
How to cite this article:

CANTREL ROSAS-MORENO, T., HARP, D., BACHMANN, I. "Framing ideology: How Time magazine represents nationalism and identities through visual reporting" *Communication&Society/Comunicación y Sociedad*, Vol. 26, n. 3, 2013, pp. 1-20.

Framing ideology: How Time magazine represents nationalism and identities through visual reporting

Encuadre de ideologías: Cómo la revista Time representa el nacionalismo y las identidades en sus portadas

TANIA CANTRELL ROSAS-MORENO, DUSTIN HARP, INGRID BACHMANN.

tcrosasmoreno@loyola.edu, dustinh@uta.edu, ibachman@uc.cl

Tania Cantrell Rosas-Moreno. Subjects taught: Public relations senior capstone; public relations writing; global public relations; comparative media systems. Loyola University Maryland. Department of Communication. 21210 Baltimore, Maryland.

Dustin Harp. Subjects taught: specialized reporting; opinion writing; race, gender and media; and qualitative methods. The University of Texas at Arlington. Department of Communication. 76019 Arlington, Texas.

Ingrid Bachmann. Subjects taught: mass communication research methods; mass communication theory; and non-fiction writing. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. School of Communications. 8331150, Santiago de Chile.

Submitted: March 4, 2013

Approved: April 4, 2013

ABSTRACT: Visual images in news photographs guide individuals' understandings of people, places and events, especially when news audiences are unable to personally experience those represented images. When 41 Time newsmagazine covers from the first five years of the U.S.-led war on Iraq are considered through a framing analysis, four frames surface: The Sanitized War, Against the Powers-That-Be; The American Soldier in a Time of War; and The "Other" of the War, or "Us versus Them." These findings highlight the power of media messages to frame identity ideologies and stress the importance of complementing quantitative studies with qualitative approaches.

RESUMEN: Las imágenes periodísticas orientan la comprensión sobre individuos, lugares y eventos, especialmente cuando las audiencias no pueden experimentar personalmente aquello representado en la prensa. Al analizar 41 portadas de la revista Time de los primeros cinco años de la Guerra de Irak liderada por los Estados Unidos, se identifican cuatro encuadres: La guerra desinfectada, Contra el poder, El soldado estadounidense en tiempos de guerra y El otro en la guerra (Ellos contra nosotros). Estos hallazgos subrayan el poder de los mensajes mediales para enmarcar ideologías de identidad y destacan la importancia de complementar estudios cuantitativos con enfoques cualitativos.

Keywords: Identity, international communication, feminist media studies, ideology, journalism, media and war, qualitative methods.

Palabras clave: análisis de encuadre visual, Guerra de Irak, ideologías de identidad, nacionalismo, revista Time.

The visual images in news photographs guide individuals' understandings of people, places, and events. This is especially true when news audiences are unable to experience those represented images in person. The wars and conflict in the Middle East throughout the last decade represent such a site. For most Americans these pictures offer a visual reality. However, reality is subjective. This research seeks to learn what reality is represented in *Time* magazine's cover images of the Iraq War, which began March 19, 2003.

This study considers the ideological encoding of these images plus the written texts accompanying them during the first five years of the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Of particular interest are how dominant American ideologies about identities –gender, race, religion and nationalism– are manifest on the covers and how this might influence our understanding of the war.

Time magazine and its covers warrant analysis for at least two reasons. First, *Time* has long been a major news provider and U.S. national award winner for its journalism excellence. In fact, researchers consider it as a leading news provider on the global scale, tying only with *US News & World Report* plus *Newsweek* and just ahead of Brazil's *Veja*¹. Second, "...its cover has been

¹ Cfr. ALVES, Rosental, "Status of media in Brazil", *Encyclopedia of international media and communications*, 2003, pp.129-138.

an index for larger issues in U.S. society”², spotlighting prominent newsmakers, timely issues and the “person of the year.” Magazine research indicates that while editors might be more likely to include more graphic images inside the magazine, cover exposure is much higher, affecting the happenstance passerby as well as the selective viewer. Covers also communicate the magazine’s philosophy and identity while packaging an issue and priming how it ought to be viewed by many of those who do read the articles inside³.

Images from the Iraq War have been analyzed largely from a quantitative perspective to make sense of the first U.S.-led initiative that was so hotly and highly contested⁴. However, statistical analyses alone cannot describe precisely the embedded and connotative elements of visual texts. This research enriches a growing body of research through a visual framing analysis of *Time* magazine covers, considering the social production of meaning that stems from the circulation of images⁵. The analysis is particularly interested in the ideological constructions these images (re)inforce about people and the war –including notions of identity inculcating race, gender, religion and nationalism.

1. *Frames, framing and the construction of reality*

Simply put, frames are tools used at least by mass communicators to tell stories to certain ends. They are powerful organizing principles that indicate the “We all know what we’re talking about here”⁶, so that the story audience can participate in a type of shared experience. That shared experience necessitates reliance upon group catchphrases, metaphors, sound bites, graphics, visuals, plus allusions to history, culture, and/or literature for interaction and meaning exchange⁷.

² Cfr. POPP, Richard K. and MENDELSON, Andrew. L., “‘X’-ing out enemies: *Time* magazine, visual discourse, and the war in Iraq”, *Journalism*, 11(2), 2010, pp. 203-221.

³ Cfr. IYENGAR, Shanto and KINDER, Donald R., *News that matters: Television and American opinion*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.

⁴ Cfr. SCHWALBE, Carol B., SILCOCK, B. William and KEITH, Susan, “Visual framing of the early weeks of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq: Applying the master war narrative to electronic and print images”, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electric Media*, 52(3), 2008, pp. 448-465; SILCOCK, B. William, “The battle of ideological images: CNN vs. FOX in visual framing of the invasion of Iraq”, *Electronic News*, 2(3), 2008, pp. 153-177; FAHMY, Shahira, “They took it down”: Exploring determinants of visual reporting in the toppling of the Saddam Statue in national and international newspapers”, *Mass Communication & Society*, 10(2), 2007, pp. 143-170.

⁵ Cfr. NINA-PAZARZI, E. and TSANGARIS, M., “Constructing women’s image in TV commercials: The Greek case”, *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(1), 2008, pp. 29-50.

⁶ Cfr. LEWIS, Seth C. and REESE, Stephen D., “What is the War on Terror? Framing through the eyes of journalists”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(1), 2009, pp. 85-102.

⁷ Cfr. FAHMY, Shahira, “Contrasting visual frames of our times: A framing analysis of English- and Arabic-language press coverage of war and terrorism”, *International Communication Gazette*, 72(8), 2010, pp. 695-717; NISBET, Matthew C. “Knowledge into action: Framing the debates over climate change and poverty”, in D’ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 43-83; PARRY, Katy, “Images of liberation? Visual framing, humanitarianism and British press photography during the 2003 Iraq invasion”, *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(8), 2011, pp. 1185-1201; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VAN DER GOOT, Margot J. “Sustainable food and agriculture: Stakeholder’s frames”, *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 5(2), 2012, pp. 127-148.

Individuals' cultural capital⁸ becomes key to their ability to understand, interpret, join in, perhaps enjoy the (unfolding) story, since frames are considered to exist beyond people's minds, just as culture is not solely in an individual's head⁹.

