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U.S. MISSILE SHIELD IN EUROPE: FRAMING IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*
AND *IZVESTIYA*

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Abdufarrokh Turaev

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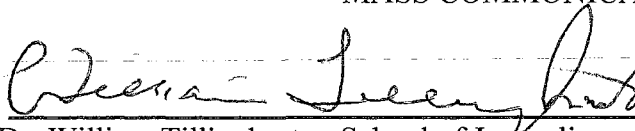
AND IN *IZVESTIYA*


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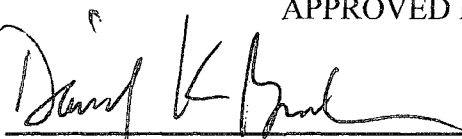
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ABSTRACT

U.S. MISSILE SHIELD IN EUROPE: FRAMING IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* AND *IZVESTIYA*

by Abdufarrokh Turaev

This thesis research examined if there were frame differences in the reporting of the U.S. missile shield installation in Eastern Europe by *The New York Times* and the Russian newspaper *Izvestiya*. The research used content analysis and the theory of news framing in December 2008. Sample articles from each newspaper were examined for changes in usage of frames, sources, and types of news stories during two time periods.

This study showed significant differences in the use of frames between *The New York Times* and *Izvestiya*. In particular, the analysis showed that both newspapers employed different frames during the two time periods. Overall, the frame difference was also significant between the two newspapers. Additionally, the tones of the news stories showed that *The New York Times'* articles were less critical of the Russian government and its policies compared to *Izvestiya*, which was more critical of the U.S. government.

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I also devote this thesis to my father who was not able to see and share with his son the graduation moments, my mother who always wanted me to have the best education, and my wife who comforted me during the hard times of the research process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States formally negotiated the installation of tracking radar in the Czech Republic and 10 missile interceptors in Poland in 2007. Despite assurances that the system was a response to threats from Iran and North Korea and not from Russia, Russian government officials argued that there was no rationale for the possible installation of antimissile radars and interceptors in the former Soviet Union satellite states, which are presently a part of NATO. The verbal attacks and arguments from the Kremlin intensified after Washington started talks with Poland and the Czech Republic. From the beginning, Russia claimed that the system would fuel a new arms race and threatened to aim its missiles at the system. At the same time, Russia offered the U.S. government use of the radar station in Azerbaijan.

In addition, Russian military officials said that they would build special warheads, which would be inexpensive to do and would easily confuse the missile defense system. The Russian government also stated that it would no longer comply with the treaty on conventional arms that was signed during the Cold War if the United States would install the system. In August 2008, the military conflict in Georgia, a former Soviet republic, further intensified the already uneasy relations between the United States and Russia. The Georgian conflict might have also influenced the Polish government to sign the agreement in early August of 2008. Currently, U.S. officials have already signed agreements with both the Czech and Polish governments after long deliberations.

The Russian government, irritated by the recognition of Kosovo's independence,

NATO's expansion in Europe, and the negotiations on installation of the U.S. missile defense system in Eastern Europe, has become increasingly eager to develop its military capacity. In September 2008, the newly-elected President, Dmitri Medvedev, issued a decree on building new types of warships, nuclear submarines carrying cruise missiles, and a space defense system by 2020.

It is important to identify the frames and the word choices that were used extensively in the coverage of the U.S. missile system in Eastern Europe and, consequently, made the issues salient. As Entman (1991) explained, the media, through repetition of words and visual images, reinforce some ideas, but not others and thus make some ideas more or less salient in the text and some even invisible.

The New York Times and a Russian newspaper, *Izvestiya*, were chosen for this study because of their leadership in circulation, extensive coverage of international issues and reliability of information. Both newspapers are read by elite people and government officials. Carragee (2003) in his research described *The New York Times* as a newspaper that devotes considerable attention to international politics and plays a major role in shaping the agenda of other news media, as well as having a significant influence on American political discourse because of its ability to reach decision-making elites. Voltmer (2000) described *Izvestiya* as "a national daily that has developed from an official organ under the Soviet regime to a respected quality paper" (p. 470).

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to identify how the coverage of the proposed installation of a U.S. missile shield in Eastern Europe was framed. The study is

important in identifying major frames used in the newspapers and how the use of these frames defined the attitude and the tone of the coverage on this issue.

This study was designed to determine how the U.S. and the Russian newspapers covered this issue and to identify whether certain frames have been used in both newspapers. To identify probable changes in the framing of the issue by the newspapers, the researcher divided sample materials into two time periods: period 1 – before signing of the agreement with the Polish and Czech governments, and period 2 – after signing of the agreement. The results of the study would be important in determining what framing terms were used in the leading American and Russian newspapers and how these choices of frames defined the tone of the coverage.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background on missile shield installations in Eastern Europe

On December 17, 2002, President George W. Bush directed the Department of Defense to begin fielding missile defense systems in 2004 with a capability to protect the U.S. homeland, deployed forces, and allies from a potential ballistic missile attack (Missile Defense Agency, 2008). According to Washington, the threat of attack was from Iran and North Korea. Following the U.S. presidential direction, interceptor missiles were placed in California and Alaska to protect against possible attacks from the Pacific, particularly North Korea. Later, the United States sought an ally country in which other elements of the missile shield system could be constructed that would augment the already existing ones. The negotiations started with two Eastern European countries – Poland and the Czech Republic.

In 2007, Poland had made demands from the United States asking for substantial aid in helping to rebuild the country's whole air defense system and to provide modern military jets. These demands stalled the process of negotiations. However, the pace of the talks accelerated after Russia sent troops into Georgia in a dispute over South Ossetia, a region that broke away from Georgia after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The agreement to place 10 interceptor missiles in Poland was reached in August 2008 and formally signed by the U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, and Polish Foreign Minister, Radoslaw Sikorski. It followed the signing of an agreement on July 8 by Rice and Czech Foreign Minister, Karel Schwarzenberg, to station a U.S. radar in the

Czech Republic. Overall, under the deal, the United States would place a ground-based ballistic missile defense facility with 10 interceptor missiles in Poland close to the Russian border and deploy the Patriot air and missile defense system in 2009, with a garrison to support it by 2012. The system would be also linked to other missile defense facilities in Europe and the United States (CNN, 2008).

