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What Qualifies As Crisis Coverage & Why Does It Matter?: Establishing Characteristics of Crisis Reporting Using 2015 Terror Attacks in Paris

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2015 Terror Attacks in Paris

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Abstract

The November 13, 2015 Paris attacks serve as a recent and relevant example of the different approaches news and crisis-reporting take. Three main aspects serve as dominant features in crisis reporting: timeliness, authority, and the level of the crisis (often death toll or infrastructure damage). To measure credibility, a content analysis tracked these features within a sample of online articles published by BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), NPR (National Public Radio), and The New York Times. A randomly selected 10% of the articles came from the ProQuest News database and NPR's website. The code tracked presence and absence of characteristics often associated with credibility, such as language reference France and other nations, source attributions, and death toll. The results found that constructing context by referencing both France and other nations was consistent with all of the articles, which allowed the article to establish relevance and credibility for its specific audience. Articles presented four types of sources, which ranged in degree of credibility: official, NPR/ other news sources, official unnamed, and civilian. Finally, there was a surprising lack of negative language in relation to ISIS outside of quoted sources. The findings of this research suggest that credibility comes from having a clear audience, and relevant, attributed information from distinct authorities or else sources whose information has a clear purpose within the article. Consumers of crisis news should understand that reporters approach articles with context, audience, and a central topic in mind; all of which shift the perspective and intent any news article.

Keywords: Paris, Attack, Terrorism, Media, Crisis, Communication, News

What Qualifies As Crisis Coverage & Why Does It Matter?:

Establishing Characteristics of Crisis Reporting Using 2015 Terror Attacks in Paris

When a crisis hits, whether a shooting, bombing, earthquake, or other human casualty tragedy, people often turn to news outlets, reporters, social media, and other sources to find out the news (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016). One such crisis emerged in Paris, France on November 13, 2015, when headlines started bombarding social media and the front page of news sites: *Paris Attacks Kill More Than 100, Police Say, Border Controls Tightened* (Nossiter & Gladstone, 2015) or *French Authorities Say The Death Toll In Paris Attacks Could Exceed 120* (Wagner, 2015). The *British Broadcast Corporation* (BBC) (2015a) reported 130 people killed, hundreds wounded, and at least 100 people in critical condition following the coordinated attacks throughout Paris (see Figure 1). Attack accounts broadcasted through social media platforms during and after the attacks (BBC, 2015b), but without the major news corporations, the accuracy and authenticity of a full clear story of what happened that Friday night in Paris would have remained unknown. However, because the major news corporations were present, and keeping live updates as more information came in, people were aware of the state of emergency in Paris, the running death tolls, and the sites of each attack as the authorities reported in. The days following the attacks, the news had already reported that ISIS had taken full credit, French President Hollande had locked down the country, and published reports were already being distributed as to who the attackers were (Chappell & Hopkins, 2015a).

After the Islamic State (ISIS) took credit for the Paris attacks and the event became a terrorist attack, the result made Paris the largest on-ground assault in Western Europe made by ISIS at this time. The attack was not the largest attack ISIS has committed, however it did seem to open the gates for more attacks outside of the Middle East (Glenn, 2016). Recent world crises,

such as the multiple terrorist attacks from the ISIS, have led to continuous news coverage from both domestic and international news outlets. This study seeks to address one type of news, crisis reporting, to identify and justify qualities of crisis reporting that give readers a sense of authenticity in the reported events. By identifying the qualities of crisis reporting, which tends to prompt less scrutiny than daily news, the significance of what people believe and why, will help create a comprehensive idea of how to make news more trustworthy. This is especially important in an era where the Internet and global social networks have the potential to distort news stories and invalidate major news corporations.

News media is an integral form of communication that allows people to access news reports both locally and internationally, particularly assists in discovering and disseminating immediate and indirect information (Mitchell, Gottfried, Barthel, & Shearer, 2016). Yet news coverage from the last several months, especially in dealing with the US election, has resulted in a trend of condemnation of the news media – a stance that stands on distrust and the presumed bias with partisan motives from both reporters and corporations (Barthel et al., 2016; Remington, 2013). The situation has only worsened through the recent spotlight cast upon fake news articles that have escalated over social media (Barthel, Mitchell, & Holcomb, 2016; Stanford, 2016). Throughout recent decades, people have not been shy about calling the authenticity and trustworthiness of the news media into question – specifically in dealing with crisis reporting. So the question remains, what aspects of crisis communication creates a greater sense of authenticity and provokes less criticism than non-crisis reporting? Some specific characteristics that explain trustworthiness include authority, timeliness, and the severity of the crisis (i.e., death toll, damage done to a city, immediate political or financial repercussions, etc.). The arguments for

how authority, timeliness, and the severity of the crisis are able to make a news organization trustworthy or credible, only further impresses the importance of breaking down crisis coverage.

Within the discussion of news, credibility laid the additional ethical problem of the news media's use of emotion-targeted content to invoke specific responses from the readership (Sillesen, Ip, & Uberti, 2015). Considering the level of catastrophe in dealing with the Paris attacks, observations saw emotional language, images, videos, etc. as positive tools to create a greater empathetic response from the reader than would otherwise be elicited from a straight news story (Maier, Slovic, & Mayorga, 2016). According research by Maier et al. (2016), straight news stories do not elicit strong, if any, emotional responses from readership – a fact which explains why publications use visuals, but not the decisions behind why specific visuals are chosen. By using emotionally charged language and images, there is a risk of losing the balance between establishing empathy and unethically manipulating audience emotions (Ward, 2010). By using a crisis event to establish a baseline for news credibility, the study will acknowledge the possible influence of visuals in the articles during the research.

The purpose of this study is to examine the Paris attacks, as a focal point to understand how the characteristics of crisis reporting allow for a more trusting perception of news media. To establish a sense of what makes crisis coverage, negative or otherwise, articles from three separate news sources relating to the Paris attacks in any way, made up the sample. The news organizations consist of *NPR*, *The New York Times*, and *BCC* online articles in an effort to reveal the variables of reporting news consumers find more believable than others do. By isolating the variables, news consumers will have a better understanding of how news is processed and conveyed, and will hopefully start to diminish the prejudice against news corporations.

Background: The Development of ISIS and its Movement West

Various conflicts in the Middle East have prompted some of the most disastrous human crises in recent decades (BBC, 2016a). In particular, the Syrian Civil War and the concurrent rise of ISIS on the global stage have prompted news media to cover its associated crisis events (Al Jazeera, 2017; Dilkoff, 2017). Subsequently, this investigation focuses on one such event, the Paris attack and ISIS as depicted through news coverage.[1] The differing aspect of the Paris attacks, compared to other ISIS movements, is how far into Western Europe the attack was. The level of shock that followed the Paris attacks mirrored how unexpected the attack truly was. The mental separation between coverage over the Middle East versus Western countries plays a role in the significance of the Paris attacks. The significance is demonstrated not only by the solidarity demonstrations that happened worldwide after Paris and Brussels (Barber, 2015; Zdanowicz, 2016), but also by the lack of support for counties that have suffered for far longer (i.e., Syria, Iran, Iraq, Turkey). By paying attention to the shock value of ISIS attacks, the out of the ordinary target, the media reporting played into one of the characteristics of crisis reporting: degree of tragedy.

ISIS was formed around 2004, as an offshoot from the al Qaeda group in Iraq (AQI) (Glenn, 2016) (see Table 1). However, according to Glenn (2016), the Islamic State (IS) had a diminished presence for many years, partly due to an increase of American military presence around 2007. Due to this, many consider the rise of ISIS between the years 2011 and 2013 when the group was able to use the initial conflicts of the Syrian civil war as a flashpoint in gaining territory and support in an extremely politically unstable environment (Stanford, 2016). Since 2011, ISIS has expanded its presence beyond its primary holdings in Syria, Iraq, and Iran, to a more international stance with affiliates based in at least eight other countries (Glenn, 2016); the result is more than 2000 deaths, excluding death tolls in Iraq and Syria (Lister et al., 2017). The

death tolls and damage done in the war against ISIS is, however, not to be confused with the simultaneous efforts being made in many of the same geographical regions in Syria and Iraq, as a result of the Syrian Civil War. These two separate conflicts simply have large amounts of overlapping territory and combatting parties involved (BBC, 2016b). While several domestic and foreign parties are engaged in both conflicts, there are those who are involved in only one or the other. It is important to know where each individual power stands for each conflict so as not to confuse the two different efforts, and to recognize the two events covered are separate despite their close geographical proximity.