Since news media frames "work by connecting the mental dots for the public"¹⁰, framing can be the manner in which the media and the public represent a particular topic or issue¹¹. In particular, the constructionist school of thought within framing research devotes explicit attention to meaning construction and to how frames can contribute to defining a situation¹². Associations between each issue and a broader, cultural phenomenon suggest new perspectives from which reality can be perceived¹³.

Research has shown that news slant and bias consistently frame in favor of capitalism, patriarchy, heterosexism, individualism, consumerism, White privilege, and other deeply entrenched values that help to allocate power in American society¹⁴. With political violence growing, the need to understand how policy has been structured, its validity, and the news media's role in expressing at least the U.S.'s influence in the world community also increases¹⁵. "In their life and death implications, war frames are highly significant in the way they direct vital debates on national policy"¹⁶.

On the basis of this theoretical framework, the study posits the following overarching research question:

RQ: What (war) frames emerge from *Time* magazine's coverage of the first five years of the Iraq War?

2. Research approach

Particularly in a nonstop news cycle during a crucial moment in U.S. political and cultural

⁸ Cfr. BOURDIEU, Pierre, "The forms of capital", in RICHARDSON, J. G. (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1986, pp. 241-258.

⁹ Cfr. POLLETTA, Francesca, "Culture is not just in your head", in GOODWIN, Jeff and JASPER, James M. (eds.), *Rethinking social movements: Structure, meaning, and emotion*, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, 2004, pp. 97-110; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VERCRUYSSSE, Tom, "Frames and counter-frames giving meaning to dementia: A framing analysis of media content", *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(8), 2012, pp. 1.274-1.281.

¹⁰ NISBET, Matthew, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹¹ Cfr. ENTMAN, Robert M., "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 1993, pp. 51-58; REESE, Stephen D., "Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the War on Terror", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 17-42; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VAN DER GOOT, Margot J., *op. cit.*

¹² Cfr. GAMSON, William A. and MODIGLIANI, Andre, "Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach", *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1989, pp. 1-37; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VAN DER GOOT, Margot J., *op. cit.*; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VERCRUYSSSE, Tom, *op. cit.*

¹³ VAN GORP, Baldwin and VERCRUYSSSE, Tom, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Cfr. ENTMAN, Robert M., "Framing media power", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 331-355; LOWRY, Dennis T., "Network TV news framing of good vs. bad economic news under democrat and republican presidents: A lexical analysis of political bias", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 85(3), 2008, pp. 483-498.

¹⁵ REESE, Stephen D., *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

history, newsmagazine covers require examination for at least five reasons. Leading newspapers and newsmagazines are the national media by which decision makers become informed; more people see (news)magazine covers than actually read inside news content; handlers carefully control the (news)magazine cover design process, as the choice of who or what is featured on the cover is both editorial and a social indication of importance¹⁷. Indeed, *Time* magazine editors have remarked that covers “set a mood, a tone” about what *Time* considers important¹⁸, and, from a bottom-line perspective, covers can wake readers up to a brand¹⁹, generating more attention to a brand’s agenda-setting tactics. Couching these dynamics with *Time*’s top world ranking²⁰ plus its prominence as a newsmagazine²¹ in the crucial context of the second Iraq War creates a compelling study.

Analysis passed through four phases. First, data collection occurred. The designated research partner pulled every *Time* cover depicting any element of the U.S.-led war on Iraq during the five-year time period from *Time.com*’s U.S. edition, chronological cover index²². The five-year time period purposively corresponds with the George W. Bush administration’s involvement, or from when troops first started to be deployed in preparation of invasion (2003) through the following four years (2007). A total of 41 covers resulted (for details, see Appendix n°1).

Second, three researchers²³ analyzed then conferred on three cover images. This meant they separately analyzed the images, words, metaphors and messaging of each *Time* cover and conferred regarding themes arising from the separate analyses, in an attempt to begin synchronizing cultural interpretations of covers, triangulating results and adding interpretive validity.

From this point, the third phase began. Researchers inductively analyzed all the *Time* covers using a constant comparative technique, considering photos, captions, placement and larger imagery. It is crucial to note that the comparative narrative analysis²⁴ is not straightforward, since culturally embedded frames constitute latent meaning structures in messages. Frame analysts must consider that their own mental constructs may interfere with the identification of a

¹⁷ Cfr. SPIKER, Ted, “Cover coverage: How U.S. magazine covers captured the emotions of the September 11 attacks –and how editors and art directors decided on those themes”, *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 5(2), 2003, 1-18. See also CRIST, William G. and JOHNSON, Sammie, “Images through Time: Man of the Year Covers,” *Journalism Quarterly*, 62(4), 1985, pp. 891-893; SUMNER, David, “Sixty-four years of Life: What did its 2,128 covers cover?,” *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 4(2), 2002, pp. 1-20.

¹⁸ MCMANUS, Marjorie, “The cover story”, in *Magazine publishing management*, Folio Magazine Publishing, New Canaan, p. 195.

¹⁹ Cfr. HAUGHNEY, Chistine, “Magazines catching eyes, and clicks”, *The New York Times*, 20 May 2012. Available on: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/21/business/media/time-and-newsweek-magazine-covers-catch-eyes-and-clicks.html>

²⁰ ALVES, Rosental, *op. cit.*

²¹ Please see the Audit Bureau of Circulations at <http://abcas3.accessabc.com/ecirc/magtitlesearch.asp>. See also HARP, Dustin, LOKE, Jaime, and BACHMANN, Ingrid, “Voices of dissent in the Iraq war: Moving from deviance to legitimacy?”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(3), 2010, pp. 467-483.

²² While the website includes every *Time* cover and story since its 1923 founding plus the Asian, European and South Pacific editions’ coverage, a cover-specific search engine is available at www.time.com/time/coversearch.

²³ The three researchers are female Caucasians. Two are U.S. citizens, with one being the daughter of a retired U.S. Army Special Forces officer. The third research partner is from Chile, a country unwilling to be a Coalition Force. Her contribution to the research effort is key to alerting U.S. researchers to possible U.S. biases.

²⁴ Cfr. BERGER, Arthur Asa, *Narratives in popular culture, media, and everyday life*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1997; BERGER, Arthur Asa, *Media analysis techniques*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 2005.

frame. Hence, regular moments of feedback occurred and possible divergences were discussed. This was especially the case when photographs turned out to be more ambiguous than written texts and were sometimes susceptible to different interpretations depending on the context in which they were used. This third phase lasted until the authors reached a saturation point when no new frames were being detected²⁵.