Moscow had consistently expressed its opposition to the U.S. missile shield system in Europe, saying it threatens its national security and is aimed against Russia. The United States said the shield is designed to prevent missile attacks by “rogue states” such as Iran and North Korea and that its missile shield plans are not directed against Russia. At the same time, Russia offered for use its radar system based in Azerbaijan, but U.S. officials said that this system is inefficient because it is too close to Iran from where missiles could be fired. Additionally, the United States had tried to ease concerns in Moscow stating that the shield's missiles are defensive only, have no warheads and would be no match for Russia's nuclear arsenal.

Moreover, the Russian government insisted that the U.S. agreements on deploying elements of its missile shield in Poland and the Czech Republic would incite an arms race and would not provide for European security. Moscow also warned that the deal could open Poland to attack. In November 2008, President Dmitri Medvedev had already ordered stationing of short range ballistic missiles – nicknamed Iskander SS26 – in Kaliningrad, which borders Poland and Lithuania, and is geographically separated from the rest of Russia. However, the signed agreement with Poland noted that the U.S. – Poland relationship is governed by the NATO charter which provides that an armed

attack against one NATO country shall be considered an armed attack against them all (CNN, 2008).

Major European countries had also objected to the potential U.S. missile defense installations. For example, Germany said Washington must ease Russian concerns, while the Czech Republic and Poland asserted that Moscow had no right to interfere. French President Nicolas Sarkozy also noted that the plans for a U.S. missile shield in Eastern Europe are misguided and would not make Europe a safer place (Charlton, 2008).

In general, since the official launch of the missile defense program in early 2002 and through the end of 2009, the United States has been fielding a Ballistic Missile Defense System consisting of 24 ground-based interceptors, 18 Aegis warships capable of long-range surveillance and tracking and missile intercepts, Standard Missile-3 interceptors for Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense warships, an upgraded Cobra Dane radar in the Aleutian Islands, 2 upgraded early warning radars in California and in the United Kingdom, 2 transportable X-band radars and a sea-based X-band radar (Missile Defense Agency, 2008).

As a result of the intentions of the United States to install missile defense elements in Eastern Europe, the relations between the U.S. and the Russian governments have been strained. Many experts feared that they were turning again to Cold War era relationships. The conflict in Georgia and Russia's consequent intervention have further deteriorated the already uneasy relations between the West and Russia.

Overview of framing

Studies of framing analysis have often focused on the influence that media have over its audiences. Entman (1991) wrote that the “frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them” (p. 7). The framing can also be done knowingly or unknowingly by the sponsors of the messages. Previous studies have also shown that the media employ frames to give meaning to stories, but where they get them is sometimes a mystery as many factors such as cultural and social beliefs might affect it. In this respect, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) noted that the information provided by the news stories is not interesting because it gives little meaning and that a frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue.

It is important to examine relevant literature pertaining to framing to study framing analysis and frames. The relevant theoretical literature has been divided into three sections – framing theory, framing processes, and framing effects. The literature review concludes with the theoretical framework, background of the newspapers and research questions.

Framing Theory

Framing theory relates to the word-selection and emphasis of issues in the media. In political communication, framing is considered as a process of selective influence over the perceptions and attributing meanings to words or phrases. When it is done knowingly, it packages information in such a way as to encourage intended interpretations and to discourage unintended ones. McCombs and Ghanem (2003) noted

that the term framing originally was taken from photography and cinematography where it describes the angle of the camera and the types and styles of visuals.

According to Entman (2007), framing is “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (p. 164). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explained that framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is depicted in news may have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. Reese (2003) defined framing and frames as “organizing principles which are socially shared and persistent over time and working symbolically to structure the social world in a meaningful way” (p. 14).

Framing evolved from psychology and sociology. The psychological method describes cognitive changes, while the sociological method emphasizes use of the story lines, symbols and stereotypes in news media. McCombs and Ghanem (2003) stated that “framing is the construction of an agenda with a restricted number of thematically related attributes to create a coherent picture of a particular object” (p. 70).

The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The assumption underlying framing is that the organization of messages affects subsequent thoughts and actions. Generally, framing includes the organization and packaging of information (Simon & Xenos, 2000). In describing framing, Tankard (2003) noted that wording a question in a specific way can frame the

issue in a different way and that it has a subtle but strong effect on the audience. In other words, *framing* is based on the idea that small changes in the wording can have effects on how the audience understands the situation.

The news media can set the tone for an event or issue by the choice of frames. In news, a frame can be the organizing idea on which a story is built, and framing deals with how an issue or event is depicted in the news (Tankard, 2003). However, according to McCombs and Ghanem (2003), “not all attributes are frames, but all frames are attributes. All frames are attributes because they describe an object” (p. 74). Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese (1999) wrote that journalists use frames in their coverage to make their stories more accessible. So they use frames to simplify and give meanings to events and to maintain audience interest. However, Fortunato (2005) argued that “more than selection, the decisions that center around how to frame an issue are where the mass media organizations draw their most power” (p. 53). On the other hand, Scheufele (2000) noted that the effects of framing are difficult to predict and control by journalists.

According to Weaver (2007), there is a dramatic increase of framing studies from the 1990s to the present. Weaver noted that framing has become a popular research tool because it can be applied to many different aspects of messages and to many different types of messages. It is also being attractive to researchers because it can be studied by content or textual analysis. Similarly, the number of the framing studies has also considerably exceeded both agenda-setting and priming studies in the past decade. However, framing seems to be not well defined conceptually or operationally and needs further studies to define it clearly and clarify similarities and differences between agenda-

setting, priming and framing (Weaver, 2007).

Framing processes

According to Scheufele (1999), framing has two concepts: media frames and individual frames. A media frame is a central idea that guides journalists in their selection and exclusion of attributes while writing news stories and giving meaning to them. Individual frames are the stored cluster of information in the mind that guides mental processing of information. McLeod, Kosicki, and McLeod (2002) argued that the “framing of media messages, in most instances, involves low levels of attention and the use of various cognitive shortcuts to make enough sense of a story or issue” (p. 231). Nevertheless, according to Fortunato (2005), “framing is not only selection of content and exposure to the audience, but also decision making regarding the manner in which the content will be presented to the audience that is critical in the process” (p. 50). Shen (2004) described framing as a “process by which media and political elites define and construct issues or events” (p. 400).

