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FRAMING THE GUARD: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HOW THE NEWS MEDIA
FRAMES THE NATIONAL GUARD DURING TIMES OF CRISIS

By

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B.A. Bowling Green State University, 2019

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FRAMING THE GUARD: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HOW THE
NEWS MEDIA FRAMES THE NATIONAL GUARD DURING TIMES
OF CRISIS

By

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A Thesis Approved on

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ABSTRACT

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Taylor Tolles

June 1st, 2021

A quantitative content analysis of 585 newspaper articles gathered from seven news sources that covered the National Guard's response to COVID-19, BLM Protests, and the Capitol Riot were used to determine the prevalence of frames used to depict the Guard during times of crisis. By using the five frames found in media framing (Entman, 1991), the prevalence of frames found in newspaper media was compared to the prevalence of frames found to be used in times of crisis (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The results showed that even though the Guard's response in times of crisis is similarly framed as previous research, there was a divergence in the order of prevalent frames between crises as well as news sources. Further analysis showed that even though the prevalence of frames used varies by news source, chi-square analysis showed that the differences were not statistically significant except for in the Guard News

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INTRODUCTION

Previous research shows that news media has a significant impact on public opinion surrounding everyday issues, as well as whether or not the public deems certain issues as important or not (Brunken, 2006; Martins et al., 2013; Boyle & Mower, 2018; O'Brien et al., 2019). This role of news media is often times amplified during times of crisis where confusion is caused by often conflicting and ever-changing information (Littlefield & Quenett, 2007). The public is vulnerable to being swayed by news media because the media can determine what is and isn't deemed important through framing (Scheufele, 2000; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Cissel, 2012; O'Brien et al., 2019). With a history of showing bias in what is presented or not presented in relation to current events (Messer & Bell, 2010; An & Gower, 2008), it is important to understand how news media uses mechanisms, such as frames, to shape the reality of a crisis.

In times of crisis, local and state governments in the United States often call upon the federal government for aid and assistance. Historically this has taken the form of activating a state's National Guard when local authorities become overwhelmed (Stuhltrager, 2006). The National Guard, by design, is an institution made up everyday citizens who take on the dual mission of citizen soldier and is sent in to assist with local, state, and federal government in times of crisis (Vest, 2010). Although deploying the National Guard has been a regular response by state and federal governments in times of

crisis, it has often been over a brief period of time and in isolated areas. With the multiple crises in 2020, National Guard servicemembers have been activated almost nonstop since March of 2020 for a variety of roles. These roles have taken the form of support for law enforcement and hospital staff, disaster cleanup, and logistically facilitating the distribution of food, testing supplies and resources for local and state governments. In short, over 2020 and early 2021 the presence of the National Guard has been felt in one way or another for many Americans.

Prior media framing literature on government responses to crisis has exclusively grouped the National Guard as a part of the umbrella categorization of government response (Brunken, 2006; Littlefield & Quenette, 2007). This consolidation has created a gap in the literature by failing to look at how the National Guard itself has been framed by the news media during its response to a crisis. For example, when researchers have discussed the shortcomings of the government response after Hurricane Katrina hit Louisiana, the umbrella of government response encompassed the delay of activating the National Guard (Brunken, 2006). By focusing on the various levels of response, the depictions of the Guard's response to Katrina had been overshadowed by the conflict between levels of government, missing out on a historic crisis to build a foundation of media framing involving the National Guard. By not having these basic foundations of framing, researchers are not able to further explore the potential societal implications of how the media frames the National Guard to the public.

To fill the gap in literature, this study assessed potential variation in media framing of the National Guard by conducting a content analysis of how newsprint media has framed the National Guard during the COVID-19 response, BLM protests, and the

January 2021 riot at the U.S. Capitol. An existing framing typology of five generic frames (Attribution of Responsibility, Conflict, Economic Consequence, Human-Interest, and Morality), that are commonly used in the news (Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Brunken, 2006; An & Gower, 2009), was used to determine the prevalence of frames that were used for depicting the National Guard during these three crises. Due to the differing dynamics of roles played by the National Guard for these separate crises, analysis was conducted to determine if the frames used by the news media differ across separate crisis, as well as differ across news sources. Lastly, this study looked at how each news source has shown either support or opposition to the Guard's response to the various crises. Specifically, this paper tested the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: It is hypothesized that the overall order of frames used in the population of the articles will coincide with the ordered frames found in news media by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): *Attribution of Responsibility, Economic Consequence, Conflict, Human-Interest, and Morality*.

Hypothesis 2: It is hypothesized that even though overall in the population, frames will correspond with the ordered frames in previous literature, they will differ across separate crises.

- A. Specifically, the articles covering COVID-19 will have a higher prevalence of the Human-Interest frame than the other five generic frames. This will be due to the focus being on the Guard impacting individuals, families, and communities in their response to the pandemic.

- B. News articles will have more occurrences of the Conflict frame for the Guard's response to the BLM protests and the riot at the Capitol than the other five generic frames, to where the focus in these articles will be the confrontations between the Guard and demonstrators.

