as a quantitative analysis.

Finally, Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the conclusions for the study. Chapter 5 also includes the implications of the study as well as how this framing study contributes to the existing literature.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

In an analysis of predominant media frames, an examination of the theoretical framing literature is of utmost importance. The pertinent theoretical literature has been divided into three sections. First, the theory of framing will be examined, with an emphasis on media frames. The literature pertaining to visual communication, particularly photojournalism and the compositional construction of photographs will then be discussed. Finally, the existing literature on framing the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War will be presented, including the historical context for the Iraq War.

Framing

Framing theory is the theoretical basis for this study of the visual reporting of the invasion of Iraq. Framing emphasizes how, and in what context, content is selected, presented, and understood in the news dissemination process. Mass media actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978). Frames are a necessary feature of the news process, making information comprehensible (Tuchman, 1978).

Although framing theory is not new, there is not a universally accepted definition of framing. In a generalized way, framing refers to the manner in which events and issues are organized and made sense of by media, media professionals, and audiences (Reese, 2003). Entman (1993) offered a more specific explanation of how media provide audiences with cognitive tools for interpreting information, which is the definition of framing used in this study. Entman (1993) wrote:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p. 52)

Frames are constructed from, and embodied in, specific keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images that are emphasized in news information (Entman, 1991). Through repetition and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernable and memorable than others (Entman, 1991). Frames are a necessary part of the news selection process that can greatly impact the manner in which an audience perceives content.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) was credited with introducing the concept of framing. Goffman (1974) suggested that frames are the principles of organization that govern social events and our subjective involvement in them. Goffman (1974, p. 11) noted: "Frames organize strips of the everyday world (or any other of the multiple realities)." He defined a strip as an arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity. Frames turn unrecognizable happenings into discernable events (Tuchman, 1978). A theme emphasized by Tuchman (1978) was how the act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself, rather than a picture of reality.

Much of media discourse involves struggles over meaning in the social construction of reality (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes & Sasson, 1992). Media frames exist to organize the world for both journalists and audiences (Gitlin, 1980), and in doing so news frames construct realities. Gitlin (1980) noted that, despite the organizing purpose of frames, they are often unintentional or unacknowledged. Either intentional,

unintentional, or a combination of the two, the realities that framing construct by putting information in a context convey to an audience not only what to think about the news, but also *how* to think about it (Pfau, Haigh, Fifrick, Holl, Tedesco, Cope, et al., 2006). In describing the relationship between framing and context, Pavlik (2003) noted that context is the connecting link that ties isolated facts into a whole. The constructivist nature of frames underlines the connection between media outlet content production and the reality ultimately perceived by the audience.

Persuasive direct evidence that media frames really do make a difference in how audiences understand issues comes from the work of Iyengar and Kinder (1987). Iyengar and Kinder (1987) used actual network television news broadcasts that were purposefully edited and then shown to different research subjects. They demonstrated that the way in which television news presented information helped to define how viewers evaluated presidential performance (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Iyengar (1991) proposed that news frames could be categorized as either episodic or thematic. Episodic news frames depict public issues in the form of specific instances or events. Thematic news frames present information on a more abstract level in the form of collective or general evidence. Iyengar (1991) noted that how news is framed affects public opinion. Specifically, Iyengar (1991) argued that through the frequent use of episodic framing, media help maintain order by rarely placing news events and issues into a broader context.

To make the broad field of framing research manageable, Scheufele (1999) divided the literature into four types of framing research. Scheufele (1999) wrote that researchers operationalize frames—either as dependent variables or as independent

variables, and they examine particularly one set of frames—either media frames or individual (audience) frames. Frames have to be considered in both the presenting and the comprehending of news, which are invariably linked, but as Scheufele (1999) noted, researchers tend to examine either media frames or audience frames in greater detail. Gitlin (1980) described news frames as existing on two levels, as mentally stored principles for information processing (describing audience frames) and as characteristics of the actual news presentation (describing media frames). The examination of how frames describe attributes of the news itself has been particularly linked to the research of Entman (1991, 1993), which will be further discussed.

The concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text (Entman, 1993). Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005, p. 405) wrote: "The subtlety of framing is in the way it can construct reality, impact interpretations, and influence audience responses and opinions toward a particular event after the event enters the public agenda."

The Process of Framing

The inherent process of news making has limitations of both space and time (Fortunato, 2005); therefore, decisions must be made by media professionals as to what information shall be covered and how. Entman (1993) noted that the process of framing news essentially involves two aspects—selection and salience. Selecting information that calls attention to particular aspects of a reality logically implies that attention will be directed away from other aspects (Entman, 1993). Therefore, most news frames are not

only defined by what is included, but also by what is omitted. Highlighting the importance of selection decisions, Lippmann (1922) wrote:

> Every newspaper when it reaches the reader is the result of a whole series of selections as to what items shall be printed, in what position they shall be printed, how much space each shall occupy, what emphasis each shall have. There are no objective standards here. There are conventions. (p. 223)

Five primary factors potentially impact how journalists frame a given issue—social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists (Scheufele, 1999). Frames are most often set by a combination of factors, though research has focused on factors involving organizational and individual pressures (Barrett & Barrington, 2005; Gans, 1979; Hoffman & Wallach, 2007; Scheufele, 1999). Gans (1979) referred to organizational routines and organizational pressures as primary influences, which impact the selection of frames as a result of aspects such as the political orientation of a news outlet. When content is subjected to organizational routines, it is often an accentuation of the characteristics of an initial selection bias (McQuail, 2005). Barrett and Barrington (2005) discussed the impact of organizational routines on framing in what they have called political atmosphere theory. The theory posits that media outlets develop an organizational political culture that influences their coverage, either intentionally or unintentionally (Barrett & Barrington, 2005).

After selection, the next critical aspect of the framing process that Entman (1993) described was salience, which he defined as making a piece of information "more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (p. 53). Entman (1993) noted that, by highlighting certain aspects of information, they are elevated in salience. Entman

(1991) described the essence of framing as sizing, which magnifies or shrinks elements of a depicted reality to make them more or less salient. How much material is made available about an event and how prominently it is presented factor heavily into how an audience perceives the event. Salience concerns not only the presence or absence of a certain issue, but also puts emphasis on one aspect at the expense of another (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). Discussing the salience of certain information as presented by media also highlights the similarities between framing and its close relatives, agenda-setting and priming. Ongoing debate exists over the overlapping differences between the three theoretical paradigms (Scheufele, 1999). Edy and Meirick (2007) wrote:

> Whereas agenda-setting and priming theories suggest that by repeating themes, media pass on their representations of salience to the audience, framing theory suggests that material that is incorporated into a narrative structure will be more salient to audiences than material that is not. (p. 121)

Framing also sets itself apart by suggesting that the same information can be perceived differently depending upon the narrative in which it appears (Edy & Meirick, 2007).

Policies, Social Movements, and Framing

Frame analysis has become central to the study of political communication (Scheufele, 1999). Media frames interact with and influence the construction of both social movement frames and individual frames (Noakes & Wilkins, 2002). Media play a crucial role in the success or failure of social movements. By deciding whether to print news of a social protest, what sources to use, and how to frame the issue, news media can shape a protest message for an audience (Ashley & Olson, 1998).

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) wrote about a number of organizing principles concerning the ways in which social movements interact with the news media and the outcomes for both parties. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993, p. 116) noted that "movements are generally much more dependent on media than the reverse, and this fundamental asymmetry implies the greater power of the media system in the transaction." Movements need media for three major purposes: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993), all of which are directly impacted by the nature of a movement's framing in the media. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) explained that an influence on how frames are set regarding social movements, particularly during times of conflict, is the relationship between journalists and sources. Social movement organizations that control greater resources and have professional organizations capable of coordination and strategic planning are most likely to gain standing and favorable coverage (Noakes & Wilkins, 2002).

Power of Visuals

It is important to further understand the visual messages presented in the news media. The inherent nature of the photojournalistic process of creating visual content offers a distinct perspective to the discussion of news production and framing. Since the introduction of photography, viewers have invested it with a level of authority and credibility unparalleled by other modes of communication (Schwartz, 1992). Yet, photographs possess a power and a point of view based on the agencies or individuals that construct them; photographic images are rarely neutral (Gamson et al., 1992). The duality between the characteristics that make photographs stronger framing devices than

text alone, such as credibility, combined with their ability to conceal opinions through compositional construction and the inherent nature of the process, makes photojournalistic content a unique tool for news production.

Almost no discussion of photographs fails to mention their power (Coleman, 2006). Sontag (1977, p. 20) wrote that "an event known through photographs certainly becomes more real than it would have been if one had never seen the photographs." Through research, Coleman (2006) concluded that images add a dimension of information not available solely through the printed word. Coleman also noted that images induce people to think deeply. In her research, Graber (1988) concluded that pictures make information transmission more realistic, accurate, and touching than is possible in purely text messages. Photographs have the ability to convey important information that is attended to, processed, and remembered long after words are forgotten (Graber, 1988).

Constructions and Records of Reality

The iconic similarity of the photograph to its subject masks the distinction between image and reality and obscures the significance of the picture-making process in the construction of a photographic message (Schwartz, 1992). Tensions between the natural and the symbolic are inherent aspects of photography (Schwartz, 1992). One of the most debated issues in visual communication research is the issue of *construct* versus *record* (Jewitt & van Leeuwen, 2001). The argument is based on whether a photograph acts as a record or as a construction of reality. The issue primarily exists because most images have an element of both in them (Jewitt & van Leeuwen, 2001). Although news

photographs do act as records of events, they are constructed in a purposeful manner to emphasize certain elements of the events over others. Taylor (2005) supported the construction of reality idea by noting that all photographs are representations, and what individuals see in them is seen only in the photograph and not by natural eyesight in the world.

In regard to the construction of images in the context of photojournalism, Dauber (2001) wrote that photojournalists try to downplay the constructed nature of their images. One, or more, media professionals made the photograph, produced it, selected it, cropped it, and determined where and how to use it. Dauber (2001, p. 656) wrote that "visual images offered as news are presented as authentic and objective pieces of evidence—not as representations of reality, but in a sense, as reality itself." It becomes easy for the viewer to forget that the event could have been represented quite differently had the photographer and those responsible for the dissemination of the photograph made different choices (Dauber, 2001). Dauber (2001) further concluded that this is particularly true for combat photography.

The Impact of Visuals

The effectiveness of using different framing mechanisms, such as the use of language versus the use of images in the process of news construction, has been debated by communications scholars (Bantimaroudis & Ban, 2001; Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Messaris and Abraham (2001) argued that visual images used in presenting news information have an inherent ability to make ideas appear more natural. This ability to not appear constructed makes visual images more powerful, though subtle, framing tools

because the audience is less aware of the framing process. Messaris and Abraham (2001) also noted that because of this decreased awareness of framing in visual content, images may have the capacity of conveying messages that would meet with greater resistance if put in words, but are received more readily in visual form. A newspaper photograph study by Pfau et al. (2006) noted that news photographs elicit greater emotional responses than text alone because visuals are processed differently, emphasizing instinct and emotion. It was concluded in their study that news photographs with captions elicited the greatest emotional response and affected the support of a political social movement (Pfau et al., 2006).

Within their study, Pfau et al. (2006) explained three primary ways that photographs influence audience attitudes, further supporting their possible superiority to any other news framing tool. First, photographs capture readers' attention; since visual images are the readers' connection or entry-point to a news story, information is more salient when depicted using visual images. Research done by Zillmann, Knobloch, and Yu (2001) found that the text of articles accompanied by photographs was read for longer periods of time than articles with no visuals. Further supporting this idea, Wanta (1988) found that articles with accompanying photographs enhanced the perceived importance of the covered issues.

The second way Pfau et al. (2006) described how photographs influence readers' attitudes is that photographs are considered credible. Messaris and Abraham (2001) stressed that because of their indexicality, photographs come with an implicit guarantee of being closer to the truth than other forms of communication. Viewers' perceptions can

be shaped as a consequence of unwitting faith in the connection between photographs and reality (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Visual images used in news are presented in a context of authenticity, and are therefore read not as representations, but as evidence (Dauber, 2001). Although other types of images, such as advertisements, are often treated with skepticism, the audience's guard is not up as much when watching or reading the news (Dauber, 2001). Taylor (2005) described news photographs as powerful for the simple reason that people use them as direct evidence and proof. The credible contexts in which news photographs are presented greatly impact the manner in which they are evaluated. In reference to news photographs, Dauber (2001) wrote:

> Their very design encourages the reader to forget that images are constructed artifacts. We are open, therefore, to the power of the image in photojournalism in a way we are not in other contexts. If imagery is powerful, it is all the more powerful when presented as objective. (p. 654)

Although the credibility of photographs is a factor in how readers understand and accept news information, it should be noted that as technology changes so do attitudes toward credibility. As digital photography has experienced a recent boom and become the norm in photojournalism, a new level is added to the debate between a photograph being a construct or a record. Although it has always been possible to manipulate images in the darkroom, the ease and sophistication of digital photo-editing software have further blurred the line between the two sides of the debate. In their research, Fosdick and Fahmy (2007) wrote that audiences are becoming increasingly educated and skeptical of photo manipulations. This is particularly worrying in the arena of news, which relies heavily on credibility and accuracy (Fosdick & Fahmy, 2007). The credibility issue as it

pertains to photojournalism is certain to change and adapt as technologies continue to develop in the digital direction.

The third primary way that photographs influence readers' attitudes is that photographs are memorable; compelling images facilitate memory and recall (Pfau et al., 2006). Photographs can automatically convey meaning, whereas text is processed serially. As a result, photographs accelerate information processing (Pfau et al., 2006). The research of Zillmann et al. (1999) demonstrated that readers of news rely heavily on photographic content in forming short-term and long-term impressions. They found specifically that the use of one-sided photographs could foster persisting distortions in the perception of relevant social issues (Zillmann et al., 1999). News photographs are constructed artifacts that are shaped by the institutional context of the mass media organization in which they are produced (Schwartz, 1992). The characteristics of photographs as outlined by Pfau et al. (2006) emphasized how visual content can be used by media outlets as successful framing devices.

Photographic Composition

The relationship between content and form plays a pivotal role in defining photojournalism (Schwartz, 1992). Messaris (1992) noted that the role of visual composition combined with camera work and editing strategies has frequently been overlooked by academic research. Messaris (1992) stressed that compositional elements affect the manner in which photographs are interpreted. Schwartz (1992) and Messaris (1992) emphasized that pictorial form and visual construction play crucial roles. Messaris (1992) was primarily concerned with the kinds of relationships that spectators

might be invited to assume toward the subjects of images. Messaris (1992) explained that compositional elements used for spectator positioning, such as camera angle or the proximity of subject to viewer, derive their effectiveness from making an analogy with real life physical or social interactions, and with their meanings. Specific compositional elements, as described below, can impact how images are interpreted by emphasizing specific frames.

Size and Placement

Entman (1991) described sizing and placement choices as some of the most critical aspects impacting the overall salience of a news frame. Aside from content, the amount of material available on an event and how prominently it is displayed determine a frame's importance (Entman, 1991). Moriarty and Popovich (1989) supported Entman's conclusion that size is an important aspect of framing, and that editorial decisions about how to use photographs affect how an audience perceives frames. Their research of news magazine visuals during the 1998 presidential election examined, in part, the compositional element of size in relation to the amount and tone of the coverage each candidate received, concluding that a relationship existed (Moriarty & Popovich, 1989). In a study that dealt with the effects of dominant photographs, Wanta (1988) explored the correlation between photograph size and the prominence of issues on readers' agenda. Wanta (1988, p. 111) concluded that "newspaper editors have the power to raise their readers' salience on certain issues over a short period of time by merely increasing the size of photographs." Decisions involving the size and placement of visual images are

critical in determining the salience of certain frames by magnifying or diminishing the importance of an event or idea.