Media frames can also be divided into episodic and thematic. Gross (2008) noted that episodic frames present an issue by offering a specific example, case study, or event oriented report. However, thematic frames place issues into a broader context. According to Shah et al. (2004), thematic framing “is thought to foster a sense of shared responsibility and spur collective action and episodic coverage favors specific instances over enduring problems; it also emphasizes individual situations over societal conditions” (p. 104). Thematic frames may be more persuasive in a short period of time, but the emotional aspect of the episodic frames may produce persuasive effects over a longer

period.

According to Gross (2008), many journalists use episodic frames since they are considered more compelling and more likely to draw the attention of the reader or viewer. Briefly, episodic frames are more emotionally engaging. Shah, Domke, and Wackman (2003) wrote that “episodic and thematic news framing has been shown to influence citizens’ information processing and judgments” (p. 227).

Fortunato (2005) also argued that the framing methods can be divided into two different types – exposure and portrayal framing. Exposure means selection of the stories that will be presented to the audience and even defines how much exposure it has been given, placement, and the amount time and space given to the issue. The portrayal framing is the way the media presents the topic to the audience and involves what facts should accompany the story and what needs to be emphasized, as well as what needs to be excluded.

Scheufele (2000) noted that “at least five factors may potentially influence how journalists frame an issue: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists.” However, Reese (2003) argued that the acceptance of the frames depends on the understanding of the reader who conveys it to the text to have a negotiated meaning. Nisbet, Brossard, and Kroepsch (2003) explained framing as the process in which “framing devices are pushed by sources as more dramatic grist for the journalist’s storytelling mill and the relevance of previously used narrative themes that can be linked to emerging events” (p. 46). Pan and Kosicki (2003) noted that framing an

issue means taking part in public deliberation for one's sense making and contesting frames of others. Briefly, "framing not only frames an issue but also frames social groups. In other words, frames of an issue also frame framers" (p. 44).

In describing the framing processes, Maher (2003) explained that framing puts its emphasis on causal reasoning which is different compared to other communication theories. However, Chong and Druckman (2007) noted that framing evolves over time. The new issues of debate are separated from old ones as the time goes by. But, new issues are considered as variants on some old issues and were just reframed for the new issues.

Pan and Kosicki (2003) argued that the "framing is not a one-way process, but moves forward and backward, and the influences travel in different directions" (p. 47). Van Gorp (2007) wrote that the framing process is dynamic, interactive, vulnerable, and in all its phases susceptible to counterframes, because the audience actively interprets news messages. That is why these frames can cause effects that are hard to predict and control by the journalists. Frames are contested by journalists and the audience, new ones are selected and others may disappear without the frames themselves undergoing any change (Van Gorp, 2007).

Framing effects

Noting the strong effects that framing might have, McCombs (1997) stated that "there is abundant evidence that the framing of questions in public opinion polls has dramatic effects on the distribution of opinion." Chong and Druckman (2007) wrote that framing effects occur when small changes in the presentation of an issue or an event

bring large changes of opinion. Entman (2007) wrote that “it is through framing that political actors shape the texts that influence or prime the agendas and considerations that people think about” (p. 165).

Shen (2004) stated that “framing effects occur when, in the course of describing an issue or event, the media's emphasis on the subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions” (p. 401). Moreover, because the frame typically causes the attribute to be described in more or less favorable terms, the frame is expected to influence the evaluation of the object or event (Schneider, Burke, Olomson, & Laurion, 2005). Chong and Druckman (2007) argued that for the framing effect to occur, information related to the used frame needs to be stored in the memory for easy access. The accessibility of the information is crucial and it can be achieved through regular or recent exposure to a communication frame.

Shen (2004) noted that the effects of news frames will be different for individuals with different knowledge on issues. Chong and Druckman (2007) in describing framing effects also noted that “framing effects depend on a mix of factors including the strength and repetition of the frame, the competitive environment, and individual motivations” (p. 111). Valkenburg et al. (1999) through their study of the effects of news frames found out new frames can have a significant influence over the reader's recall of issues and thoughts in the short term. Additionally, Chong and Druckman (2007) noted that individuals are more susceptible to framing in the early stages of exposure, when they have less knowledge about the issue. However, framing effects lessen with active

engagement with issues. In addition, strong predispositions minimize framing effects. But, framing on new issues can influence those with strong predispositions because they need to get an interpretation of the issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

In discussing framing effects Druckman (2001) noted the following outcomes:

The results suggest that framing experiments that expose participants to only one frame or another may overstate the extent of the effect. However, they also find that the framing effect disappears among participants simultaneously exposed to both frames; people exposed to both frames revert back to their prior underlying principles. (p. 244)

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) noted that a framing effect occurs when the audience pays attention to news messages and that by repeating frames one can have a greater impact on less knowledgeable individuals, while more knowledgeable individuals are more likely to compare frames. Another point is that “a framing effect is more likely to occur when the media frames interact with the viewer's existing cognitive elements, rendering related concepts more salient and more cognitively accessible than others” (Shen, 2004, p. 402). In explaining framing effects, Aday (2006) noted that news frames can have desired effects when exposure enhances an issue's salience and leads the audience to adopt the frame itself in understanding the issue. However, “framing is a deliberate process and audiences interpret messages with their own schemas, values, or knowledge structure” (Shen, 2004, p. 412).

Druckman (2001) defined framing effect as having a role in shaping frames in thought and divided framing effects into equivalency and emphasis framing effects. Druckman described equivalency framing effect as a concept which examines “how the use of different, but logically equivalent, words or phrases (e.g., 5% unemployment or

95% employment, 97% fat-free or 3% fat) causes individuals to alter their preferences” (p. 42). Druckman also stated that most equivalency framing effects studies emphasized the effects in terms of the influences of positive or negative portrayals of the same information.

Berinsky and Kinder (2006) in their study of the Kosovo Crisis concluded that “consistent with current theorizing in cognitive psychology, framing information in ways that conform to the structure of a good story appears to change understanding, and understanding, in turn, appears to shape opinion” (p. 654). In describing the emphasis framing effect Druckman (2001) noted that “by emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations, a speaker can lead individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions” (p. 230). De Vreese (2004) argued that “news frames affect attitudes by stressing specific values, facts, or other considerations and endowing them with greater relevance to an issue than under an alternative frame” (p. 46).

However, according to Aday (2006), the literature on framing suggests that not all issues, frames, or attributes have similar effects on audience attitude.