Key Players in the Syrian Civil War and the War Against ISIS

There are two conflicts taking place in the Middle East, spanning most of Syria and into the bordering countries. One conflict consists of the Syrian Civil War, primarily between the Syrian government forces and the rebel group the Free Syrian Army. These two sides have the backing of several foreign powers, all of which has been engaged in an escalating civil war since 2011 (BBC, 2016b), resulting in the displacement of millions of refugees and has contributed to the migrant crisis that is currently plaguing many European countries, Australia, the United States, and others (Laub, 2016). Alongside the Syrian Civil War, there is a secondary conflict occurring between the Islamic State (ISIS) and opposing forces. The complicated aspect of the war against ISIS is that the military efforts against the terrorist group, and the conflict between the Syrian government and the rebel forces, are taking place in about the same geographical location, making the process of distinguishing between the efforts complicated and messy. To attempt to make sense of the hodgepodge of parties involved, there are four general groups fighting in the region: pro-government forces, opposing government forces, ISIS, and the

coalition and accompanying forces against ISIS (Laub, 2016) (see Table 1). However, it is important to understand that several nations belong to more than one of these groups.

The short-and-sweet version of the groups is that the pro-government forces consist of the Syrian forces and pro-government militias, Hezbollah, foreign Shia militias, Iran, and Russia. The group of forces against the Syrian government consists of the Free Syrian Army, nationalist jihadis, Jabhat Fateh al-Sham, United States, Turkey, and Arab Gulf states (Kuwait, Bahrain, Iraq, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates). Where everything gets dicey is in the separation of powers for and against ISIS. The powers that have gathered together in response to the terror attacks by ISIS since its resurgence in 2011 and even prior to the resurgence, consist of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Jordan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates, and the Kurdish forces. The interesting part here is that both Iran and Russia are supposedly part of the efforts against ISIS (MacFarquhar, 2015). The problem, however, is that many of the parties who are part of the official coalition against ISIS suspect that the airstrikes Russia has claimed are against ISIS are actually against the rebel forces fighting in the Syrian Civil War. With the geographical free for all of territory in this region, and the difficulties that arose in reporting on the actions of ISIS (Williams, 2016), it is difficult to ascertain whether the Russian efforts are really against ISIS. Russia's role both in the Syrian Civil War and in the geo-political climate has not been conducive to creating an atmosphere of trust.

Following the key players, Table 2 describes the progress of ISIS and their development and major activity since 2004. The timeline ultimately leads up to the Paris attacks in 2015 and through the end of the year. There is only one event noted in 2016 because of its relation to the Paris attacks. Although the timeline ends in March of 2016, the study acknowledges that the war

against ISIS is still ongoing, but moot point for the discussion of the significance of ISIS, the

Paris attacks, and the news media's role in reporting on the event.

News Coverage Over Crisis Communication

Journalism is a form of investigation, fact checking, information disseminating, and a

vital form of mass communication in which the populous of the world is able to give and retrieve

information about current events (Janutatite, Gupta, & Kfoury, 2013). Most recently, there has

been a spike in distrust in the news media in the US. The distrust is partially due to claims from

President Trump about the media's corruption (Alpert, 2017; realDonaldTrump, 2017;

Rutenberg, 2017), and partially because of the partisan divide that tends to divide readership

(Allen, Lawrence, Stevens, & Sullivan, 2016), alongside the need for media corporations to

create niches for themselves with the rise of the Internet. With the rise of social media and

citizen journalism (Carpenter, 2008), separation of the partisan parties through niche reporting

(Berry, 2016), and other factors, the role of journalism has become one that requires telling the

vital pieces of information about a story while reaching the widest audience possible. Research

has found evidence of articles provoking polarization on hot subjects, especially those like the

migrant crisis (Berry, 2016). This multifaceted goal is where crisis reporting plays a large role in

supporting and (re)building the trust in the news media (Pew Research Center, 2008).

Further problems with building trust in the news media prompted research investigating

the various dilemmas news reporters come up against, and found difficulties in dealing with

objectivity (Carpenter, 2008), personal ethics and moral standards (Plaisance & Deppa, 2008),

and an increase in polarization of opinion on significant international crisis events (Berry, 2016).

Significant issues with controversial topics, such as crisis reporting, arise due to these dilemmas,

and as a result, create conflicting narratives that end up confusing rather than informing the

public (Berry, 2016). In addition to conflicting narratives, source attribution, or lack thereof, also arose as a topic of research – looking into how source authority and credibility changes between normal news reporting and that of crisis reporting (Sobel & Riffe, 2016). The difficulties that news reports struggle to overcome are large, varying, and tend to heavily diminish the perceived authority of news reports. With crisis reporting, the stakes for competent reporting becomes even higher (Sobel & Riffe, 2016). Although it is only a small step, this study seeks to research trends within news articles in an attempt to build a fundamental path towards understanding and evaluating the credibility of crisis reporting.

With all news reporting, but particularly with crisis reporting, establishing authority is a vital aspect for news publications. Part of establishing authority requires hiring qualified personae for reporting and producing the news. Or else, working with equally capable contract or freelance reporters. However, another part of creating authority with news corporations has to do with the consistency of the reporting with their readers' expectations and consistency in reporting on major events (Bucy, D'Angelo, & Bauer, 2014). The problem here is that either most news organizations gain this level of authority by dominant reporting over a long period, or through creating a niche in the reporting field – a trend that has seen an increase over the last decade and a half (Pew Research Center, 2009). However, although niche reporting can be a tool separating the populous and creating mistrust in the media, authority for a news corporation is a tool that also means when a crisis hits, there is a conditioned response for people to travel to that news source to find out what is going on (Orla Vigsø & Tomas Odén, 2016). This response is a vital part of what it means to be credible and reliable, and by responding in a timely manner to small and large-scale crisis, the authority of the news corporation increases (Bucy et al., 2014). The opposite is also true. If an organization fails to report on an major event, then the trust in that

news corporation to dependably tell the viewer what is happening diminishes; and with all of the options for news that are currently available, not reporting can almost be an even more fatal misstep than any other.

Crisis communication reporting is an interesting subset of news reporting, in that more often than not, limitations are present in what the news media is able to report on. Limitations such as how much information is available, the need for timeliness, and the need for accuracy (Coombs & Holladay, 2010). According to Coombs and Holladay (2010), "crises are social, political, and cultural phenomena: a crisis is a crisis due to the fact that different groups, interested parties, and institutions perceive and experience it as a crisis," (p. 514). The largest factor for crisis reporting usually emerges when there is a sudden gap in knowledge due to a devastating event. Although it is often a race to see who can report the most complete set of information, when a crisis occurs, it is possible that the other factors that usually separate news media corporations (i.e., partisanship, viewership, bias) do not have time to come into effect and distort the view of the news media. Instead, there is a greater need to combat the actions of citizen journalism and eyewitnesses, which, thanks to social media, the people tend to report with a greater sense of immediacy since there is no concern for accuracy or narration (Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013). When a crisis occurs, there is also a consideration for the factor of timeliness. For example, when reports started coming in about a disturbance in Paris, nobody really knew what was happening at first. The facts were limited, the news outlets had Breaking News updates when new, confirmed information came in, but live reporting took time to find out exactly what was going on. With a slow progression of news dissemination, all of the different news corporations had a limited amount of information they could work with, resulting in similar reports, and a lack of material for people to disagree on.

A third aspect of crisis reporting, which usually plays a strong role in discouraging criticism, is the level of the tragedy. A common saying is that "sex sells." Well if sex is the eye-candy for entertainment media, death and destruction are what feed most news stories (Stafford, 2014). As demonstrated through the timeline of the rise of ISIS (see Table 2), and the map of the ISIS attacks up until the Paris attacks in 2015 were conducted on smaller scales, and directed more centrally around the areas where ISIS has declared provinces; there areas are principally in Middle Eastern and North African countries (see Figure 2). That, combined with the death toll and how spread out the attacks were, created an environment of fear, to which the news media played a calming and informing role – helping the world and the citizens of Paris figure out what was actually happening in real time.

