

FEAR IN THE MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF U.S. AND BRITISH  
NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF A TERRORIST THREAT

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## APPROVAL

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

FEAR IN THE MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS  
OF U.S. AND BRITISH NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE  
OF A TERRORIST THREAT

presented by Brent M. Steiner,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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## **DEDICATION**

It's difficult to express into words my appreciation for you, the only words that  
some up my feelings are I Love You, Mom—thanks for being there for me.

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# FEAR IN THE MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF U.S. AND BRITISH NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF A TERRORIST THREAT

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## **ABSTRACT**

Terrorism has become a significant media event. Research has shown the consumption of media focused on terrorism leads to higher levels of fear. This comparative content analysis of three U.S. papers (The New York Times, The New York Post, USA Today) and three British papers (Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, the Sun) focuses on the usage symbols, claims making, security measures, and techniques of investigation to articulate the difference of fear producing symbols within select print media of each respective country. The focus is derived from an August 10, 2006 terrorist attack that was thwarted by British intelligence agencies. By collecting articles from each newspaper for the subsequent week after the event I was able to construct a sample of coverage. Using theories of the discourse of fear and the politics of fear this paper focuses on the amount of symbols used in the coverage. The analyses concludes that American print media contains more symbols that potentially produce fear, than the British print media.

## INTRODUCTION

The goal of this research is to compare the content and portrayal of a thwarted terrorist plot in American and British newspapers. On August 10, 2006, British intelligence stopped a plot by homegrown terrorists to use bombs that were made of liquids to blow-up several airliners bound for the U.S. over the Atlantic Ocean. This research focuses on how three major U.S. print media outlets (New York Times, USA Today, and The New York Post) and three major British print media outlets (The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, and The Sun) covered the story over the subsequent week after the event. By using the theoretical framework developed by David Altheide on the discourse of fear and the politics of fear I will show a comparison between the U.S. and British Newspapers

It is imperative to make clear that this project is not rendering a normative judgment about fear production. It is not the goal of this project to state whether the production of fear in the media and the politics of fear is appropriate, rather the goal of this project is to evaluate how fear is produced and disseminated through the media and by government officials. Evaluating the validity of the production fear is a very complex matter that spans far beyond the scope of this research. The main goal of this research is to understand how a thwarted terrorist attack is presented in the media and how that presentation is used to produce fear.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The way terrorism is presented in media has a large impact on the individuals who consume that information (Sloan: 2000). The reaction to news media coverage of the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> had a global impact, “reacting to the news, the majority of Hungarians (51.2%) were “very” or “somewhat” worried that they, or someone in their family, could have become victims of terrorism. Equally informed, 83% of people in the United Kingdom and 76% of the Russian public shared those fears.” (Nacos: 2002, pg. 44) Research found that the level of consumption of news media also played a role in the amount of fear an individual experienced. People that were ‘hooked’ to the media coverage of the terrorist attacks reported higher levels of fear than did individuals that were not ‘hooked’ to the media coverage. The impact of news media on the ways in which terrorism is understood and internalized dictates the definitions and contexts through which their audiences understand the concept of terrorism. As David Altheide (2006: 49) writes, “social meanings are constructed through news reports by associating words with certain problems and issues.” It thus becomes imperative to understand how terrorism is being presented in the media and what types of power structures are embedded within the framing and format of presentation.

### *Mediated Violence*

Since the year 2000, terrorism has been one of the most covered phenomena in the media. While defining exactly what constitutes a terrorist act remains problematic, certain characteristics are commonly needed for an act to

be classified as a terrorist act. Combs (2006: 19) states, “terrorism...is an act composed of at least four crucial elements: (1) it is an act of violence, (2) it has a political motive or goal, (3) it is perpetrated against innocent persons, and (4) it is staged to be played before an audience whose reaction of fear and terror is the desired result.” Terrorists often attack symbols and figures of authority in society, in order, to achieve the goal of intimidation of the audience (Paletz, Ayanian, and Fozzard 1982: 145). These symbols often take the form of buildings, airplanes, and other significant symbols (Pentagon). It is not the destruction of these symbols that is the goal of the terrorists or terrorist organization. The goal of the terrorist organization is the message that accompanies the act. The act itself is merely a vehicle that is used to convey the message. “The mass media are often the implicit or explicit rationale for [terrorist] acts; getting the message out is important for those individuals committed to the cause...given the widespread recognition that the mass media...the media formats are explicitly played to by more and more groups who lack access and legitimacy to get their messages across through other channels,” observes Altheide (1987: 162).

This project is distinctly different from the other research done on terrorism in the media, because it does not rely on the reporting of an act of violence. The value of this project is that the information and dictation of discourse relies solely on government leaders and information leaked through various sources—both named and anonymous. Thus, the emphasis lies on how the information is presented by the media and how the threat and potential impact of the terrorist event is discussed by individuals with a vested interest in the promotion of the

terrorist event. Where most terrorism events are centered on the terrorists trying to convey a message by symbolically attacking select targets; this event is actually the inverse, in that, the message being echoed by government leaders among other individuals is that the risk of a terrorist threat is prevalent, stating, as John Reid did that the threat of terrorism “is a chronic and a severe one” (New York Post; Fear of Plotters on the Loose; Aug. 14, 2006).

### *The Discourse of Fear*

The news coverage of terrorism has been subsumed under the idea of the discourse of fear. The discourse of fear is the association of crime and terrorist events that is constructed in the news media and popular culture, through “pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and expectation that danger and risk are a central feature in everyday life” (Altheide 2006: 11). “Social constructionist approaches to the study of social problems and emergent social movements stress how mass-media accounts of crime, violence and victimization are simplistic and often decontextualize rather complex events in order to reflect narratives that demonize and offer simplistic explanations that often involve state intervention while adding to the growing list of victims.” (Altheide 2006: 115) Criminal victimization, which is associated with several crime myths (predators, stranger danger, and random violence) (Best 1999), factors into the cultural foundation of the politics of fear, specifically the belief that anyone is/can be a potential victim and needs protection from the possible source—criminals or terrorists. (Garland 2001; Altheide 2006: 115) The fears that are associated with

the discourse of fear are capitalized upon by politicians and state control agencies that work with media as 'news sources' to advance a sense of insecurity and create a dependence on formal mechanisms of control (Altheide 2006).

This process is done through the manipulation of symbols. "News does not merely set agendas; rather, consistent with symbolic interaction theory, news that relies on certain symbols and promotes particular relationships between words, deeds, and issues also guides the perspectives, frameworks, language, and discourse that we use in relating to certain problems as well as related issues" (Ibid.). It is the social meanings that are constructed by continuously associating certain symbols (i.e. vulnerability) with other problems or issues (unknown assailants) (ibid). These social meanings can be internalized through certain interaction with media. Certain symbols, such as; fear, crime, terrorism, and victimization, are experienced vicariously by audience members through interaction with the mass media (Naco 2002, Altheide 2006, Sloan, 2000). The media logic, the form of communication and the process by which media convey and communicate information, that presents these symbols (fear, crime, terrorism, and victimization) "tends to be evocative, encapsulating, highly thematic, familiar to audiences, and easy to use" (Altheide 2006; 116). Often these symbols are conveyed using, what Altheide calls, "the problem frame". He writes, "The problem frame promotes a *discourse of fear that may be defined as the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness and expectation that danger and risk are a central feature of the effective environment*" (Altheide 1997; 648).