Camera Angle

One of the most widely used compositional elements in photographs is the use of angle of view as a means of making someone look powerful or powerless (Zettl, 1973). A high camera angle can, for example, be used to look down on a subject and de-emphasize importance, and a camera angle from below can be used to create a monumental image, emphasizing importance (Moriarty & Popovich, 1989). To determine the effect of camera angle, Mandell and Shaw (1973) asked viewers to judge political figures, previously unknown to them, which appeared in a simulated television news program. Mandell and Shaw (1973) concluded that camera angle does affect the perceived power and authority of the person in the picture. Messaris (1994) noted that the use of camera angle to emphasize power or weakness is not an arbitrary convention, but rather a visual convention that reproduces the structural features of real life situations.

Color versus Black and White Images

Color can be used as a particularly powerful compositional element because of its ability to attract attention to a specific image. Garcia and Stark (1991) conducted research to determine whether color in newspapers attracted reader attention. Garcia and Stark (1991) concluded that newspaper readers scan pages, and, at certain entry-points, they stop scanning and start reading the content associated with these entry-points. They further noted that photographs and graphics act as the most common entry-points, and color photographs in particular can be successful at attracting reader attention (Garcia &

Stark, 1991). Color is commonly used in print because it is thought to have superior attention getting qualities and because of its visual impact (Meyers-Levy & Peracchio, 1995).

Proximity of Subject to Viewer

Messaris (1992) wrote that a primary instrument of visual composition is the positioning of the spectator of a picture through the positioning of the contents of the image. This can also be described as the proximity of an image's subject to the viewer (Messaris, 1992), which can be divided into three categories, intimate shot, medium shot, or long shot (Schwartz, 1992). Medium shots contain all the story-telling elements of a scene, often compressing all the important elements into one image (Schwartz, 1992). The intimate shot adds drama and intimacy, and elicits empathy in the viewer (Schwartz, 1992). An intimate shot can also emphasize a certain aspect of an event because of its close cropping. The long shot often describes a sense of isolation, loneliness, or generalization (Schwartz, 1992). Messaris (1992) noted that the proximity of the subject to the viewer as a tool derives its power from the analogy to real life visual experiences.

Selective Focus

Manipulating the focus within the frame allows selected areas of the frame to be sharp while others blur. Commonly referred to as depth of field, the photographer has the ability to manipulate, depending on the amount of light, how much of the frame is in focus besides the main subject. By selectively focusing the frame, the photographer is able to direct the viewer's attention to a particular part of the photograph (Schwartz, 1992). Depth of field can be shallow or deep, either restricting or amplifying the amount

of information viewers are given (Lister & Wells, 2001). A deep depth of field, which offers a sharpness of detail, conveys a strong sense of reality as it closer relates to the experience of seeing the world. A shallow depth of field can be used as a pictorial device to emphasize certain elements within the photograph and can therefore be used as a framing tool. Choosing how to focus a picture, the photographer impacts which elements within the visual field will receive the most viewer attention (Schwartz, 1992).

Photojournalism relies upon the notion that photography captures an objective record of reality for viewers (Schwartz, 1992). Yet, the nature of the photographic process combined with external factors that frame visual content, make it so news photographs are actually subjective elements of the news-making process. Even when photojournalists attempt to obscure the articulatory apparatus utilized in their photographs, diminishing the perceived presence of an author, the inherent number of variables involved in photographic production make it impossible to be truly objective (Schwartz, 1992). Messaris and Abraham (2001, p. 225) wrote: "Both in principle and in practice, the distinctive qualities of pictures make the study of visual communication especially relevant to the concerns of framing theory."

Framing the Gulf War and the Iraq War

The public is heavily reliant on mass media for information, particularly during times of conflict. The manner in which information is framed becomes of critical importance. Theories of framing suggest that news coverage can foster changes in public opinion by promoting particular definitions and interpretations of political issues (Shah, Watts, Domke & Fan, 2002). War is as much a cultural endeavor as it is a military

undertaking (Callahan, Dubnick & Olshfski, 2006), and therefore public opinion is of the utmost importance during times of war. Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005, p. 413) wrote: "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."

Photography and war have a special relationship; photography makes war accessible (Moeller, 1989). For most individuals, photographs are the link to the battlefield, a way of learning about war. The knowledge gained through war photography has an effect on American attitudes toward war. As Moeller (1989, p. 7) wrote: "To study war and to omit an investigation of war photography is to refuse to factor into the military and political equation of war the cultural expression of war that the majority of Americans have shared."

During times of international conflict, news coverage tends to reflect the apparent relationship between the media and the government/political elite (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). Often, the news media appear to be tied closely to the official perspectives of war (Allen, Jasperson, O'Loughlin & Sullivan, 1994; Dauber, 2001; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). This can lead to coverage that is sanitized, and that presents conflict in narrow frames, not giving citizens the opportunity to evaluate military actions from balanced information (Allen et al., 1994). The media coverage of the Gulf War is arguably an example of how military and governmental limitations affect news reporting.

Framing the Gulf War

In 1991, the Gulf War became the next living-room war after the Vietnam War (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). Gulf War coverage was followed closely on the 24-hour cable networks, a distinct new technology at the time. Another new technological development utilized was the increased mobility of satellite newsgathering, which allowed for more remote location reporting (Livingston & van Belle, 2005). Even so, the media has been heavily criticized for their weak coverage of the war, which has been called continuous, repetitious, redundant, and unbalanced (Allen et al., 1994). Griffin and Lee (1995) wrote:

> The Gulf War presents a fascinating and ironic case study in this regard for it was touted as a war the public could witness firsthand at the same time that it was considered one of the most effectively censored and controlled media events in modern history. (p. 813)

The manner in which the U.S. government handled the media was at least part of the problem. Media coverage was closely controlled through censorship, pool reporting, and press conferences (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006), making access to information difficult for reporters. In his research, Kennedy (2008, p. 282) wrote: "In the Gulf War, coverage of the media build-up overshadowed coverage of the short-lived conflict itself and remarkably little of the coverage was from the war zone." Kennedy (2008) further wrote that an accompaniment to the control of imagery was the near invisibility of bodily violence, with very few pictures of injuries or casualties in the American press.

The heavily controlled media environment of the Gulf War meant that the public was exposed to only select aspects of the conflict. To examine how the war was framed for the American public, Griffin and Lee (1995) conducted an extensive visual content

analysis of 1,104 Gulf War related pictures that appeared in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report* during the war. Griffin and Lee's (1995) research looked at how the photojournalistic coverage in U.S. news magazines was characterized, either by candid and on-the-scene coverage, or by staged and symbolic representations of nations, political actors, and military power, and how coverage of U.S. and Iraqi military forces and political leaders compared (Griffin & Lee, 1995). Griffin and Lee (1995) concluded that U.S. news magazines emphasized American military and technological superiority frames, and that even after taking into account the intended U.S. audience, the overall images of the war depicted an extremely narrow, U.S.-centered frame. The images were shaped more by established conventions of military illustration than by specific events in the Gulf, with particular focus on promoting American military and technological superiority (Griffin & Lee, 1995). The predominant frame was found to be the cataloguing the arsenal frame, defined as photographic records of military hardware. Griffin and Lee (1995) further concluded that the photographic coverage they examined particularly neglected aspects that involved the human cost of the conflict.

The framing and priming research done by Allen et al. (1994) on the Gulf War found that the media's exaggerated focus on U.S. weaponry's technological precision and sophistication reinforced the belief that the U.S. military had the technology to avoid harming innocents. They further concluded that the framing of this clean technology affected public opinion because it directed the public to evaluate the war's success in terms of the technological advantage of the United States, rather than in terms of other values, including loss of life, environmental damage, or even other U.S. policy objectives

(Allen et al., 1994). Allen et al. (1994, p. 283) wrote: "More than serving simply as conduits for military information, media also framed views of dissent, patriotism, technology, and elite consensus to construct a reality that stifled dissent and influenced citizens' evaluations of military actions."

The limited media coverage of the Gulf War resulted in a narrow view of the conflict for the American public. By looking at the constricted nature of media coverage during the Gulf War, the question is raised, would content have been framed in a wider manner if fewer restrictions on the media had existed? Although it would be difficult to determine an answer, this question does lay a foundation for examining media coverage during the next major U.S. conflict, the 2003 Iraq War.

Framing the Iraq War

From the start, the 2003 Iraq War offered considerably more press freedom than the Gulf War of 1991. There were many reasons reporters were given increased access to information regarding the conflict, including the progression of globalization and new technologies, giving journalists the ability to report from remote parts of the world at high speeds. The U.S. military also worked to reform its press-military relations, particularly by the implementation of the embed system (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006; Kennedy, 2008; Paul & Kim, 2004).

The embed system allowed 600 journalists to embed in military units before and during the war. Paul and Kim (2004) extensively examined the role of the embedded press in Iraq within the context of historical press-military relations. Paul and Kim (2004) wrote that many measures can be used to determine the success of the program,

and that across a broad range of these measures the embedded press system was successful, both for the military and for the press. However, Paul and Kim (2004) also noted that the embed system should be considered as one of multiple options along a continuum of ways to organize press-military relations, all of which involve a strategy for press access.

The research of King and Lester (2005) also addressed the embed system by comparing the photographic coverage published in three national newspapers during the Gulf War and during the 2003 Iraq War. They concluded that, although photojournalists in the Iraq War had safer and better access through the embed program, the images published were overwhelmingly pro-military (King & Lester, 2005). Essentially, the U.S. military received the type of coverage that it hoped for when it installed the embedding program (King & Lester, 2005). When describing what the embed system failed to accomplish, King and Lester (2005) wrote:

> By being closer to the fighting and freer during the War with Iraq, journalists should have been able to witness, report, and photograph more of the brutal aspects of war without governmental restrictions and those images should have been presented to readers within the pages of their newspapers. (p. 626)

The research of Haigh et al. (2006) supported the findings of King and Lester (2005). Haigh et al. (2006) compared Iraq War news coverage from embedded journalists with that of non-embedded journalists. Their content analysis of five national newspapers found that the coverage by embedded reporters was significantly more positive toward the military, and conveyed greater trust toward military personnel than the coverage from non-embedded reporters (Haigh et al., 2006). Although, the embed system was applauded by many media professionals, the system was also openly

criticized by many, postulating that it served military purposes more than balanced journalism (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006).

The controversial start to the Iraq War, with the legality of the invasion questioned under international law, added an additional factor for consideration in framing research pertaining to the war. Notably, the U.S. media ignored international opposition to the war in a generally ethnocentric and patriotic storytelling (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). As compared with the Gulf War, it could be expected that different frames dominated the media during the Iraq War, influenced by factors such as foreign opposition and increased press freedom.

In an exploration to determine the framing of the Iraq War in both national and foreign media, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) conducted a content analysis of articles appearing in *The New York Times* and *Dagens Nyheter*, a Swedish newspaper, during the official war period of March 20, 2003 through May 1, 2003. A total of 408 articles from these elite newspapers were coded to determine the predominant frames. Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) concluded that, in *The New York Times*, the military conflict frame, defined as having an emphasis on military operations, troops, arsenal, and combat, was the dominant frame. This was similar to the findings of Griffin and Lee (1995) in their analysis of the Gulf War. In contrast, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) found that the Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, predominately reported on global anti-war protests and responsibility issues, referring to an emphasis on who/or what caused the war. Using frames based on the frame definitions in Dimitrova and Strömbäck's (2005) research, Carpenter (2007) conducted a content analysis comparing the framing of the Iraq War in

articles from elite U.S. newspapers with articles from non-elite U.S. newspapers. Carpenter (2007) found that elite publications were more likely to use military frames, and non-elite newspapers were more likely to use human interest or anti-war frames. The analysis of elite newspapers by Carpenter (2007) produced results comparable to the findings of Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005).

In the period directly before the invasion of Iraq, it was shown that news magazines used terrorism as a context for some of their coverage (Fried, 2005). Fried (2005) conducted a content analysis of text and visuals found in *Newsweek* and *Time* published in September 2002, and between January 1, 2003 and March 24, 2003. Fried (2005) found that both news magazines devoted considerable attention to the impending war, and that, as the invasion approached, the emphasis of the coverage moved from linking Iraq with terrorism toward emphasizing war strategy and the consequences of war.

Similar to the research of Griffin and Lee (1995) examining photographic coverage of the Gulf War, Griffin (2004) looked at news magazines' visual reporting of the War on Terrorism, including some of the coverage from the start of the Iraq War. Griffin (2004) found that, although the embed system allowed for more press freedom, limited themes were presented in the photographs of news magazines. The focus of the coverage was on military arsenal and combat, as well as U.S. political leaders. The research of Schwalbe, Silcock, and Keith (2008) also found conflict frames to be dominant in the visual coverage of Iraq. However, their research also showed that the major frame shifted from conflict to human interest over time.

A content analysis was conducted by Schwalbe et al. (2008) that examined the visual framing of the invasion of Iraq across U.S. mainstream media. Spanning the first five weeks of the invasion, a total of 1,822 images were collected from television news outlets, news Web sites, the front pages of 18 U.S. newspapers, and the covers of the three major news magazines. Schwalbe et al. (2008) found that, during the study period, the dominant visual frame moved from conflict to human interest. Schwalbe et al. (2008) defined the conflict frame as composed of the official war machine, which included, in part, images of military officials, weapons, wide shots of troops, and destruction. The human interest frame was composed of images where the faces of individuals could be seen, including in part, troops, Iraqi civilians, U.S. reaction, and journalists. The authors concluded that the shift in frames may have occurred because the nature of the fighting changed from distant air attacks to ground fighting and because the embed system allowed more access to intimate scenes of military life. Schwalbe et al. (2008) noted that the human elements sometimes missing from coverage of the 1991 Gulf War set the coverage of the invasion of Iraq apart from the previous conflict. Schwalbe et al. (2008) further concluded that a master war narrative was identified in the content that reflected a government-promoted patriotic perspective also seen in previous war coverage.

War and Public Opinion

An important link exists between framing and public opinion during times of conflict. In their research, Fahmy and Wanta (2007, p. 18) wrote: "During times of war, the role of the media goes beyond the reporting of military conflicts." The geographic distances between the American public and many foreign conflicts require that audiences

heavily depend on media outlets for information. Particularly during emotionally charged times of war, how news is framed can impact the way audiences interpret events, which consequently may influence policy. Lewis (2004) argued that the television coverage in Great Britain of the Iraq War influenced public opinion by making it more acceptable to support pro-war government actions. Fahmy, Cho, Wanta, and Song (2006) found that individuals' emotional responses to visual images from the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center attack had an impact on recall. Fahmy et al. (2006) further concluded that the more images individuals recalled, the more concern they had about terrorism, which in turn may have produced a strong agenda-setting effect.

It could be argued that public opinion was very important to President Bush during the controversial start to the Iraq War. President Bush's pre-war rhetoric made it clear that he felt a link existed between Iraq and al Qaeda, and that Saddam Hussein must be defeated (Liberman, 2006). Bush's axis of evil metaphor helped enlist public support for the invasion as a fight against evil (Liberman, 2006). Gartner (2008b) found that President Bush received exceptional public support directly after 9/11 and the start of the Iraq War, but then faced near-record levels of disapproval as the war progressed. Gartner (2008a) explained that, for most individuals, support for a conflict depends on key factors involving the outcome, direction, value, and costs of a conflict. Each of these factors develops from the information that an individual receives about the conflict, most of which comes from media news outlets.

A connection has been made in previous research between increased exposures to casualties of war and the decline of public support for the president and war efforts

(Boettcher & Cobb, 2006; Borrelli & Lockerbie, 2008; Dauber, 2001; Gartner, 2008a, 2008b). Gartner's (2008a) research concluded that casualties play a major role in influencing individual attitudes toward a specific conflict. Gartner (2008b) further concluded that identifying with a conflict's casualty transforms abstract costs into a vivid personal experience that increases the likelihood an individual disapproves of the president. Regarding images of casualties during the Gulf War, Dauber (2001, p. 662) wrote: "The bodies of the Gulf War needed to be dis-remembered in order for the story of technological prowess to be told." Dauber (2001) further argued that visual images of American casualties and POWs have had a profound effect on government leaders' perceptions of what level of casualties the public will and will not support during humanitarian interventions.