Theoretical framework

The activities of the news media have important social and political consequences because the news messages determine the attitude to the reality and direction of social actions. Therefore, researchers agree that mass media do not simply inform, but also frame certain ideas, doctrines and political programs. By formation of public opinion, social norms and beliefs, mass media push people to implement certain actions.

Framing has been particularly important in studying the meanings of news narratives and images in the United States. Entman (1991) noted that the “news frames exist as mentally stored principles for information processing and as characteristics of the news text” (p. 7). As an example, Dimitrova (2005) noted that “in the case of a war, the media can select to focus on the destruction of war as opposed to freedom from tyranny, can frame the event as an invasion versus attack, can emphasize the victims versus invaders, and can highlight a positive versus negative attitude toward the war” (p. 26).

The best way to reveal framing in the news is to compare samples before or after a certain event took place. In this respect, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) wrote that “if one wants to know whether media mergers make a difference, one can compare the prominence of potentially relevant news frames before and after such a merger” (p. 157). Entman (1991) also stated that since many framing devices can be thought as ordinary choices of word or images the narratives have to be compared to determine frames in a full and reliable manner.

The media itself can be framed by the government on which the reporter relies for getting needed information. For example, in his study, Carragee (2003) stated that the studies of the American press coverage of international affairs during the Cold War indicated that news stories often characterized the world in ways consistent with the objectives and interests of the government. This can be explained by the dependency of reporters on government officials for information on international events.

Background of the newspapers

Izvestiya was founded in 1917 and is one of the oldest and longest-running

Russian newspapers. According to *Izvestiya* Web site, the daily circulation of the newspaper is 234,500 copies. It is the former official paper of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It managed to become financially independent in the early 1990s. However, *Gazprom*, a state-owned gas company, acquired 50% of *Izvestiya* shares in 2005. After the acquisition many feared that the newspaper took a pro-government orientation. This daily newspaper is popular among the Russian intelligentsia (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2005).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, *Izvestiya* attempted to be independent of any influences. Later, because of the economic hardships, the newspaper was forced to sell its shares to the commercial companies such as *Lukoil* and *Oneksimbank*. The editorial board of *Izvestiya* made agreements with the companies that the investors would not interfere with the paper's editorial policies. Despite these agreements, the investors often interfered into the paper's coverage of issues. However, *Izvestiya* is considered to be a prestigious newspaper and an opinion leader for other media and the elite class of people (Voltmer, 2000).

The New York Times is one of the largest daily newspapers in the United States with a total five-day print circulation of 1,000,665. It is also distributed worldwide. It has one of the largest in the nation Sunday edition with a circulation of 1,438,585 (*The New York Times*, 2009).

The New York Times was founded in 1851. It reports on regional, national, and international news events, as well as analyzes important current issues. *The New York Times*, through its comprehensive coverage of national and international events, provides

more information than other newspapers (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, 2008).

According to Carragee (2003), *The New York Times* devotes considerable attention to international politics and has a significant influence on American political discourse because of its ability to reach decision-making elites.

Research Questions

By examining the content of the news stories from both newspapers, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

RQ 1: What were the major frames used by *The New York Times* to report the missile defense installation in Eastern Europe in the two time periods?

RQ 2: How did the frames change between the two time periods in *The New York Times*?

RQ 3: What were the major frames used by *Izvestiya* to report the missile defense installation in Eastern Europe?

RQ 4: How did the frames change in the two time periods in *Izvestiya*?

RQ 5: How did the frames of one newspaper differ from those of the other during each of the two time periods and overall on this issue?

RQ 6: How different was the tone of the news stories (critical or uncritical) in each newspaper in the two different time periods?

RQ 7: How different were the types of news stories between the two newspapers?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The method for the study of the coverage of the U.S. missile defense system in Eastern Europe by *The New York Times* and the Russian newspaper, *Izvestiya*, was a framing study done by content analysis and quantitative framing analysis. The study identified certain frames used by the media and counted their usage in the coverage of the issue to determine the dominant frames. Additionally, the study emphasized framing in terms of how issues and events were portrayed in the news media and, as a result, how certain issues received salience. The results were compared to identify what frames were often used and how the use of these frames defined the attitude of the coverage of each newspaper.

The New York Times was selected for the research because it is one of the largest circulated newspapers in the United States. *Izvestiya* is also one of the largest circulated newspapers in Russia. Both newspapers have considerably covered the issue of the U.S. missile defense system installation in Eastern Europe.

The study used the list of frames method to identify the kind of frames used to refer to the issue, as well as to identify the types of news, sources and tone of each article. In addition, the researcher sampled newspaper materials published before August 2008, when the Polish and the Czech governments signed the agreement, and after that period to identify probable changes in the framing of the stories by both newspapers.

For the research, about 90 relevant articles in *The New York Times* and 146 articles in *Izvestiya* were selected and searched for the key frames. The total number of analyzed

articles from both newspapers was 236. All articles were published in 2007 and 2008. This included 69 articles from *The New York Times* published before signing of the agreement of the U.S. government with the Polish and the Czech governments in August 2008, and 21 articles after signing of the agreement. The number of *Izvestiya* articles before signing of the agreement was 103 and 43 articles after signing of the agreement.

The articles for the research were acquired from LexisNexis database and the Web sites of both newspapers. *The New York Times* in total published 90 articles and *Izvestiya* published close to 1,000 articles on this topic in 2007 and 2008. The researcher selected news stories with at least 300 words. Since *Izvestiya* published many articles on this issue, the selection process of the news stories was random with consideration that they were written by its staff and had no less than 300 words. To identify frames, the researcher examined news stories published in *The Washington Post* and another major Russian newspaper, *Trud*, which were attributed to this issue.

Frames

After preliminary random review of news materials published at *The Washington Post* and another major Russian newspaper, *Trud*, the researcher determined some of the main frames used in these newspapers.

The defined frames were:

Strategic frames were divided into two categories:

1. National Security – descriptions of the political strategies of the Russian government in securing and protecting its own interests.

2. Strategic security – descriptions of the political and military strategies of the U.S. government.

Causal frames were divided into two categories:

3. Rogue states – descriptions of the potential danger arising from Iran and North Korea, which might develop nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles and use them against other countries in military conflicts.
4. Retaliatory move or retaliate – descriptions of Russia's response or countermeasures to the U.S. missile defense installations in Eastern Europe. For example, Russia can retaliate by targeting its missiles to the missile shield installations in the Czech Republic and Poland.