In this section I have presented material that links the generation of fear by symbolic relationships that are used in the presentation of some concepts by media organizations. The media organizations present certain concepts by emphasizing certain topics, using select styles and frames that research has shown to generate fear within the audience. This creates the discourse of fear which is used to promote the belief that danger and risk are imminent aspects of the immediate environment. The manipulations of the discourse of fear—the politics of fear—will be covered in the next section.

### *The Politics of Fear*

The politics of fear is the process that refers to decision makers' (individual or organizational) advancement and use of audience beliefs and assumptions pertaining to danger, risk, and fear in order to attain certain ends (Altheide 2006; 208). The politics of fear is prevalent in times of conflict, but it accumulates and gradually informs policy and affects everyday behavior (Altheide 2006; 15, 208). This concept does not entail that citizens are perpetually afraid of a specific threat, but, even though the object of fear may change, fear of threats to one's security is fairly constant (ibid.). "The politics of fear serves as a conceptual linkage for power, propaganda, news and popular culture, and an array of intimidating symbols and experiences such as crime and terrorism" (Altheide 2006; 117). The politics of fear is rooted in the public discourse that depicts social life as "dangerous, fearful, and filled with actual or potential victims"—the discourse of fear (Ibid.). The impact of this fear is that it

attracts formal social control mechanisms, such as; protection, policing, and intervention, to avert further victimization (ibid.). Thus, it is not the idea of fear that is important, but the way in which fear is defined and comprehended in daily social interaction (ibid.). “The role of the news media is very important in carrying selective news sources’ messages” (ibid.). News organizations take on the role of claims makers. Research has shown that it is government officials and police officials that dictate how issues of crime and terrorism are framed (Ericson, Baranek, and Chan 1987, 1989; Surette 1992). As Robin (2002) writes,

But how men and women interpret and respond to their fear—these are more than unconscious, personal reactions to imagined or even real dangers. They are also choices made under the influence of belief and ideology, in the shadow of elites and powerful institutions. There is, then, a politics of fear. Since September 22, that politics has followed two distinct tracks: first, state officials and media pundits have defined and interpreted the objects of Americans’ fears—Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism—in anti-political terms, which has raised the level of popular nervousness; and second, these same elites have generated a fear of speaking out not only against the war and US foreign policy but also against a whole range of established institutions.

The politics of fear is the manipulation of audience beliefs to promote assumptions of the imminence of risk, danger, and fear in order to achieve certain goals. The politics of fear is founded in the discourse of fear. In the analyses section of this paper I will focus on aspects of the discourse of fear and the politics of fear and how they are used in the presentation of a thwarted terrorist event.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The methodology that I use in this paper is a content analysis of three American newspapers and three British newspapers. The American newspapers that I selected were the New York Times, The USA Today, and the New York Post. I selected the New York Times because it is one of the most prominent newspapers in the United States with a daily circulation of over a million readers.<sup>1</sup> Another reason that I choose The New York Times is that it has a reputation of being politically centrist to liberal. I choose to include USA Today because, like The New York Times, it has an extensive circulation. The circulation of USA Today is the most of any American newspaper with a readership of over 2.2 million. The USA Today newspaper is politically centrist. I chose to use the tabloid the New York Post. The New York Post has the highest circulation of any tabloid in the United States (724,748) and the fifth highest circulation overall. The New York Post is politically conservative. The Post has diversified my data set and has allowed me to include an analysis of different types of newspaper formats.

The three British newspapers that I use in my analysis are The Guardian (London), The Daily Telegraph, and The Sun. When I selected which British newspapers I was going to use in my analysis I had to pay specific attention to the political leanings. The British newspapers political biases are more pronounced than the American newspapers. I chose to include The Guardian because it has a circulation of over 300,000. Politically, The Guardian has historically been a liberal newspaper. I selected The Daily Telegraph for

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<sup>1</sup> Associated Press, "Circulation at the Top 20 Newspapers" Monday, April 30, 2007 found at [http://biz.yahoo.com/ap/070430/newspapers\\_circulation\\_list.html](http://biz.yahoo.com/ap/070430/newspapers_circulation_list.html). This article is used for the circulation of all US newspapers.

inclusion into this study because it has a circulation of over 900,000. Another reason I had for selecting the Daily Telegraph is that it reports for a very conservative point of view. The final newspaper that I selected for this study is The Sun. The Sun has the second largest circulation of any newspaper in the world at over 7.5 million readers. The Sun, like the New York Post, is a tabloid. The Sun is politically conservative.

I used the Lexis-Nexis database to collect the newspaper articles that are analyzed in this paper. August 10, 2006 was the date that the terrorist plot was thwarted, but articles that report about the attempted terrorist plot did not appear in the selected newspapers until August 11, 2006. Articles about the event decreased significantly around August 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>. I limited the focus of this research project to cover the bulk of the articles relevant to this event. The time period that I focus on is August 11<sup>th</sup> thru August 18<sup>th</sup>. I created, within this 7 day period, divisions to ensure that the articles I chose came, equally, from different parts of the week. Dividing articles in this way assures that there is diversity of the types of articles covered. It also guards against selecting articles that are concentrated in a specific time period in which certain aspects may not be understood. The divisions are as follows; August 11<sup>th</sup>, August 12<sup>th</sup>, August 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup>, August 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup>, and, finally, August 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup>. The search phrases I used were very board to ensure that I did not miss any relevant articles to this research project. The phrases I used are; terror plot, terrorism, and British intelligence. By using this method I found any articles that were published that contained *any* of these words. I then went through the broad range of articles to

find those that specifically pertained to the thwarted terrorist plot coverage. I excluded articles that mentioned the plot, but did not specifically pertain to the thwarted terror plot. For each of the five divisions of the seven day coverage period I tried to assign five articles for *each* newspaper. Not all of the newspapers printed enough articles for each division to contain five articles, but I was able to find between 20-25 articles for each newspaper. The USA Today is the only newspaper that created a problem with this method because it did not print an edition on August 12, 2006. I made up for this missing section by including eight articles from August 11<sup>th</sup> and seven articles from August 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup>. This is the process I used to create my sample of articles that appear in the analysis.

After my sample of articles was prepared I went through each article using the Qualrus coding software from Ideaworks. I coded the articles by paragraph looking for the presence of content such as; claims makers, security measures, costs, etc. The coding process helped me to identify how and what was being reported by the newspapers. I then constructed a spreadsheet (see Appendix A) which lists all the codes and the instances they appeared. By using this spreadsheet I was able to see the number of instances a certain code appeared within one of the five divisions of the week for a single newspaper, it also denotes the number of times that the codes appeared in a given newspaper, and the number of times a code appear within the all of the newspapers for a given country. I am relying on this breakdown of content to supply the data for the analysis.