Garnering public opinion during times of conflict is a complex issue. Fahmy and Wanta (2007) emphasized that media do not simply visually record the events of war, but rather the way media present visuals becomes an important part of the event, and can influence the attitudes of the audience. It is therefore critical to determine how media frame information during war. Fahmy and Wanta (2007, p. 20) wrote: "Overall, at times of war, visuals become an effective tool for creating persuasion and gaining public support for government, national security, and military actions."

Historical Context of the Invasion of Iraq

The attacks of September 11, 2001 influenced the Bush administration to declare war on terrorists and all nations that harbor them. In the fall of 2002, the Bush administration turned its attention to Iraq, which had been repeatedly linked, although

without direct proof, to global terrorism organizations (Dimitrova, Kaid, Trammell & Williams, 2005). President George W. Bush began developing plans to forcibly remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq.

The international community had further charged Saddam Hussein with illegally developing weapons of mass destruction. Through the passage of the United Nations Resolution 1441 on November 8, 2002, Iraq was ordered to provide official documentation that any weapons of mass destruction in their possession had been destroyed and that, if these terms were not met, Iraq would face serious consequences. In February of 2003, the United States unsuccessfully appealed to the U.N. for authorization to use force for disarmament in Iraq. Paralleling these efforts, in October 2002, through H.J. Res. 114, the Bush administration was domestically granted authorization by the U.S. Congress to use military force against Iraq. Specifically, the joint resolution authorized the president to use the U.S. Armed Forces as he determined to be necessary and appropriate to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq, including the threat of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, the joint resolution authorized the president to enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq. It also required the president to regularly submit to Congress a report on matters relevant to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 114, 2002).

In a televised address to the nation on the evening of March 17, 2003, President Bush gave Saddam Hussein an ultimatum, to either relinquish power and leave Iraq within 48 hours or face an invasion. When Hussein did not leave, the invasion officially began by the United States and Coalition forces on March 20, 2003.

On April 9, 2003 U.S. forces formally occupied Baghdad. The iconic image of the day, heavily publicized by the media, became the toppling of a large statue of Hussein in Baghdad's Firdos Square. This event symbolized the overthrowing of Saddam and his party. Twenty-two days later, from the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln, President Bush delivered a speech declaring the end of major combat operations. Clearly visible behind President Bush during his May 1, 2003 speech was a banner that read " Mission Accomplished."

Before the start of the war, President Bush had already begun the assembling of the "Coalition of the willing." According to a March 27, 2003 press release issued by The White House (The White House, 2003), 49 countries had officially committed to the Coalition, which included, in part: Afghanistan, Australia, Azerbaijan, Columbia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Korea, Spain, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. Contributions from Coalition member nations varied from direct military participation, intelligence support, over-flight rights, humanitarian aid, to political support.

Media Events from the Invasion of Iraq

The invasion of Iraq was a huge media event. The newly established military embed program allowed journalists to report on the war in a way that had not been possible during previous conflicts. Also, the advancement of new technologies, including high-speed Internet, enabled the press to quickly broadcast news coverage around the world. The invasion time frame can be broken down into three key U.S. media

events—the shock and awe campaign, the Saddam statue toppling, and President Bush's victory speech.

The shock and awe campaign became the first major U.S. media event during the invasion of Iraq. Following the pre-war build-up, the invasion began with Coalition forces attacking Baghdad with a strategy to intimidate the enemy through overwhelming force. The aggressive military strategy lent itself to the creation of powerful images that highlighted the strength and power of the U.S. military.

During the invasion, the event that garnered the most media coverage, and created the most iconic images, was the toppling of the Saddam Hussein statue in Firdos Square, Baghdad. The official fall of Saddam's regime was on April 9, 2003. Although there was fighting throughout Baghdad, on this day, journalists chose to primarily cover the visually symbolic event of the Saddam statue toppling. This may have been in part because Firdos Square is across the street from the Palestine Hotel, which housed many of the journalists and crews who were reporting from Baghdad. That morning, a group of Iraqi citizens began sledge hammering the statue. Shortly thereafter, American Marines assisted by bringing in a tank recovery vehicle that was ultimately able to topple the statue. During the destruction efforts, a number of symbolic images were created, which not only became iconic, but also sparked controversy. The primary questions that arose were based on the actual number of Iraqi citizens who were in the square that day. The majority of coverage by international media was closely cropped images (still and video) that showed a crowd of jubilant Iraqi citizens celebrating alongside American soldiers. The implication was that the square was full of celebrators, when this was not actually the

case. The research of Aday, Cluverius, and Livingston (2005) suggested that television news programs gave conflicting reports when providing exact crowd numbers. Throughout the day's coverage, one reporter would label the crowd as small, while, at the same time, another reporter labeled the crowd as being large (Aday et al., 2005). Many later criticized the event as a forced photo opportunity. Aday et al. (2005) and Fahmy (2007) closely examined the themes that occurred in the television and newspaper coverage of the statue-toppling event. It was found that both U.S. outlets depicted the event as a victory/liberation frame (Aday et al., 2005; Fahmy, 2007). Their findings corresponded with Lang and Lang's (1971) seminal study of the MacArthur parade in Chicago, which showed that television news coverage may be unconsciously manufactured because coverage is often selected to meet a pattern of expectations that are established by the media before the actual event. The toppling of the statue was an icon that represented the toppling of Saddam's regime, and it became the visual symbol of victory used by news organizations.

The final major media event that took place during the invasion of Iraq was President Bush's speech given aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1, 2003. The speech became an extensive photo opportunity for the president, depicting an image of victory. On that day, President Bush, wearing flight gear, landed on the aircraft carrier in an air force jet. Following the landing, he posed with many of the service men and women on deck. The president then delivered a speech stating that the major combat operations were complete in Iraq, with the famous mission accomplished banner clearly

visible behind him. The importance of this speech combined with the dramatic setting, made for a highly publicized media event.

The start of the Iraq War offered a media environment very different from the 1991 Gulf War. Coverage of the Gulf War was tightly controlled through censorship, pool reporting, and press conferences, and therefore it was essentially void of meaningful content (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006). In contrast, the Iraq War allowed for more open reporting, including the implementation of the embed system, with 600 journalists placed with frontline and rear echelon military units before and during the war (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006). The 2003 invasion of Iraq was such an important international event that it warrants a further examination of photographs used in media coverage.

Overview and Theoretical Framework

Framing theory asserts that media professionals use devices to organize and make sense of the news, thereby affecting how audiences perceive that news. Research has shown that media frames highlight certain aspects of information, making that information more salient (Entman, 1993). The process of emphasizing certain information intuitively directs attention away from other aspects; the information that is consequently omitted is also of great importance (Entman, 1993). Particularly during times of conflict, media frames organize information about international news events that impact how U.S. citizens perceive conflicts.

To examine the photographic coverage depicting the invasion of Iraq, both in terms of subject matter and compositional tools, this study utilized Entman's (1993) definition of framing as a process of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and

making them more salient, and also suggesting interpretations of those aspects. Previous framing studies of recent conflicts have shown that U.S. media tend to emphasize the military and technological superiority frames at the expense of human interest and anti-war protest frames (Allen et al., 1994; Dimitrova et al., 2005; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Griffin, 2004; Griffin & Lee, 1995; Schwalbe et al., 2008). From this collective research, definitions of predominant frames developed that were used as the foundations for the frame definitions adopted in this study.

Critical to the framework of this study was the research examining the framing of the 1991 Gulf War by Griffin and Lee (1995) and the framing of the 2003 Iraq War by Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005). Griffin and Lee (1995) concluded that news magazines' photographs narrowly framed the Gulf War. The emphasis was on the strength and technological advantage of the U.S. military, which was at the expense of the human side of the conflict. Griffin and Lee (1995) further concluded that the overall visual coverage of the war presented an extremely narrow American-centered frame, even after taking the intended U.S. audience into account. The research of Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) about the Iraq War came to a similar conclusion, revealing that a significant difference existed in the framing of the Iraq War by *The New York Times* and the Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*. They found that the American newspaper had a U.S.-centered focus, emphasizing the power of the military as compared with the Swedish newspaper that focused on anti-war protests and the responsibility associated with the conflict (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005).

Building on these findings, Schwalbe et al. (2008) suggested that more than just conflict frames dominated the visual coverage of the invasion of Iraq. By the end of the early weeks of the invasion, the predominant frame shifted from conflict to human interest (Schwalbe et al., 2008). The war coverage began by emphasizing the weapons and the conflict, and then moved toward showing the human face of war by focusing the content on individual soldiers, as well as on civilians (Schwalbe et al., 2008). Schwalbe et al. (2008) noted that the nature of the fighting and the embed system were both factors in why this shift occurred, and that the human elements sometimes missing from the Gulf War coverage is what set the Iraq War apart from the previous conflict.

Further research that was important for the foundation of this study was that of Allen et al. (1994), Fahmy and Johnson (2006), Haigh et al. (2006), and King and Lester (2005). In their Gulf War framing and priming research, Allen et al. (1994) concluded that the media reinforced and exaggerated the notion that the technological capabilities of the U.S. military made it so that innocents would not be harmed during the conflict. This narrow, military-focused framing affected public opinion because of the way it ultimately directed the public to evaluate the success of the war (Allen et al., 1994). The military's embedding program, implemented during the invasion of Iraq, was examined in the research of Fahmy and Johnson (2006), Haigh et al. (2006), and King and Lester (2005). It was found that the embed system allowed for coverage that was positive toward the military and that conveyed trust toward military personnel (Haigh et al., 2006; King & Lester, 2005). Furthermore, the embedded journalists had an overall positive perception

of the embedded reporting, though admitting that their reports offered a narrow slice of the conflict (Fahmy & Johnson, 2006).

This study also examined the compositional elements used in the photographic content of the invasion of Iraq. Messaris and Abraham (2001) concluded that visual images in the context of news coverage have an inherent ability to make ideas appear more natural, and that images may have the capacity of conveying messages that would meet with greater resistance if put in words instead of visuals. Building on Messaris and Abraham's (2001) work, scholars Pfau et al. (2006) concluded that there are three primary ways that photographs influence the attitudes of viewers: photographs capture readers' attention, photographs are considered highly credible, and photographs are emotionally compelling and memorable. These characteristics further support the possible superiority of visuals over any other news framing tool (Pfau et al., 2006). Messaris' (1992) research on the importance of the visual construction of photographs was used as a foundation for analyzing the compositional elements used in news magazines' visual content. Messaris (1992) suggested that the reason photographic images are successful framing tools is often because of the combination between content and construction. Previous research (Entman, 1991; Garcia & Stark, 1991; Mandell & Shaw, 1973; Messaris, 1992; Moriarty & Popovich, 1989; Schwartz, 1992; Wanta, 1988; Zettl, 1973) led to the development of a framework for how compositional elements in photographs were measured in this study. Specifically, these compositional elements were camera angle, selective focus, proximity of subject to viewer, size, placement, and color versus black and white. By considering compositional tools used in the

construction of the photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq, insight was provided on what elements were used to emphasize frames.

Research Questions

By examining photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq, produced by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press, this study was designed to answer the following questions:

RQ1: What visual frames did *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press use in their photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq?

RQ2: How did the visual frames used by *Newsweek* compare with those used by *Time*?

RQ3: What prominent sources did *Newsweek* use for its photographic coverage as compared with the sources used by *Time*?

RQ4: How did the visual frames in the two news magazines compare with the visual frames used by The Associated Press?

RQ5: Which of the following compositional elements were used by the news organizations—*Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press—in their photographs: (a) camera angle, (b) selective focus, (c) proximity of subject to viewer, (d) size, (e) placement, and (f) color versus black and white?

CHAPTER III

Method

The purpose of this study was to determine how visuals were used to frame the 2003 invasion of Iraq. A quantitative framing analysis was conducted to answer the study's research questions. A sample of 1,028 photographs pertaining to Iraq was drawn from three prominent news organizations—*Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The photographs were analyzed to determine the dominant frames used to frame the invasion, the dominant sources used for the photographic content, and how compositional elements were used in the photographs. In addition, a qualitative examination was done that analyzed and described the photographs, and their captions.

Because of its unobtrusive nature, a quantitative framing analysis was the most appropriate method for examining how news media framed the start of the Iraq War. However, since photographs are often used to convey feeling or draw on emotions in the viewer, a qualitative analysis was done along with the quantitative framing analysis. Previous research (Moriarty & Popovich, 1989) noted the difficulty of objectively coding visual communication. By using a quantitative and qualitative method, this study attempted to minimize these difficulties.

Publications Analyzed

The news organizations selected for analysis in this study were *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. All three organizations are leaders among news media in the United States. The quality and scope of their visual coverage made these organizations appropriate selections for this study.

News Magazines

Two of the most established, and arguably the most reputable, nationally-distributed weekly news magazines are *Newsweek* and *Time*. These publications were selected for this analysis in part because they are considered quality mainstream press, and because of their substantial circulations. The large number of people that both of these publications reach attests to the fact that they play an important role in building the news agenda for the American public. A further reason for the selection of these publications was an inherent characteristic of news magazines; they offer a synopsis of the most prominent news because they are printed only once weekly. Unlike newspapers that face daily deadlines, news magazines have more time for purposeful construction, including selection and layout. As suggested by Griffin and Lee (1995), news magazines give readers a set of visual highlights that reiterate the news images of each week's events. Further elaborating on the concise quality of news magazines, Entman (1991) wrote:

> News magazines arguably summarize the dominant news and editorial emphases of the national media in the United States; their less frequent deadlines usually allow them to canvass official sources (and other media) thoroughly, distilling the results in a narrative reflecting the principal themes in the news. (p. 8)

Newsweek. Originally published in 1933, *Newsweek* has had a long history of journalistic excellence. Owned by The Washington Post Company, *Newsweek* has established itself as a leader among news magazines. According to the Magazine Publishers of America (2003), during the 2003 time period for this study, *Newsweek* had a circulation of 3.1 million, second only to *Time*.

News magazines have a tradition of being very visual publications. The photojournalism found in *Newsweek* has been extensively recognized for its high level of quality. In 2003, among many other awards, *Newsweek* was honored with five World Press Photo Awards, three Pictures of the Year International awards, and an International Center of Photography Infinity Award. *Newsweek*'s circulation combined with its reputation for photojournalistic excellence was the rationale behind selecting the publication for this study.

Time. Similar to *Newsweek*, *Time*'s reputation for high-level journalism has continued over the years since its inception in 1923. Owned by Time Warner, *Time* continuously ranks as the country's largest news magazine. In 2003 when this study was conducted, *Time* had a circulation of 4.1 million (Magazine Publishers of America, 2003). The photojournalism found in *Time* has also been extensively recognized for its excellence, including International Center of Photography Infinity Awards and Overseas Press Club awards. *Time*'s large readership and top quality photojournalism were major factors for selecting *Time* for this study.

The Associated Press

In addition to *Newsweek* and *Time*, a sample of photographs was used from The Associated Press Images Archive. Founded in 1846, The Associated Press has had a long history of providing a steady stream of around-the-clock information to the world's news outlets (Cunningham, 2000). The not-for-profit cooperative is made up of 243 bureaus and offices in 97 countries that process an average of 20 million words and 1,000 photographs each day. The Associated Press described the scope of its operation on its

Web site (The Associated Press, 2007): "On any given day, more than half the world's population sees news from The Associated Press." As the largest and oldest global news agency, The Associated Press has a reputation for top-level journalism. The cooperative has received 49 Pulitzer Prizes, including 30 for photography, which is more than any other news organization. Fahmy (2004) described the great weight that The Associated Press' wire photographs carry. In her research, Fahmy (2004) wrote that all top U.S. media outlets use and publish the organization's wire photographs on a daily basis. The scope and caliber of what The Associated Press provides its subscribers made it a suitable resource for examining what photographs, and consequently what frames, were made readily available for news outlets to use when reporting on the invasion of Iraq.

The Associated Press' database of archived photographs was accessed through the San Jose State University Library. This database is officially called The Associated Press Images Archive, and acts as a separate division within The Associated Press. It provides access to millions of images, dating back more than 100 years, which are easily searched and ranked using the advance search feature of the database.