Once frames were identified, the study shifted to a fourth stage, a type of deductive phase. Here, researchers could assign cover elements to frames. This served as a way to verify the pre-defined frames. While it is not possible, based on the qualitative data and process, to determine the exact frequency of use of a frame²⁶, it was very clear through conferment that the frames found prevailed at this time of study in this medium. This conferring process can be seen as a form of study “crystallization” to add trustworthiness, rather than validity. “Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of ‘validity’ [and]... provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic”²⁷. Trustworthiness composes truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality to ensure that findings arising from qualitative analysis are “worth taking account of.”²⁸

3. Analysis

Restating, the guiding research query for this study is: What (war) frames emerge from *Time* magazine’s coverage of the first five years of the Iraq War? In summary, *Time* cover elements including images and words contributed to (war) framing packages surrounding race, gender, religion and national politics regarding the Iraq War. The 41 covers analyzed used a broad array of resources to depict the war and its main actors, from conceptual illustrations about the military efforts in the Middle East to collages that conveyed the complexity of the concepts and their wide implications. These covers also tapped into different identities and appeal to several meanings while helping define notions of power, gender, race, nationalism, and religion, resulting in four frames connected through a broad cultural discourse about the war. First, the frame *The Sanitized War*, devoid for the most part of the gruesome details of a violent conflict, conveyed the idea of an almost bloodless event. A critique of the role of the Bush administration –especially that of the U.S. president– in the invasion of Iraq, conjured the second frame, *Against the Powers-That-Be*. Third, the figure of the American soldier was emphasized, percolating *The American Soldier in a Time of War* frame. Lastly, the portrayal of the other side of the conflict, the “enemy,” pitted the notions of an “us” versus “them,” forming the fourth frame, *The “Other” of the War, or “Us versus “Them.”*

²⁵ Cfr. VAN GORP, Baldwin, “Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis”, in D’ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 84-109.

²⁶ Cfr. VAN GORP, Baldwin and VAN DER GOOT, Margot J., “Sustainable food and agriculture: Stakeholder’s frames”, *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 5(2), 2012, pp. 127-148; VAN GORP, Baldwin and VERCRUYSSSE, Tom, *op. cit.*

²⁷ RICHARDSON, Laurel, “Writing: A method of inquiry”, in DENZIN, Norman K. and LINCOLN, Yvonna S. (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1994, p. 522.

²⁸ LINCOLN, Yvonna S. and GUBA, Egon G., *Naturalistic inquiry*, Sage, Newbury Park, 1985, p. 290.

3.1. *Frame One: The Sanitized War*

As portrayed in the *Time* covers, the invasion and occupation of Iraq was mostly a clean and bloodless event with little rubble or destruction, no casualties and almost no violence or grief. This sterilized version de-emphasized the costs and consequences of warfare and simplified its reality, depicting an armed conflict where the implications of fighting and combat were blacked out. Considering people do not often experience war directly, the reality portrayed in these images was one lacking the most ugly dimension of warfare. Arguably, *Time* followed U.S. journalistic norms, having its audience in consideration and avoiding extremely graphic displays of the war. The extent of this concern, however, seemed to go beyond avoiding sensationalism and, as a result, the depiction of the war left out the horror and destruction of any battlefield.

For instance, the 31 March 2003 cover –regarding the beginning of the war and the bombing of Baghdad– was a night shot. The so-called “Gulf War II” showed no signs of real people under attack and no visible weapon. The destruction was confined to an unidentified building on fire, and there was little there to illustrate an invasion and armed conflict. Likewise, one of the darkest events of the war –the abuses to the prisoners in Abu Ghraib– was presented on the 17 May 2004 cover with an illustration, a “fake” version of a very real and by then widely-known image. In this case, the victim was not real, but an imaginary representation of someone who was on the receiving end of such brutality, hooded and with no visible physical wounds. Further, the text accompanying the image, “How did it come to this?” avoided calling torture by its name. What was at stake here was not a person or a nation, but a thing: “It,” or that which was not named.

Even when addressing the U.S.-led war casualties, *Time* covers opted for clean images. Dead soldiers were not portrayed with real images, but with depictions representing such loss of lives indirectly. Military ‘dog’ tags with a stark white background (16 April 2007), or a weapon perched upside down on a box, with the soldier’s helmet atop and boots in front (11 December 2006) were used to convey the casualties of the war and the need to have an exit strategy. Furthermore, the only cover that specifically addressed the cost of the injuries the war inflicts on people (2 October 2006) focused on the prosthesis of an amputee who lost his hand in Iraq. The victim, nonetheless, was not a soldier, but a journalist.

That is not to say that the covers were never somber or sobering. Indeed, real troops made it to several covers performing their job, looking serious, scared or focused while patrolling the streets and fighting (e.g., 14 July 2003; 22 November 2005, and 26 September 2006). These images of combat and warfare were as real as the weapons these soldiers carried –or as real as it gets without directly showing the blood and loss of life. Even when guns were prominently displayed, however, the images never showed any targets. Depictions of actual shootings or bombings were also absent.

Interestingly, the tone of the texts on the covers was far more critical than the images would suggest. Whereas the images and illustrations avoided being too explicit, the headlines and captions were considerably harsher and more poignant. These texts openly described the situation as “hell” (14 July 2003) with “exhausted troops” at a “breaking point” (16 April 2007) and “struggling to bring order out of chaos” (14 July 2003).

3.2. *Frame Two: Against the Powers-That-Be*

A total of eight covers during the five years depicted U.S. President Bush, with three covers portraying him alone and the remaining five presenting him either in an image with other people or in a collage of images. Each of the three researchers concluded individually that each of the eight covers and the overall (war) framing of Bush were very critical from the start of the war. The first portrayal of Bush was as Uncle Sam, a national personification of the United States and specifically the U.S. government. This appeared on the initial cover in our analysis, on March 3, 2003. Bush being illustrated as Uncle Sam insinuated that he represented the country. But, rather than being presented as presidential and respectable, Bush appeared as a caricature –bizarre and out of place/time. The frame was made more critical within the context of the cover text, which read in part “Bush’s U.N. gamble.” The word “gamble” is important here, as it connotes a person who is untrustworthy or makes poor judgments.

Other covers portraying Bush also reflected especially critical text that worked with the images to create an unfavorable overall reading of the president. For example, a cover image showing Bush delivering a state of the union address (21 July 2003) offered the following large headline across the middle center of the cover (above Bush’s head): “Untruth and Consequences.” The “un” was white while the rest of the text was yellow, highlighting the untruthfulness of the president. Another cover used the same strategy to again criticize the president and his policies when it portrayed an image of Bush with the words “Mission Not Accomplished” (6 October 2003). The “not” was in a different color from the rest of the headline. That cover, showing Bush, served as a reminder of who primarily controls U.S. policy: white men. This symbolic image of white men as leaders of American politics was also visible on other covers, including a collage of images of all white male leaders, such as Bush and Karl Rove (serving at the time as deputy chief of staff to the U.S. president), with a dominant centered headline reading “The War Over the Leak” (13 October 2003). A smaller subhead read: “Inside the battle over the administrations use of intelligence to sell the case against Saddam.” The magazine illustrated the leaders of the U.S. government through images and cast doubt on their leadership with text that indicated a “war” and “battle” within. The background of the collage showed the White House (a symbol of the U.S. government) dimly lit during night, as though a symbolic darkness looms over the U.S. administration. Adding to an overall image of a weak president who has lost control was a cover showing Bush in the forefront and then Vice President Dick Cheney peaking out from behind. In this image, Bush was completely out of focus, metaphorically irrelevant, while Cheney’s image was clear, the one to pay attention to.

The last two covers depicting Bush during the five-year-period both included a cowboy theme and again were both read by each of the researchers as negative portrayals of the president. One of these covers (17 July 2006) simply showed a white background with a large cowboy hat resting atop cowboy boots. The headline included the words “cowboy diplomacy” to highlight the symbolic frame. The cowboy has a long iconic history in the U.S. signifying independence and the rugged masculine all-American. It can have negative connotations too, usually representing someone who is not especially smart or educated. This image in *Time*, however, was devoid of the masculine body and rugged beat-up boots. Instead, there was simply a hat, one that had swallowed up the man inside. This image did not connote a strong cowboy.