## **ANALYSIS**

The analysis section of this paper will consist of four different sections. Each of the different sections relate to the ideas of the discourse of fear and to the politics of fear. In the first section, the focus will be on the pervasive nature of the discourse of fear. This section focuses on the relationships between significant symbols and how these are used to perpetuate the discourse of fear. The second section will focus on the claims making of select government officials. This section discusses the content and frames in which the governments are using to talk about the plot. The two main officials covered in this section is the United States Secretary of Homeland Security, Michael Chertoff, and the British Home Secretary John Reid. The third section focuses on the prevalence of security measures and the criticism that air travel is not safer. This section looks at the impact of the politics of fear and the expectation of the role of government in keeping people safe. Both the British and U.S. governments implemented strict airport security measures when the police moved against the terror cell. This section is going to discuss airport security and costs. The fourth section analyzes the impact of the politics of fear by looking at the extent to which people are willing to allow civil rights to be infringed upon for the appearance of safety. This section will cover the newspaper coverage of techniques used to catch the individuals in the terror cell.

Under each of the four sections mentioned above I will compare the coverage in the U.S. and British newspapers. After I finish the comparisons on the national level I will do an analysis of the newspapers on an intranational level

to decipher which newspapers carried more content selected sections above. By the end of the analysis it should be clear that, generally, the U.S. newspapers perpetuate the discourse and politics of fear more than the British newspapers.

### *Section 1: Generating Fear*

The content within the newspapers that will be analyzed in this section is that which is used to generate fear. The focus of this section is on victimization. More specifically, the aspects of news media that propel fear by focusing on predators, stranger danger, and random violence which are used to help create fear (Best 1999). In this section I am going to look at the content in which the newspapers referenced large terrorist attacks to describe the possible scope of this one (random violence), the possible danger and devastation this attack could have caused had it been carried out (random violence), the attempts of the news media to link this thwarted attack to Al-Qaeda (predators). The final analysis of this section is the use of citizen fears in the reporting on the topic and how the news media uses quotes of fearful passengers in the articles.

There is a stark contrast between the newspapers of Britain and the U.S. regarding the number of times they mention the thwarted terrorist attack in relation to actual terrorist attacks that have occurred. Here are some examples that appeared more frequently within the American news media:

Even if the airliner plot turns out to be homegrown, its design was more ambitious than even the most destructive attacks since 2001, including the 2004 train bombings in Madrid and the subway and bus attacks in London last year. Those involved multiple, simultaneous explosions, but the explosives were conventional and

the death tolls -- 191 in Madrid and 56 in London -- were a small fraction of the number of people who were killed on Sept. 11, 2001. (New York Times, "Scale and Detail of Plane Scheme Recall Al-Qaeda" 8/11/2006)

The names of two of the four suicide bombers who struck three London subway trains and a bus, killing 52 people and injuring more than 770 others, were known to MI5 at the time. They were not deemed a serious enough threat to put under surveillance, the report issued by a joint parliamentary committee said. (USA Today, "Terrorists Difficult to Profile" 8/14/2006)  
there would be coordinated attacks that would create widespread panic and claim countless lives - just like 9/11. (New York Post, "Fiends Master Plan" 8/11/2006)

Thirty-two times the American news media referenced the largest terrorist attack in history, the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center Attack. Using the 9/11 attacks as reference the U.S. newspapers are trying to use the strongest symbol of terrorism that exists in the individual psyches of the U.S. citizens. On the other hand, the British newspapers rarely mentioned the 9/11 attacks, and opted to focus on smaller even methodologically similar attacks in their coverage.

The genesis of plans to detonate bombs simultaneously on a number of civilian airliners goes back to the so-called Bojinka plot by Islamist fundamentalists in the mid-1990s. (Guardian (London) "Terror Plot, Copycat Plot" 8/11/2006)

Police believe that acetone peroxide triacetone triperoxide (TATP) was the home-made explosive used in London on July 7 last year in the attacks that killed 56 people, including four suicide bombers, on Tube trains and a bus. It is made using commonly available chemicals such as sulphuric acid, which is used to clean drains; hydrogen peroxide, which is used in hair dyes; and acetone. (Daily Telegraph, "Liquid Bomb Materials Easy to Disguise" 8/11/2006)

Timothy McVeigh used this chemical combination to blow up the Alfred P Murrah building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people. (Guardian (London), "Terror Plot the Devices Chemical Compounds Most Likely to be Chosen by Would-Be Bombers" 8/11/2006)

By using a terrorist attack that has greater psychological ramifications and drawing parallels more frequently the U.S. news media, within this portion analyzed, seems more likely to create fear than its British counterpart. I will now turn my attention to the intranational analysis to understand which sources are generating more fear.

Analyzing the breakdown of instances in American newspapers shows an interesting pattern. The New York Times has significant more instances of relating the terrorist threat to an actual terrorist event than the other two sources. The New York Times has more than double (35) the instances than the second place source—USA Today (14). The tabloid, The New York Post, has the least (7) amount of content linking the thwarted terrorist plot with previous terrorist attacks.

Analyzing the British Newspapers shows that there is no significant outlier when looking at the coverage of association between the thwarted terrorist plot and an actual terrorist plot. A comparison of the number of instances in which the newspapers drew upon associations with actual terrorist events illustrate that the Daily Telegraph contains the most (18), while the Guardian (London) has less instances of association (11). The Sun contains fewest (6) associations between the thwarted terrorist plot and an actual terrorist event. A numerical comparison shows that the number of associations made in both the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian (London) are relatively similar to the number found in the USA Today newspaper in the U.S.

The next aspect of fear generation that I am going to analyze is content that emphasizes the possibility of mass destruction by the potential terrorist acts. The potential for terrorist attacks a key element of the problem frame which is defined as, “promot[ing] a *discourse of fear that may be defined as the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness and expectation that danger and risk are a central feature of the effective environment*” (Altheide 1997; 648). The American newspaper contains a relatively (U.S. newspapers- 69: British newspapers- 58) few more instances where the possibility of attack or danger is discussed. Due to the significant role that it plays in the discourse of fear I felt it needed to be included within the analysis.