The Sample

A total of 1,028 photographs from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press were analyzed. The unit of analysis was the individual photograph. All relevant photographs from the U.S. national editions of *Newsweek* and *Time* from March 17, 2003 to May 14, 2003 were included, and a random sample from this time period was drawn from The Associated Press. The captions that accompanied the photographs were read for context, but were not analyzed.

The period of the study was the invasion of Iraq, which marked the start of the Iraq War. The invasion period was from March 17, 2003, when President Bush gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq or face war, to May 1, 2003, when President Bush delivered his speech from the USS Abraham Lincoln announcing the end of major combat operations in Iraq. The study period began on March 17, 2003 and ended two weeks after President Bush delivered his mission accomplished speech, which allowed the news organizations time to cover this event.

All issues of *Newsweek* and *Time* that were published within the time frame were reviewed from cover to cover, and the images that pertained to Iraq or the Iraq War were analyzed. There were nine issues each of *Newsweek* and *Time*. A total of 302 photographs on Iraq were published in *Newsweek*, and 383 photographs were published in *Time*. Photo-illustrations/illustrations were not included in this study. Hard-copy editions of *Newsweek* and *Time* were available at the San Jose State University Library.

A random sample was drawn from The Associated Press Images Archive. To determine the number of photographs to be included in the random sample (343), the total number of photographs from *Newsweek* (302) and the total number of photographs from *Time* (383) were averaged. The advance search feature of the database was used to find the images. The keywords used in the search were *Iraq* and/or *war*. The photographs were then ranked in order of date. From the 10,097 total photographs that were found in the database search, every 28th image was selected to assure that the 343-image sample was random and covered the date range.

Measures

Eleven variables were used in this framing analysis of photographic content from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. A complete list of coding categories and definitions is shown in Appendix A. Each photograph was assigned a number, and was then coded for the news organization in which it appeared and the date that the image was published.

The source, or photo-credit, for each image was also analyzed. News agencies were defined as organizations that supply news reports and visuals to news organizations such as magazines, newspapers, or broadcasters. In addition to The Associated Press, they included Agence France-Presse and Reuters. Stock agencies were defined as organizations that sell photograph licensing rights, providing customers with images without the cost of hiring a photographer.

The variable that measured content examined the subject matter of each photograph. Content was determined as the predominant subject in the image. In cases where subject matter fit more than one content category, only the most dominant subject (more than 50%) was coded. The content of a photograph was closely related to the photograph's frame except that the framing variable also addressed context, revealing a stronger overall impression of the photograph.

Frame Definitions

The frames used for the framing variable are listed below with their definitions. Only the most dominant frame (more than 50%) was coded. Since no standard set of frames existed for analyzing war images (Schwalbe, 2006), the frames developed for this

study included frames found in previous research (Aday, Cluverius & Livingston, 2005; Dimitrova et al., 2005; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Griffin & Lee, 1995; Schwalbe, 2006; Schwalbe et al., 2008) as well as frames found by the author in preliminary research. In addition, an inductive approach was used to define additional frames that emerged during the analysis. The frames were defined as follows (see Appendix A for more complete definitions of these frames):

1. **Military Conflict Frame** – This frame focused on the strength and technological superiority of the U.S. military.

2. **Personal Face of the U.S. Military Frame** – This frame emphasized humanizing the troops by putting a personal face on the U.S. military and sympathizing with the sacrifice that the troops made up to and during the Iraq War.

3. **Violence of War Frame** – This frame emphasized the destruction caused by war, including two separate elements, injuries and casualties (both U.S./Allied and Iraqi), and the aftermath of bombings and general destruction. Although not of equal weight, both attest to the violence of war. It was expected that there would be minimal coverage showing U.S. injuries and/or casualties as previous research done by Boettcher and Cobb (2006) noted that a relationship exists between increasing images of casualties and declining public support.

4. **Victory Frame** – In their research, Aday et al. (2005, p. 319) defined the victory frame as, "being marked by analogies to historically significant culminating moments in past wars (especially iconographic images), repetitive

overplaying and exaggeration of celebratory images, and a narrative explicitly asserting the war is over." For the purpose of this study, their definition was adopted.

5. **War on Terror Frame** – This frame focused on linking the invasion of Iraq with terrorism, and particularly to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center.

6. **Weapons of Mass Destruction Frame** – This frame focused on linking the start of the war with one of the goal's of the invasion, weapons of mass destruction disarmament.

7. **Political Frame** – This frame emphasized the political portion of the conflict, rather than the combat.

8. **Iraqi Citizen Frame** – This frame focused on the plight of the Iraqi citizen, including images of Iraqi citizens, homes, children, lifestyle, refugees, and the chaos for citizens caused by war.

9. **U.S. Human Dimension Frame** – This frame emphasized the U.S. citizens' connection to the conflict.

10. **Anti-War Protest Frame** – This frame put emphasis on existing opposition to the war, either in the U.S., Iraq, or abroad.

11. **Media Self-Referential Frame** – This frame focused on images that referred to the media themselves, emphasizing journalists and their coverage of the war.

12. **Saddam Frame** – This frame set Saddam Hussein and his party apart from the other categories. The emphasis of this frame was on linking the purpose of the war directly to Saddam and the fall of his party.

13. **Historical Context Frame** – This frame focused on putting the 2003 Iraq War in a historical context by making visual references to previous political and military events.

14. **Cultural/Archeological Frame** – This frame emphasized the impact of the Iraq War on the culture of Iraq, particularly pertaining to Iraq's art and archeological treasures.

15. **Other** – The other category consisted of images that did not fit in the above categories.

Composition

The study also addressed the compositional elements used to construct the photographs. These compositional elements—camera angle, proximity of subject to viewer, selective focus, size of an image, placement of an image, and color versus black and white—were each measured by separate variables.

The variable that measured camera angle defined the angle as being either extremely low, low, level-with-the-viewer, high, or extremely high. An extremely low angle or an extremely high angle were found in images where the composition was drastically affected by the angle—images in which the angle of the shot was immediately apparent and influenced the feeling of the photograph. An example of an extremely low angle would be a photograph of a person taken from ground level shooting upward,

resulting in the person appearing statuesque and powerful. The camera angle category emphasized the angle from which the picture was taken, not the vantage point. For instance, an aerial photograph of a city is taken from a high vantage point (the plane), but not a high angle as it is photographed straight down. A low angle and a high angle were defined as images in which the angle from which the photograph was taken is apparent although not dominant and overpowering to the composition.

The proximity of each photograph's subject to the viewer was measured as a long shot, a medium shot, or a tight shot. Proximity was determined by the implied distance between the subject and the viewer. The general rule of thumb for three feet of personal space was an approximate marker to distinguish between a tight shot and a medium shot. If the viewer felt closer than what would be considered a comfortable physical distance from a person, then the image was deemed a tight shot. A medium shot generally made the viewer feel part of the action without being very close, and a long shot put the subject at an even greater distance away from the viewer. In long shots, the distinct characteristics of the subject were not always clear, and the size of the subject in the frame was smaller as the subject was further away.

The selective focus of each photograph was also measured, and each image was labeled as having either a shallow depth of field, a mid-range depth of field, or a deep depth of field. An image in which the main subject was the only element within the frame that was in focus was considered to have a shallow depth of field. A mid-range depth of field was defined as an image in which the main subject was in focus, along with some surrounding elements in front of or behind the subject, but the foreground or

background was not entirely in focus. Generally, in images with a mid-range depth of field, the foreground or background remained recognizable. An image with a sharp focus throughout the entire frame was said to have a deep depth of field.

Two measures of prominence, size and placement, were used in the study. Each photograph was measured to determine how much of the page it occupied. Appendix A shows the complete list of size definitions. The measure of placement referred to where in each news magazine issue an image appeared—on the cover or front half of the publication, or in the back half of the publication. The photographs from The Associated Press Images Archive were not measured for prominence as they were taken from a database and prominence was therefore not applicable. All the images from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press were also determined to be either in color or in black and white.

Analysis

The researcher was the primary coder. To determine intercoder reliability, the researcher trained a second coder. The second coder was given a sample consisting of 10% of the photographic content included in the study, which resulted in 103 images. Scott's pi was used to determine intercoder reliability. The formula is as follows:

$$\text{pi} = \frac{\%\text{ observed agreement} - \%\text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \%\text{ expected agreement}}$$

The overall reliability was .96 across all categories. Seven of the variables measured had a perfect Scott's pi of 1, and the other five ranged from .86 to .96. The variable that measured framing had a Scott's pi of .92. All variables measured had an

acceptable level of intercoder reliability. The intercoder reliability coefficients for each variable are listed in the codebook in Appendix A.

Independent sample *t*-tests, ANOVA, and chi-square analyses were used to test for statistical differences. The statistical program SPSS was used.

CHAPTER IV

Results

The primary objective of this study was to determine what frames *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press used in their photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq between the dates of March 17, 2003 and May 14, 2003. The study also examined how the news photographs were constructed, and from what sources the news magazines received their images. A total of 1,028 photographs were analyzed. Of these, 302 photographs were from *Newsweek*, 383 were from *Time*, and 343 were from The Associated Press Images Archive. By examining the frames that emerged from the photographic coverage of the three news organizations, a clear picture developed of how the start to the Iraq War was visually presented to the American public.

Overview: Descriptive Analysis of Frames

This section will primarily discuss the qualitative analysis of the images that constituted each of the frames. Fourteen frames were apparent in the photographs analyzed in this study. See Appendix A for a full definition of frames. Although all fourteen frames will be addressed, the analysis concentrates on the three major sets of frames that emerged—military, politics, and humanization. Table 1 shows the nine frames divided into three sets that dominated the visual coverage in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press, as well as the three news organizations combined. It shows that the most dominant set of frames in each of the news organizations was the military set, found in 111 photographs (36.8%) from *Newsweek*, 127 photographs (33.1%) from *Time*, and 139 photographs (40.5%) from The Associated Press. Rather than providing a

Table 1

Major Frames in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

Frames	*Newsweek* (n = 251) Percent	*Time* (n = 297) Percent	Associated Press (n = 323) Percent	Combined (N = 871) Percent
Military (n = 377)	**36.8%**	**33.1%**	**40.5%**	**36.7%**
Military Conflict (n = 191)	14.2	19.3	21.6	18.6
Violence of War (n = 117)	16.6	8.6	9.9	11.4
Victory (n = 69)	6.0	5.2	9.0	6.7
Politics (n = 257)	**27.5**	**23.2**	**24.7**	**25.0**
Political (n = 110)	11.6	10.4	10.2	10.7
Saddam (n = 84)	13.9	9.1	2.0	8.2
Anti-war Protest (n = 63)	2.0	3.7	12.5	6.1
Humanization (n = 237)	**18.9**	**21.2**	**28.9**	**23.1**
Personal Face of U.S. Military (n = 78)	7.6	8.6	6.4	7.6
Iraqi Citizen (n = 109)	7.0	9.7	14.9	10.6
U.S. Human Dimension (n = 50)	4.3	2.9	7.6	4.9

Note. Military, politics, and humanization were the three major sets of frames that emerged from the sample.

context for the invasion, all three news organizations focused their coverage on underlining the strength and technical superiority of the U.S. military, and the destruction that war causes.

Military Frames

The results showed that the military set of frames were the most predominant throughout all of the coverage. This set was comprised of the military conflict frame, the violence of war frame, and the victory frame. The most dominant frame in *Time* and The Associated Press, and the second most frequent frame in *Newsweek*, was the military conflict frame. The military conflict frame was found in 43 pictures (14.2%) from *Newsweek*, 74 pictures (19.3%) from *Time*, and 74 pictures (21.6%) from The Associated Press. This frame consisted mainly of images that emphasized the power and strength of the U.S. military. The news photographs in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press did not differ dramatically in the types of military conflict images that each presented. The majority of the total images, 151 photographs (14.7%), depicted U.S./Allied soldiers either in combat, operations, or training. In the early stages of the invasion, a common theme throughout all three of the news organizations was the preparation of the military. Images of soldiers training were mixed with pictures of weapons, highlighting the latest technologies. Except for the caption that accompanied each image and explained the actions being portrayed, the photographs of soldiers training were often indistinguishable from later images of soldiers in operations. These training photographs were often of soldiers in full combat gear running through desert landscapes or practicing urban warfare, primarily in Kuwait. Unlike the findings of Griffin and Lee (1995) pertaining to

the 1991 Gulf War, none of this study's photographs that depicted troops in training appeared to be archival, nor did any captions describe the images as such.

By the beginning of April 2003, pictures that embodied the military conflict frame were depicting more and more combat and soldiers in operations. All three news organizations provided heavy coverage of the shock and awe campaign. Most of these shock and awe pictures were long shots showing the explosions of precisely aimed bombs. The spectacular images of these explosions made for powerful visuals without showing the graphic nature of war. As the war progressed, the presence of the military conflict frame continued. The prevalent theme for the first weeks of the invasion was the push toward Baghdad. In all three of the news organizations, the visual coverage clearly showed that the U.S. troops were on the move and pushing forward to the capital.

The extensive number of photographs depicting combat, operations, and the overall strength of the U.S. military was most likely supported by the newly embedded photojournalists, who traveled with military units and subsequently had access to frontlines action. This access allowed for pictures that intimately showed the troops progression toward Baghdad. A common generalized picture in the news magazines was an image of tanks and soldiers moving through desert terrains. Frequently shot from on top of military vehicles, these types of pictures provided the viewer with a compelling soldier's point of view. Without the embed system, images like these would most likely not have been possible.

The violence of war frame was also part of the military set of frames. This frame included pictures that generally depicted violence as well as the aftermath of combat and

attacks. The violence of war frame dominated *Newsweek*'s photographic coverage (16.6%), but was not quite as dominant in *Time* (8.6%) or The Associated Press (9.9%). One partial explanation for *Newsweek*'s coverage containing more violence of war frames than the other organizations is that multiple issues of *Newsweek* had dedicated sections to short biographies of soldiers who had been killed in Iraq. Frequently, a small portrait accompanied these biographies. Although not graphic, these portraits were coded as depicting a violence of war frame since the soldiers died in the conflict. Much like the military conflict frame, it is possible that the ability of photographers to capture images that depicted a violence of war frame was enhanced by the embed program. The access that journalists had meant that they were often able to document injuries and destruction immediately.

Overall, few images of either U.S./Allied or Iraqi injuries/casualties were shown. Of the 1,028 total photographs, 33 images (3.2%) depicted Iraqi injuries/casualties, and 13 photographs (1.3%) showed U.S./Allied injuries/casualties. The photographs of Iraqi injuries/casualties were observed to be more graphic overall than those shown of U.S./Allied injuries/casualties. In addition to their graphic nature, these images were also frequently packed with emotion. For instance, a theme that occurred in both news magazines and The Associated Press was the depiction of severely injured children. The Associated Press and *Time* both used photographs of a little boy, Ali Ismail Abbas, who had sustained massive burn wounds and lost both of his arms when a missile was dropped on his home, killing his pregnant mother and other members of his family. The images of Ali were taken in a desolate hospital where he was undergoing treatment. In the caption

accompanying one of the photographs of Ali, The Associated Press described the boy as the symbol of suffering for the Iraq War. Although *Newsweek* did not use images of Ali, it did publish multiple pictures that were similar in nature. The photographs from The Associated Press were frequently more graphic than those published in the news magazines. Severe injuries and Iraqi bodies were common among the images that depicted the violence of war frame offered by The Associated Press. The sample also included one photograph from The Associated Press that showed the body of a U.S. Marine in uniform at an open casket funeral, which was not graphic, but did go beyond what was shown in the news magazines. In addition to graphic images of injuries/casualties, the violence of war frame was also represented in images that depicted destruction and the aftermath of combat, such as bombed buildings that had turned to rubble.

The victory frame was the final frame that emerged as part of the military set of frames. The victory frame was represented by images depicting, for example, the toppling of the Saddam statue, celebrations, or President Bush's famous victory speech. All three news organizations had limited coverage of Iraqis or Americans celebrating; of the total 1,028 pictures, only 15 photographs (1.5%) portrayed celebration of any kind. The toppling of the Saddam statue in Firdos Square, which later became known as the war's iconic media event, received only minimal visual coverage by all three news organizations. A possible explanation for the lack of coverage in the news magazines may have been that the images of the statue toppling had saturated other news media before the printing of each of the news magazines, making the images somewhat dated.