Military frames were divided into three categories:

5. Nuclear arms control – references to the elimination of nuclear weapons and restriction of development, production, stockpiling, proliferation, and usage of weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction.
6. Weapons of mass destruction – mentions of the weapons with the capacity to inflict death and destruction on such a massive scale and so indiscriminately that their very presence in the hands of a hostile power can be considered a grievous threat. Modern weapons of mass destruction are either nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.
7. Military cooperation – references to the proposals of military cooperation between the United States and Russia, as well as between NATO and the Russian military in fighting against common threats and in other fields.

Social depiction frames were divided into three categories:

8. Cold War – references to the global competition between the Soviet Union and the United States. It might also describe straining relations between Russia and the United States, or return to the Cold War era relations.
9. Anti-Americanism – descriptions of the opposition or hostility to the government policies of the United States.
10. Anti-Russian – descriptions of the situations as against Russian people and government.

Conflict frames were divided into two categories:

11. Confrontation – mentions of the disagreement or conflict of interests between the United States and Russia.
12. Georgian crisis – mentions of the military conflict between Russia and Georgia over South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

Coding process

The research study analyzed the content of news stories and editorials and the sample materials were coded according to the following criteria:

1. Time of story. To reveal any changes that occurred in framing of the stories, sample materials from each newspaper were divided into two periods: period 1- before signing of the agreement with the Polish and Czech governments, and period 2 - after signing of the agreement.
2. Name of newspaper. *The New York Times* and *Izvestiya*.

3. Source of story. The sample materials were reviewed for their sources or to whom the statements belonged in which frames were identified. The list of sources included the following: 1) Putin, Medvedev; 2) Other Russian government officials; 3) Bush, Obama; 4) Other U.S. government officials; 5) Polish government officials; 6) Czech government officials; 7) Other types of people.
4. Type of story. This included hard news, soft news, editorial/commentary and news analysis.
5. Tone of story. The tone of the coverage was assessed on a four-point scale: uncritical of the United States, critical of the United States, uncritical of Russia, and critical of Russia.

The New York Times articles were mainly assessed on the following tones: uncritical of Russia and critical of Russia. *Izvestiya* articles were mainly assessed on the following: uncritical of the United States and critical of the United States.

Uncritical of Russia. The news stories which did not have quotes or statements critical of Russian government, or its policies and actions.

Critical of Russia. The stories which included critical quotes by U.S. government officials of Russia or descriptions of Russia in an unfavorable manner.

Uncritical of the United States. The news stories which did not have quotes or statements critical of the U.S. government, or its policies and actions.

Critical of the United States. The stories which included critical quotes by Russian government officials of the United States or descriptions of the United States in

an unfavorable manner.

The unit of analysis was an article with a single dateline. The frames were counted by each paragraph in the article. Chi-square analysis was used to analyze the significance of the differences in the coverage between both newspapers during the two time periods.

Intercoder reliability

The coding for the study was done by two coders. The researcher was the main coder and the second coder was a trained person with knowledge of framing theory. The second coder analyzed 10% of the randomly selected articles.

To code articles, a random number was selected between 1 and 10. The selected number was 2, since the United States planned to install missile defense structures in two countries – Poland and the Czech Republic. The number 10 was added to 2 to determine other articles for coding.

Scott's *pi* index was used to calculate the percentage of intercoder agreement by comparing the data from the second coding set to that from the original set:

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

The intercoder reliability for the study was as follows: (1) time = 100%, (2) newspaper = 100%, (3) sources = 98%, (4) type = 83%, (5) tone = 81%, (6) frames = 86%.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This examination of the coverage of the U.S. missile shield issue by *The New York Times* and *Izvestiya* focused on how often both newspapers referred to the outlined frames, what tone was employed, and what types of stories they published. In addition, the researcher compared the frames, the tone, the sources, and the types of the news stories found in each newspaper.

A total of 236 articles from both newspapers were analyzed – 90 articles in *The New York Times* and 146 in *Izvestiya*. The distribution of the news stories for *The New York Times* between the two time periods (period 1 – before signing of the agreement; period 2 – after signing of the agreement) was 29% in period 1 and 9% in period 2. *Izvestiya* had 44% in period 1 and 18% in period 2. The overall number of stories for both newspapers in period 1 totaled 73% and those in period 2 totaled 27%.

As the results indicated, there were significant differences in the coverage of the missile shield issue in both newspapers during the two time periods. Specifically, each newspaper packaged the frames in a different manner during the two time periods.

The news frames that *The New York Times* employed differed during the two time periods. In period 1, *The New York Times* used mostly causal, military, and conflict frame categories, which also might have read as the official government information. The news stories in this period described what these systems would be built and used against. Nonetheless, in period 2, there was an increase in the use of conflict frames which might have been because of Russia's military conflict with Georgia.

Also, in *Izvestiya*, during period 1, the majority of the frames fell under the categories of conflict and strategic frames. The news stories often quoted and explained the national interests of the Russian government and discussed confrontations or misunderstandings between the United States and Russia. In period 2, the majority of the frames fell under the category of causal frames or used more of the frame “retaliatory move or retaliate”. This indicates that *Izvestiya* often discussed Russian threats of retaliations in its coverage or quoted high-ranking Russian government officials who threatened to take countermeasures after agreements on missile shield installations were signed with the Polish and the Czech governments.

Overall, according to the total number of used frames, both newspapers also differed from each other. *The New York Times* mostly discussed confrontations between Russia and the United States, as well as military cooperation in building missile shield systems with Russia. It also explained where the threat from ballistic missiles was arising and referred often to the old-time relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and that the confrontations over the missile shield were reminiscent of the relations of those times.

On the other hand, *Izvestiya*, according to the total number of frames, stressed the national interest of Russia and referred to the installations as being against Russia. The newspaper also discussed new bomb technologies the Russian military was developing, or has developed, which can be used to counter the U.S. missile shield installations.

With regard to the comparison of story tones for each newspaper for two different time periods, there was no increase or decrease in the number of specific frames.

However, overall, *The New York Times* articles appeared to be much less critical of the Russian government and its policies, and *Izvestiya* was critical of the U.S. government.

As for the sources of information, both newspapers also differed from each other. *The New York Times* included more statements by U.S. government officials and former Russian President, Vladimir Putin, and his successor, Dmitri Medvedev. *Izvestiya* included statements by both Russian and U.S. government officials in its coverage.