Crisis Communication Coverage of Paris Attacks

The purpose of this study is to look into a specific time range of news coverage about the Paris attacks to demonstrate to news reporters and news consumers which aspects of crisis reporting directly affect one's perspective on the credibility of the news. It is vital to recognize what influences one's opinion of the news, outside of partisan preferences and social media outlets. Crisis reporting, by nature, often does not have a lot of information to immediately work with, and once the event concludes, there is a limit (both time wise and content wise) to how much can be written about the event without becoming redundant. Although, as this study discovered, exceptions may always occur with new information and new events occurring because of the original. As such, crisis reporting works to allow a good baseline to establish the criteria for what credible news is, and to build awareness for recognizing credible news outside of crisis reporting. The end goal of this study is that people will be able to take those

recognizable characteristics, apply them to their everyday routine of news consumption, and establish a more reliable and trusting approach to consuming news.

Method

Artifacts

By applying a content analysis, we examined how these new media outlets – *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC), *National Public Radio* (NPR), and *The New York Times* (NYT) – covered the Paris attacks during and after the crisis. The selected outlets all have an international presence, are readily accessible online databases, and have reporters in international locations. The three organizations also consistently report on major global events in both hard and feature news formats that allows for a more dynamic look at the Paris attacks and the diversity in which the attacks were covered on a global scale (See Figure 2 and 3). Specifically, this investigation explored the coverage during the day of the terrorist attack on Paris – November 13, 2015 – as well as subsequent coverage until December 31, 2015. The content analysis examined the use of credibility throughout the coverage. We obtained all the relevant articles from these three news outlets and employed a strategic random sampling of these articles to examine the application of credibility in action.

The selection of the relevant articles used two methods. For BBC and NYT, the articles selected came from the database, ProQuest Newsstand. After specifying the search to the specific publication, the key word search specified for *paris and (attack* or terror*)*, and the date range, the count for NYT the article count was N=102 and for BBC it was N=100. For NYT the selection narrowed the article list further by news section, so that the only remaining articles were under the headings: Foreign Desk, National Desk, Metropolitan Desk, and Brief. For BBC, there was no option to sort by heading, which resulted in eliminating articles by subject. The

display in ProQuest offered a list of tagged subjects, and the selection process eliminated all

subjects with only a count of one. The result was NYT N=75 and BBC N=58. On the other

hand, NPR was not part of the ProQuest Newsstand database. Therefore, the selection sorted

articles through topic tags on the NPR main website, located at the bottom of the online articles.

The tags used were *paris attacks* and *paris terror attacks*. The article count resulted in *paris*

attacks: N=18, *paris terror attacks*: N=21, and articles which appears with both tags: N=4. The

final count was N=43. Overall the total pool of articles sampled from amounted to N=176. The

final sample came from a random selection, accounting for a rough 10% of the articles from each

outlet. The total sample used for the content analysis resulted in N=19.

Procedure

The information tracked for all of the artifacts produced a compilation of information in

one comprehensive excel document. The first pieces of information obtained included

publication title and author (see Table 3), word count, and LIWC information (see Table 4). [2]

The information gathered came from the LIWC content analyzing process, which not only

provided a word count, but also the LIWC analysis of positive and negative language

percentages. One note on this process is that the program cannot analysis more than 1000

characters, so for seven of the articles the process split the article into two halves and submitted

separately. To track references to France and other nations, a record of presence and absence for

mentions of countries accounted for this category, along with dialogue excepts, as two columns

in the excel file. A zero indicated no mention, and a one indicated a mention. This is true for all

subsequent presence and absence tracking. In addition to the general information, to account for

timeliness, the research kept record of the number of days between the Paris attacks and the

article publication; as well as, recorded a mention of updates. Any article that indicated an update only had one.

Moving on to accounting for the artifacts of authority. If the articles had a clearly stated author, a LinkedIn search accounted for their level of education and the amount of time in years and months the author worked for the publication as of April 2017. If information was unavailable, the study conducted additional research through a basic search engine to supplement the information. The study counted attributions with a constant tally for any mention of information that attributed an outside source. Additionally, records tracked the specific source that provided the information, along with the number of times the source gave information in the article analyzed. The research kept a count for the number and type of graphics (photographs, videos, and maps) present in each article. For the downloaded PDF articles, the research sought out the original article online as the PDF versions did not have any graphics.

The information accounted for in the final categories, damages and negative language in relation to ISIS, fell into the presence and absence coding as well. Following the zero and one method, the study kept example excerpts of dialogue from the articles as examples of qualifying for a presence of negative language in relation of ISIS. For damages, the study maintained a record of bullet pointed mentions of damages through effects to infrastructure (i.e. mentions of military mobilization or changes in operation of public transportation). Damages also accounted for any mentions of a death toll with the same presence and absence method. The study kept a note if the death toll mentioned did not refer directly to the Paris Attacks, and instead reported the deaths from a different event.

Analysis

With the final sample, the construction of the analysis attempted to account for the

presence and absence of trends across each publication. The research gathered general

information (see Table 3) such as word count, publication dates with any updates, and LIWC

emotional language percentages (see Table 4 and 5). [2] The other artifacts coded for included:

presence/ absence of contextual language, authority (authorship information and graphics) (see

Table 6), negative language in relation to ISIS, and damages (death toll mentions, effects to

infrastructure). The attribution artifact developed as the only category accounted for

quantitatively and qualitatively. Attributions were accounted for in both number of attributions

mentioned in an article, as well as type of attribution. There were four developed categories as a

result: Official (by name officials such as French President Hollande or FBI Director James

Comey), NPR/News Organizations, Official Unnamed (i.e. officials, authorities, police), and

Civilian (see Table 7).

Findings

The goal of the research sought to establish a baseline of credibility concerning how

people understand crisis reporting by different news outlets, and what aspects of the coverage

establish credibility. Considering the decrease in the belief in news credibility over the last

several years, (Pew Research Center, 2008), this study sought to establish an easy to understand,

set of standards for news credibility. However, as the study progressed, the research found

reoccurring trends within the sampled articles, which repeated themselves across all three of the

publications. The original idea was to track the characteristics of timeliness, authority, and

damages, in their various forms, to support the concept that when these characteristics are

present, the article possesses a higher degree of credibility (Bucy et al., 2014). However,

throughout the research, the only consistent trends across a majority of the sample appeared in

the use of authority (in particular regard to attributed sources) and an absence of negative

language in relation to ISIS. The latter, appeared with greater surprise, as when narratives about

ISIS appear in the news media, the narratives are often negative more often than not (Laub,

2016; Lister et al., 2017; Williams, 2016). This research found that although negative language

appeared in many articles, the language was often from quoted sources, not stated by the

publication itself. Findings such as this developed a need to establish a new perception of what

credible media trends appeared as in crisis reporting.

With the goal of establishing a baseline for news credibility, this analysis identified

several trends that serve as identifying signals of varying levels of credibility. One note to make

first, the degree of damages reported on were not the prominent topic of discussion for a majority

of the articles. Only 8/19 articles contained any mention of a death toll, but 14/19 did talk about

some change or effect the attacks provoked in the infrastructure of the area discussed in each

particular article. Often, discussion referenced mobilization of military forces, or other attacks

that occurred since the Paris attacks (BBC, 2015e; Chappell & Hopkins, 2015b; New York

Times, 2015; Peralta, 2015b). Any discussion about future changes to government policies or

ideas did not qualify as having an effect on infrastructure. Although it is important to approach

any article with discretion, acknowledging context and target audience, there were factors that

consistently indicated higher levels of credible reporting. Specifically, the trends of note

identified in the analysis fell in categories of: presence of contextual language, negative language

in relation to ISIS, and attributions.

Presence of Contextual Language

The presence or absence of contextual language developed through coding, after several

articles followed the trend of applying the events that took place in Paris to other nations.

Originally, the purpose of the category was to discover any trends in the particular wording of the referencing statements. Examples of this trend appeared repeatedly, specifically in mentions of the code-triggered terms (France or Paris). The language used to talk about the events and after affects in Paris and in broader France, typically only referred to the attacks, and often only once, before moving on, and discussed implications in the country of the article's focus. The instances where repeated discussion about the Paris attacks occurred at any depth, appeared in articles specifically dedicated to in-depth reports of the attacks. As the original coding collected articles about the Paris attacks, the 100% presence for mentions of Paris was not surprising. However, the articles tended to use the attacks to set context for a separate discussion rather than the events themselves – especially in articles published in later weeks after the attacks. The explanation of this trend occurred through the continuing coverage of daily news, and the loss in immediacy of the event. The particular timeliness of the reporting of the Paris attacks differed from the expected trends, where predictions estimated that reporting frequency would have declined and completely dissipated with time, but it did not. After the attacks, the people responsible for the attacks remained in the news media spotlight through March of 2016 and the terror attacks in Brussels (BBC, 2016c). The presence/ absence that coded for discussion of foreign countries (foreign meaning outside of France), also found 100% of the articles accounted for other countries in addition to the discussion of Paris or France. The frequency is also not surprising, as all publications are located outside of France and the fact that ISIS has established itself on the global stage.