The Associated Press did have some pictures of the statue toppling available. However, none were included in the random sample drawn for this study.

A similar result was found with the visual coverage of President Bush's victory speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1, 2003. It was expected that all three news organizations would have visual coverage of this major event. The Associated Press did provide extensive photographs from President Bush's time on the aircraft carrier. A total of four Associated Press images of this event—the most collected from any one event from The Associated Press during this study—were included in the sample. However, the two news magazines both provided very little photographic coverage of the speech. Similar to the toppling of the Saddam statue, a possible reason for the lack of visual coverage of President Bush's speech may have been that, by the time the publications went to press, the event was no longer timely and images had already saturated other media. Although *Newsweek* and *Time* did not extensively cover the expected events that represented victory in Iraq, the victory frame remained present as a minor theme throughout the coverage.

Politics Frames

The second set of major frames that emerged was the politics set of frames, which included the political frame, the Saddam frame, and the anti-war protest frame. The politics set of frames accounted for 257 (25%) of the overall images, most of which depicted the invasion of Iraq as a government conflict, putting the emphasis on politics and international relations. The political frame was dominated by images of President Bush and his administration, 9.8% of the overall coverage. In *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The

Associated Press, photographs of President Bush giving formal speeches were prevalent. The images almost always showed the president in a dark suit standing behind a podium addressing the press and the public. The depictions of the president's administration focused on Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, Donald Rumsfeld, and Paul Wolfowitz, and generally showed them in action, such as interacting at White House meetings. Colin Powell specifically was frequently shown at the United Nations, listening and addressing the delegation. The news magazines rarely showed any political figures that were not either American or Iraqi. However, The Associated Press had extensive coverage of worldwide leaders and United Nations delegates. The exception to this was that the news magazines did publish a number of images of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, showing him as an ally to Bush as they stood together or by putting similar photographs of each one next to the other. Interestingly, the small handful of black and white photographs (2.5% of the total images) in the sample was almost all of political figures, and was all from either *Newsweek* or *Time*. Using black and white pictures conveyed a sense of grave seriousness, and gave the impression that the politicians were hard at work on a dark issue. Photographs with a political frame were shown consistently throughout the period of study, although they were slightly more prevalent at the start of the invasion, most likely because a context was being built for the war and opportunities for images with higher visual interest would increase as the invasion went on.

The second part of the politics set of frames was the Saddam frame, which was primarily in the news magazines and had much less of a presence in The Associated

Press' coverage. The Saddam frame emphasized connecting the invasion of Iraq directly to the overthrow of Saddam and his party. The Saddam frame primarily consisted of photographs of Saddam, members of his party, his family, and objects that represented him and his party. This frame was found in 84 (8.2%) of the total images. Although most of the pictures showed Saddam in a dark light, images of Saddam ranged from depicting him as stern and scary to smiling and somewhat distinguished. Saddam's party members were portrayed as severe, with smiling portraits being minimal and the majority appearing in military uniforms. The assumed reason for The Associated Press' minimal coverage of Saddam was because Western media did not have access to Saddam during the conflict. The images in this study from The Associated Press were all created within the March 17, 2003 to May 14, 2003 time frame, which made it highly unlikely for extensive new photographs of Saddam to be taken by photographers during this time period. The exceptions to this were two images of Saddam that did appear within The Associated Press sample, one being a video still of Saddam taking notes during a meeting, and the other being a video still showing him laughing, both taken from Iraqi television. The photographs of Saddam that appeared in the news magazines were frequently archival, which was implied through captions and because his age was clearly younger than it appeared in more recent images. For the most part, the photographs of Saddam and his party were portraits that did not depict action. Most had the feeling of being staged media events.

The third group in the politics set of frames was the anti-war protest frame. In regard to the anti-war protest frame, a discrepancy existed between the amount of

coverage in the news magazines and that of The Associated Press. The anti-war protest frame was found in 6 photographs (2.0%) from *Newsweek*, 14 photographs (3.7%) from *Time*, and 43 photographs (12.5%) from The Associated Press. This gap in coverage will be further addressed in a later section. The majority of images with this frame depicted peaceful protests by U.S./Allied or non-U.S./Allied groups, which together were found in 56 (5.4%) of the 1,028 pictures analyzed. Peaceful protest images were mainly of demonstrators marching in urban environments carrying anti-war or anti-American placards and who were frequently dressed in costumes. There was a wide range in how many protestors were depicted in each image. In some only an individual or a small group was pictured, and in other photographs thousands of demonstrators lined the streets. A small group of aggressive protest images was also included in the sample for this study. These aggressive protest images, of which there were 8 (.08%) pictures in total, mainly depicted either American flag burning or riot police arresting demonstrators. Since the anti-war and anti-American themes predominated these images, the anti-war protest frame was categorized in the politics set of frames. The controversy surrounding the invasion of Iraq made images containing the anti-war protest frame relevant as political events.

Humanization Frames

The third set of major frames that emerged was the humanization set of frames. This set consisted of the personal face of the U.S. military frame, the Iraqi citizen frame, and the U.S. human dimension frame. The humanization frames dealt with putting the conflict into a perspective that emphasized the personal side of war, including the

sacrifices that individuals made during the time of conflict. It could be argued that images that humanize war may encourage emotional responses from viewers as they identify with the subject. Therefore, these types of photographs could potentially be critical to leaving lasting impressions on viewers and ultimately to the formation of public opinion.

A frame that strongly exhibited the humanization of war was the frame categorized as the personal face of the U.S. military. This frame focused on sympathizing with the individuals that constituted the U.S. military. The types of pictures that exhibited this frame were varied. The personal face of the U.S. military frame included images of troops with their families, soldiers during their down time, as well as photographs accompanying personal biographies of soldiers. One example of this frame was a cover story from the March 24, 2003 issue of *Time* that had a close-up portrait of a woman soldier, wearing her helmet and goggles, with the accompanying headline: "When Mom Goes to War." Within the pages of the magazine, the story further showed images of this soldier and her husband, who was also serving in Iraq, in various training and operations in the field, as well as saying goodbye to their teenage daughter at home. These pictures conveyed a feeling of normalcy and the sense that this was a family with whom readers could relate. A further example of this frame was a number of pictures that showed what the personal lives were like for the soldiers serving in Iraq. This included images of soldiers playing touch football in the desert, eating in the mess hall of their barracks, or attending religious services in makeshift places of worship. All of these images gave a sense that the troops were common men and women,

and not simply nameless soldiers involved in a far-away military operation. The frequency of this frame was quite evenly distributed across all three media organizations examined. The personal face of the U.S. military frame was found in 23 pictures (7.6%) from *Newsweek*, 33 (8.6%) pictures from *Time*, and 22 pictures (6.4%) from The Associated Press.

The second part of the humanization set of frames was the Iraqi citizen frame. This frame showed the chaos that war brings to the citizens of an invaded country, and often emphasized the plight of the Iraqi citizens. The visual coverage from the 1991 Gulf War was criticized for underplaying the impact of war on civilian life (Griffin & Lee, 1995). However, this study found that the Iraqi citizen frame had a legitimate presence in the visual coverage. Iraqi civilian life was represented by 9.0% of the total content, and the Iraqi citizen frame was found in 10.6% of the overall images. Frequently, photographs that had this frame depicted images of women with children, citizens receiving humanitarian aid, refugees moving across the desolate countryside, and Iraqi families grieving for lost loved ones. Also included were images that showed citizens dealing with looting and the civil unrest of a country torn apart by war. Almost all women who appeared in the photographs in the sample were wearing the traditional abaya. A commonality between some of the pictures that were dominated by the Iraqi citizen frame was the depiction of the U.S. military interacting with locals. Frequently this was shown through citizens stopped at military checkpoints, or being held for suspicious activity. One example of this was a photograph from the April 14, 2003 edition of *Newsweek* that was of two Iraqi women, wearing the abaya, waiting by the side

of a rocky dirt road as a female American soldier searched a third woman. The three women at this checkpoint looked inconvenienced, yet relatively calm, as they waited for this disruption to end. It is likely that the U.S. military's embed program had an impact on the quantity and types of photographs taken that depicted Iraqi citizen life, particularly in regard to how citizens interacted with the military presence. The embed program extended the access that journalists had, potentially allowing for more opportunities to photograph the interaction between soldiers and Iraqi locals.

The U.S. human dimension frame was the final frame that exhibited the characteristics of the humanization set of frames. This frame emphasized the connection between the conflict and the U.S. home front. The Associated Press had a slightly higher frequency than the news magazines in the visual reporting that contained the U.S. human dimension frame. The U.S. human dimension frame was found most frequently in two categories of pictures, citizens grieving for lost loved ones or the impact of the conflict on non-military U.S. citizens. Images that depicted citizens grieving for lost loved ones were most often family members of servicemen and women in their homes, frequently with an American flag prominently displayed. Also common were loved ones grieving at funeral services, particularly wives with their children. Caskets were occasionally shown within the context of funerals, but not often, and usually the emphasis of the photograph was on those attending the service. The second common group of photographs that showed a U.S. human dimension frame highlighted the impact of the war on U.S. citizens, which included a variety of different images. For instance, a photograph of a ticket counter in an American airport was used to illustrate the rising costs of air travel as

a result of the conflict. Similarly, a picture of a gas pump at an American gas station showed the effects that the war had on domestic gas prices. Surprisingly absent were images of U.S. citizens supporting the war effort. Only 7 (0.7%) of the total photographs in the sample depicted citizens supporting the troops. It was expected that more photographs would be included of, for instance, citizens preparing care packages, ribbons to show support, or rallies supporting troops. The U.S. human dimension frame did personalize the war effort, which bridged the geographic distance between the war and the home front, and connected readers to the conflict.

Minor Frames

The results showed that three sets of major frames emerged—military, politics, and humanization. In addition to these three sets of frames, five minor frames surfaced in the sample—media self-referential, historical context, cultural/archeological, war on terror, and weapons of mass destruction.

The media self-referential frame addressed the media essentially reporting on themselves. This frame was represented in only 3 images (0.9%) from The Associated Press, and in 10 images (3.3%) from *Newsweek*. However, the media self-referential frame was found in 43 photographs (11.2%) from *Time*. In the news magazines a number of articles appeared with accompanying images comparing the war coverage of various television networks, for instance discussing how the reporting of Qatar's Al Jazeera compared with U.S. news channels such as CNN or MSNBC. A second way that the media self-referential frame was depicted in the news magazines was that, particularly in *Time*, images of embedded journalists appeared. These photographs were generally

headshots that accompanied their reports from the front lines. During this study's time frame, *Time* also published two single-page articles that offered short biographies of embedded reporters and photojournalists, each article having between five and six portraits of journalists. In addition to illustrating the manner in which media were covering the invasion, the media self-referential frame allowed for a visual depiction of the embed system.

Two frames that emerged with minimal visual coverage were the historical context frame and the cultural/archeological frame. The historical context frame was found in 22 (2.1%) of the overall images, and the cultural/archeological frame was found in 20 (1.9%) of the overall images. Both frames appeared exclusively in the news magazines. It was expected and confirmed that the historical context frame would not appear in The Associated Press, as most pictures that depict this frame would be archival. The news magazines did occasionally use historical photographs to build a context for the Iraq War, although surprisingly few from the 1991 Gulf War. The majority of pictures depicting a historical context frame were from World War II or the Vietnam War. For example, on March 24, 2003, *Newsweek* published a photograph of the liberation of Normandy, showing U.S. soldiers reaching out from atop a tank to shake hands with smiling locals. The title of the article in which this picture appeared was "The Arrogant Empire," and the accompanying caption clarified that the liberation of Normandy was the start of the long U.S. effort to put the world back on its feet. Another frame with minimal coverage was the cultural/archeological frame. This frame was surprisingly absent from The Associated Press, but did emerge in the news magazines' coverage. Generally,

photographs in which the cultural/archeological frame was dominant appeared in short articles toward the back of either *Newsweek* or *Time*. The majority of these articles showed a large picture of a cultural site, such as a ransacked museum or threatened archeological location, accompanied by smaller pictures of artifacts or artwork that had been destroyed, was missing, or was in danger.

The final two frames that were almost entirely absent throughout all of the visual coverage were the war on terror frame and the weapons of mass destruction frame. The war on terror frame focused on images that linked the invasion of Iraq to terrorism, and more specifically the attacks of September 11, 2001. This frame was found in only 9 (0.9%) of the total 1,028 photographs. The weapons of mass destruction frame was expected to emerge in photographs linking the start of the war to one of the goals of the invasion, weapons of mass destruction disarmament. This frame was found in only 3 (0.3%) of the total photographs. Neither of these frames received major coverage in any of the three news organizations. The reasonable explanation as to why these frames were noticeably absent was because they were difficult to depict visually. Although this study did not analyze the article texts, observation did find that these themes were addressed in articles, but then not shown visually in pictures.

In addition to exploring the visual frames, an observation worth noting was the quantity of coverage in the news magazines during the period of this study. At the onset of the invasion, the news magazines provided extensive visual coverage throughout each issue, with the peak number of photographs for both magazines appearing in the March 31, 2003 issues. Through April, both magazines showed a slow decline in the amount of

photographic coverage they offered, until finally a very sharp drop-off occurred in the May 5, 2003 issues. At that time, the primary coverage had shifted from the war to the outbreak of the SARS virus.

Research Questions

An analysis was done to determine the frames that were present in the coverage of *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press, and how they compared. It was found that the coverage from all the news organizations focused on three sets of frames—military, politics, and humanization—with the military set being the most predominant. The emphasis was on the soldiers and the action of the invasion rather than on a contextual framework for the conflict.

The results showed that there were no significant differences between the two news magazines. However, it was found that there were differences between the coverage from the news magazines and that of The Associated Press. The humanization frames showed a statistical significance between the news magazines and The Associated Press, appearing most often in The Associated Press. The anti-war protest frame was also found more frequently in The Associated Press than in the news magazines. The Associated Press provided a more international perspective of the conflict. In contrast, the news-magazines published almost exclusively American-centered images.

The sources that *Newsweek* and *Time* used for their photographic content were also examined. It was found that, although their coverage was similar, the news magazines used somewhat different sources for their photographs. Although both publications relied on staff/freelance photographers, only *Time* used this as its main

source. *Newsweek* predominantly used news agencies as its source, particularly The Associated Press. However, despite the differences in photograph sources, the coverage did not appear dramatically different between the news magazines.

The study also examined the compositional elements used to construct the photographic coverage from the three news organizations. It was found that the compositional elements used in the photographs overall mimicked real life. The results showed that the majority of images had a deep depth of field, a medium proximity of subject to viewer, a level-with-the-viewer camera angle, and were in full color. Rather than using compositional elements to convey certain feelings or visual messages, the compositional elements of the photographs reinforced the idea that the images were accurate records of events. Two measures of prominence, size and placement, were used for examining the news magazines' photographic coverage. It was found that the news magazines used placement in significantly different ways. *Newsweek* spread its visual content across the entire magazine, but *Time* displayed its coverage mainly in the front half of the publication. In terms of size, the photographic coverage in *Newsweek* was similar as compared with *Time*.

Research Question 1

What visual frames did *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press use in their photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq?

The previous section provided descriptions of the visual frames used by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The results showed that three major sets of frames emerged from the photographic content produced by the news organizations. The

three sets were military, politics, and humanization. As shown in Table 1 that was discussed earlier, the military set of frames dominated the visual coverage in all three news organizations, accounting for 36.7% of the overall content. The military set focused on the action of the invasion, presenting powerful and exciting images. The politics set of frames, which surfaced as the second most frequent group, included 25% of the overall images. The third major set of frames was the humanization set, which accounted for 23.1% of the overall coverage. These three major sets of frames dominated the visual coverage. Few visuals that contextually framed the invasion were used.