The distribution of story types also differed between each newspaper. *The New York Times* had more hard news and *Izvestiya* had more news analysis. This can be explained by the financial affluence of the U.S. newspaper, which allows for more reporters who can write and travel to other countries, compared to its Russian counterpart. But, *Izvestiya* mostly analyzed news coming from other sources.

Examples of frames employed by The New York Times and Izvestiya

As discussed, both newspapers employed different frames in their coverage of the U.S. missile defense installations. This section provides some examples of frames from both newspapers to give an idea of how the news stories were coded.

Examples from The New York Times.

1. The following paragraph taken from an article “Aides to Bush Say Russia Offensive Jeopardizes Ties” published on August 15, 2008, was coded as the frame “Georgian crisis”:

But the issue of Georgia’s territorial integrity appeared increasingly uncertain after Mr. Medvedev met with the leaders of two separatist regions, South Ossetia and Abkhazia. His foreign minister, Sergey V. Lavrov, declared that Georgia “can forget about” reclaiming sovereignty over the regions.

2. The following is an example of other major frame “confrontation” in the news analysis titled “U.S. Sees Much to Fear in a Hostile Russia” published on August 22, 2008:

Even beyond the dispute over Iran, Russia could obstruct the United States at the United Nations Security Council on a variety of other issues. Just last month, Russia vetoed sanctions against Zimbabwe's government, a move seen as a slap at Washington.

3. The frame “military cooperation” was coded in the following paragraph of the news story titled “U.S. Engages Russia on Missile Defense” and published on November 8, 2008:

Russia on Friday received new proposals from the United States to reduce nuclear arms and provide greater access to the Bush administration's planned missile defense system, as leaders in Washington moved to calm tensions between the two nations.

4. This paragraph in the article “Russia Warns of Missile Deployment” published on November 6, 2008, was coded as the frame “retaliatory move or retaliate”:

President Dmitri A. Medvedev of Russia greeted his future American counterpart, Senator Barack Obama, with bristling language on Wednesday, promising to place short-range missiles on Russia's western border if Washington proceeded with its planned missile defense system in Eastern Europe.

5. The frame “Cold War” was coded in the following paragraph of the news story “No Cold War, Perhaps, but Surely a Lukewarm Peace” published on February 18, 2008:

The problem is, Cold War II could in its own way be just as messy and unpredictable. For all the talk of strategic partnership and even personal friendship between Mr. Putin and President Bush, the relationship

between Russia and the United States has reached what is probably its lowest point since the Soviet Union collapsed a decade and a half ago.

6. Frame “strategic security” in one of the paragraphs of the news article “U.S. and Czechs Close on Radar Plan” published on February 27, 2008:

Under the plan, which would have to be approved by the Czech Parliament, the United States would install radar in the Czech Republic and would base 10 missile interceptors in silos in Poland. Negotiations with Poland are still going on, and the issue is likely to come up in April, when Mr. Bush attends a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Bucharest.

Examples from Izvestiya.

1. The following is an example of the frame “national security” in one of the paragraphs of the news story “Russia and West Are Not Opposing Each Other – Lavrov” published on April 19, 2008:

According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Sergei Lavrov, Russia will react to the unacceptable damage to its national interests, but will do it “on the minimum based on the principles of rational adequacy and norms of the international rights in an open and predictable manner.”

2. Frame “rogue states” in the news article titled “Pentagon is Creating a ‘Space Platform’ For Missile Defense System” published on April 23, 2008:

According to the Director of the U.S. Missile Defense Agency, Henry Obering, the threat of the ballistic missile attack from North Korea and Iran is increasing. He recently spoke at the meeting of the House Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives which was devoted to the request of the Bush administration on allocation of \$9.3 billion for his agency for 2009. In his speech, Obering noted that it is necessary to deploy as soon as possible the elements of the missile defense because some countries have a strong interest in developing ballistic missiles.

3. Frame “nuclear arms control” in the news article titled “Normal Relations of Big Boys: What Can be Expected from the Meeting of Leaders of Russia and the United States” published on July 2, 2007:

If we stay away from this approach and try to look at things more realistically, then it can be understood that we can agree on many issues with these same Americans. As Putin’s assistant Sergei Prihodko informed, Russia and the United States in Kennebunkport will discuss maintaining their leadership in development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and fighting against proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

4. Frame “weapons of mass destruction” in one of the paragraphs of the news story “Termless Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty Existed for 20 Years” published on June 1, 2008:

The ministry of defense of the Russian Federation is not excluding that, despite the proposals of the Russian officials to make the nuclear nonproliferation treaty a multi-sided agreement, many countries want to have these missiles and will continue to find technological and technical solutions on building such types of weapons. Moreover, there are fears that termination of this treaty will lead to the use of weapons of mass destruction.

5. The frame “anti-Americanism” was coded in the following paragraph of the news story “Afraid in Advance” published on July 19, 2007:

For example, the worries about that “we were excluded from the list of democracies”. The question is: who excluded? India did not exclude, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia did not exclude. Out of 200 and more members of the world community more than 180 countries did not exclude us from something. The United States and their European allies are excluding, and not even most of them. There is a misunderstanding: if the United States is the most powerful country in the world, then it is the “world community”. All events, including Russia’s actions, have to be assessed from the point of the U.S. interests.

6. This paragraph in the article “Polish Premier Tusk Did Not Consult with Moscow on Missile Defense” published on July 4, 2008, was coded as the frame “anti-Russian”:

Moscow considers the arguments of the United States not enough convincing and considers installation of the elements of the missile defense close to the Russian border as a threat to its national security.

Results in tables

The research findings revealed that there were significant changes in the use of frames between the two time periods by *The New York Times*. For example, the frames “military cooperation” (14%), “Cold War” (8%) and “confrontation” (36%) were used more in period 1 compared to period 2 (see Table 1). However, in period 2, *The New York Times* used more of the frames “Georgian crisis” (30%) and “retaliatory move or retaliate” (9%). This change in the use of frames is obviously because in August 2008 Russia and Georgia had a military conflict over South Ossetia. In this dispute, the Georgian army was defeated by the outnumbered Russian army. This military conflict had also accelerated the process of signing of the agreements on installation of the missile shield systems with the Polish and the Czech governments. However, the frame “military cooperation” was much less used in period 2.