The second cover utilizing the cowboy theme included the headline “The Lone Ranger” and showed Bush in a suit walking off of the page (6 November 2006). Only half of his body was showing against the stark white background. To add to the isolated feeling of the cover imagery and critical perspective, the text included such statements as “he’s faltering” and “he’s out of favor.”

3.3. *Frame Three: The American Soldier in a Time of War*

Time’s frame of the American soldier transitioned over the course of the war. In essence, the American soldier was depicted as young, male and, generally, cleanly fought a war. While he was perhaps not winning the war, it was not his fault, since he lacked the proper resources to win. Through the portrayals of the American soldier, readers of *Time* magazine were encouraged to view the realities of the soldiers’ situation rather than the glorious and ideal-scenario in which it was first made out to be. This engenders a type of sympathy for the troop, which differed from the newsmagazine’s critical attention on Bush and his administration. Further, portrayals of the American soldier ultimately showed a force diverse in at least its race or ethnic identity, which was in stark contrast to the American leaders who were seen primarily as white men.

Initially, the pictures of soldiers represented an ideal, elitist fighting force. The 30 May 2005 cover, for example, showed three West Point cadets in dress uniforms. West Point is a premiere military academy in the United States whose graduates are commissioned into the U.S. Army as officers. One of the three was a minority, the center cadet was a tall, blond male with an unmistakable look of determination in his eyes, and the third, back dropped, was a blonde female. The image indicated that Americans offer best-trained men and women to the war effort. Other images also showed the strength of the American soldier and the glory of fighting for the United States. On the cover from 29 December 2003, *Time* heralded the American soldier as the “Person of the Year.” In such image, three male soldiers from the U.S. Army’s First Armored Division were shown. The young men –one black, two white– stood strong and tall in clean uniforms with their weapons. The black soldier had no rank on his helmet, the center and third soldier appeared enlisted from their helmets’ markings. In this image, while race was diversely represented, gender was not; neither a female soldier nor an officer is included. Those fighting the war were depicted thus as male enlisted troops.

The transition to a kind of sympathy for or more realistic understanding of the “exhausted troops” was subtle and largely portrayed through the eyes of the soldiers and accompanying text. In the 7 April 2003 cover, a non-white male marine stood with blood crusted to the right side of his face from his eyebrow down to and around his chin. Staring straight at the reader, his eyes had a look of quiet distress. A white male soldier stood behind him, facing the reader’s right, his weapon aimed, both eyes open. The accompanying text asked, “What will it take to win?” The cover conveyed that marines were tough and fighting, yet they sensed fear and were unsure of the commitment to success.

Text also told that the troops were less accountable for the mess in Iraq, given the challenges they were up against. They had experienced “reduced training” and had “worn-out equipment” (16 April 2007) let alone faulty weaponry. For instance, the headline from the 8 October 2007

cover read: “It’s unsafe. It can’t shoot straight. It’s already cost 30 lives and \$20 billion. And now it’s headed for Iraq. The long, sad tale for the V-22 Osprey.”

A lack of female images among the American soldier representation is noteworthy. Only four of the 41 covers involved female soldiers in any way –one including a female cadet has already been noted. As with other mainstream media representations of women, these depictions relied on stereotypes that define women’s role in dichotomous terms, such as virgin/vamp, or sex goddess/mother, or within traditional and idealized domestic roles²⁹. Thus, “virgin” Jessica Lynch (a wounded American soldier rescued by the U.S. military from an Iraqi hospital) dominated the 17 November 2003 cover, while “vamp” Lynndie England (the American soldier pictured tormenting prisoners in some of the most published photos from Abu Ghraib)³⁰ was shown in the 24 May 2004 cover collage in the highly-recognizable image of her holding an Iraqi prisoner by leash. As will be discussed, these contrasting images supported stereotypical gendered portrayals of females in conflict, as they reinforce notions that female soldiers in war must either be rescued or they cause trouble.

One female soldier presentation that broke from dichotomous depictions, however, still managed to be stereotypical, as it focused on the domestic, traditional child-rearing role some females perform, perpetuating the link between motherhood and femaleness.³¹ The 24 March 2003 cover showed a female soldier with the text “When Mom Goes to War,” with “mom” and “war” in yellow. In reading the finer print, the reader learned the featured female soldier was a high-ranking officer (lieutenant colonel) who had left her teenage daughter home, while she and her soldier husband fought in the war. Thus, this officer was first presented as a mom, then a soldier. Certainly, given this soldier’s rank, her situation was unique; she had some flexibility with what she chose to do in her military career. This differed from what other enlisted or non-commissioned female soldiers can do. Moreover, the text did not mention that this soldier’s husband was also a “dad going to war”.

Furthermore, not only female soldiers were largely excluded from these covers. Condoleezza Rice, then Secretary of State and one of the most prominent females regarding the Iraq War, appeared in only one cover, the one from 12 February 2007 –almost at the end of the time-frame analyzed.

Slight religious nuances could be interpreted through an examination of the American soldier images, though no overtly religious symbols appeared on the covers. One might interpret, however, the soldiers’ body positions in various covers from a religious standpoint. For instance, the 12 June 2006 cover showed a soldier kneeling in obeisance at the replica of a fallen comrade, to cross imagery, with his comrades in the distant background. The “replica of a fallen comrade” is a gun inverted on a box with a military helmet topping it, dog tags hanging from the gun’s handle, pictures flanking the gun’s base as it connects to the box, and military boots at the box’s base. This replica is the main image of the 11 December 2006 cover. As another example of

²⁹ Cfr. KITCH, Carolyn, “Changing theoretical perspectives on women’s media images: The emergence of patterns in a new area of historical scholarship”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(3), 1997, pp. 477-489; HARP, Dustin and STRUCKMAN, Sara, “The articulation of Lynndie England to Abu Ghraib: Gender ideologies, war, and the construction of reality”, *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 11(2), 2010, pp. 1-23.

³⁰ HARP, Dustin and STRUCKMAN, Sara, *op. cit.*

³¹ Along these lines, often motherhood is presented as women’s natural and definitive role. See, for instance, HARP, Dustin and BACHMANN, Ingrid, “News judgment: The framing of contemporary motherhood in the United States”, *Media Report to Women*, 36(3), 2008, pp. 8-14.

what might be construed to have religious significance, the word “hell” appears twice on covers in the sample. The 14 July 2003 cover image is a soldier shown looking up, as if asking God for assistance to escape “hell;” the accompanying and only headline on that cover, which is in red, reads, “Peace Is Hell.” The 14 August 2006 cover states, “Life in Hell: A Baghdad Diary.” The text is all capitalized in large font and borders the center left of the cover, with the word “hell” in *Time*’s signature red color. It is placed on the back of a burka, the wearer looking at a bloodless scene where a car across the street from where she is standing is on fire and dense charcoal smoke is billowing. People are present in the distance, perhaps watching the car burn from another angle. In two other instances, religious text appears on covers: “Einstein and God: A Spiritual Journey” (14 April 2007) and “Who was the real Judas?” (27 February 2006). However, it seems unlikely that either mention, particularly the former, is any reference to the war; rather, each serves only as a teaser for another story in the respective issue.