After discovering that all articles contained a presence for discussion about France and foreign nations, the resulting content served as an indicator for the articles' target audiences. The trend often established the audience as the guiding force for contextual language. Especially

when discussion about the Paris attacks coincided with more recent news events, did the

significance of establishing the situation's context became a frequent trend. Examples events

mentioned in relation to the Paris attacks includes the Russian jet crash that killed 224 people

(Scott, 2015) or the need for more immediate reconstructions of how to handle the fear

surrounding the migrant crisis in countries like the United States, Macedonia, and Greece (BBC,

2015c). The presence of contextual language, therefore, established itself as a key indicator for

higher credibility concerning the specific audience to which the article seeks appeal.

Negative Language in Relation to ISIS

The initial intent for this category was to see if there was an increased frequency of

negative language when articles discussed the perception of ISIS after the Paris attacks.

However, the result discovered that the presence of any language indicators relating the attacks

specifically to ISIS only presented itself in 11/19 articles. Within those articles, used negative

language often (though not exclusively) in quotations from attributed sources, not within article

itself. Otherwise, usage of negative language appeared reserved to generic terms of *terrorist(s)* or

attackers rather than specifically referencing ISIS specifically. This appeared in not only

contextual situations where a generic term of *terrorist* would be appropriate for the speaker to

condemn all terrorists, but also in discussion of the specific ISIS agents who attacked Paris, after

their affiliation was common knowledge. The analysis, unsuspectingly, failed to establish

negative language as an indicator of news media credibility as the consistency and context of the

language varied too greatly.

In addition, the use of negative language often associated itself with strong emotion-

driven language which when present, indicated a pattern of possible audience coercion. Such

language tended to express itself as calls to action in the face of terrorism, and the language used

by the author, or selected as a quote, arguably had the purpose of creating an emotional appeal to

the readership (Maier, Slovic, & Mayorga, 2016). Phrases included "it is clear we are coming

together to tackle this brutal organization [Islamic State]," (Peralta, 2015a, para. 8) "with

messages tinged with fear and images of terrorist camps and Islamic State recruits," (Corasaniti,

year, para. 2) and "leaks about intelligence programs had made it harder to identify the

"murderous sociopaths" of the Islamic State," (Scott, 2015, para. 2). The phrases created an

atmosphere of fear, solidarity, and a call to action. The atmosphere appealed both on a moral and

emotional ground for the audience, and established some form of empathy with the situation.

Noted common terms, which when repeated frequently within a single article, include *killed,*

casualty, massacred, death, died, fatalities, vulnerable, terror, attack, attackers, radical, alert,

and fear.

Attributions

The analysis accounted for the attributions category in a slightly different method than

the other categories. In addition to tracking presence/ absence for attributions, the category also

kept specific counts of the number of attributions within each article and recorded the source of

each attribution. After the information was accounted for, the resulting data created the four

previously mentioned categories of Official, NPR/News, Official Unnamed, and Civilian (see

Tables 8, 9, and 10). The sorting sought to recognize that for news organization to use attributed

information is not enough to qualify to establish credibility. By sorting the attributions, the

analysis established four levels of credible attributions that recurred throughout the article

sample.

Credibility is not absent from the different categories, but rather the specificity and the

authority of the individual sources differ depending on the individual source and the purpose of

the article. A direct quote from the President Hollande of France coded as being more credible

than *BBC reports*, an NPR reporter coded as credible but different from public officials such as

FBI Director James Comey. Further still, *French authorities* coded as being more credible than

Vee Gomes, a hairstylist in Paris. The overall purpose of the analysis tracking, sought to discover

how the differing attributions developed a range of credibility. However, it is important to note

that the sample included some opinion articles, or meant to convey the perspective of the

audience, rather than reporting on the event. In contexts such as these, readers should approach

the article with an understanding that personal perspectives are not reliable indicators of

credibility, and often serve to give diverse and conflicting perspectives, not establish facts.

On the topic of attributions, this study established categories of attributions as a tool to

understand that there are varying levels of credibility for a source, and demonstrated differing

perceptions that resulted in some sources held in higher regard than others did. The study found

that *Official* sources for an attribution (official authority figures mentioned by name and often by

specific title) appeared as the most common type of attribution within the study with 49% out of

the total attributions from all three publications. Another note is that select articles contained a

larger amount of attributions than others did, and likely caused a skew of the exact differences in

the percentages of attributions within each category. However, the second most common type of

attribution belonged to *Civilian* sources with 24%. These numbers indicate that civilians

maintained a presence as contributors to the information gathering of the articles, but also that

civilian sources appeared more frequently than unattributed official authorities such as *police*

officials, *government officials*, or *reports,* which only held 18% of the sample's attributions. As a

result, establishing credibility is not possible by having attributions alone, but also off the kinds

of attributions, the article contains, and the contextual relevance the source contributes to the article.

The apparent differences arose between the different publications in use of the different types of sources, as well as differences in frequency of sources used. In comparison to *NPR* and the *New York Times*, *BBC* had an incredibly small amount of attributions (N=23 total), but all were either *Official* or *Official Unnamed* (see Table 8). *NPR* had the widest variety of sources, spanning all four categories, but most commonly used *Official* source attributions (see Table 9). The *New York Times* tended to use one type of attribution dominantly within each article sampled. The attributions varied between being dominantly *Official* or *Civilian* depending on the article (see Table 10).

Discussion

The research in this study sought to create a baseline for news media credibility in crisis reporting, yet instead, established trends that indicate the varying levels of reliable news reporting credibility. These trends indicate the target audience and the article information's reliability – both of which change depending on the goal of the article. Depending on the article's goal and target audience, the strength of the article's information and reliability will change. As such, developing a concrete baseline of credibility for *all* crisis reporting is unreasonable, and only serves to diminish the credibility of creative approaches to news reporting. By finding and highlighting common trends in crisis reporting, this study found instead a common ground for readers to begin to approach news reporting.

In approaching this research, many ideas influenced the different examined factors of news media. In recent months, the validity and non-partisan of news media has been called into question, creating an increase in efforts to establish what makes news credible or reliable

(Barthel et al., 2016; Remington, 2013). With the availability of news spreading to so many

different media, and an increase in the assumption of bias in the news (Berry, 2016; Bucy et al.,

2014), a need emerged to explore the bare bones of reporting and to figure out exactly what

aspects identify news coverage as being credible. The result of that need manifested itself as the

focal point of this study - a content analysis to identify if any consistent trends within crisis

reporting published by three major news outlets. From the three publications, the study focused

on specific aspects of the articles to investigate whether any trends emerged that would serve as

indicators for a credible news article.

    The three original themes coded for were timeliness, authority, and damages. The

analysis tracked timeliness by date of publication after the Paris attacks, and by whether the

article had received any updates (see Table 5). Authority included authorship education level and

time with the publication, number of and types of graphics, and the number of and kinds of

attributions within each article (see Table 6). Finally, the analysis accounted for damages by

mentions of death toll numbers and any changes to infrastructure such as shut down city services

or police mobilization. After a test run at applying the code to test articles, new themes emerged

which became significant indicators for credibility. These indicators included language to

establish context, and negative language in relation to ISIS.

    Timeliness did not have the expected effect on crisis reporting. The original idea

suggested that with breaking news, there would be limited knowledge of what happened, and

thus would restrict the news articles' content to consisting of the same information. The content

of the different articles had common facts, but each article sampled had a clear purpose with

little overlap – other than the Paris attacks. As such, time was not a critical factor for establishing

credibility in crisis reporting. One example for not considering timeliness a factor is that several

of the attackers involved with the Paris attacks, remained at large through March of 2016. With

continuous news coverage and updates on the details of the event extending so far past the date

of the attacks, timeliness in relation to the day of the attacks was inconsequential.