The language used in the American newspapers reflects the emotional attachment that is associated with necessity of terrorist to disguise these events. The promotion of fear through terrorism lies in the premise that anyone at anytime could be the victim of the attack. The type of open ended reporting used to convey the possibility of an attack reifies the fear of those who consume this type of news media. Examples from the American media are:

But the news was also profoundly disturbing. It showed that terrorists, presumably Islamic radicals, remain obsessed with using jetliners to bring off a spectacular attack. It showed that there are still people -- smart, sociopathic and suicidal people -- who hate America enough to want to kill planeloads of innocent travelers. (USA Today, “Foiled Plot is a Police Triumph” 8/11/2006)

Nobody knows how many more potential terrorists are in Britain and Europe, waiting for a chance to launch a strike like the alleged plot to blow up passenger jets headed for the USA. (USA Today, “Terrorists Difficult to Profile” 8/14/2006)

[John Reid] also appeared to suggest that some conspirators associated with last week's suspected plot to use liquid explosives in waves of attacks may still be at large. "We believe it was a major, major plot," he said, describing the police investigation as "ongoing." (The New York Times, "Britain says Two Dozen Major Terrorist Conspiracies are Under Investigation" 8/14/2006)

Similar language is used in the British newspapers reflects the frames used by authorities (this will be discussed later) and also the reliance of terrorists methods using secrecy to promote fear among the civilian population regarding their vulnerability to a terrorist attack. The following are excerpts from the British sources show the promotion of fear through the reliance on maintaining a possible threat exists.

But security should be a non-negotiable line on the balance sheet. The public expects nothing less. We say again: the terrorist threat is no short-term nightmare and Heathrow, the world's biggest international airport, will remain a prime target. (Daily Telegraph, "Industry Must Pay for Airport Security Force" 8/18/2006)

There is also a fear that jihadists involved in other plots may decide to attack quicker than otherwise, because they fear those arrested yesterday may inform on them, or because they fear the authorities are about to arrest them. (Guardian (London) "A Plot to Commit Murder on an Unimaginable Scale" 8/11/2006)

Nobody would guess each "drink" was a lethal explosive and every iPod a primed detonator. Had the plan worked, packed aircraft would have been blown asunder over the Atlantic in a catastrophe more horrific than 9/11. (The Sun "One Day in a Long Battle" 8/11/2006)

An analysis of the newspapers between the papers in the United States shows that the New York Times, again, has the most incidents (36) of showing the possible dangers of a terrorist attack. The difference between The New York Times and the second ranking U.S. paper, The New York Post (21), is not as

pronounced as it was in the association to actual terrorist acts previously discussed. The newspaper that had the least amount of coverage of possible terrorist threat is the USA Today (12).

An analysis of the British newspapers depicts a different distribution than the American papers. In the British papers the amounts of times that the possible terrorist threats were reported were the almost equal. Only very few numerical differences separated the newspaper between those with the most and the least. The Daily Telegraph contained the most instances (23) of possible terrorist threats, followed by the Guardian (London) (20) and the Sun (15)

The next analysis that will be performed is the difference of times that each newspaper attempts to focus on the link between Al-Qaeda and the thwarted terrorist plot. In the process of victimization a focus on a predator helps to facilitate fear among people who believe that they are susceptible to an attack. Al-Qaeda has become the predator used by media and government outlets to generate fear of terrorism.

The United States newspapers had significantly more coverage (32) of an association with Al-Qaeda to the bombing suspects than did the British Newspapers (18). The association of Al-Qaeda to the thwarted terrorist plot provides a familiar symbolic enemy to Americans, because it is also the same organization responsible for the often cited September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. Examples of the association with Al-Qaeda in U.S. Newspapers are:

Top American officials said in their first comments after news of the arrests in Britain that the scheme bore "the hallmarks" of Al Qaeda. Media coverage dwelt at length on the possibility of ties to the

group. The identification on Friday of Mr. Rauf appeared to nail down a connection. Speculation about a possible role of another suspected militant still being sought in Pakistan, Matiur Rehman, an explosives expert, has added to the notion of a Qaeda role, though few agree on whether he is linked with the group's operations in Pakistan. (The New York Times, "Terrorism Experts Say Focus..." 8/13/2006)

The arrests of Rashid Rauf, who was picked up about a week ago along the Pakistani-Afghan border by Pakistani officials, and his brother Tayib Rauf, who was arrested here, support suggestions by Monique and government officials including U.S. Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff that the plot had the hallmarks of al-Qaeda. (USA Today, "Terrorists Difficult to Profile" 8/14/2006)

Intelligence experts say Rehman's especially strong alliance with Zawahiri is a clear sign al Qaeda's brain trust approved the British plan. Analysts say Rehman, the leader of the al Qaeda-sponsored Pakistani Sunni Muslim militant group Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, was the intermediary for bin Laden and Zawahiri to hundreds of Pakistani extremists. (New York Post, "Terror King Caught" 8/18/2006)

While several articles appearing in the U.S. press were trying to link the thwarted terror plot with Al-Qaeda one article, by Scott Shane, appeared in the New York Times addressed the situation differently stating:

Some government officials acknowledge privately that Washington has been slow to consider the possibility that the international jihad movement is without any central organization. (The New York Times, "Terrorism Experts Say Focus..." 8/13/2006)

The article continues to point out that the association of the thwarted terror plot is a simplistic representation of a complex international organization:

But counterterrorism experts said Saturday that the focus of government officials and the public on Al Qaeda, a term today with deep connotations but elusive meaning, may be misplaced. ***They say the Qaeda label remains useful shorthand for the news media and for officials who want to tap the powerful emotions associated with the Sept. 11 attacks.*** But to suggest that the

terrorist threat today is represented by the organization directly commanded by Osama bin Laden is to oversimplify a complex international movement, the specialists say. (The New York Times, "Terrorism Experts Say Focus..." 8/13/2006: Emphasis Added)

The British newspapers contained relatively similar amounts of coverage of the presumed link between the plotters of the attack and Al-Qaeda (Daily Telegraph- 5, Guardian (London)- 7, The Sun- 6). The American newspapers, by contrast, contained a significant difference in the amount coverage of the link between the plotters and Al-Qaeda. The New York Times contained over half (19 of 32) of the coverage. The amount of coverage in the New York Post (9), while more than any British newspaper, is still significantly less than the amount in the New York Times. The USA today contained the least amount of reporting on the link between Al-Qaeda and the plotters (4).

To summarize point one of the analysis the American newspapers had a considerable more amount of coverage associating the terrorist plot to successful terrorist attacks. Symbolically the American newspapers use the powerful emotion elicited by association with previous successful terrorist attacks, most significantly the September 11, 2001 attacks, within framing of the thwarting of this terrorist attack. The higher level of association of fear within the American newspapers adds more cultivation of fear within the American discourse of fear than that of the British. While both the American and British newspapers have a significant amount of coverage relating to the possibility of terrorist attacks and the extent of possible damage from those terrorist attacks I have shown that the news media in both countries rely heavily on framing the terrorist threat as

eminent. Finally, I have shown that the U.S. media relies on the linking the terrorist threat to a group (Al-Qaeda) that has strong symbolic ties to emotional pain and fear among American people. The British newspapers, on the other hand, are less likely to use links to Al-Qaeda in their reporting of the thwarted terrorist plot.