3.4. *Frame Four: The “Other” of the War, or Us Versus Them*

Of all the covers, 11 depicted in some fashion at least one person on the other end of the conflict—Iraqis. Of those, four corresponded to images of Saddam Hussein, whose removal from power was one of the main goals of the invasion. Overthrown in April 2003 and captured in November 2003, Saddam was completely absent from the covers in the following years. Not even his trial and execution put him on the cover again. Before that, however, he was clearly identified as “the enemy,” an evil man with shifty eyes (14 April 2003). Another cover (21 April 2003) used an illustration of a red X over his bodiless drawn head, accentuating the meaning of crossing out the flesh-and-bones Saddam. A similar approach was used in the 19 June 2006 cover regarding the killing of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Al-Qaeda’s leader in Iraq.

In line with past research on war news, the cover texts favored a dichotomous discourse that clearly opposed “us” from “them.” This nationalistic approach extended to war efforts, military goals and battlefield actors. It was “we” who finally captured Saddam Hussein and put an end to his power (e.g., the “We got him!” headline in the 22 December 2003 cover). Likewise, it was “they” with their religious sectarianism who sowed terror in the country (e.g., “Why they hate each other”, from the 5 March 2007 cover). Such demonization of the other side had further ethnic and religious connotations. When Iraqi civilians finally made it to the cover, they were angry radical Muslims, as shown in the cover from 6 March 2006. Instead of victims of an armed conflict, the cover presented a mob of furious extremists, perpetuating a violent-Muslim, jihadist stereotype. These chaotic and upset males with raised fists and pointed fingers were out there to get “us.” Further, both Sunnis and Shi’ites were said to “hate each other,” driving Iraq into a “civil war” that was “tearing the Middle East apart” (5 March 2007). Texts and the images that accompany them reinforced the frame that this was a (scary) foreign culture, a menacing “other” that dressed up in skullcaps and hid its face.

Put in another way, the extremists were the ones embodying the whole Iraqi population. Covers portrayed them as secretive and dangerous –“the hidden enemy” (15 December 2003)– and conjured up notions of terrorism, both visually and textually. These Muslims had big guns, were vengeful and intolerant, and accordingly “we” should beware of such people.

4. Discussion

Individuals like *Time*'s readers do not regularly experience war directly, and the picture in their minds is a news media constructed reality. Some of these depictions are linked to cultural constructions, but news media coverage largely defines the general public's war understanding through framing. Context is king. Thus, other denotations and connotations, shown through different cover packages, could have told a different story.

The (war) frames presented by *Time* covers, then, present four (war) frames that, generally, align with governmental say-so. Frame One, *The Sanitized War*, strongly evidences this warning; *Time* cover photos visually portray conflict in which there is very little blood, and weapons are fired at absent victims. *Time* seems to follow suit with other national press to maintain public support for military actions³² and to encourage a "rally around the flag"³³ sentiment, at least. In other words, *Time*'s framing of the second Iraq War as sanitized coincides with recent war reporting; researchers have pointed out a militarized form of news image from at least the Vietnam War onward, where each war involving Anglo-Americans (the Falklands, Persian Gulf, Somalia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, etc.) has been substantively media-ized and PR-ized³⁴. This means, war images have not been indiscriminate explosions of visuality but rather carefully and precisely targeted tools, or frames; *Time* has participated in a concerted news effort to keep the framing of death off Western television screens and front pages³⁵.

At the same time, Frame Two, *Against the Powers-That-Be*, indicates a twist; the press visually and verbally challenged governmental norms through caricatures of Pres. George W. Bush and his administration. *Time* seems split; it shows a pro-military *but* anti-government stance. Can the two be separated? *Time* seems to show and say so, using its war coverage management including image creation and distribution to guide news event interpretation³⁶ to that (straddled) end. Indeed, Harp et al.'s study on *Time* stories shows that the magazine was critical of the war since the beginning, and the tone was often anti-war, pro-troops³⁷.

Frame Three, *The American Soldier in a Time of War*, that emerges from *Time* cover images shows a strong, ethnically diverse soldier who is not to be blamed for his ineffective war performance. While white males are shown as the dominant or majority race among soldiers,

³² Cfr. GRIFFIN, Michael and LEE, Jongsoo, "Picturing the Gulf War: Constructing an image of war in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72(4), 1995, pp. 813-825; KING, Cynthia and LESTER, Paul M., "Photographic coverage during the Persian Gulf and Iraqi Wars in three U.S. newspapers", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(3), 2005, pp. 623-637.

³³ Cfr. CHAPMAN, Terrence L. and REITER, Dan, "The United Nations Security Council and the rally 'round the flag effect", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6), 2004, pp. 886-909.

³⁴ KONSTANTINIDOU, Christina, "Death, lamentation and the photographic representation of the Other in the Second Iraq War in Greek newspapers", *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 2007, pp. 147-166; LOUW, Eric, *The Media and Cultural Production*, Sage, London, 2001; LOUW, Eric, "The 'War against Terrorism': A Public Relations Challenge for the Pentagon", *Gazette: The International Journal for Communications Studies*, 65(3), 2003, pp. 211-230.

³⁵ KONSTANTINIDOU, Christina, *op. cit.*; MIRZOEFF, Nicholas. *Watching Babylon: The War in Iraq and global visual culture*, Routledge, New York/London, 2005.

³⁶ Cfr. PERLMUTTER, David, *Visions of war: Picturing warfare from the stone age to the cyber age*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999.

³⁷ Cfr. HARP, Dustin, LOKE Jaime and BACHMANN, Ingrid, *op. cit.*

which is true to life, with 75 percent of the active duty force being white,³⁸ other ethnicities are represented. With regard to gender, *Time* seems unsure of how to make sense of females in war, particularly when they fulfill roles in addition to that of soldier. It might be argued that since females still number fewer than males in the military – a total of 14 percent of the active duty force, as of September 2008³⁹ – that they are included at all in *Time* covers is progressive – one single inclusion of Condoleezza Rice notwithstanding. What is important, however, is not simply how many but *how*. The *meaning* of the images depicting women continues to perpetuate traditional stereotypes of females in war or conflict – mothers, “virgins”, “vamps” – which reflects even more negatively on masculinity as it is associated with war and conflict⁴⁰. In this context, women are for the most part passive and powerless victims⁴¹ participating in a masculine domain⁴².

Further, these meanings exclude other possibilities, leaving alternative identities outside of the news dialogue. As has been argued by various scholars⁴³, when war coverage is constructed as a masculine territory, media portrayals of war become about male perspectives, erasing other viewpoints and experiences. Such news narratives have important consequences: they end up contributing to women’s marginalization in the debate about war and violent conflict-resolution, support a hegemonic gender order, and perpetuate gender stereotypes.

Through Frame Four, *The “Other” of the War, or “Us versus Them,”* *Time* cover images and text again support a specific way to interpret the Iraq war, and show a “hidden enemy,” an other who is religiously and ethically different from “us,” suggesting it is okay for “us” to fight “them.” Aligning with Domke’s 2004 analysis of mainstream press news messages⁴⁴, *Time* images seem somewhat rooted in a religiously conservative worldview, although perhaps not as intensely as what might have been expected, while emphasizing a sense of nationalism. Those news messages included calls for immediate action by Congress and the United Nations on administration policies as a necessary part of the nation’s “calling” and “mission” against terrorism and an Axis of Evil; declarations about the will of God for America and for the spread of U.S. conceptions of freedom and liberty; and claims that dissent from the administration were unpatriotic and a threat to the nation⁴⁵.