A noted second topic, negative language in relation to ISIS, did not appear in news

articles near any expected frequency rates. Instead, news articles often used the generic terms of

terrorists or *attackers* in referring to the ISIS agents who conducted the attacks (BBC, 2015d;

Joffrin, 2015; Wagner, 2015). As a result, the context of when the author used the term *ISIS*

often appeared within quotes, typically as part of a longer call to action where ISIS was

condemned, often in association with other hot topics at the time. Examples of these topics

includes topics about countries dealing with the migrant crisis (BBC, 2015c), the U.S. 2016

elections (Martin, 2015), and the Russian plane crash that killed hundreds of people (Scott, 2015)

– all discussed in relation to the Paris attacks. The result of coding for this language, led to the

tentative conclusion that the use of specifically charged terms, such as ISIS, are more often used

to produce an emotional response from the public than inform the public.

Overall, within these articles discussing the Paris attacks, the two attributes of the news

articles that helped indicate credibility the most consisted of the presence of contextual language,

and the number of and types of attributes. A large part of what drives authors and publications

during the writing process is the audience they are attempting to write for. Depending on the

different country of origin, language, and the percussing knowledge of the background

information, the style and purpose of the writing changes. A key indicator that subsequently

appeared in all of the sampled articles consisted of whom specifically the article was attempting

to appeal. This trend appeared frequently with indicators of which country the news related to (if

located outside of the United States), or with indicators referring to specific states (if located

within the United States) and established the desired audience; or rather, established the targeted

topic of interest for the specific news article. The target audience is a key indicator of credibility

as the writers use specific language according to the prior knowledge of the target audience

(Martin, 2015).

Limitations

Several limitations exist within this specific research project. One main limitation is the

fact that the study only used three publications. Further, the primary audience for the

publications consisted of Americans or else people fluent in English. Considering the global

scale of news media dissemination, as well as the global nature of the Paris attacks, it is not

feasible to gain a comprehensive idea of news media credibility standards that extend outside of

the targeted, English speaking, and dominantly American audience. On the topic of publications,

to make the research manageable, the research selected a limited amount of articles, and a more

holistic examination of the articles may prove to discover differing trends in future research than

those found in this study.

Taking into account that the event the analysis covered took place in a non-English

speaking country, another limitation lay with the problem of depending on English publications,

articles, and translations. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of credibility indicators

for crisis reporting, future research may seek to include articles from French publications. Even

with a limited glimpse at the articles available, the limitation supports the recommendation to

include publications from other European and Middle East countries as well. One recommended

publication example to include is *Al Jazeera*.

Beyond publications, another limitation resides with the isolated event covered and

examined: the Paris 2015 attacks. As a terror attack, there is a difference in the reporting

coverage and in the readership mentality used when approaching a terror attack, rather than other crisis news coverage. In particular, the Paris attacks had distinctive circumstances that caused a global-scale reaction across topics of terrorism, migrants, political elections, and the G20 summit, all of which created a very distinctive and unique atmosphere. These factors, and others, indicate that news coverage likely differs strongly between crisis events; due to the additional global context, the event takes place in – both in time and geographical location.

Future Research

Future research may apply discovered trends and direct studies that include a larger variety of publications. The breaking down of crisis reporting also has potential to research and investigate other crisis events, and future crisis coverage, to maintain a realistic perspective of what modern crisis reporting considers as credible news. As previously mentioned, publications like *Al Jazeera* provide the potential to obtain a non-western perspective of the ISIS attacks, and different perspectives on the fallout reactions in the Middle Eastern countries because of the attacks. Obtaining differing perspectives conveyed in diverse languages, from diverse cultural mindsets, and though a more globally holistic perspective is ideal.

Additionally, future research may serve the area of crisis reporting research to follow trends in the reporting with current events as the documentation become available. Developing topics of related interest that would serve the purpose of investigating crisis coverage are the Syrian Civil War, the Syrian migrant crisis, and the various cases of European attacks (Brussels, Russia, Turkey). Factors to account for include timeliness and global context, but especially with the events that are ongoing, it would be interesting to see if there are patterns across publications in covering the events – especially when multiple crises occur at the same time.

Conclusion

Through the attempt to establish a baseline news credibility, this study found two, simple trends instead. While crisis reporting is a multifaceted, contextually based source of information, it is important to remember all news has a target audience, and all informational sources have a purpose to serve. The initial approach to this research did not take into account the wide variance in approaches to crisis news reporting. After the study, the results demonstrated that an all-encompassing baseline of credibility would be unreasonable to apply to all crisis reporting. Taking into consideration that the world is always changing, along with the evolving platforms news is available on, using the developed trends to gauge the credibility of news will produce a better understanding of the current events and crisis events in the future.

The relevance of addressing the Paris attacks extends not just towards the United States, but also other nations that disseminate news in a similar format. The changes crisis reporting can inspire in populations' response towards issues, such as immigration, war, and religious tolerance, are significant and impacting trends to be aware of (Baumgartner, 2015). Since the conclusion of the study disproved many presumptions, and shone light on new factors for credibility, this research contributed to a deeper awareness of all of the factors involved with understanding crisis reporting.

Notes

[1] This study focuses specifically on what happened during the Paris attacks in November 13, 2015 and will focus primarily on the reports published from Nov. 13 through the end of the year. The study will exclude the complex political and humanitarian issues and background surrounding the Syrian Civil War; although, we acknowledge that these contextual and environmental issues greatly affect news coverage.

[2] The LIWC designed the specific method for obtaining the percentage of positive and negative emotional language. The producers of the program developed a psychometric scale that is able to put tagged words into selected categories, through a thorough judging process to establish a way to categorize whether language is positive or negative (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015). The scale monitored the response triggered by the word in question, and then categorized the response accordingly (Pennebaker et al., 2015). An in-depth description for the process is located at http://liwc.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/LIWC2015_LanguageManual.pdf.

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Table 1

Powers in Syria - Territories and Who Has Them
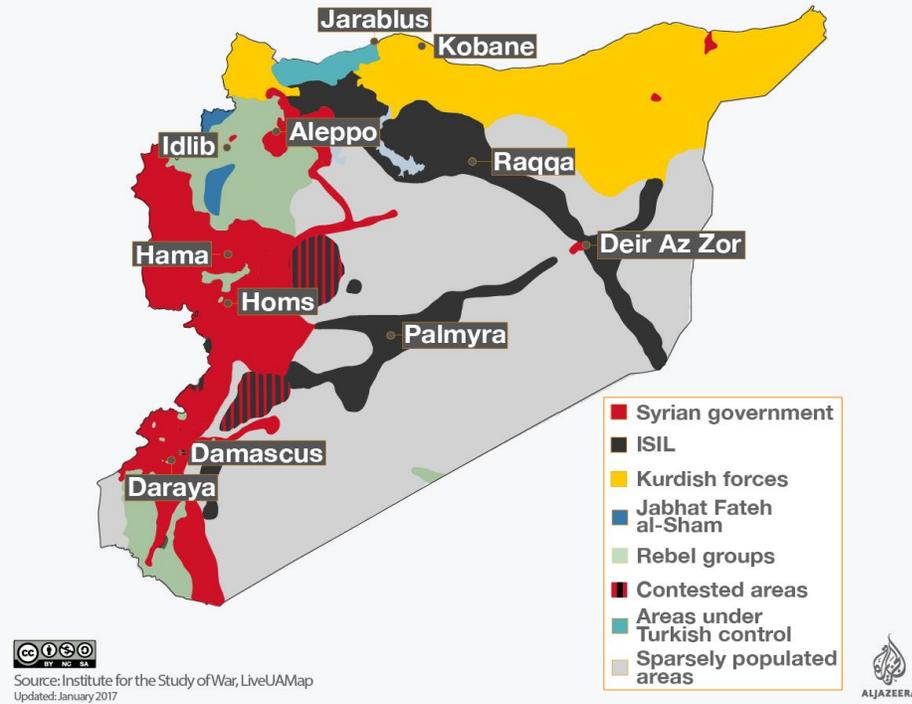
Note: Retrieved from: *Aljazeera* (2017, February 14)

Table 2

Rise of ISIS' Attacks, Strategic Build-Up, and Foreign Involvement

2004	Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) is established
2006	Al Masri announces establishment of Islamic State in Iraq (ISI) Abu Omar al Baghdadi established as the leader
2007	United States troops resurgence in Iraq ISI driven from Baghdad, concentrated forces primarily focused in Mosul
2008	ISI forces diminished 2,400 killed and 8,800 captured throughout the year.
2009	Iraqi Prime Minister targets Sunni leaders . Sunnis have a cultural majority in Syria that create tension. ISI support from Sunnis begins to increase. ISI claims responsibility for several bombings throughout the year killing hundreds.