### *Section 2: Claims Making*

The analysis in this section will focus upon two individuals—John Reid, Homeland Secretary in Britain, and Michael Chertoff, Secretary of Homeland Security. The vast majority of claims made regarding this event were made by these individuals. During my analysis of the claims making process an interesting observation surfaced. John Reid is quoted several times in both the American (16) and British sources (22), while Michael Chertoff is quoted extensively in the American sources (21) but is almost nonexistent in the British sources (3). First, I will analyze Reid in the British sources and then I will analyze both Reid and Chertoff in the American press.

Altheide (2006: pg. 117) writes, "...government and police officials dominate how crime is framed." Similar to crime government officials play a key role in how terrorism is framed within the media. John Reid exemplifies how government officials are able to use the media to cultivate a discourse of fear. Using citations from the British press I will show how the frames that John Reid use adds to the discourse of fear. First, Reid claims that while the majority of plotter have been caught that there may still be some at large that will attack.

Mr Reid warned another terror attempt was "highly likely". And he said cops were currently working on about 24 terrorist investigations.

[Reid] added: "The police believe that the main suspects in the alleged plot were arrested last week. The public needs to know that there may be other people out there who may be planning an attack. I want to stress, therefore, that the change in the threat level does not mean that the threat has gone away."

After Reid asserts the eminence of the current threat he goes on to describe that anyone can be a victim. He is asserting the idea that anyone can be a victim:

[Reid] said: "The threat from terrorists is a threat to every individual in every section of British society. Terrorists do not distinguish on the basis of sex, social background, age or religion."

Reids claims are then focused on the extent to which the threat exists in society. Also, as predicted by the politics of fear Reid suggests that the current methods of social control need to be revised.

Mr Reid said that if the bombers had succeeded they would have caused death on an "unprecedented scale".

John Reid, the Home Secretary, said it was believed that "the main players" had been accounted for but neither the police nor Government were "in any way complacent".

He added: "As we face the threat of mass murder we have to accept that the rights of the individual that we enjoy must and will be balanced with the collective right of security and the protection of life and limb that our citizens demand."

Many similar quotes from Reid appear within the American newspapers:

British Home Secretary John Reid said the terror threat "is a chronic one and a severe one

"We believe we have the main targets," he said, but did not rule out the idea that other people not in custody might still be planning an attack or "prepared to use this opportunity to carry out a terrorist attack."

He also appeared to suggest that some conspirators associated with last week's suspected plot to use liquid explosives in waves of attacks may still be at large. "We believe it was a major, major plot," he said, describing the police investigation as "ongoing."

The interesting dynamic in the U.S. news sources is that there are two individuals that are setting similar frames about the same event. Reid and Chertoff are both dictating the frames used to report the event and both are using similar frames of potential threat, the unknown danger that terrorism presents, and the extensive threat that it presents to civil society.

Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff. "We did not see any U.S. internal activity in this plot. However, there are other people who are terrorists and terrorist sympathizers, so I'm not prepared to let my guard down."

Chertoff said he was more concerned with those who would derive inspiration from the scheme and try to imitate it. "We want to make sure there are no copycats, no one who is inspired by this to think that we're going to somehow have our attention diverted and they're going to do something themselves."

Chertoff said, "The conception, the large number of people involved, the sophisticated design of the devices that were being considered, the sophisticated nature of the plan all suggest that this group that came together to conspire was very determined and very skilled and very capable."

By presenting two eminent claims makers that focus on the similar threat production and dissemination the American papers reiterate the frames used by

these government officials. Thus, through reinforcement of vulnerability and victimization the American newspapers are more likely to produce fear than the British newspapers.

### *Section 3: Security*

The presentation of security measure plays a pivotal role in the politics of fear. Often it is the portrayal of shortcomings within the current security methods that are manipulated by government officials and decision makers to gain power. Altheide (2006: 115) writes, "Politicians and state control agencies, working with the news media as 'news sources,' have done much to capitalize on this concern and to promote a sense of insecurity and reliance on formal agents of social control—and related businesses—to provide surveillance, protection, revenge, and punishment to protect us, to save us." There is a significant difference (U.S. newspapers- 24: British newspapers- 0) in the presentation of inadequate security measures between the newspapers in Britain and the U.S. The most revealing aspect of the coverage is the criticism that the U.S. methods of detection received in the U.S. media:

Finding the containers in carry-on bags is also not foolproof. "Pulling out liquid containers is a fairly easy step," said Steven V. Lancaster, vice president of Guardian Technologies, of Herndon, Va., which makes detection equipment. But that presumes that the container was in a bag that went through an X-ray machine. The portals that screen people at the airports only detect metal. Hence being sure that there are no liquids will require more pat-downs of passengers.

It is distressing that, after all the billions of dollars spent on bolstering aviation security, such gaping holes remain. Yet no

matter what technologies are deployed, there is always a good chance that future terrorists will find a way to evade detection.

The Government Accountability Office (GAO), Congress' investigative arm, and security experts have repeatedly identified continuing flaws: Cargo is loaded into the bellies of passenger planes largely unscreened. \*While checked bags are screened using nearly 9,000 explosive detection machines throughout the country, when airports are crowded, the government allows less effective methods, such as canines and physical searches. Carry-on bags are largely screened using old-fashioned X-ray methods, which cannot detect explosives. Better technology exists, but the government hasn't committed the money to buy it.

These articles point out the vulnerabilities and shortcomings of the security methods employed by the U.S. and help the construction of the discourse of fear within the American citizenry. This is not to claim that security should not be criticized just that this type of reporting helps aids in the cultivation of the discourse of fear.

By contrast the British newspapers did not present any material focusing on the shortcomings of the security measures that are in place. The type of intense scrutiny contained in the American newspapers adds to the discursive aspects of fear and may further exacerbate the idea that danger is immanent. The dissimilarity in the critique of security measures supports the thesis that the American newspapers contain more content that could lead to higher levels of fear than the British newspapers.

#### *Section 4: Techniques of Investigation*

The final aspect of analysis examines the presentation of techniques involved in the investigation of the suspects. The first facet of the presentation of

the techniques of investigation that will be analyzed is the tactic by which the physical evidence is portrayed. The American newspapers tend to focus more attention on guns and explosives, while the British newspapers place more emphasis on other items of physical evidence. The final characteristic of the presentation of techniques involved in the investigations of the plotters is the role of detainment. The American newspapers exhibit the desire of certain government officials (Attorney General Alberto Gonzales and Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff) to extend the period of detainment without formally pressing charges. The British newspapers, on the other hand, focused the majority (6 of 7) of their detainment coverage on the possible human rights violations of Rashid Rauf, a man arrested in Pakistan with ties to the bombing plot.