Table 1

Percentage of frames in The New York Times' news stories for each period

		<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
Frames		n=69	n=21
1	National security	4%	6%
2	Strategic security	13	13
3	Rogue states	13	13
4	Retaliatory move or retaliate	7	9
5	Nuclear arms control	2	1
6	Weapons of mass destruction	1	0
7	Military cooperation	14	3
8	Cold War	8	5
9	Anti-Americanism	2	1
10	Anti-Russian	1	2
11	Confrontation	36	16
12	Georgian crisis	1	30

$X^2 (11, n=90) = 164.016, p < 0.0001$

The analysis of the news stories published by *Izvestiya* have also indicated a clear significance of difference ($p < 0.0001$). Similar to *The New York Times*, more frames were used by *Izvestiya* in period 1 (74%) compared to period 2 (26%) (see Table 2).

In *Izvestiya*, the frame “confrontation” (29%) was frequently used followed by the frame “strategic security” (18%) and the frame “national security” (11%). It can be assumed that the news stories dealt much with the confrontations that the United States and Russian governments had on this issue. However, in period 2, *Izvestiya* used more of the frame “retaliatory move or retaliate” (18%). This may be because after signing of the agreements the newspaper included more quotes or statements by the Russian officials

who threatened to retaliate for the possible missile shield installations on the soil of the Eastern European countries. The retaliatory measures consisted of such instances as targeting Russian missiles at these countries or suspending agreements on conventional and nuclear arms control, which were signed in the 80s and 90s between the United States, European, and Russian governments.

The frames “anti-Americanism” (7%) and “Georgian crisis” (15%) were also used in abundance in period 2 compared to period 1. This might be because of the military conflict between Russia and Georgia and criticisms by the Western governments of Russia for the disproportionate use of force against its smaller neighbor, which formerly was a part of the Soviet Union. The “anti-Americanism” frame might have also increased in period 2 because of the role of the United States in dealing with the Georgian conflict and support of the Georgian government, which is headed by the pro-Western President, Mikheil Saakashvili.

Table 2

Percentage of frames in Izvestiya's news stories for each period

		<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
Frames		n=103	n=43
1	National security	11%	11%
2	Strategic security	18	10
3	Rogue states	9	6
4	Retaliatory move or retaliate	7	18
5	Nuclear arms control	2	0
6	Weapons of mass destruction	3	3
7	Military cooperation	5	6
8	Cold War	5	1
9	Anti-Americanism	2	7
10	Anti-Russian	8	7
11	Confrontation	29	17
12	Georgian crisis	1	15

$X^2(11, n=146) = 67.852, p < 0.0001$

The comparison analysis on usage of frames between the two newspapers in period 1 using a chi-square test (Table 3) have shown that there was a significant difference ($p < 0.0001$). Table 3 shows that *The New York Times* had used more of the frames “confrontation” (36%), “military cooperation” (14%), “rogue states” (13%), and “Cold War” (8%) compared to *Izvestiya*. However, *Izvestiya* used more of the frames “strategic security” (18%), “national security” (11%), “anti-Russian” (8%), and “weapons of mass destruction” compared to *The New York Times*. Other frames such as “retaliatory move or retaliate”, “nuclear arms control”, “anti-Americanism”, and “Georgian crisis” were equal in their usage in both newspapers.

Table 3

Total percentage of frames in Period 1 for The New York Times and Izvestiya

		<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>Izvestiya</i>
		<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 1</i>
Frames		n=69	n=103
1	National security	4%	11%
2	Strategic security	13	18
3	Rogue states	13	9
4	Retaliatory move or retaliate	7	7
5	Nuclear arms control	2	2
6	Weapons of mass destruction	1	3
7	Military cooperation	14	5
8	Cold War	8	5
9	Anti-Americanism	2	2
10	Anti-Russian	1	8
11	Confrontation	36	29
12	Georgian crisis	1	1

$X^2(11, n=172) = 70.150, p < 0.0001$

The chi-square analysis of the frames used in period 2 had also indicated that there was a significant difference ($p < 0.0001$) (see Table 4). Table 4 shows that in period 2 the frames “Georgian crisis” (30%), “strategic security” (13%), “rogue states” (13%), and “Cold War” (5%) were more frequently used in *The New York Times* compared to their usage in *Izvestiya*. In *Izvestiya*, for the same period, the frames “retaliatory move or retaliate” (18%), “national security” (11%), “anti-Americanism” (7%), “anti-Russian” (7%), “military cooperation” (6%), and “weapons of mass destruction” (3%) were often employed compared to their usage in *The New York Times*.

Table 4

Total percentage of frames in Period 2 for The New York Times and Izvestiya

		<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>Izvestiya</i>
		<i>Period 2</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
Frames		n=21	n=43
1	National security	6%	11%
2	Strategic security	13	10
3	Rogue states	13	6
4	Retaliatory move or retaliate	9	18
5	Nuclear arms control	1	0
6	Weapons of mass destruction	0	3
7	Military cooperation	3	6
8	Cold War	5	1
9	Anti-Americanism	1	7
10	Anti-Russian	2	7
11	Confrontation	16	17
12	Georgian crisis	30	15

$X^2(11, n=172) = 41.170, p < 0.0001$

A chi-square analysis (Table 5) of the overall number of frames of both newspapers also showed that there was a significant difference ($p < 0.0001$). The frame “confrontation” was widely used by both newspapers. However, it was more frequently used (31%) in *The New York Times*.

The New York Times in its coverage had more of the frames “rogue states” (13%), “military cooperation” (12%), “Georgian crisis” (8%), and “Cold War” (7%). It can be assumed that *The New York Times* referred to these frames to describe emerging threats from Iran and North Korea and that the United States was offering cooperation to Russia

in developing missile shield system. However, in *Izvestiya*, the frames “national security” (11%), “retaliatory move or retaliate” (10%), “anti-Russian” (8%), “anti-Americanism” (3%), and “weapons of mass destruction” (3%) were the most presented ones. It can be understood that *Izvestiya* relied more on these frames to call attention to the fact that the Russian government was developing alternative countermeasures to the missile shield installations and that these installations were specifically targeted at Russia.