Analysis of variance. This analysis concentrated on the three major sets of frames. Although other frames—media self-referential, historical context, cultural/archeological, war on terror, and weapons of mass destruction—were identified, not enough of the photographic content was dominated by the frames to provide a robust analysis of the data.

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated to determine whether there were differences in the three major sets of frames among *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The means for the frames are shown in Table 2, and the results of the ANOVA are shown in Table 3. The humanization frames were found to be statistically significant at $p = .002$. The Associated Press had significantly more humanization frames than either *Newsweek* or *Time*. The politics frames and the military frames were not statistically significant; however, the military frames did approach significance. As shown in Table 2, the mean numbers of military frames for both *Newsweek* (.31) and *Time* (.37) were lower than the mean number of frames in The Associated Press (.41).

Table 2

Means of Major Frames in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

	Newsweek			*Time*			Associated Press		
Frames	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Military	**.31**	**.465**	**302**	**.37**	**.484**	**383**	**.41**	**.492**	**343**
Military Conflict	.14	.350	302	.19	.393	383	.22	.412	343
Violence of War	.11	.312	302	.13	.340	383	.10	.299	343
Victory	.06	.243	302	.05	.217	383	.09	.287	343
Politics	**.26**	**.440**	**302**	**.24**	**.429**	**383**	**.25**	**.432**	**343**
Political	.11	.312	302	.11	.313	383	.10	.303	343
Saddam	.12	.321	302	.11	.313	383	.02	.142	343
Anti-war Protest	.04	.188	302	.02	.152	383	.13	.332	343
Humanization	**.17**	**.378**	**302**	**.22**	**.416**	**383**	**.29**	**.454**	**343**
Personal Face of the U.S. Military	.04	.196	302	.11	.316	383	.06	.245	343
Iraqi Citizen	.10	.304	302	.07	.256	383	.15	.356	343
U.S. Human Dimension	.03	.170	302	.04	.194	383	.08	.265	343

Note. Military, politics, and humanization were the three major sets of frames that emerged from the sample.

Table 3

Analysis of Variance for Major Frames in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

Frames	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
		Between groups		
Military	2	.674	2.909	.055
Politics	2	.031	.165	.848
Humanization	2	1.107	6.315	.002*

Note. Military, politics, and humanization were the three major sets of frames that emerged from the sample.

Newsweek. The photographic coverage in *Newsweek* emphasized the frames that showed either the action of the invasion or the invasion's political connection—an emphasis that came at the expense of frames that humanized or that built a context for the conflict. Of the contextual frames, which were found to be minor, the war on terror frame was found in only 4 images (1.3%) and the weapons of mass destruction frame was found in only 2 images (0.7%). However, out of the three news organizations, *Newsweek* had the most pictures with a historical context frame, which was found in 13 (4.3%) of the publication's photographs.

Time. The focus of the content from *Time* was on the military aspects of the conflict, with a secondary emphasis on the politics and humanization frames. The frames that provided a context for the invasion received only minimal visual coverage. The war on terror frame was found in 4 photographs (1.0%), and the weapons of mass destruction

frame was found in only 1 image (0.3%). The cultural/archeological frame was found dominant in 11 photographs (2.9%), and the historical context frame was found in 9 pictures (2.3%).

The Associated Press. The coverage from The Associated Press emphasized the military aspects of the invasion as well as the humanization frames, particularly showing the impact of the conflict on the Iraqi citizen. Political frames were also represented in the content. The anti-war protest frame was found in 43 photographs (12.5%), which was more than either of the other two news organizations. The overall content from The Associated Press focused on providing in-depth coverage of specific frames rather than offering a wide variety of different frames. Frames that were entirely, or almost entirely, absent from the coverage in The Associated Press were the war on terror, weapons of mass destruction, historical context, cultural/archeological, and media self-referential frames.

Research Question 2

How did the visual frames used by *Newsweek* compare with those used by *Time*?

Nine issues of *Newsweek* were published within the designated time frame for this study (March 17, 2003 to May 14, 2003). From these nine issues, 302 photographs related directly to Iraq or the war. The mean number of Iraq War images in each issue of *Newsweek* was 34. *Time* also published nine issues during the designated time frame. A total of 383 photographs were gathered, the mean number of Iraq War images in each issue of *Time* was 43.

All 684 photographs published in *Newsweek* and *Time* were examined to compare the predominant frames used in their visual coverage of the invasion of Iraq. Refer to Table 1 for the results of what major frames were used by each of the news magazines. Both publications focused their coverage on the military set of frames. Although the differences were not statistically significant, *Newsweek* did depict more violence of war frames, and *Time* emphasized the military conflict frame. These two frames were closely related and this discrepancy did not differentiate the publications.

Overall, there were no statistical differences between the coverage in *Newsweek* and the coverage in *Time*. The publications presented the invasion of Iraq in a similar manner. Two-tailed *t*-tests were calculated for each of the major sets of frames to determine the statistical significance between the two news magazines. The military frame was not statistically significant, $t(657.196) = -1.613, p = .107$. It was found that the politics frame was not statistically significant, $t(683) = .562, p = .574$. The humanization frame also did not show a statistically significant difference between the two publications, $t(669.343) = -1.635, p = .102$.

Research Question 3

What prominent sources did *Newsweek* use for its photographic coverage as compared with the sources used by *Time*?

As Table 4 shows, *Time* used more photographs taken by staff/freelance photographers as compared with *Newsweek*, which relied heavily on news agencies and stock agencies for most of its coverage. *Newsweek* did, however, use staff/freelance photographers for a portion of its coverage (29.5%). To facilitate the analysis, the

dominant content sources were grouped into manageable sets—staff/freelance photographer, news agencies, and stock agencies. The categories that were not deemed as relevant were: defense department/ U.S. military (*Newsweek* 0.7% and *Time* 0.5%), The White House (*Newsweek* 1.0% and *Time* 0.5%), source's personal photographs (*Newsweek* 2.0% and *Time* 2.3%), and unknown/no credit (*Newsweek* 0.7% and *Time* 0.8%).

A chi-square test was used to determine if there was a difference in the major sources—grouped into the categories staff/freelance photographer, news agencies, and stock agencies—used by the two news magazines. Table 5 shows the results of the chi-square test. The difference between the news magazines was highly significant at $p = .0001$. Although their coverage was similar, *Newsweek* and *Time* each used different sources to get its photographs.

Table 4 shows that *Time* used 20.4% more photographs from staff/freelance photographers than *Newsweek* did. Both publications used The Associated Press news agency as a source for visual content. *Newsweek* used The Associated Press for 24.2% of its coverage as compared with *Time*, which used The Associated Press for only 12.5% of its content. It could be argued that the use of staff/freelance photographers would generally allow for more creative control than the use of news agencies would provide. This being said, the visual coverage of *Newsweek* and *Time* did not appear to differ in terms of creativity or style.

Table 4

Major Photograph Sources Used by Newsweek and Time

$N = 594$

Source	*Newsweek* ($n = 259$) Percent	*Time* ($n = 335$) Percent
Staff/Freelance Photographer ($n = 280$)	**29.5%**	**49.9%**
News Agencies ($n = 198$)	**37.8**	**21.9**
Associated Press ($n = 121$)	24.2	12.5
Agence France-Presse ($n = 39$)	6.6	5.0
Reuters ($n = 38$)	7.0	4.4
Stock Agencies ($n = 116$)	**18.5**	**15.6**
Getty ($n = 44$)	4.6	7.8
Corbis ($n = 22$)	4.3	2.3
Gamma ($n = 20$)	4.0	2.1
Polaris ($n = 13$)	3.0	1.0
SIPA Press ($n = 10$)	1.3	1.6
Magnum ($n = 3$)	1.0	0.0
Aurora ($n = 3$)	0.3	0.5
VII Photo Agency ($n = 1$)	0.0	0.3

Table 5

Chi-Square for Major Photograph Sources Used by Newsweek and Time

$N = 594$

Source	*Newsweek* ($n = 259$) Percent	*Time* ($n = 335$) Percent
Staff/Freelance Photographer	**29.5%**	**49.9%**
News Agencies	**37.8**	**21.9**
Stock Agencies	**18.5**	**15.6**

$X^2(2, N = 594) = 67.92, p = .0001$

Research Question 4

How did the visual frames in the two news magazines compare with the visual frames used by The Associated Press?

The use of the major sets of frames—military, politics, and humanization—were similar across the news organizations. However, there was a difference between The Associated Press and the news magazines in their use of visual frames. Table 6 shows the dominant frames that emerged in the combined news magazines and The Associated Press.

Table 6

Major Frames in News Magazines—Newsweek and Time—and The Associated Press

$N = 871$

Frames	News Magazines ($n = 548$) Percent	Associated Press ($n = 323$) Percent
Military ($n = 377$)	**34.7%**	**40.5%**
Military Conflict ($n = 191$)	17.1	21.6
Violence of War ($n = 117$)	12.1	9.9
Victory ($n = 69$)	5.5	9.0
Politics ($n = 257$)	**25.0**	**24.7**
Political ($n = 110$)	10.9	10.2
Saddam ($n = 84$)	11.2	2.0
Anti-war Protest ($n = 63$)	2.9	12.5
Humanization ($n = 237$)	**20.2**	**28.9**
Personal Face of U.S. Military ($n = 78$)	8.2	6.4
Iraqi Citizen ($n = 109$)	8.5	14.9
U.S. Human Dimension ($n = 50$)	3.5	7.6

Note. Military, politics, and humanization were the three major sets of frames that emerged from the sample.

A *t*-test was used to determine whether there was a difference in the use of visual frames between the combined news magazines and The Associated Press. Table 7 shows the results of the two-tailed *t*-test. The table of means was discussed earlier in Table 2. It was found that there was a statistical difference in the humanization set of frames between the news magazines and The Associated Press ($p = .002$). The photographic coverage in The Associated Press showed more humanization frames than the combined news magazines. A highly significant statistical difference was found in the Saddam frame ($p = .0001$) and the anti-war protest frame ($p = .0001$), with the Saddam frame appearing more frequently in the news magazines, and the anti-war protest frame appearing more frequently in The Associated Press. A statistical difference was also found in the Iraqi citizen frame ($p = .004$), the U.S. human dimension frame ($p = .011$), and the victory frame ($p = .05$).

A difference between The Associated Press and the news magazines was the amount of anti-war protest coverage. The anti-war protest frame accounted for 43 (12.5%) images from The Associated Press, and 20 (2.9%) images from the news magazines. The majority of photographs with this frame from The Associated Press depicted international anti-war and anti-American protests. The coverage showed demonstrations of varied sizes in both Coalition and non-Coalition countries, which put emphasis on world viewpoints regarding the conflict in Iraq. The news magazines published only one picture that showed an anti-war protest outside of the United States. In the news magazines' photographs, little emphasis was put on international opinions of the war.

Table 7

Two-Tailed T-Test for Frames in News Magazines—Newsweek and Time—and The Associated Press

Frames	*df*	*t*	*p*
Military	**665.736**	**-1.796**	**.073**
Military Conflict	630.914	-1.753	.080
Violence of War	743.291	1.149	.251
Victory	565.967	-1.960	.050*
Politics	**1026**	**.114**	**.909**
Political	1026	.364	.716
Saddam	1015.799	6.436	.0001*
Anti-war Protest	432.509	-5.054	.0001*
Humanization	**613.833**	**-3.068**	**.002***
Personal Face of U.S. Military	750.210	.959	.338
Iraqi Citizen	557.335	-2.912	.004*
U.S. Human Dimension	512.055	-2.556	.011*

Note. Military, politics, and humanization were the three major sets of frames that emerged from the sample.

Within the military set of frames, this study did not differentiate between U.S. and Allied troops. However, it is worth noting that the visual coverage from the news magazines did not depict any soldiers as being non-American. In several captions soldiers were referred to as Coalition troops, but never within the context of the visuals or the captions were countries providing ally forces specifically identified. However, The Associated Press provided coverage of British troops, and regularly differentiated between American and British soldiers. It also included images of soldiers from other Allied countries, such as the Czech Republic. This difference again showed that The

Associated Press provided images that gave an international context to the conflict, and the news magazines published more American-centered visuals.

Five minor frames were not included in Table 6 because they were found infrequently and they did not provide a robust analysis of the data. These frames were: the war on terror frame (news magazines 1.2% and The Associated Press 0.3%), the weapons of mass destruction frame (news magazines 0.4% and The Associated Press 0%), the historical context frame (news magazines 3.2% and The Associated Press 0%), the cultural/archeological frame (news magazines 2.9% and The Associated Press 0%), and finally the media self-referential frame (news magazines 7.7% and The Associated Press 0.9%).

Research Question 5

Which of the following compositional elements were used by the news organizations—*Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press—in their photographs: (a) camera angle, (b) selective focus, (c) proximity of subject to viewer, (d) size, (e) placement, and (f) color versus black and white?

Messaris (1992) described how compositional elements could be used in photographs to position the spectator and create an analogy with real life interactions. This study found that the compositional elements employed in the photographic coverage from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press overall mimicked real life. The majority of images were level-with-the-viewer, had a medium proximity of subject to viewer, and had a deep depth of field. These compositional elements gave a sense that the images acted as accurate records of events. To some extent, the viewer felt part of the

scenes that were photographed because the environments were presented in a way that reflected the physical world. This being said, some compositional tools were still utilized in the images, which emphasized certain frames. The analysis of compositional elements was primarily descriptive as some of the categories did not have large enough *n*'s to provide a robust analysis of the data.

Camera angle. Most of the images from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press were shot from a camera angle that was level-with-the-viewer. Of the total 1,028 pictures, 929 of the photographs (90.4%) had a level-with-the-viewer camera angle. Table 8 shows camera angles used by each of the news organizations. The use of a low angle was used with 50 (4.9%) of the total images, and an extremely low angle was apparent in only 5 (0.5%) of the total pictures. A high camera angle was used in 42 (4.1%) of the total photographs, and an extremely high angle was used in only 2 images (0.2%). Since the findings for the extremely low angle and extremely high angle categories were small, these numbers were collapsed into the low angle and high angle categories.

The majority of photographs having a level-with-the-viewer camera angle showed that the images were constructed in a way that made them appear as records of reality, and made it appear as if the viewer were actually observing the scene. Although the angle of view is one of the compositional elements most commonly used as a means of making someone look powerful or powerless (Zettl, 1973), the images in this study did not really utilize this element. Fewer than 10% of the total images used a camera angle different from what a viewer would expect to experience.

Table 8

Camera Angles in Photographs in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

$N = 1{,}028$

	Newsweek ($n = 302$)	*Time* ($n = 383$)	Associated Press ($n = 343$)
Camera Angle	Percent	Percent	Percent
Low Angle ($n = 55$)	4.7%	6.5%	4.7%
Level-with-Viewer ($n = 929$)	92.4	91.6	87.2
High Angle ($n = 44$)	3.0	1.8	8.2

The overwhelming majority of the photographs were shot level-with-the-viewer. However, Table 8 shows that The Associated Press had a bit more variety. It had more high angle shots (8.2%), than *Newsweek* (3.0%) and *Time* (1.8%). *Newsweek* and *Time* both used mainly a level-with-the-viewer camera angle that more closely reflected a real life experience for the viewer.

Selective focus. Of the 1,028 total images in the sample, 572 photographs (55.6%) used a deep depth of field, which essentially meant that the entire frame had a sharp focus. In pictures that had a deep depth of field, the compositional tool of selective focus was not utilized to emphasize specific parts of the frame. The mid-range depth of field category accounted for 340 images (33.1%). This category included images that had the dominant subject in focus with the surroundings slightly out of focus, but still recognizable, putting more emphasis on the focused parts of the photograph. The shallow depth of field category included pictures that exhibited a dramatic selective

focus. This meant that the primary subject had a sharp focus, but the surroundings were unrecognizably out of focus. This compositional technique put a strong emphasis on only select parts of the frame. A shallow depth of field technique was used in 116 (11.3%) of the total photographs.

Table 9 shows the frequency that each news organization used depth of field in their visual reporting. Both *Newsweek* and *Time* primarily published photographs that had a deep depth of field. However, The Associated Press used mostly photographs that had a mid-range depth of field. The photographs with a deep depth of field may enhance the credibility of the images as the compositional elements used to construct the pictures are obscured by the realistic feeling of the pictures.