In addition, Iraqis are shown in Frame Four to be male fundamentalist “others.” Two points require mention. First, the media routinely contribute to people’s notions of national identity and further feed those notions during cross-national conflicts, often with much of a home-side type of

³⁸ Cfr. STINSON, Peter, “Active duty demographic profile”, *U.S.A. Department of Defense*, September 2008. Available on: <http://www.slideshare.net/pastinson/us-military-active-duty-demographic-profile-presentation>.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Cfr. FALUDI, Susan, *The terror dream: Fear and fantasy in post-9/11 America*, Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2007.

⁴¹ Cfr. ANDERSEN, R., “Gendered media culture and the imagery of war”, *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 2005, pp. 367-369; LEMISH, Dafna, “The media gendering of war and conflict”, *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 275-280.

⁴² Cfr. DEL ZOTTO, Augusta. C., “Weeping women, wringing hands: how the mainstream media stereotyped women’s experiences in Kosovo”, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 22(2), 2002, pp. 141-150.

⁴³ Cfr. BARKER-PLUMMER, Bernadette and BOAZ, Cynthia, “War news as masculinist discourse”, *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 2005, pp. 370-374; DEL ZOTTO, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Cfr. DOMKE, David, “A matter of faith: The White House and the press”, *Nieman Reports*, 58(2), 2004, pp. 68-70.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

reporting⁴⁶. It is not surprising then that after the 9/11 attacks, U.S. political leaders and the news media engaged in a national identity-affirming discourse that publicly emphasized the strength and values of the U.S. and Americans⁴⁷. This leads to point two. Such rhetoric serves political leaders to better mobilize public sentiment toward a political goal –such as an invasion⁴⁸– and creates a collective identity that distinguishes “us” from “them”⁴⁹. Hence, the “hidden enemy” is portrayed as a “them” or “other.” Even a simple newsmagazine cover photo of a head with an X crossed over it –like what is discussed in this study’s analysis– can elicit generations of negative sentiment associated with deep historical biases, linking “bad” people across time and space⁵⁰. So, while it might seem tautological that the enemy is the other, the theoretical significance suggests otherwise.

There is empirical evidence that press reports about ongoing battles tend to legitimize and justify war efforts by referring to a sense of national identity and collective memory⁵¹, and that reporting about one’s country engaging in a war with another nation brings into play patriotism⁵². This occurs despite the journalistic values of truth telling, independent reporting, and watchdog functions⁵³. Following the Soviet Union’s demise and other events marking the Cold War’s end, news media have now found on the events resulting from the 9/11 attacks –the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War– a new array of villains, ones who have Islam in common. Any religious indication of Americans and Iraqi’s was subtle and, while it might be expected that religion would play a larger role in the identities of those portrayed on the covers, the images were mostly absent of any overt religious imagery.

⁴⁶ Cfr. BISHOP, Hywel and JAWORSKI, Adam, “‘We beat ’em’: Nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity in the British press reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000”, *Discourse & Society*, 14(3), 2003, pp. 243-271; BROOKES, Rod, “Newspapers and national identity: the BSE/CJD crisis and the British press”, *Media, Culture & Society*, 21(2), 1999, pp. 247-263; ERJAVEC, Karmen and VOLCIC, Zala, “The Kosovo Battle: Media’s recontextualization of the Serbian nationalistic discourses”, *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(3), 2007, pp. 67-86; LE, Elisabeth. “Collective memories and representations of national identity in editorials. Obstacles to a renegotiation of intercultural relations”, *Journalism Studies*, 7(5), 2006, pp. 708-728.

⁴⁷ Cfr. HUTCHESON, John, DOMKE, David, BILLEAUDEAUX, Andre and GARLAND, Philip, “U.S. national identity, political elites, and a patriotic press following September 11”, *Political Communication*, 21(1), 2004, pp. 27-50.

⁴⁸ Cfr. COTTAM, Martha L. and COTTAM, Richard, *Nationalism and politics: The political behavior of nation states*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2001.

⁴⁹ Cfr. CALABRESE, Andrew, “Casus Belli: U.S. media and the justification of the Iraq War”, *Television & New Media*, 6(2), 2005, pp. 153-175; SCHLESINGER, Philip, “Media, the political order and national identity”, *Media, Culture & Society*, 13(3), 1991, pp. 297-308.

⁵⁰ See, for example, POPP, Richard K. and MENDELSON, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ CALABRESE, Andrew, *op. cit.*; KOLMER, Christian and SEMETKO, Holli A., “Framing the Iraq War: Perspectives from American, U.K., Czech, German, South African, and Al-Jazeera News”, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(5), 2009, pp. 643-656; HUNT, William Ben, *Getting to war: Predicting international conflict with mass media indicators*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1997.

⁵² Cfr. MELKOTE, Srinivas R. “News framing during a time of impending war: An examination of coverage in The New York Times prior to the 2003 Iraq War”, *The International Communication Gazette*, 71(7), 2009, pp. 547-559.

⁵³ Cfr. RAVI, Narasimhan, “Looking beyond flawed journalism: How national interests, patriotism, and cultural values shaped the coverage of the Iraq War”, *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 2005, pp. 45-62; LEHMANN, Ingrid A., “Exploring the transatlantic media divide over Iraq: How and why U.S. and German media differed in reporting on UN weapons inspections in Iraq, 2002-2003”, *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 2005, pp. 63-89.

5. Conclusion

Notions of power, gender, race, religion and nationalism are framed in *Time* magazine covers in such a way that reinforces and circulates specific meanings and serves to define identities in narrow, hegemonic ways. At the least, white American males hold and maintain power, people of color fight wars, females are mothers above all, and Iraqis are male radicals as well as the enemy.

While some problematic constructions surfaced from this qualitative analysis, valuable indications that outweigh cons surface. For example, military members have at least some diversity of race, the war is shown with some sense of loss, and U.S. journalism is shown to question the president. This finding –that *Time* was critical toward Bush and his administration throughout the five-year analysis– diverges from other news media analyses of war, where coverage was shown to be patriotic and in support of government⁵⁴. Its contention –along with the unique framing of the female soldier– is considered this study’s chief contribution. As the war became increasingly unpopular among Americans, the editorial decision of challenging the government is not as costly. But, the critical tone and depictions in covers analyzed were present from the invasion’s onset, when public opinion majority favored military action against Iraq and its president.

This study has employed a framing analysis to make sense of the meaning in the covers of *Time* magazine. It enriches the previous, predominantly content analytical studies regarding visual news analysis of war. Given particularly U.S. journalistic norms, which subdue cover content graphics in particular, identity ideologies are clearly embedded in *Time* covers. The conjoining of text and image, allowed through this qualitative analysis, reveals that meaning often straddles harsh words that clash against toned-down images. This adds a new layer of interpretation to our understanding of the role news media is playing in public perceptions of the Iraq War, underscoring the need to consider *latent* framing when conducting visual framing analysis.

Certainly, more work is needed to more completely understand these images and the identity ideologies they exude. For instance, while this analysis addresses *Time*’s cover portrayal of women at war, more research is needed in this area. It would be very informative to complement this visual latent framing analysis with feminist theory plus information regarding the history and trends of women in combat. A potential research question might be, Why are women in the military positioned as mothers? Secondly, could this be, because it rescues them from a masculinity associated with the military, so that they are not seen as lesbian or sexually deviant? This is a particularly timely concern, given the end-of-2010 repeal of former-president Clinton’s “Don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. Another contention: What (war) frames emerge from similar framing studies on other free-press nations’ (news) magazines or journalists?