Table 5

Total percentage of frames for each newspaper

	Frames	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>Izvestiya</i>
1	National security	4%	11%
2	Strategic security	13	16
3	Rogue states	13	8
4	Retaliatory move or retaliate	7	10
5	Nuclear arms control	2	1
6	Weapons of mass destruction	1	3
7	Military cooperation	12	5
8	Cold War	7	4
9	Anti-Americanism	1	3
10	Anti-Russian	1	8
11	Confrontation	31	26
12	Georgian crisis	8	5

$\chi^2 (11, n=236) = 87.260, p < 0.0001$

The tone of the stories was used to measure if *The New York Times* coverage was critical or uncritical of the actions of the Russian government for the two time periods and if *Izvestiya*'s coverage was critical or uncritical of the United States. The chi-square analysis of the tones for *The New York Times* showed that there was no significant

difference for the two time periods ($p < 0.1084$). Similarly, there was no significant difference for *Izvestiya's* coverage either ($p < 0.8283$). So it can be understood that, before and after signing of the agreement, there was no increase or decrease in the tone of the articles. However, the majority of articles in *Izvestiya* were critical of the United States and its policies (Table 6).

Table 6

Total percentage of the tone for each newspaper

	<i>Izvestiya</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
	n=146	n=90
Uncritical of other country	49%	54%
Critical of other country	51	46

As shown in Table 7, *The New York Times* included more U.S. government officials as sources for some information that was included in the coverage (38%) and quoted the former president, Vladimir Putin, and the new president, Dmitri Medvedev, more frequently (35%). However, *Izvestiya* quoted Russian government officials (52%) more frequently than U.S. government officials (26%).

Table 7

Percentage of sources for each newspaper

	<i>NYT</i>	<i>Izvestiya</i>
Sources	n=90	n=146
Putin, Medvedev	35%	11%
Other Russian government officials	14	52
Bush, Obama	10	4
Other U.S. government officials	38	26
Polish government officials	3	4
Czech government officials	1	3

Finally, in terms of types of stories for each newspaper, the majority of news stories in *The New York Times* were hard news in the two time periods (before 87%, after 81%) (see Table 8).

Table 8

Distribution of story type for The New York Times

	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
Type of Story	n=69	n=21
Hard news	87%	81%
Soft news	3	10
Editorial/commentary	9	5
News analysis	1	5

In *Izvestiya*, the majority of news stories fell under the categories of hard news (before 54%, after 16%) and news analysis (before 27%, after 67%) (see Table 9).

Table 9

Distribution of story type for *Izvestiya*

	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
Type of Story	n=103	n=43
Hard news	54%	16%
Soft news	16	9
Editorial/commentary	3	7
News analysis	27	67

 $\chi^2(3, n=146) = 41206, p < 0.0001$

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The missile defense installation in Eastern Europe received considerable coverage in the mass media in the United States and Russia. The news coverage of this issue in both countries might have been framed in some way to support their corresponding government's actions.

This study focused on how both newspapers covered the issue of the U.S. missile defense installation in Eastern Europe in 2007 and 2008 and attempted to find differences in framing of the issue. There have been few studies examining the framing differences of the American and the Russian newspapers.

The salience of this issue has been sporadic and the preliminary research on LexisNexis database revealed that there were more articles published on this issue in 2007 and 2008 than in other years. In *The New York Times*, 90 articles were published in 2007 and 2008. In *Izvestiya*, about 1,000 news stories were published during the same periods. However, *Izvestiya's* articles were borrowed from other Russian news agencies such as *Itar-Tass* and *Interfax* and were mainly short-hard news and news analyses.

Generally, Scheufele (2000) noted that there are five factors that influence the way news stories are framed. The five factors that Scheufele discussed were social norms and values, organizational pressure and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists. All these factors may also have played a role in the coverage of this issue by both newspapers, since both of them are completely different in their organizational and cultural status. In

addition, as Dimitrova (2005) noted in her studies, the media can frame an issue by focusing on a certain aspect of the issue and can only highlight positive or negative attitudes of their audiences. Similarly, this framing analysis study of the missile shield suggests that both newspapers stressed different points in their coverage and thus in some way shaped the perceptions of their audiences.

This framing analysis study of the missile shield installation also has found how frames changed over two different time periods. As Gamson and Modigliani (1989) wrote, the best way to find frames is to compare the coverage before and after a certain event, and this was helpful in analyzing and identifying the changes in frames employed by the major U.S. and Russian newspapers.

Finally, as Carragee (2003) noted, media itself can be framed by the government via obtaining information from or quoting government officials. In his study, Carragee (2003) found that the U.S. press coverage of international issues during the Cold War era was consistent with the objectives and interests of the government. This situation might have also played a role in the coverage of the missile shield installation by both newspapers. As the results indicate, *The New York Times* often discussed the objectives of the missile shield and against whom it is targeted. *Izvestiya*, however, discussed that the missile shield system is targeted against Russia and was critical of this system in its coverage.

Areas for future research

This research was conducted through content analysis of two different newspapers located on two different continents. Accordingly, each newspaper has its own journalistic

standards, as well as social and cultural norms. There has been little research that compared the coverage of *The New York Times* with *Izvestiya*. Therefore, this study also adds its own share in researching this area.

It is quite difficult to prove that a certain newspaper or any other media outlet shapes the frames, and finally, the attitudes and opinions of its audience. Consequently, future research on framing analysis should also include learning social and cultural norms in which the media is situated, thus emphasizing how these values affect the coverage.

Lastly, similar research needs a more comprehensive analysis of government publications such as official bulletins, press releases, newsletters, and a comparison of these publications with the news coverage on a particular issue by the media outlet. This will help to identify if the media outlet relied more or less on information from the government.

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APPENDIX

Code Book

1. Time:
 - Before signing of the agreement = 1
 - After signing of the agreement = 2

2. Newspaper:
 - The New York Times = 1
 - Izvestiya = 2

3. Sources:
 - Putin, Medvedev = 1
 - Other Russian government official = 2
 - Bush, Obama = 3
 - Other U.S. government official = 4
 - Polish government officials = 5
 - Czech government officials = 6
 - Other types of people = 7

4. Type:
 - Hard news = 1
 - Soft news = 2
 - Editorial/commentary = 3
 - News analysis = 4

5. Tone:
 - Uncritical of the United States = 1
 - Critical of the United States = 2
 - Uncritical of Russia = 3
 - Critical of Russia = 4

6. Frames:
 - National security = 1
 - Strategic security = 2
 - Rogue states = 3
 - Retaliatory move or retaliate = 4
 - Nuclear arms control = 5
 - Weapons of mass destruction = 6
 - Military cooperation = 7
 - Cold War = 8
 - Anti-Americanism = 9

Anti-Russian = 10
Confrontation = 11
Georgian crisis = 12