2010   US-Iraqi operation kills Abu Omar al Baghdadi and Abu Ayyub al Masri.
                  Abu Bakr al Baghdadi becomes the new ISI leader.

2011   Operatives are sent to Syria, including Abu Muhammad al Julan.
                  Abu Muhammad al Julani becomes leader of Al-Nusra Front (key ISI cell).

2012   ISI launches *Breaking the Walls* campaign.
                       24 bombings and 8 prison breaks free jihadists who participated in 2006-
                  2007 AQI attacks.

2013   **Beginning of the Rise of ISIS**
March 4   Raqqa, Syria falls to Al-Nusra Front, and ISI are now based in Raqqa.
                  April 11   Abu Bakr al Baghdadi moves from Iraq to Syria, and combines ISI
                  with Al-Nusra Front in Syria forming The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).
                       Al-Nusra Front leader rejects alliance and declares allegiance to al Qaeda.
July 21   ISIS "Soldier's Harvest" campaign is launched against Iraqi security forces.
August   ISIS begins attacks against Al-Nusra Front and their allies in Raqqa and Aleppo.
December 30 ISIS takes control of Fallujah and parts of Ramadi in Iraq.

2014
January   ISIS takes Raqqa as its capital.
February 3   Al Qaeda and ISIS ties are officially cut.
May   ISIS kidnaps 140 Kurdish schoolboys in Syria.
                  Forces the schoolboys to take lessons on radical Islam theology.
June 10   ISIS takes Mosul, Iraq.
                  At least 600 Shiite are killed during the attack.
June 11   ISIS takes Tikrit, Iraq.
June 12   Iran deploys forces to aid Iraqi, both are able to retake most of Tikrit.
                  June 18   Iraq asks for US to aid with airstrikes against ISIS.
                  June 30   UN declares an estimated 1.2 million Iraqis have been forced from
                  their homes.
                  US sends additional troops to Iraq.
July 17   ISIS storms Syria's largest oil field (Shear gas field), killing 270 people.
August 2-3   ISIS takes Kurdish towns Sinjar and Zumar and takes control of the Mosul Dam.
                  Thousands of Yazidi civilians are forced to flee their homes.
                  August 7   US President Obama begins airstrikes against ISIS in Iraq to
                  defend Yazidis in Sinjar.
August 19   American journalist James Foley is beheaded by ISI.
August 24   ISIS takes Tabqa airbase in Raqqa, now controls entire Raqqa province.
September 2   ISIS beheads journalist Steven Sotloff.
September 13 ISIS executes British aid worker David Haines.
September   ISIS advances on Syrian border town Kobani, thousands flee to Turkey.
September 23 US launches first airstrikes against ISIS in Syria.
                  September 24 French tourist, Hervé Gourdel, is beheaded in Algeria by militants
                  aligned with ISIS.
September 27 US launches airstrikes in Kobani.

October 3   Islamic Youth Shura Council claims Libyan city Derna for ISIS.
               ISIS beheads British aid worker Alan Henning.
November 2   Informal alliance formed between ISIS and Al-Nusra Front.
December 16   A gunman, with alleged ties to ISIS, takes 17 hostages in Sydney, Australia
December 30   ISIS takes responsibility for suicide attack in Baghdad.

2015
January 7   11 people killed in two-man attack on French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*
               in Paris. Third gunman conducts synchronized attack on kosher supermarket
               results in four dead.
January 26   ISIS forced from Syrian border town Kobani after four-month battle
January 28   ISIS allied militants claim responsibility for armed assault in Tripoli, Libya.
               February 4   ISIS releases video of Jordanian military pilot Moaz al Kasasbeh
               being burned alive.
               February   ISIS released a video of 21 Egyptian Christians, who had been
               kidnapped in January, being beheaded.
               Egypt launches airstrikes in Libya in retaliation.
February 25   ISIS abducts at least 200 Assyrian Christians in northeast Syria
March 18   ISIS claims responsibility for attack on the Bardo museum in Tunis.
March 20   Militants linked to ISIS bomb two mosques in Sanaa, Yemen, killing 137 people.
April 5   ISIS seize Yarmouk refugee camp in Damascus with more than 18,000 people.
April 8   ISIS releases more than 200 Yazidis who have been held captive since 2014.
April 19   ISIS posts video executing dozens of Ethiopian Christians.
May 17   ISIS takes Ramadi, Iraq.
May 20   ISIS takes Palmyra, Syria.
May 21   ISIS takes full control of Sirte, Libya.
               May 22   ISIS claims responsibility for suicide attacks on a Shiite mosque
               that killed 21 and injured over 100 people.
               May 29   ISIS claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at a Shiite
               mosque in eastern Saudi Arabia that killed four people.
               June 17   ISIS branch claims responsibility for a series of car bombs that
               killed 30 people.
               June 22   Kurdish forces take full control of a military base from ISIS.
               June 26   ISIS kills at least 145 civilians in Kobani, Syria.
                  ISIS attacks a Shiite mosque in Kuwait that killed 27 people and injuring
               200.
               June 27   ISIS take responsibility for an attack at a Tunisian resort in Sousse,
               where 38 people were killed and 39 were wounded.
               July 1 ISIS conducts several simultaneous attacks on military checkpoints in
               Egypt's northern Sinai Peninsula, killing dozens of soldiers.
               July 20 ISIS linked suicide bomber attacks and cultural center in Suruç, Turkey
               killing at 30 people.
               August 6   ISIS claims responsibility for a suicide bombing in a Saudi
               Arabian mosque killing at least 15 people, including 12 Saudi police officers.
               August 12   ISIS releases 22 Assyrian Christians.
               September 3   ISIS affiliate kills 20 people in two bombings in Sanaa, Yemen.

September 24 ISIS claims responsibility for two bombings at a Yemeni mosque killing 25 people.

September 29 ISIS linked to killing an Italian aid worker and veterinarian in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

September 30 Russia begins airstrikes in Syria.

October 3   ISIS claimed responsibility for killing a Japanese man in northern Bangladesh.

October 6   ISIS kills 25 people in a series of car bombings in Aden and Sanaa, Yemen.

October 9   ISIS seizes six villages near Aleppo

October 10-12 Turkish Prime Minister, Ahmed Davutoglu, blames ISIS for the attacks at a peace rally in Ankara which left 95 people dead.

October 15   Iraqi forces recapture the largest oil refinery in the country from ISIS.

October 16   ISIS linked militants claim responsibility for killing five Shiite worshipers in Saihat, Saudi Arabia.

October 22   A member of the U.S. special operations force is killed during a hostage rescue mission in northern Iraq (first American death from ground combat with ISIS).

October 20   ISIS members were killed, and six were detained.

October 31   ISIS affiliate claims responsibility for bombing a Russian passenger plane and killed everyone onboard (224 people).

November 12 ISIS claims responsibility for suicide attacks in Beirut that killed 40 people.

November 13 Kurdish forces seize Sinjar, Iraq from ISIS

ISIS carries out a series of coordinated attacks in Paris, France killing 130 people.

November 15 France increases airstrikes in Raqqa, Syria.

November 29 ISIS attacks a Shiite mosque in Bangladesh, killing a cleric and wounding people.

December 1   US Defence Secretary, Ashton Carter, announces US special operations will be sent to Iraq to support Iraqi and Kurdish fighters, and launch operations in Syria.

December 2   A married couple, allegedly inspired by ISIS, killed 14 people in San Bernardino, California.

December 10 US officials announce airstrikes killed ISIS finance minister Abu Saleh and two other senior leaders in Tal Afar, Iraq.

December 27 Iraqi military forces seize Ramadi from ISIS.

2016

March 18   Salah Abdeslam, the Paris attacks most wanted suspect arrested in Brussels.