⁵⁴ Cfr. GRIFFIN, Michael, “Picturing America’s ‘War on Terrorism’ in Afghanistan and Iraq: Photographic motifs as news frames”, *Journalism*, 5(4), 2004, pp. 381-402; SCHWALBE, Carol B, SILCOCK, B. William and KEITH, Susan, *op. cit.*

References

- ALVES, Rosental C., "Status of media in Brazil", *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications*, 1, 2003, pp. 29-138.
- ANDERSEN, Robin, "Gendered media culture and the imagery of war", *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 2005, pp. 367-369.
- BARKER-PLUMMER, Bernadette and BOAZ, Cynthia, "War news as masculinist discourse", *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 2005, pp. 370-374.
- BERGER, Arthur Asa, *Narratives in popular culture, media, and everyday life*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1997.
- BERGER, Arthur Asa, *Media analysis techniques*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 2005.
- BISHOP, Hywel and JAWORSKI, Adam, "'We beat 'em': Nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity in the British press reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000", *Discourse & Society*, 14(3), 2003, pp. 243-271.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre, "The forms of capital", in RICHARDSON, J. G. (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1986, pp. 241-258.
- BROOKES, Rod, "Newspapers and national identity: the BSE/CJD crisis and the British press", *Media, Culture & Society*, 21(2), 1999, pp. 247-263.
- CALABRESE, Andrew, "Casus Belli: U.S. media and the justification of the Iraq War", *Television & New Media*, 6(2), 2005, pp. 153-175.
- CHAPMAN, Terrence L. and REITER, Dan, "The United Nations Security Council and the rally 'round the flag effect", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6), 2004, pp. 886-909.
- COTTAM, Martha L. and COTTAM, Richard, *Nationalism and politics: The political behavior of nation states*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2001.
- CRIST, William G. and JOHNSON, Sammye, "Images through Time: Man of the Year Covers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62(4), 1985, pp. 891-893.
- DEL ZOTTO, Augusta. C., "Weeping women, wringing hands: how the mainstream media stereotyped women's experiences in Kosovo", *Journal of Gender Studies*, 22(2), 2002, pp. 141-150.
- DOMKE, David, "A matter of faith: The White House and the press", *Nieman Reports*, 58(2), 2004, pp. 68-70.
- ENTMAN, Robert M., "Framing media power", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 331-355.
- ENTMAN, Robert M., "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 1993, pp. 51-58.
- ERJAVEC, Karmen and VOLCIC, Zala, "The Kosovo Battle: Media's recontextualization of the Serbian nationalistic discourses", *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(3), 2007, pp. 67-86.
- FAHMY, Shahira, "'They took it down': Exploring determinants of visual reporting in the toppling of the Saddam Statue in national and international newspapers", *Mass Communication & Society*, 10(2), 2007, pp. 143-170.
- FAHMY, Shahira, "Contrasting visual frames of our times: A framing analysis of English- and Arabic-language press coverage of war and terrorism", *International Communication Gazette*, 72(8), 2010, pp. 695-717.
- GAMSON, William A., and MODIGLIANI, Andre, "Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach", *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1989, pp. 1-37.
- GRIFFIN, Michael, "Picturing America's 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan and Iraq: Photographic motifs as news frames", *Journalism*, 5(4), 2004, pp. 381-402.

- GRIFFIN, Michael and LEE, Jongsoo, "Picturing the Gulf War: Constructing an image of war in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 72(4), 1995, pp. 813-825.
- HARP, Dustin and Struckman, Sara, "The articulation of Lynndie England to Abu Ghraib: Gender ideologies, war, and the construction of reality", *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 11(2), 2010, pp. 2-23.
- HARP, Dustin and Bachmann, Ingrid, "News judgment: The framing of contemporary motherhood in the United States", *Media Report to Women*, 36(3), 2008, pp. 8-14.
- HARP, Dustin, LOKE, Jaime, and BACHMANN, Ingrid, "Voices of dissent in the Iraq war: Moving from deviance to legitimacy?", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(3), 2010, pp. 467-483.
- HAUGHNEY, Chistine, "Magazines catching eyes, and clicks", *The New York Times*, 20 May 2012. Available on: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/21/business/media/time-and-newsweek-magazine-covers-catch-eyes-and-clicks.html>.
- HUNT, William Ben, *Getting to war: Predicting international conflict with mass media indicators*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1997.
- HUTCHESON, John, DOMKE, David, BILLEAUDEAUX, Andre and GARLAND, Philip, "U.S. national identity, political elites, and a patriotic press following September 11", *Political Communication*, 21(1), 2004, pp. 27-50.
- IYENGAR, Shanto and KINDER, Donald R., *News that matters: Television and American opinion*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.
- KING, Cynthia and LESTER, Paul M., "Photographic coverage during the Persian Gulf and Iraqi Wars in three U.S. newspapers", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(3), 2005, pp. 623-637.
- KOLMER, Christian and SEMETKO, Holli A., "Framing the Iraq War: Perspectives from American, U.K., Czech, German, South African, and Al-Jazeera News", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(5), 2009, pp. 643-656.
- KONSTANTINIDOU, Christina, "Death, lamentation and the photographic representation of the other in the second Iraq War in Greek newspapers", *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 2007, pp. 147-166.
- LE, Elisabeth. "Collective memories and representations of national identity in editorials. Obstacles to a renegotiation of intercultural relations", *Journalism Studies*, 7(5), 2006, pp. 708-728.
- LEMISH, Dafna, "The media gendering of war and conflict", *Feminist Media Studies*, 5(3), 275-280.
- LEHMANN, Ingrid A., "Exploring the transatlantic media divide over Iraq: How and why U.S. and German media differed in reporting on UN weapons inspections in Iraq, 2002-2003", *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 2005, pp. 63-89.
- LEWIS, Seth C. and REESE, Stephen D., "What is the War on Terror? Framing through the eyes of journalists", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(1), 2009, pp. 85-102.
- LINCOLN, Yvonna S. and GUBA, Egon G., *Naturalistic inquiry*, Sage, Newbury Park, 1985.
- LOUW, Eric, "The 'War against Terrorism': A Public Relations Challenge for the Pentagon", *Gazette: The International Journal for Communications Studies*, 65(3), 2003, pp. 211-230.
- LOUW, Eric, *The media and cultural production*, Sage, London, 2001.
- LOWRY, Dennis T., "Network TV news framing of good vs. bad economic news under democrat and republican presidents: A lexical analysis of political bias", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 85(3), 2008, pp. 483-498.
- MCMANUS, Marjorie, "The cover story", in *Magazine publishing management*, Folio Magazine Publishing, New Canaan, p. 195.