Table 9

Selective Focus in Photographs in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

$N = 1{,}028$

	Newsweek ($n = 302$)	*Time* ($n = 383$)	Associated Press ($n = 343$)
Depth of Field	Percent	Percent	Percent
Shallow ($n = 116$)	11.6%	9.1%	13.4%
Mid-Range ($n = 340$)	26.2	25.3	47.8
Deep ($n = 572$)	62.3	65.5	38.8

The sharpness of detail present in images with a deep depth of field conveys a strong sense of reality as the pictures closely relate to the experience of seeing the physical world. The study showed that the majority of photographs had a deep or mid-range depth of field, which appeared natural to the viewer and mimicked real life. Although a shallow depth of field can be used to quickly convey specific visual messages, it can also remind the viewer of the constructed nature of the photograph.

Proximity of subject to viewer. The majority of photographs had a medium distance between the subject and the viewer. Table 10 shows the frequencies of distances between subject and viewer found in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The medium shot category consisted of 650 images (63.2%) of the total 1,028 pictures. The long shot category consisted of 257 (25%) of the total photographs. Finally, the tight shot category consisted of 121 (11.8%) of the total images.

Table 10

Proximity of Subject to Viewer in Photographs in Newsweek, Time, and The Associated Press

$N = 1{,}028$

	Newsweek ($n = 302$)	*Time* ($n = 383$)	Associated Press ($n = 343$)
Proximity	Percent	Percent	Percent
Long Shot ($n = 257$)	22.8%	19.3%	33.2%
Medium Shot ($n = 650$)	64.9	63.7	61.2
Tight Shot ($n = 121$)	12.3	17.0	5.5

Having the majority of images fall under the medium shot category showed that an emphasis was on creating an environment that felt like a natural record. The tight shot category developed an intimacy between the subject and the viewer, and a long shot described a sense of isolation or generalization (Schwartz, 1992). A medium shot image usually put the viewer at a comfortable distance from the subject, which made the viewer feel as if he/she was part of an event as it mimicked what could be expected in real life. Schwartz (1992) described medium shots as containing all the story-telling elements of a scene. Since most of photographs fell into this category, it is suggested that the emphasis was on recording events rather than on either building intimacy with tight shots or generalizing with long shots.

All three news organizations used medium shot photographs a similar amount. In addition, The Associated Press did not provide many intimate shots, but rather focused on long shots that generalized the subject matter and showed more of a scene. *Newsweek* used roughly 10% more long shots than tight shots, but did still use both. *Time* used a similar amount of long shots as compared with tight shots.

Size. There were two measures of prominence that were used in this study, size and placement. The first, size, was determined for each of the photographs from *Newsweek* and *Time*. The images from The Associated Press were considered not applicable for this category because they were presented in digital format and the size would vary depending on how the images were ultimately used. As Table 11 shows, the size measurements were collapsed into three manageable categories—major (dominant, semi-dominant, and large), moderate (medium and small), and minor.

Table 11

The Size of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

$N = 685$

Size	*Newsweek* ($n = 302$) Percent	*Time* ($n = 383$) Percent	Combined ($N = 685$) Percent
Minor ($n = 197$)	**26.2%**	**30.8%**	**28.8%**
Moderate ($n = 368$)	**58.0**	**50.4**	**53.7**
Small ($n = 253$)	37.1	36.8	36.9
Medium ($n = 115$)	20.9	13.6	16.8
Major ($n = 120$)	**15.9**	**18.8**	**17.4**
Large ($n = 38$)	5.3	5.7	5.5
Semi-Dominant ($n = 16$)	4.3	0.8	2.3
Dominant ($n = 66$)	6.3	12.3	9.6

Note. Size scale measures the size of each photograph from *Newsweek* and *Time*; the scale runs from 6 to 1, from the most prominent, the dominant two-page spread to the least prominent, the minor size. The six size categories—dominant, semi-dominant, large, medium, small, and minor—were grouped into three manageable sets—major, moderate, and minor.

Table 11 shows the prominence, in terms of size, of the photographs in *Newsweek* and *Time* as well as the two news magazines combined. The news magazines primarily used smaller photographs in their layouts. Perhaps this method allowed for more images to be included within a small amount of space. When the publications did choose to include larger images, those pictures were primarily full two-pages spreads, which had a dramatic impact because of their size and possibly because of their infrequency.

A *t*-test was used to determine whether there was a difference between the two news magazines in their use of photograph size. The three major groups of size were used—minor, moderate, and major. The means for the sizes of the photographs are shown in Table 12, and the results of the two-tailed *t*-test are shown in Table 13. For the most part, both news magazines sized their photographic content in a similar manner. However, as Table 13 shows, there was a statistically significant difference in the moderate size category, with *Newsweek* publishing more small to medium-sized photographs than *Time* ($p = .049$). No statistically significant differences were found between *Newsweek* and *Time* in the other two size categories.

Placement. The second element of prominence used in this analysis was the placement of each image within the publications. The images from The Associated Press were considered not applicable for this category because they were not from a publication, and were not organized in a way in which placement could be determined. All 685 images from *Newsweek* and *Time* were analyzed.

Table 12

Means for the Size of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

	Newsweek			*Time*		
Size	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Minor	.26	.440	302	.31	.462	383
Moderate	.58	.494	302	.50	.501	383
Major	.16	.366	302	.19	.391	383

Table 13

Two-Tailed T-Test for the Size of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

Size	*df*	*t*	*p*
Minor	659.279	-1.343	.180
Moderate	649.759	1.975	.049*
Major	663.249	-1.0	.318

The majority of photographs published in the news magazines appeared in the front half of the publications. Of the total images from both news magazines, 428 images (62.5%) appeared in the front half. The back half of the publications contained 245 images (35.8%). Photographs that appeared on a magazine's cover accounted for 12 of the total images (1.8%).

Table 14 shows the placement of the photographs in the two news magazines. Although *Newsweek* had less overall visual coverage as compared with *Time*,

Newsweek's coverage was more evenly placed between the front half and the back half of its issues. *Time* focused the majority of its visual coverage in the front half of its issues. Although not directly measured, it was observed that the majority of images that were larger than one magazine page were placed within the front half of both publications.

Table 14

Prominence/Placement of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

$N = 685$

	Newsweek ($n = 302$)	*Time* ($n = 383$)
Placement	Percent	Percent
Cover ($n = 12$)	2.3%	1.3%
Front half of publication ($n = 428$)	53.3	69.7
Back half of publication ($n = 245$)	44.4	29.0

Note. The placement scale measured how prominently the photographs were displayed in *Newsweek* and *Time*; the scale runs from 3 to 1 from the most prominent cover art to the back of the publication.

A *t*-test was used to determine whether there was a difference between the news magazines' placement of photographs. Since there were not very many cover photographs for the two news magazines, this category was combined with the front half of the publication category. The means for the placement category are shown in Table 15, and the results of the two-tailed *t*-test are shown in Table 16. It was found that there were highly significant differences between *Newsweek* and *Time* in the placement of

images in the front half of the publications ($p = .0001$) and in the back half of the publications ($p = .0001$). In terms of overall visual coverage, Table 15 shows that *Time* placed significantly more images in the front half of the publications (.71) than *Newsweek* (.56). However, *Newsweek* placed significantly more images in the back half of the publications (.44) as compared with *Time* (.29).

Table 15

Means for Prominence/Placement of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

	Newsweek			*Time*		
Placement	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Front half of publication	.56	.498	302	.71	.454	383
Back half of publication	.44	.498	302	.29	.454	383

Table 16

Two-Tailed T-Test for Prominence/Placement of Photographs in Newsweek and Time

Placement	*df*	*t*	*p*
Front half of publication	616.704	-4.175	.0001*
Back half of publication	616.704	4.175	.0001*

Color versus black and white. The majority of photographs, 1002 images (97.5%), were in full color. No black and white photographs from The Associated Press were in this sample. Seven black and white images were published in *Newsweek*, and 19

black and white photographs appeared in *Time*. There were no duotones or any other noticeable color manipulations other than perhaps general color enhancements in the sample. As noted earlier, the black and white photographs in this sample mostly depicted the political frame, creating a feeling of seriousness appropriate for depicting politics.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

In previous research it has been found that photographs can evoke strong and memorable emotional responses from viewers (Coleman, 2006; Graber, 1988). It is, therefore, important to conduct research on the connection between visual news content and framing. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was a critical international event that warranted an examination of how visual information about the war was framed in news media.

This thesis examined visual frames that were present in the photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. The study looked at the frames *Newsweek* and *Time* used to visually present the start of the war, and how these frames compared with those available to news organizations through The Associated Press. It also examined the compositional elements used in the photographic coverage and the photo-credits for each of the images in the news magazines. A framing analysis was conducted on a sample of 1,028 photographs from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press during the time period of March 17, 2003-May 14, 2003.

Discussion

The geographic distance between Iraq and the American public meant that most individuals depended on media to inform them about the invasion. The manner in which media framed the conflict is, therefore, critical to how the conflict was subsequently interpreted by the public. By examining the frames that dominated the visual coverage of

the invasion, it was determined how photographs were used by news organizations to frame the conflict.

Similarities in coverage existed between the three news organizations—*Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press—providing insight into how the invasion was presented to the public. A major finding of the study was that all three news organizations focused their visual coverage on the military set of frames. The emphasis was on the action of the conflict, which made for images having great visual interest. The visual coverage predominantly showed the strength and superiority of the U.S. military. Soldiers were the primary focus, and the weaponry and technological advantages of the U.S. military were secondary. This was somewhat in contrast to the coverage of the first Gulf War. Griffin and Lee (1995) found that the visual coverage of the 1991 Gulf War by *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News & World Report* emphasized the military aspects of the conflict, but that the focus was on weaponry more than on the soldiers. In the 2003 coverage, the military conflict frame, in addition to the personal face of the U.S. military frame, frequently showed soldiers up close in combat or operations. This was most likely because of what Schwalbe et al. (2008) noted in their research, that after the shock and awe campaign, the nature of the fighting during the invasion was primarily ground fighting, to which embedded journalists traveling with military units would have had access.

In addition to the military frames, the news organizations had two other major sets of frames, politics and humanization. The politics' frames primarily focused on images of President Bush and his cabinet and images of Saddam and his party. The politics'

frames were especially prominent during the early stages of the invasion while a framework for the invasion was being built. The humanization frames dealt with putting the conflict into a perspective that emphasized the personal side of war, which could encourage emotional responses from viewers as they identified with the subjects. These types of photographs could be considered critical to leaving lasting impressions on viewers and ultimately aiding in the formation of public opinion.

The military set of frames dominated the coverage, but it was at the expense of frames that provided a context for the conflict. For instance, the historical context frame did not appear as a major frame in the visual coverage in *Newsweek*, *Time*, or The Associated Press. Interestingly, there were few pictures that linked the invasion to the 1991 Gulf War. The majority of pictures depicting a historical context frame were from World War II or Vietnam. A reason that could explain why certain contextual frames were few and far between in the visual coverage was that some themes were difficult to depict visually. This may have been why the war-on-terror frame and the weapons-of-mass-destruction frame were almost absent from the visual coverage. These frames may have been too complex to depict visually, or these frames may have lacked the excitement or drama that, for instance, an image with the military conflict frame would have shown.

Although this study did not address embedding directly, the frames found in the visual coverage provide evidence that the embedding system impacted the photographic coverage of the Iraq War. Embedded photojournalists had access to front line action that may have been difficult to capture if the program had not been implemented.

Determining whether the overall images supported the military was beyond the scope of this study. However, the most dominant frames found in this sample, particularly in the news magazines, were conducive to the types of images that embedded journalists would have had access to, such as military action and violence. In addition, the images that depicted the personal face of the U.S. military frame, essentially humanizing the military, were possible because photojournalists were traveling with military units. It is also likely that the embed system had an impact on the amount and types of photographs taken that depicted Iraqi citizen life. Most likely an unintended consequence of the program, the photojournalists would have had increased opportunities to document how Iraqi citizens interacted with the military presence. This was evident in the coverage, as many of the images that depicted the Iraqi citizen frame showed the overlap of civilian-life and the U.S. military. Based on the frames found and the kinds of photographs in the coverage, the findings suggested that the embed system impacted the types of photographs that constituted media war coverage.

The framing analysis provided evidence that *Newsweek* and *Time* used very similar visual frames in the reporting of the invasion. Although the coverage did vary somewhat, no significant differences existed between the frames found in *Newsweek* as compared with the frames found in *Time*. The news magazines provided limited frames in their coverage suggesting that subsequently readers received a limited view of the conflict. It is interesting to note that, although the news magazines had similar dominant frames, a significant difference did exist between the news magazines in terms of where each publication got its photographic content. Although *Newsweek* received the majority

of its photographs from news agencies, *Time* received most of its content from staff/freelance photographers. The Associated Press was a source for both publications, but the news magazines did not directly mimic the frames that were dominant in the news agency's coverage. Although *Newsweek* and *Time* used different sources for their photographs, the overall content did not differ dramatically between publications in terms of content or style.

A major finding was that *Newsweek* and *Time* offered an overtly American-centered view of the invasion in contrast to The Associated Press, which gave a more international perspective. This was apparent in the anti-war protest frame where The Associated Press offered 9.6% more coverage of anti-war protests than the news magazines, particularly of international protests. The American-centered view that was found in the news magazines was also apparent in their showing of only U.S. military, rather than including images of soldiers from other Coalition countries. However, The Associated Press did include images of non-American Coalition soldiers in its content. Finally, The Associated Press offered more photographs depicting international political leaders as compared with *Newsweek* and *Time*. These differences collectively suggest that the news magazines provided a narrower global context through their coverage than The Associated Press.

Although not directly measured, it was observed that The Associated Press frequently offered more graphic images than those published in the news magazines. In the coverage by The Associated Press, severe injuries and Iraqi bodies were among the images that depicted the violence of war frame. This suggested that *Newsweek* and *Time*

could have selected the more graphic coverage for their content, yet they chose not to do so. This decision was most likely made because of concern for readers' sensibilities, although the exclusion results in a more sanitized view of the war.

As audience studies have shown, the manner in which pictures are constructed can greatly affect how the images are interpreted. The compositional elements used in the photographs that were analyzed for this study showed that the news organizations used images that created analogies with real life interactions. Rather than extensively using compositional elements—like proximity of subject to viewer, depth of field, or camera angle—to quickly convey specific visual messages, the news organizations primarily used images that portrayed what a viewer might expect to experience. This appears to support the ongoing attempts of news outlets to convey a sense of credibility by using images that act as records of events and that minimize the constructed nature of photographs. These findings align with the research of Dauber (2001) who noted that photojournalists try to downplay the constructed nature of their images, especially in combat photography, and it therefore becomes easier for the viewer to forget that the event could have been represented quite differently had the photographer and those responsible for the dissemination of the photograph made different choices. The compositional elements used in this study's photographs mainly positioned the spectator in such a way that he/she felt a connection to the physical world, obscuring the photographer's hand in creating the image.

Contributions to the Literature

A major contribution of this study to existing mass communications research was that it provided evidence that visuals can successfully be used to analyze media frames. This study built on existing framing research on news photography, and specifically on framing research on the photography from the 2003 Iraq War. It also extended visual communications literature by examining how compositional elements were used in photographs that appeared in the three different news organizations—*Newsweek, Time*, and The Associated Press.

Previous framing studies of recent conflicts have suggested that American media have provided a U.S.-centered viewpoint that strongly emphasized the technological and military superiority while ignoring the human cost of war (Allen et al., 1994; Dimitrova et al., 2005; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Griffin & Lee, 1995; Griffin, 2004). This study found support for these findings. Congruent with the findings of Griffin and Lee's (1995) research of the 1991 Gulf War, the photographs used by media narrowly framed the 2003 Iraq War, emphasizing the military aspects of the conflict, as well as a secondary emphasis on the political aspects. However, the more recent coverage appeared to focus on the soldiers' involvement with the conflict rather than only on weaponry. As was noted earlier, the emphasis on soldiers in the military conflict frame, as well as in the personal face of the U.S. military frame, was most likely a result of the embed system. The research by Schwalbe et al. (2008) noted that the nature of the ground fighting during the invasion would have allowed embedded journalists traveling with military units access to the frontline soldiers.