Table 3

General Article Sample Information		
Publication	Article Title	Author / Orginial Content Source
NPR	Brussels Remains On High Alert; Schools And Universities To Reopen This Week	Eyder Peralta
NPR	Architect Of Paris Attacks Was Killed In Raid, French Authorities Say	Eyder Peralta
NPR	Candidates Go On Air, Raise Money In Response To Paris Attacks, Refugee Crisis	Jessica Taylor
NPR	France And England Play Friendly Match, Two Other Soccer Games Canceled	Laura Wagner
NPR	Paris Attacks: What We Know On Saturday	Bill Chappell and Christopher Dean Hopkins
BBC	Spanish judge questions man suspected of recruiting minors for Islamic State	ABC website, Madrid, in Spanish
BBC	Macedonia calls for better coordination with Greece on refugees	Makfax news agency, Skopje, in English
BBC	Italian paper says USA brokering Turkey, Russia peace "to remedy its errors"	Alberto Negri
BBC	Romanian ministers meet over Paris attacks, hail antiterror steps	Agerpres news agency, Bucharest, in English
BBC	Bosnian analyst says Sarajevo shooter born in Paris, had links to Wahhabis	Bosnian Serb Television, Banja Luka, in Bosnian
BBC	French column calls on nation to stand united in face of Paris attacks	Laurent Joffrin
NYT	A Mixture of Support and Unease in a South Carolina Crowd	Jonathan Martin
NYT	Paris Street Spared in Carnage Embodies What Attackers Loathed	Michael Kimmelman
NYT	Paris Attacks Darken Tone of G.O.P. Campaign Ads	Nick Corasaniti
NYT	Rio Mayor Cautious in Wake of Paris Attacks	New York Times Company (Brief - no author given)
NYT	F.B.I. Director Says No Link to U.S. Is Seen	Eric Lichtblau
NYT	Reigniting the Debate Over Civil Liberties vs. National Security	Hanna Ingber, Lela Moore, and Jeffrey Marcus
NYT	Encrypted Messaging Apps Face New Scrutiny Over Possible Role in Attacks	David E. Sanger and Nicole Perlroth
NYT	Gloves Off, Director of the C.I.A. Faults Surveillance Curbs	Shane Scott

Table 4   Table 5

Accounting for General Information and LIWC Information			
Publication	Word Count	Emotional Language (LIWC)	
		Positive	Negative
NPR	454	1.1	4.1
NPR	606	1	4.2
NPR	861	1.4 // 9.3	2.1 // 1.3
NPR	328	1.8	2.4
NPR	782	.6	5
BBC	304	.6	1.9
BBC	319	1.9	1.2
BBC	611	2.4	4.3
BBC	410	2.4	3.2
BBC	302	3.6	6.9
BBC	309	3.5	5.5
NYT	1217	2.9 // 1.4	1.6 // 1.7
NYT	1499	.8 // 1.2	1.5 // .9
NYT	933	3 // 2.3	4 // 4.7
NYT	88	3.3	3.3
NYT	345	1.7	6.3
NYT	1497	2.6 // 3	4.1 // 4.9
NYT	1195	2.3 // 1.8	3.8 // 3.7
NYT	1058	2.1 // 1.3	3.5 // 3.2

Coding for Timeliness		
Publication	Timeliness	
	Days After Attacks	Updates
NPR	10	0
NPR	6	1
NPR	5	0
NPR	4	0
NPR	1	1
BBC	32	0
BBC	11	0
BBC	19	0
BBC	7	0
BBC	6	0
BBC	3	0
NYT	26	0
NYT	20	0
NYT	15	0
NYT	9	0
NYT	7	0
NYT	6	0
NYT	4	0
NYT	4	0

Note: Where there are two LIWC values, the program required that the analysis run twice with the article submitted in two parts, as the document exceeded the character limit.

Table 6

Coding for Credibility with Authorship and Graphics				
Publication	Authorship		Graphics	
NPR	Education	Time With Publication (years)	Count	Type
NPR	B.A. Journalism	8 11/12	2	- photograph - tweet with video and visual
NPR	B.A. Journalism	8 11/12	1	- photograph
NPR	B.A. Political Science	1 11/12	6	- photograph - YouTube videos - Instagram video
NPR	B.A. Government and Journalism	1 2/12	3	- photograph - tweet with link to a video - tweeted video
BBC	B.A. History and English/ M.A. English /// B.A. Journalism (News/Editorial)	13 1/2 /// 2 9/12	5	- photograph - thumbnail photograph - video - interactive map - Twitter video
BBC	N/A	N/A	0	N/A
BBC	N/A	N/A	0	N/A
BBC	University of Milan	7 7/12 (Il Sole 24 Ore)	0	N/A
BBC	N/A	N/A	0	N/A
BBC	N/A	N/A	0	N/A
NYT	N/A (most sources in French and difficult to navigate/ no information on LinkedIn)	2 10/12 (with Libération) - prior time with the publication before this	0	N/A
NYT	B/A*	3 10/12*	2	- photograph - video (not visible in PDF)
NYT	B/A History, M/A Art History, Honorary Doctorate (2)	More than 20 years (at least from 1994*- present)	14	- photograph (12) - map of Paris (None visible in PDF)
NYT	B.A. Journalism	8 11/12	1	- photograph
NYT	N/A	N/A	0	N/A
NYT	B.A. Government and English	15 3/12	0	N/A
NYT	B.A. Social Studies, M.A. Journalism // B.A. American Civilization // B.A. International Relations and Affairs	4 6/12 // 11 7/12 // 11	1	- photograph (not visible in PDF)
NYT	B.A. Government // B.A. Politics and Near Eastern Studies, M.A. Communications	35 3/12* // 5 5/12	3	- linked infographics (not visible in PDF)

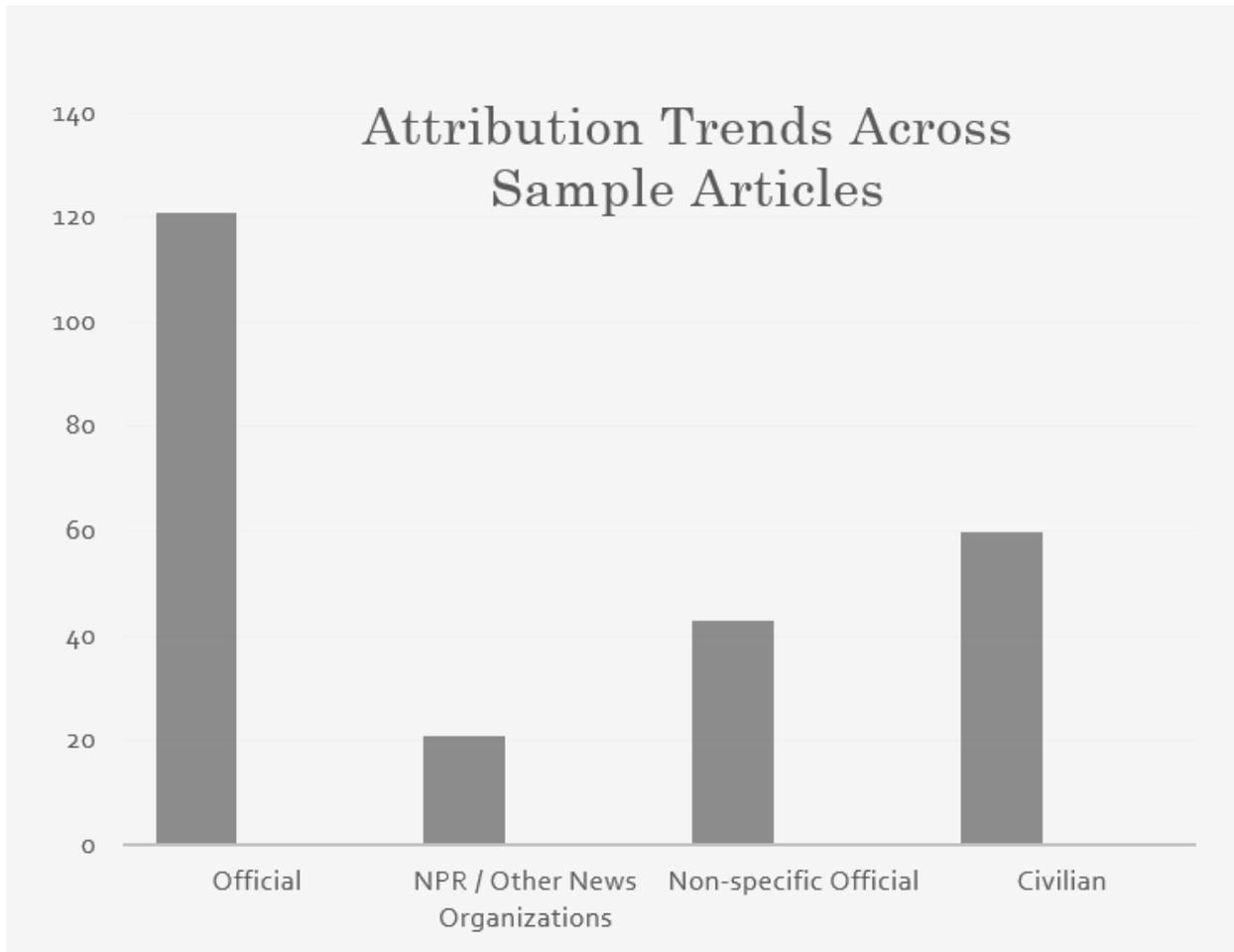* - Information is tentative and research was unable to confirm.