- MELKOTE, Srinivas R., "News framing during a time of impending war: An examination of coverage in The New York Times prior to the 2003 Iraq War", *The International Communication Gazette*, 71(7), 2009, pp. 547-559.
- MIRZOEFF, Nicholas, *Watching Babylon: The War in Iraq and global visual culture*, Routledge, New York/London, 2005.
- NINA-PAZARZI, E. and TSANGARIS, M., "Constructing women's image in TV commercials: The Greek case", *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(1), 2008, pp. 29-50.
- NISBET, Matthew C. "Knowledge into action: Framing the debates over climate change and poverty", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 43-83.
- PARRY, Katy, "Images of liberation? Visual framing, humanitarianism and British press photography during the 2003 Iraq invasion", *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(8), 2011, pp. 1.185-1.201.
- PERLMUTTER, David, *Visions of war: Picturing warfare from the stone age to the cyber age*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999.
- POLLETTA, Francesca, "Culture is not just in your head", in GOODWIN, Jeff and JASPER, James M. (eds.), *Rethinking social movements: Structure, meaning, and emotion*, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, 2004, pp. 97-110.
- POPP, Richard K. and MENDELSON, Andrew. L., "'X'-ing out enemies: Time magazine, visual discourse, and the war in Iraq", *Journalism*, 11(2), 2010, pp. 203-221.
- RAVI, Narasimhan, "Looking beyond flawed journalism: How national interests, patriotism, and cultural values shaped the coverage of the Iraq War", *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10(1), 2005, pp. 45-62.
- REESE, Stephen D., "Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the War on Terror", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 17-42.
- RICHARDSON, Laurel, "Writing: A method of inquiry", in DENZIN, Norman K. and LINCOLN, Yvonna S. (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1994, pp. 516-529.
- SCHLESINGER, Philip, "Media, the political order and national identity", *Media, Culture & Society*, 13(3), 1991, pp. 297-308.
- SCHWALBE, Carol B, SILCOCK, B. William and KEITH, Susan, "Visual framing of the early weeks of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq: Applying the master war narrative to electronic and print images", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electric Media*, 52(3), 2008, pp. 448-465.
- SILCOCK, B. William, "The battle of ideological images: CNN vs. FOX in visual framing of the invasion of Iraq", *Electronic News*, 2 (3), 2008, pp. 153-177.
- SPIKER, Ted, "Cover coverage: How U.S. magazine covers captured the emotions of the September 11 attacks –and how editors and art directors decided on those themes", *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 5(2), 2003, 1-18.
- SUMNER, David, "Sixty-four years of Life: What did its 2,128 covers cover?", *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, 4(2), 2002, pp. 1-20.
- STINSON, Peter, "Active duty demographic profile", *U.S.A. Department of Defense*, September 2008. Available on: <http://www.slideshare.net/pastinson/us-military-active-duty-demographic-profile-presentation>.
- VAN GORP, Baldwin, "Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis", in D'ANGELO, Paul and KUYPERS, Jim A. (eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. 84-109.
- VAN GORP, Baldwin and VAN DER GOOT, Margot J., "Sustainable food and agriculture: Stakeholder's frames", *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 5(2), 2012, pp. 127-148.
- VAN GORP, Baldwin and VERCRUYSSSE, Tom, "Frames and counter-frames giving meaning to dementia: A framing analysis of media content", *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(8), 2012, pp.

1.274-1.281.

Appendix n° 1. List of Time covers analyzed

- Vol. 161, n° 8, date: March 3, 2003; main headline: Do you want this war. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030303,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 9, date: March 10, 2003; main headline: Life after Saddam. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030310,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 11, date: March 17, 2003; main headline: Bound for Baghdad. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030317,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 12, date: March 24, 2003; main headline: When mom goes to war. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030324,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 13, date: March 31, 2003; main headline: Gulf War II. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030331,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 14, date: April 7, 2003; main headline: What will it take to win. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030407,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 15, date: April 14, 2003; main headline: Saddam's last stand. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030414,00.html>.
- Vol. 161, n° 16, date: April 21, 2003; main headline: N/A. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030421,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 2, date: July 14, 2003; main headline: Peace is hell. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030714,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 3, date: July 21, 2003; main headline: Untruth and consequences. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030721,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 9, date: September 1, 2003; main headline: Are we stretched too thin? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20030901,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 14, date: October 6, 2003; main headline: Mission not accomplished. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031006,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 15, date: October 13, 2003; main headline: The war over the leak. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031013,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 20, date: November 17, 2003; main headline: The real story of Jessica Lynch. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031117,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 24, date: December 15, 2003; main headline: The hidden enemy. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031215,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 25, date: December 22, 2003; main headline: "We got him!". URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031215,00.html>.
- Vol. 162, n° 26, date: December 29, 2003; main headline: The American soldier. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20031229,00.html>.
- Vol. 163, n° 11, date: March 15, 2004; main headline: Looking for a way out. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20040315,00.html>.
- Vol. 163, n° 16, date: April 19, 2004; main headline: State of siege. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20040419,00.html>.
- Vol. 163, n° 20, date: May 17, 2004; main headline: Iraq: How did it come to this? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20040517,00.html>.
- Vol. 163, n° 21, date: May 24, 2004; main headline: Moment of truth. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20040524,00.html>.

- Vol. 164, nº 21, date: November 22, 2004; main headline: Street fight. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20041122,00.html>.
- Vol. 165, nº 2, date: January 31, 2005; main headline: How soon can we get out? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20050131,00.html>.
- Vol. 165, nº 22, date: May 30, 2005; main headline: The class of 9/11. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20050530,00.html>.
- Vol. 166, nº 13, date: September 26, 2005; main headline: Is it too late to win the war? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20050926,00.html>.
- Vol. 167, nº 8, date: February 27, 2006; main headline: Sticking to his guns. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060227,00.html>
- Vol. 167, nº 9, date: March 6, 2006; main headline: Iraq: Breaking point. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060306,00.html>.
- Vol. 167, nº 24, date: June 12, 2006; main headline: Haditha. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060612,00.html>.
- Vol. 167, nº 25, date: June 19, 2006; main headline: N/A. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060619,00.html>.
- Vol. 168, nº 3, date: July 17, 2006; main headline: The end of cowboy diplomacy. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060717,00.html>.
- Vol. 168, nº 7, date: August 14, 2006; main headline: Life in hell. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20060814,00.html>.
- Vol. 168, nº 14, date: October 2, 2006; main headline: How I lost my hand but found myself. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20061002,00.html>.
- Vol. 168, nº 19, date: November 6, 2006; main headline: The lone ranger. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20061106,00.html>.
- Vol. 168, nº 24, date: December 11, 2006; main headline: The Iraq Study Group says it's time for an exit strategy. Why will Bush listen. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20061211,00.html>.
- Vol. 169, nº 3, date: January 15, 2007; main headline: The surge: Does sending more soldiers to Iraq make any sense? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070115,00.html>.
- Vol. 169, nº 7, date: February 12, 2007; main headline: Back to reality. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070212,00.html>.
- Vol. 169, nº 10, date: March 5, 2007; main headline: Why they hate each other. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070305,00.html>.
- Vol. 169, nº 16, date: April 16, 2007; main headline: Why our army is at the breaking point. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070416,00.html>.
- Vol. 170, nº 4, date: July 30, 2007; main headline: Iraq: What will happen when we leave. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070730,00.html>
- Vol. 170, nº 12, date: September 17, 2007; main headline: How much longer? URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20070917,00.html>.
- Vol. 170, nº 15, date: October 8, 2007; main headline: It's unsafe. It can't shoot straight. It's already cost 30 lives and \$20 billion. And now it's headed for Iraq. The long, sad tale for the V-22 Osprey. URL: <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20071008,00.html>.