A difference between the coverage in the news magazines and The Associated Press was that The Associated Press offered an international perspective, particularly in regard to anti-war protests, that was not found in either *Newsweek* or *Time*. The finding that the news magazines had an American-centered emphasis on the military supported research by Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) who found that *The New York Times* also framed the Iraq War with a U.S.-centered focus on the power of the military. Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) also found that, unlike the *Times*, the Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, framed the conflict with a focus on anti-war protests and the responsibility associated with the war.

Although this study did not examine the change of dominant frames over time, it did find that humanization frames were present in the photographic coverage. This included images of individual soldiers as well as images of Iraqi citizen-life. These findings are similar to the findings of Schwalbe et al. (2008), who found that the dominant frame from early Iraq War coverage shifted from military to human interest. Congruent with Schwalbe et al.'s (2008) conclusion, it is likely that the presence of frames that humanized the conflict was possible because of the increased access that embedded journalists had to both soldiers and Iraqi citizens.

This analysis of photographic content also contributed to research that examined the military's embed program, such as the studies by Fahmy and Johnson (2006), Haigh et al. (2006), and King and Lester (2005). The frames found in the coverage supported their findings that the embed system impacted the photographic coverage of the invasion of Iraq.

This study extended existing visual communications literature by examining the use of compositional elements used in the photographic coverage. Schwartz (1992) wrote that the relationship between content and form plays a pivotal role in defining photojournalism. A major contribution of the study was the validation of Messaris' (1992) finding that photographs use composition to position spectators and make analogies with real life situations. *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press all used images that reflected a sense of reality, possibly because this adds to the feeling of credibility for the news organization. The coverage from the news organizations primarily used a camera angle that was eye-level-with-the-viewer, a medium distance between the subject and the viewer, a deep depth of field, and full color, which reinforced the idea that the images were accurate records of events. Pfau et al. (2006) argued that the perception that photographs are highly credible is one of the reasons that images are strong framing tools. The finding that most of the images from the invasion's coverage appeared as accurate records of events, which arguably made the images appear more credible than if they had used dramatic compositional elements, supports the conclusion drawn by Pfau et al. (2006). Both Messaris (1992) and Schwartz (1992) emphasized that pictorial form and visual construction can play crucial roles in how photographs are interpreted. This study provided insight to how visuals can be used as framing tools.

Implications of the Study

This analysis showed that the visual coverage of the invasion was presented using a narrow set of media frames. The dominant frames supported the military aspects of the conflict at the expense of a wider context for the event. It is suggested that, by narrowly

framing their visual coverage, news magazines gave their audiences a limited view of the conflict.

An important link exists between framing and public opinion during times of conflict. Readers and viewers learn about international conflict and affairs through media. Therefore, how media frame conflicts can be critical to how the public forms opinions about war. By examining how media framed the start to the Iraq War, a picture begins to emerge of how media may have contributed to the formation of public opinion during this time of crisis.

Directions for Future Research

The importance of continuing research on media frames during times of conflict cannot be overstated since times of war are integral parts of history. News coverage helps shape individuals' understanding of the world, and therefore comprehending news systems is of continuing importance. This study examined the visual frames from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and The Associated Press. A similar analysis that includes online news organizations could be of great benefit. The continued rise of the Internet as a source for news information, combined with its capacity for visual coverage, confirms that reputable online news sites would be good subjects for framing analyses of visual content.

It is probable that the visual frames used by media depicting the war changed as the conflict progressed, particularly as public opinion of President Bush wavered. Future research could also include an examination of visual frames over the entire course of the Iraq War. The question could be addressed of how media frames shifted as compared with how public opinion changed over the span of the conflict.

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APPENDIX A

Codebook

1. Image number (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)
   Each image was sequentially numbered as follows:
   Images published in *Newsweek* were numbered from 1 to n.
   Images published in *Time* were numbered from 1001 to n.
   Images collected from The Associated Press Images Archive were numbered from 2001 to n.

2. Date of publication (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)
   Month, date, and year the images were printed were recorded in that order.

3. Location of photograph (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Category	Code
Newsweek	1
Time	2
The Associated Press Images Archive	3

4. Source of photograph (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)
   (All photographs from The Associated Press Images Archive were coded 18)

Category	Code
Agence France-Presse	1
Associated Press	2
Aurora	3
Corbis	4
Gamma	5

Getty	6
Magnum	7
Polaris	8
Reuters	9
SIPA Press	10
VII Photo Agency	11
Staff/Freelance Photographer	12
Source's Personal Photos	13
Defense Department/ U.S. Military	14
The White House	15
Unknown/No Credit	16
Other	17
Not applicable/ The Associated Press Images Archive	18

5. Content (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 96%)

Category	Code	Definition
Political Leader U.S. – Bush	1	Includes images of U.S. President George W. Bush
Political Leader Iraqi – Hussein	2	Includes images of Saddam Hussein
Political Figures U.S./Allied – not Bush	3	Includes images of U.S./Allied political leaders that are not President Bush

Political Figures Iraqi/Iraqi Supporters—not Hussein	4	Includes images of Iraqi (or Iraqi supporters) political figures that are not Saddam Hussein
Military Leaders U.S.	5	Includes any U.S. military leaders, except President Bush
Military Leaders Iraqi	6	Includes any Iraqi military leaders, except Hussein
United Nations Representatives	7	Includes any leaders that are depicted in the context of the U.N.
Inanimate Objects that Represent Bush	8	Includes any inanimate objects used to represent President Bush, e.g. the desk in the Oval Office
Inanimate Objects that Represent Hussein	9	Includes any inanimate objects that represent Hussein, e.g. Hussein's personal belongings, posters, statues
Family Members of Hussein	10	Includes any individuals clearly identified as members of Hussein's family
Soldiers—U.S./Allied Not in Combat	11	Includes any soldiers that do not appear in combat, but in operations or training
Soldiers—Iraqi Not in Combat	12	Includes any soldiers that do not appear in combat, but in operations or training
Soldiers—U.S./Allied At Leisure	13	Includes soldiers depicted at rest, e.g. in barracks, at home, in hospital
Soldiers—Iraqi At Leisure	14	Includes soldiers depicted at rest, e.g. in barracks, at home, in hospital
Combat U.S./Allied Troops	15	Combat scene where U.S./Allied troops are depicted or implied, e.g. ground attack, aerial bombing
Combat No U.S./Allied Troops	16	Combat scene where U.S./Allied troops are not, or not clearly depicted or implied

Arsenal U.S./Allied	17	Includes arsenal/machinery that clearly belongs to U.S./Allied
Arsenal Iraqi	18	Includes arsenal/machinery that clearly is Iraqi
Arsenal Unidentified	19	Includes arsenal/machinery where it's unknown if it's U.S. or Iraqi, or not U.S. or Iraqi
Destruction Inflicted by U.S./Allies	20	Includes images of destruction clearly inflicted by U.S./Allied troops
Destruction Inflicted by Iraq	21	Includes images of destruction clearly inflicted by Iraqis
Military Casualties/Injuries U.S./Allied	22	Includes images of all military casualties/injuries that are distinctly U.S./Allied
Military Casualties/Injuries Iraqi	23	Includes images of all military casualties/injuries that are distinctly Iraqi
Civilian Casualties/Injuries Iraqi	24	Includes images of any Iraqi non-military casualties/injuries
Prisoners of War U.S./Allied	25	Includes U.S./Allied individuals that have been taken prisoner
Prisoners of War Iraqi	26	Includes Iraqi individuals that have been taken prisoner
Refugees Iraqi	27	Includes images of any refugees in Iraq that have been displaced
Civilian Life U.S./Allied	28	Includes images depicting non-military life from a U.S./Allied point of view
Civilian Life Iraqi	29	Includes images depicting non-military life from an Iraqi point of view

Civilian Support for soldiers—U.S./Allied	30	Includes images of non-military people supporting U.S./Allied soldiers
Civilian Support for soldiers—Iraqi	31	Includes images of non-military people supporting Iraqi soldiers
Grieving Widows/ Families—U.S./Allied	32	Includes images of crying or grieving U.S./Allied widows or families
Grieving Widows/ Families—Iraqi	33	Includes images of crying or grieving Iraqi widows or families
Funeral U.S./Allied	34	Includes images of U.S./Allied funerals
Funeral Iraqi	35	Includes images of Iraqi funerals
Public Demonstration/Protest Peaceful—U.S./Allied	36	Includes images of U.S./Allied anti-war protests that are peaceful
Public Demonstration/Protest Peaceful—Iraqi/ Non-U.S. or Allied	37	Includes images of Iraqi/Non-U.S. or Allied anti-war demonstrations or protests that are peaceful
Public Demonstration/Protest Aggressive—U.S./Allied	38	Includes images of U.S./Allied anti-war demonstrations or protests that are aggressive or possibly violent
Public Demonstration/Protest Aggressive—Iraqi/ Non-U.S. or Allied	39	Includes images of Iraqi/Non-U.S. or Allied anti-war demonstrations or protests that are aggressive or possibly violent
Celebration U.S./Allied	40	Includes images of any U.S./Allied celebration
Celebration Iraqi	41	Includes images of any Iraqi celebration
Reconstruction Iraqi	42	Includes any images that depict reconstruction efforts in Iraq

Geographic Landscapes/ Cityscapes	43	Includes images that describe the Iraqi landscape
Media	44	Includes images that depict media of any nationality
Flags U.S./Allied	45	Includes depictions of U.S. or Allied flags
Flags Iraq	46	Includes depictions of the Iraqi flag
Historical Photograph	47	Includes any image that was taken during a previous political/military event
Portrait of U.S. Military Casualty	48	Includes portrait/headshot of a U.S. military casualty
Iraqi Insurgents	49	Includes depictions of Iraqi insurgents that are not Iraqi soldiers
U.S. Friendly Fire Incidents	50	Includes depictions of incidents where U.S. friendly fire occurred
Other	51	Images whose content fits in no other category
POW Jessica Lynch	52	Includes images of specifically Jessica Lynch that do not fall in any other category
Archeological	53	Includes images of museums, artifacts, and museum specific looting

6. Frames (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 92%)

Category	Code	Definition
Military Conflict Frame	1	This frame focused on the strength and technological superiority of the U.S. military. The emphasis was on military action, troops, weapons, combat, prisoners of war, and/or technological capabilities. Research by Dimitrova and Strömbäck

		(2005) found that the military conflict frame heavily dominated *The New York Times* coverage of the invasion of Iraq. Prior research, conducted by Griffin and Lee (1995), concluded that weaponry dominated news magazine images during the Gulf War.
Personal Face of the U.S. Military Frame	2	This frame emphasized humanizing the troops by putting a personal face on the U.S. military. The focus was on images that sympathized with the sacrifice that the troops made up to and during the Iraq War. This includes, in part, images of troops during their down time in Iraq and portraits that accompanied bios of troops (although not those of casualties, as those fell under the Violence of War Frame).
Violence of War Frame	3	This frame emphasized the destruction caused by war, including two separate elements, injuries and casualties (both U.S./Allied and Iraqi), and the aftermath of bombings and general destruction. Although not of equal weight, both attest to the violence of war. The definition of the violence of war frame was based on the research of Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) and Boettcher & Cobb (2006). In their research, Boettcher and Cobb (2006) noted that a relationship exists between increasing images of casualties and declining public support.
Victory Frame	4	In their research, Aday et al. (2005, p. 319) defined the victory frame as, "being marked by analogies to historically significant culminating moments in past wars (especially iconographic images), repetitive overplaying and exaggeration of celebratory images, and a narrative explicitly asserting the war is over." For the purpose of this study, their definition was adopted. This includes, in part, images in which the emphasis was on celebration, troops

		appearing victorious by smiling or giving the thumbs-up sign, the freeing of U.S./Allied POWs, reconstruction, President George W. Bush speaking about victory, and images visually depicting the toppling of Saddam Hussein's party.
War on Terror Frame	5	This frame focused on linking the invasion of Iraq with the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. A topic of debate has been the connection between Iraq and al Qaeda. Liberman (2006) noted that by using the *axis of evil* metaphor, President George W. Bush clearly linked Saddam Hussein to terrorism and al Qaeda, and further implied that his defeat was crucial to the safety of the world. This frame consisted of images that linked terrorism and Iraq/Hussein. This includes, in part, pictures of September 11, 2001 within a context of the Iraq War, Osama bin Laden, terrorists, and terrorist training camps.
Weapons of Mass Destruction Frame	6	This frame focused on linking the start of the war with one of the goals of the invasion, weapons of mass destruction disarmament. This includes, in part, images that emphasized weapons inspectors, weapons that are believed to be of mass destruction, and locations of weapons of mass destruction.
Political Frame	7	This frame emphasized the political portion of the conflict, rather than the combat. This includes, in part, images of George W. Bush, international leaders/politicians, U.N./Security Council representatives, and any meetings/negotiations.
Iraqi Citizen Frame	8	This frame focused on the plight of the Iraqi citizen. Griffin and Lee (1995) found that in the 1991 Gulf War the human side of the war was a substantially under represented

		frame. This frame includes, in part, images of Iraqi citizens, homes, children, lifestyle, refugees, and the chaos for citizens caused by war.
U.S. Human Dimension Frame	9	This frame emphasized the U.S. citizens' connection to the conflict on the home front. This includes images, in part, of the families of troops, grieving citizens, and U.S. citizens supporting the troops/the war effort. It also covered images that reflect the impact that the conflict has on non-military U.S. citizens at home, such as economic consequences.
Anti-War Protest Frame	10	This frame emphasized existing opposition to the war, either in the U.S., Iraq, or abroad. Including images of war-protestors and public demonstrations, either peaceful or aggressive. The definition of the Anti-War Protest Frame was based on the research of Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005).
Media Self-Referential Frame	11	This frame focused on images that referred to the media themselves. This includes, in part, images of embedded journalists, new technology available to reporters, journalists that were not embedded, or other images where the emphasis was on the journalists and their coverage of the war. The definition of the Media Self-Referential Frame was based on the research of Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005).
Saddam Frame	12	This frame set Saddam Hussein apart from the other categories. The emphasis in this frame was on linking the purpose of the war directly to Saddam and the fall of his party. It includes images of Saddam Hussein and his party.
Historical Context Frame	13	This frame focused on putting the 2003 Iraq War in a historical context by making visual

		references to previous political and military events. This includes, in part, images from the Vietnam Conflict, the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, as well as the 1991 Gulf War.
Cultural/Archeological Frame	14	This frame emphasized the impact of the Iraq War on the culture of Iraq, particularly pertaining to Iraq's art and archeological treasures. This includes, in part, images of museums, art, zoos, archeological sites, and museum looting.
Other	15	The other category consisted of images that did not fit in the above categories.

7. Camera angle (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 88%)

Category	Code
Extremely low angle	1
Low angle	2
Level-with-the-viewer	3
High angle	4
Extremely high angle	5

8. Proximity of subject to viewer (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 94%)

Category	Code
Long shot	1
Medium shot	2
Tight shot	3

9. Selective focus (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 86%)

Category	Code
Shallow depth of field	1
Mid-range depth of field	2
Deep depth of field	3

10. Color versus black and white (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Category	Code
Color photograph	1
Black and white photograph	2

11. Size of the image (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Category	Code	Definition
Minor	1	Image size is up to 5% of one page
Small	2	Image size is between 6% and 25% of one page
Medium	3	Image size is between 26% and 75% of one page
Large	4	Image size is between 76% and 100% of one page
Semi-dominant	5	Image size is less than a full two-page spread, but greater than one full page
Dominant	6	Image size is a full two-page spread

Not applicable	7	Image size is not applicable because the image comes from The Associated Press Images Archive

12. Placement of the image (Scott's pi reliability coefficient = 100%)

Category	Code
Back half of publication	1
Front half of publication	2
Cover	3
Not applicable/ The Associated Press Images Archive	4