Both British and American newspapers contain coverage of physical evidence that was obtained during searches after the plotters were apprehended. The American sources contained more content (19) regarding physical evidence than did the British newspapers (12). The most prominent difference between presentation of physical evidence between the U.S. and British newspapers is the amount of coverage devoted to symbols of violence. The U.S. newspapers contained significantly (12 of 19- 63%) more references to guns, bomb making material, and explosives than did the British newspapers (4 of 12- 33%). The following examples illustrate the U.S. coverage:

Meanwhile, a suitcase filled with bomb-making material was found by British police in the woods in High Wycombe, not far from where suspects were arrested last week... One police source said the suitcase contained everything that would be needed to make an

improvised explosive device. (The New York Post, "Terror King Caught," 8/18/2006)

British investigators have found a suitcase with bomb-making materials in the woods near the homes of several men suspected of plotting to blow up trans-Atlantic aircraft. (New York Times, "BBC says British Find Bomb Parts," 8/17/2006)

Several of the suspects bought large quantities of common household ingredients such as hydrogen peroxide and citric acid, which could be used to make an explosive compound known as HMDT. The compounds could easily be sneaked onto a passenger jet. The law enforcement officials said authorities believe the plotters wanted to mix the ingredients in drink bottles and then detonate the compound in mid-flight with electronic devices such as cameras, cell phones or garage door openers. (USA Today, "Suspects Pushed Inquiry to Crisis Level," 8/11/2006)

The British newspapers contained coverage of physical evidence that directly mentioned symbols of violence, such as guns and explosives. Unlike the U.S. newspapers though, the overwhelming majority of coverage of physical evidence did not include symbols of violence. The following excerpts are indicative of the types of the majority of coverage of physical evidence that appeared in the British newspapers:

Cops investigating the plot have swooped on three Berkshire internet cafes, two in Slough and one in Reading, and taken away equipment including hard drives. (The Sun, "Jet Bomb Plot: Lives of Terror Gang," 8/12/2006)

Anti-terrorist police were continuing to search properties in High Wycombe, Bucks, Walthamstow, in east London, and Birmingham. Sources said they had found "a number of things that are causing interest". (Daily Telegraph, "Muslims in Plot to Bomb Jets," 8/11/2006)

The emphasis on the symbols of violence in the American newspapers, which is a stark contrast to the type of coverage present in the British

newspapers, suggests that individuals that consume news using these sources would have higher levels of fear than those that attain their information using the British newspapers.

The second characteristic of the techniques of investigation that will be analyzed is the presentation of detainment in the newspapers. A significant part of the politics of fear is the manipulation of fear to gain power to institute changes that are presented as increasing safety. As Altheide writes (2006: 117) of the manipulation of fear in the politics of fear, “this symbolic order invites protection, policing, and intervention to prevent further victimization”

The British newspapers contained twice as many references (7) to detainment than did the American newspapers (3). The separating factor between the content covered in the newspapers is the way by which detainment is discussed. The American coverage focuses on the desire of two politicians, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales and Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, to emulate longer periods of detainment without filing formal charges, similar to those instituted in Britain. The desire of these individuals to institute longer represents a belief that the current length of detainment is unable to sufficiently protect U.S. citizens and that by establishing a longer period of detainment citizens will be more secure. The following excerpts demonstrate the feelings of inadequacy of the U.S. system:

Attorney General Alberto R. Gonzales on Monday ordered a side-by-side review of American and British counterterrorism laws as a first step toward determining whether further changes in American law are warranted. The plot to blow up airliners bound from Britain

to the United States has highlighted differences in legal policies between the two allies, with American officials suggesting that their British counterparts have greater flexibility to prevent attacks. Newly revised British counterterrorism laws, for instance, allow the authorities to hold a suspect for 28 days without charges, where American law generally requires that a suspect held in the civilian court system be charged or released within 48 hours. (New York Times, "In the Wake of Plot," 8/15/2006)

Chertoff said he would like to see a renewed look at U.S. laws that could give authorities here more flexibility to conduct electronic surveillance of possible suspects as well as detain them for longer periods of time, noting the British have such latitude. (USA Today, "Fearing Wider U.S. Plot," 8/14/2006)

While the U.S. newspaper's coverage of detainment focused on the shortcomings of the current system and the desires of select public officials to lengthen the time one can be detained without formal charges being pressed. The coverage in the British newspapers focused on ensuring that there is no possible human rights violations that are sometimes associated with the detainment of individuals without access to due process. These excerpts are examples of the way in which the topic of detainment was presented in the British newspaper:

"As far as we know no lawyer has been approached to represent him," Ms Jilani said. "But in this country people just disappear for two or three years. It is not unusual at all. He is lucky because people know who he is and what has happened to him. There will be due process to follow. What we have seen is that under the guise of anti-terrorism people have vanished. Mr Rauf has not, he is in custody." (Guardian (London), "Key Suspect Still Being Interrogated in Pakistan," 8/16/2006)

However, a development in troubled north-western Pakistan and unconnected with the current plot may be seen as having a bearing on the current allegations. A court in Peshawar, in the North West Frontier Province, has ordered the release of eight foreigners who

have been detained as suspect militants, some of them held from as long ago as February 2004. Fida Gul, a lawyer for an aid group, the World Prisoners Relief Commission of Pakistan, that has been seeking their release, said two Algerians, two Tunisians, two men from Tajikistan, a Bangladeshi and an Uzbek national are to be freed and sent back to their respective countries. The men were among hundreds who left Afghanistan in the wake of the defeat of the Taliban in 2001. Many fled to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area and have been arrested for alleged connections with militant groups or for continuing to work with the Taliban. The eight claimed they had been students or businessmen when they were arrested. (Guardian (London), "Pakistan Plot to Blow-up Airlines," 8/18/2006)

The coverage in the U.S. newspapers, which emphasized the desire to lengthen periods of detainment, showed a belief by policy makers that the current security measures are inadequate and do not sufficiently protect U.S. citizens. This is a stark contrast to the coverage in the British newspapers that are skeptical of detainment because of the possible human rights violation that have been associated with it. The desire to significantly change the American security measures reinforce the idea that Americans are not secure with the current policies in place and this, in turn, has a greater possibility of increasing fear among citizens, when compared with the coverage of detainment that appears in the British newspapers.

## **CONCLUSION**

The reflexive dynamic that exists between politicians, policy makers, and the media regarding how certain ideas are understood by the general public has become an essential topic of study in the social sciences. The media plays an integral role in the way people construct their reality. The media is able to define certain symbols in ways that can be used to relate to society. These definitions

of symbols are also capable of being manipulated, in order to gain or maintain power. I have demonstrated throughout this paper that the American newspapers selected in this study are more likely to generate fear within the consumer of the content than the British media.

The American newspapers had a substantial more amount of coverage associating the terrorist plot to successful terrorist attacks. Symbolically the American newspapers used the powerful emotion elicited by association with previous successful terrorist attacks, most significantly the September 11, 2001 attacks, within the frame of the thwarted terrorist attack. The higher level of association of fear within the American newspapers adds more cultivation of fear within the American discourse of fear than that of the British. While both the American and British newspapers have a significant amount of coverage related to the possibility of terrorist attacks and the extent of possible damage from those terrorist attacks I have shown that the news media in both countries rely heavily on framing the terrorist threat as eminent. Finally, I have shown that the U.S. media relies on the linking the terrorist threat to a group (Al-Qaeda) that has strong symbolic ties to emotional pain and fear among American people. The British newspapers, on the other hand, were less likely to use links to Al-Qaeda in their reporting of the thwarted terrorist plot.