Table 7

Table 8

British Broadcasting Corporation Attribution Breakdown

Attribution Type	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5	Article 6
Official	1	6	1	6	6	0
NPR/ Other News Organizations	0	0	0	0	0	0
Official Unnamed	3	0	0	0	0	0
Civilian	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	*4*	*6*	*1*	*6*	*6*	*0*

NPR Total Attributions: 23

Table 9

National Public Radio Attribution Breakdown

| Attribution Type	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5
Official	6	9	10	1	14
NPR/ Other News Organizations	2	5	1	3	10
Official Unnamed	2	4	3	0	18
Civilian	0	0	10	0	6
Total	*10*	*18*	*24*	*4*	*48*

NPR Total Attributions: 104

Table 10

New York Times Attribution Breakdown

Attribution Type	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5	Article 6	Article 7	Article 8
Official	2	6	7	2	9	0	15	20
NPR/ Other News Organizations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Official Unnamed	0	1	0	1	0	0	8	3
Civilian	12	17	8	0	0	7	0	0
Total	*14*	*24*	*15*	*3*	*9*	*7*	*23*	*23*

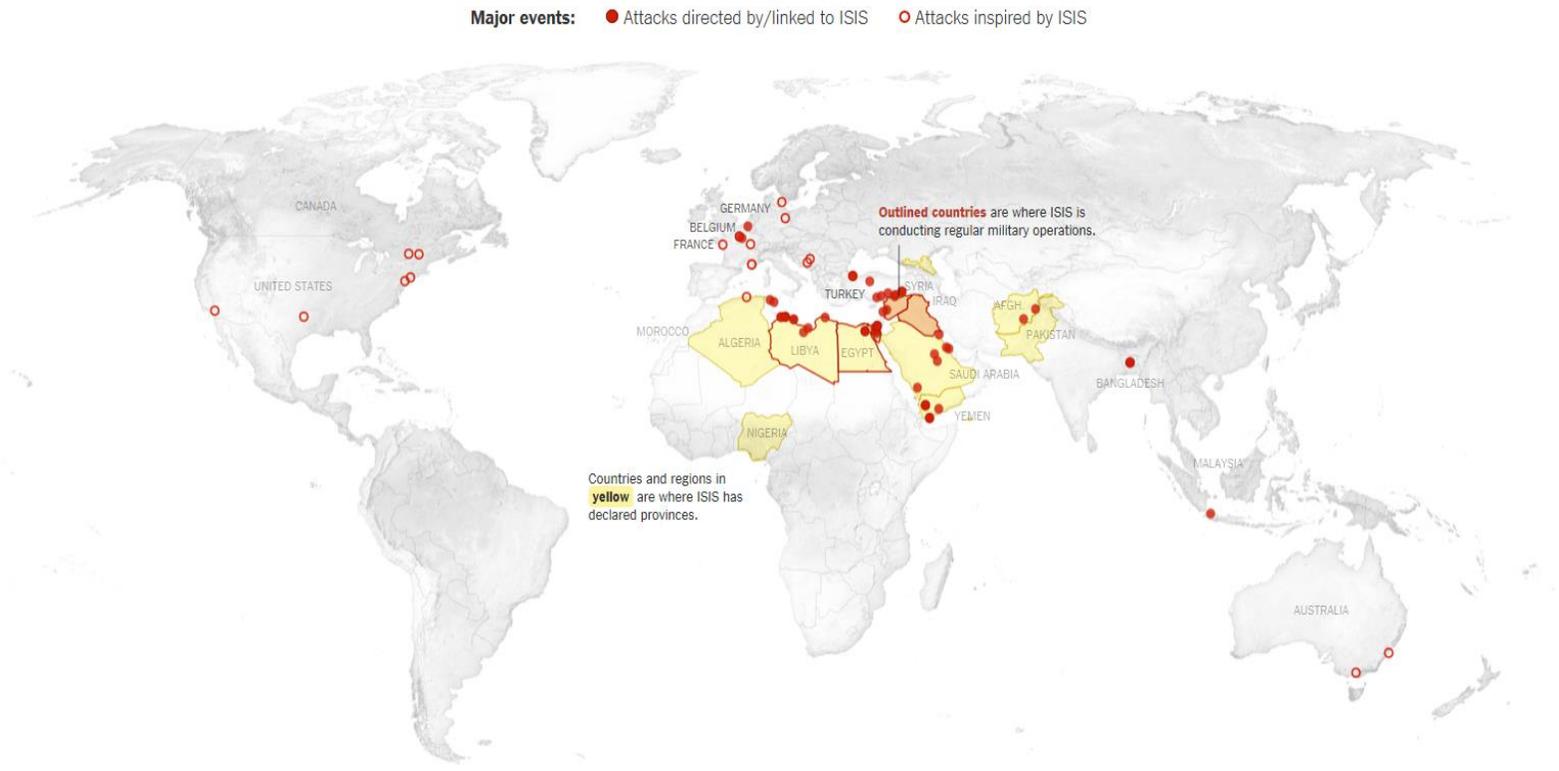*NPR Total Attributions: 118*

Figure 1

Timestamped Map of November 13 Paris Attacks
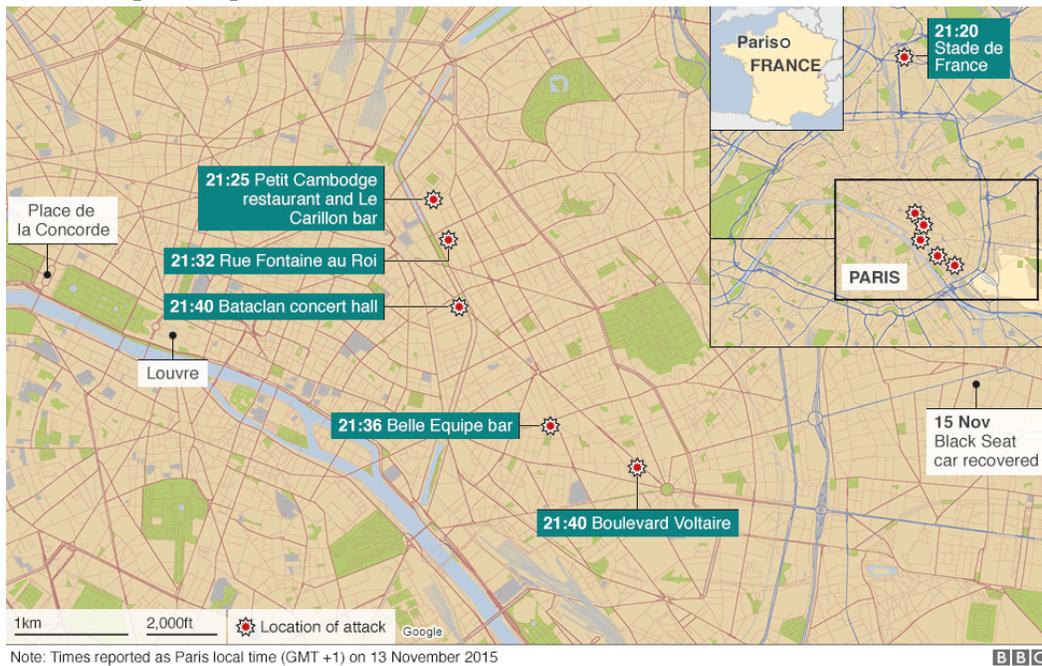
Note: *British Broadcasting Corporation* (2015, December 9)

Figure 2

ISIS Activity and Attacks through March 2016

Note: Retrieved from: Yuroish, Watklins, and Gitarikanan (2016) at *New York Times*

Figure 3

Timeline of Major ISIS Attacks: 2015-2016

Note: Retrieved from: Yuroish, Watklins, and Gitarikanan (2016) at *New York Times*