The American newspapers contained an additional claims maker (Michael Chertoff) than was in the British newspapers. This additional claims maker meant that there were more presentation of frames used to reinforce the

vulnerability of the citizenry in the American newspapers than in the British newspapers.

The American newspapers contained content about the inadequacy of the security measures in the U.S. By highlighting these inadequacies the U.S. newspapers were more likely to increase feelings of vulnerability among consumers of the media.

The emphasis on the symbols of violence in the American newspapers, which is a stark contrast to the type of coverage present in the British newspapers, suggests that individuals that consume news using these sources would have higher levels of fear than those that attain their information using the British newspapers.

The desire to significantly change the American security measures reinforce the idea that Americans are not secure with the current policies in place and this, in turn, has a greater possibility of increasing fear among citizens, when compared with the coverage of detainment that appears in the British newspapers.

In sum, after extensive analysis between the U.S. and British newspapers the research shows that consumers of the American news sources might have higher levels of fear than do those individuals that consume the British news sources.

Comparative research between the U.S. and British television media has shown a significant difference in the approach to political topics by journalists. Research shows that the British media is more likely to take an “adversarial”

position when evaluating claims made by government officials, while the U.S. media, on the other hand, is structured in a way that journalists are not critical of information offered from government officials (Johnson, 48-9). The findings of this research help validate the claims that American media has more possible fear generating material than British media.

## APPENDIX

### U.S. Newspapers

<b>New York Post</b>						
Codes	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	5	2	0	0	0	7
Action/Possible	11	4	3	1	2	21
Al-Qaeda Link	2	2	3	1	1	9
British Leadership	0	0	0	0	0	0
Characteristics of Plotters	2	13	3	7	2	27
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	1	1	0	0	0	2
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Experts & Scholars	0	0	0	1	0	1
Family of Plotters	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Prescott	0	1	0	0	0	1
British/John Reid	2	0	1	0	0	3
British/Paul Stephenson	1	0	0	0	0	1
British/Skepticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani Official	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Government	5	0	2	6	0	13
US/Experts & Scholars	5	0	0	1	0	6
US/Michael Chertoff	2	2	3	0	0	7
Compliance	2	0	0	0	0	2
Cost/Negative	6	0	0	0	0	6
Cost/Positive	1	2	1	0	0	4
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response of Citizens	3	6	5	2	0	16
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	3	3	2	1	0	9
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	0	0	0	1	0	1
US/Police	3	0	0	0	0	3
Airline Companies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-terrorism Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Government	1	0	1	1	0	3
British/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union	0	2	0	0	0	2
Positive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possible	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techniques of Investigation	11	7	9	5	2	34
T of I/Financial	2	1	0	0	0	3
T of I/International Cooperation	2	2	3	0	1	8
T of I/Physical Evidence	3	2	3	0	1	9
T of I/Profiling	0	0	0	4	0	4
T of I/Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	1	2	0	0	0	3
T of I/Detainment	0	0	0	0	0	0

<b>New York Times</b>						
Codes	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	10	10	10	4	1	35
Action/Possible	20	6	8	2	0	36
Al-Qaeda Link	3	0	11	1	4	19
British Leadership	1	0	2	0	0	3
Characteristics of Plotters	4	14	2	9	8	37
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	2	7	0	1	0	10
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	2	1	2	4	1	10
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	0	0	0	0	2	2
British/Experts & Scholars	1	0	0	0	0	1
Family of Plotters	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Prescott	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Reid	1	0	6	1	0	8
British/Paul Stephenson	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Skepticism	0	0	1	0	0	1
Pakistani Official	0	2	0	0	0	2
Terrorists	0	0	3	0	0	3
US/Government	5	0	11	4	0	20
US/Experts & Scholars	16	4	18	0	0	38
US/Michael Chertoff	2	0	2	3	0	7
Compliance	3	2	0	0	0	5
Cost/Negative	9	0	1	4	0	14
Cost/Positive	4	2	0	1	0	7
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	0	2	0	0	0	2
Response of Citizens	4	8	0	5	0	17
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	7	1	0	8
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	14	3	9	15	0	41
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	1	3	2	1	0	7
US/Police	3	0	0	0	0	3
Airline Companies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-terrorism Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Government	4	3	2	11	0	20
British/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0

Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	1	0	1
European Union	2	0	0	0	0	2
Positive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possible	6	3	0	1	0	10
Pakistan	0	11	2	0	0	13
Techniques of Investigation	7	19	15	10	6	57
T of I/Financial	0	0	0	0	1	1
T of I/International Cooperation	2	9	2	1	2	16
T of I/Physical Evidence	0	3	0	5	1	9
T of I/Profiling	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	0	0	0	0	1	1
T of I/Detainment	0	0	0	1	0	1

<b>USA Today</b>						
Codes	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	8	0	6	0	0	14
Action/Possible	7	0	4	1	0	12
Al-Qaeda Link	2	0	2	0	0	4
British Leadership	0	0	0	0	0	0
Characteristics of Plotters	0	0	0	0	0	0
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	0	0	0	1	0	1
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	2	0	0	0	0	2
British/Experts & Scholars	0	0	1	0	0	1
Family of Plotters	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Prescott	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Reid	0	0	4	0	1	5
British/Paul Stephenson	0	0	1	0	0	1
British/Skepticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani Official	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Government	2	0	1	1	0	4
US/Experts & Scholars	5	0	6	1	0	12
US/Michael Chertoff	2	0	3	2	0	7
Compliance	11	0	0	10	0	21
Cost/Negative	11	0	6	9	0	26
Cost/Positive	4	0	0	9	0	13
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response of Citizens	7	0	3	7	0	17
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	1	1	0	2
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	17	0	13	10	0	40
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	10	0	5	1	0	16
US/Police	1	0	0	0	0	1

Airline Companies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-terrorism Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Government	2	0	3	6	0	11
British/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union	0	0	0	0	1	1
Positive	1	0	0	0	0	1
Possible	2	0	0	6	0	8
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techniques of Investigation	5	0	11	1	1	18
T of I/Financial	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/International Cooperation	1	0	3	0	0	4
T of I/Physical Evidence	1	0	0	0	0	1
T of I/Profiling	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	1	0	2	0	0	3
T of I/Detainment	0	0	1	0	1	2

### Grand Totals for U.S. Newspapers

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
Action/Actual	56
Action/Possible	69
Al-Qaeda Link	32
British Leadership	3
Characteristics of Plotters	64
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	12
<b>Claims Making</b>	
British/Government	13
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	4
British/Experts & Scholars	3
Family of Plotters	0
British/John Prescott	1
British/John Reid	16
British/Paul Stephenson	2
British/Skepticism	1
Pakistani Official	2
Terrorists	3
US/Government	37
US/Experts & Scholars	56
US/Michael Chertoff	2
Compliance	28
Cost/Negative	46
Cost/Positive	24
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	2
Response of Citizens	50

Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	10
<b>Security Measures</b>	
US/Government	90
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	24
US/Police	7
Airline Companies	0
Anti-terrorism Police	0
British/Government	34
British/Police	0
Cost Responsibility	1
European Union	5
Positive	1
Possible	18
Pakistan	13
Techniques of Investigation	109
T of I/Financial	4
T of I/International Cooperation	28
T of I/Physical Evidence	19
T of I/Profiling	4
T of I/Torture	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	7
T of I/Detainment	3

### British Newspapers

<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>						
Codes/Dates	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	7	1	8	2	0	18
Action/Possible	13	8	0	0	2	23
Al-Qaeda Link	1	0	2	1	1	5
British Leadership	0	5	0	0	1	6
Characteristics of Plotters	3	1	0	1	0	5
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	1	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	4	1	0	0	0	5
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Experts & Scholars	4	0	0	0	1	5
Family of Plotters	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Prescott	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Reid	2	2	4	0	6	14
British/Paul Stephenson	1	0	0	0	0	1
British/Skepticism	0	0	0	4	0	4
Pakistani Official	0	0	0	2	0	2
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Government	11	0	0	1	0	12

US/Experts & Scholars	2	0	0	0	0	2
US/Michael Chertoff	1	0	0	0	0	1
Compliance	0	2	0	0	0	2
Cost/Negative	2	9	5	6	1	23
Cost/Positive	5	1	2	2	0	10
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response of Citizens	0	1	2	6	0	9
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	0	4	1	5
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	1	2	0	0	0	3
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Airline Companies	0	1	0	0	0	1
Anti-terrorism Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Government	4	8	3	0	0	15
British/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	0	4	4
European Union	0	0	0	0	4	0
Positive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possible	0	0	1	0	0	1
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techniques of Investigation	11	11	8	4	2	36
T of I/Financial	0	0	1	0	0	1
T of I/International Cooperation	2	4	0	2	0	8
T of I/Physical Evidence	1	0	0	0	0	1
T of I/Profiling	0	1	0	0	0	1
T of I/Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	0	1	0	0	0	1
T of I/Detainment	1	0	1	0	0	2

<b>The Guardian (London)</b>						
Codes/Dates	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	7	0	1	1	2	11
Action/Possible	15	0	4	0	1	20
Al-Qaeda Link	2	1	2	0	2	7
British Leadership	0	1	0	0	0	1
Characteristics of Plotters	0	3	4	0	0	7
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	1	4	2	0	0	7
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	1	0	0	0	1	2
British/Experts & Scholars	2	1	1	0	1	5
Family of Plotters	0	0	0	2	1	3
British/John Prescott	0	0	0	0	1	1
British/John Reid	1	1	0	0	2	4
British/Paul Stephenson	1	0	0	0	0	1

British/Skepticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani Official	0	0	0	0	4	4
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Government	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Experts & Scholars	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Michael Chertoff	1	0	0	0	0	1
Compliance	1	11	0	0	0	12
Cost/Negative	9	2	1	5	0	17
Cost/Positive	11	18	4	3	0	36
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	0	0	4	0	2	6
Response of Citizens	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	0	6	1	7
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	3	0	0	0	2	5
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Airline Companies	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anti-terrorism Police	1	0	0	0	0	1
British/Government	2	8	12	5	1	28
British/Police	4	0	0	0	0	4
Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union	0	0	0	0	4	4
Positive	2	0	1	0	0	3
Possible	0	1	0	0	0	1
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techniques of Investigation	1	10	19	7	11	48
T of I/Financial	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/International Cooperation	1	3	5	2	0	11
T of I/Physical Evidence	0	0	1	2	0	3
T of I/Profiling	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Torture	0	0	1	1	0	2
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	1	0	0	1	0	2
T of I/Detainment	0	0	0	2	3	5

<b>The Sun</b>						
Codes/Dates	11-Aug	12-Aug	8/13 & 14	8/15 & 16	8/17 & 18	Total
Action/Actual	1	0	4	1	0	6
Action/Possible	7	0	4	4	0	15
Al-Qaeda Link	0	1	2	0	3	6
British Leadership	0	0	0	0	0	0
Characteristics of Plotters	17	10	14	8	0	49
Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Claims Making</b>						
British/Government	2	0	2	0	0	4
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Experts & Scholars	3	0	2	0	0	5

Family of Plotters	1	0	0	0	0	1
British/John Prescott	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/John Reid	2	0	2	0	0	4
British/Paul Stephenson	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Skepticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistani Official	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Government	0	0	0	0	1	1
US/Experts & Scholars	0	0	0	0	0	0
US/Michael Chertoff	1	0	0	0	0	1
Compliance	7	4	0	0	0	11
Cost/Negative	11	5	2	0	0	18
Cost/Positive	5	4	0	0	0	9
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	1	0	0	1	0	2
Response of Citizens	9	4	0	5	0	18
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Security Measures</b>						
US/Government	0	0	0	0	4	4
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	1	0	0	0	0	0
US/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Airline Companies	1	0	0	0	0	1
Anti-terrorism Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
British/Government	13	1	2	0	0	16
British/Police	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cost Responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0
European Union	0	1	0	0	0	1
Positive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possible	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techniques of Investigation	4	2	9	10	0	25
T of I/Financial	0	0	2	1	0	3
T of I/International Cooperation	0	0	1	2	0	3
T of I/Physical Evidence	0	1	3	4	0	8
T of I/Profiling	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	0	0	1	0	0	1
T of I/Detainment	0	0	0	0	0	0

### Grand Totals for British Newspapers

Codes	Grand Total
Action/Actual	35
Action/Possible	58
Al-Qaeda Link	18
British Leadership	7
Characteristics of Plotters	61

Citizen Response/Fear & Entertainment	1
Claims Making	
British/Government	16
British/Anti-Terrorism Agents	2
British/Experts & Scholars	15
Family of Plotters	4
British/John Prescott	1
British/John Reid	22
British/Paul Stephenson	2
British/Skepticism	4
Pakistani Official	6
Terrorists	0
US/Government	13
US/Experts & Scholars	2
US/Michael Chertoff	3
Compliance	25
Cost/Negative	58
Cost/Positive	55
Muslim Scholars & Rel. Leaders	8
Response of Citizens	27
Response of Citizens/Skepticism & Criticism	12
Security Measures	
US/Government	12
US/British/Government/Shortcomings	0
US/Police	0
Airline Companies	2
Anti-terrorism Police	1
British/Government	59
British/Police	4
Cost Responsibility	4
European Union	5
Positive	3
Possible	2
Pakistan	0
Techniques of Investigation	109
T of I/Financial	4
T of I/International Cooperation	22
T of I/Physical Evidence	12
T of I/Profiling	1
T of I/Torture	2
T of I/Message Interception (Wiretapping)	4
T of I/Detainment	7

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