Hypothesis 3: It is hypothesized that overall support and opposition, will diverge between the three crises; news sources will show more support for the Guard in its response to COVID-19 and the riot at the Capitol, and show more opposition during the BLM protests

- A. Even though overall, there will be a predominant show of opposition towards the Guard's response to the BLM protests, there will be a divide between the New York Times and the other two national sources, where the other national news sources will show overall support towards the Guard's response. This is due to the left leaning tendencies of the New York Times.
- B. The local news sources will have less use of the issue-specific frames overall compared to the national news sources. This is hypothesized due to local news sources not having the ingrained political affiliations that is blatant with the national news sources.

LITERATURE REVIEW

National Guard

The National Guard is a dual military force that is comprised of a voluntary force of citizen soldiers that can trace its roots back to 1636 and is the only fighting force that is required by the U.S. Constitution (Stuhltrager, 2006; Brown, 2008). For 400 years the National Guard has served the United States in a wide range of capacities on both state and federal levels, domestically and on foreign land, and in relief and combat roles. Since its conception, the National Guard, alongside the U.S. Army and Air Force, has been involved in nearly every major conflict on American soil, both World Wars, and has been continuously deployed in the War on Terror since 9/11. Due to these continuous deployments to the Middle East, there has been the potential of resources being stretched too thin and limiting the capabilities of the Guard during times of domestic crisis (Nagal & Sharp, 2010; Daniels, 2017).

Alongside being used in combat roles, the National Guard has been utilized in diverse roles domestically as well. In times of crisis the National Guard is one of the first resources used in response to natural disasters such as hurricanes, tornadoes, wildfires, and flooding (Stuhltrager, 2006; Nagal & Sharp, 2010). In the war on drugs, the National Guard has provided analysis and engineer support, training and reconnaissance, transportation, and linguistic services for every state and territory in the United States (De Moura, 2019). During times of civil unrest, the National Guard has been activated to

restore order and support local authorities (Clayton, 2018; Nagal & Sharp, 2010; Messer & Bell, 2010; Cox, 2020). By the end of March 2020, nearly 15,000 Guard members had already been activated in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (Thayer, 2020). With the added support during the BLM protests following the death of George Floyd while in police custody, and natural disaster response, 62,000 Guard members had been activated across the nation by the beginning of June 2020. Just as the National Guard was starting to rest after a year of constant movement, an attempted riot at the national Capitol building in January 2021 resulted in the Guard once again answering the call of its country. Following the attack, and leading up to the Inauguration of President Joe Biden, 25,000 Guard members were activated to Washington D.C.

Covid-19 Pandemic

On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 a global pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020), after an alarming rate of spread and death following in the wake of the novel coronavirus. Beginning in China, the virus quickly spread to every continent on the globe and has caused over 2.6 million deaths worldwide (Pettersson, 2021). In the United States, the first confirmed case on Feb. 29 began the realization of the vulnerability that Americans had not known since the influenza pandemic of 1918, or “Spanish Flu”. With the federal and state governments scrambling to contain the spread of this new threat, a supplemental force was needed to assist and support state and local responses. This was the beginning of the largest domestic response ever conducted by the National Guard.

By March 19, 2020, more than 2,050 Guard members had already been activated in 27 states to assist with state responses to COVID-19 (Department of Defense, 2021),

and more were soon to follow after all 50 states had declared states of emergency. In a short period of time, the number of Guard units who were activated dramatically increased to fulfill the need of the country in a wide variety of roles. These roles were not just in assisting medical staff in hospitals and nursing homes, but also consisted of building alternative care facilities, organizing, and staffing mobile COVID-19 testing sites, and mortuary affairs in larger cities such as New York City. Outside of direct medical response, the National Guard also supplemented staff in prisons, food processing plants, first responders, police departments and food distribution centers.

Black Lives Matter

The spark that began the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement began as a hashtag from Patrisse Cullors in 2013 in response to her friend Alicia Garza's Facebook post, following the verdict of George Zimmerman as non-guilty in the murder of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin (Clayton, 2018). With the addition adage of Opal Tometi, the group began using the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter to build their campaign of #BlackLivesMatter. It was not until a year later, when the infamous shooting of Michael Brown by a Ferguson, Missouri police officer that the social movement began spreading across the country. The grassroots social movement began replicating the 1961 Freedom Rides and brought in Americans from all across the United States to protest the racial injustice (Clayton, 2018; Mercado, 2020). The BLM movement has progressed to students doing demonstrations on college campuses, professional sports players using their platforms and status to spread the BLM message, and politicians using the movement as a platform to call for criminal justice reform (Clayton, 2018). In 2020, the list of African Americans killed by police added more names, protests have rallied behind

the names of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and most recently Casey Goodson. Specifically, protests erupted after a video went viral of a former Minneapolis police officer kneeling on the neck of George Floyd for over 9 minutes. These protests have grown to all 50 states and over 17 countries worldwide (Hart, 2020).

While over 93% of protests were peaceful, (Dave et al, 2020; Mansoor, 2020), the news media has disproportionately covered violent demonstrations between demonstrators and police (Kishi & Jones, 2021). According to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), this has resulted in 42% of the country believing that the BLM Movement is solely trying to incite violence (Mansoor, 2020) . The history of the BLM as a nationwide social movement, as well as its negative portrayal by the news media, begins in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014. It was here where protestors were met with police in riot gear and some of the protests turned violent. This led also to the first, but not the last, time the National Guard was called in to restore order between the two sides (Clayton, 2018). In 2020, during a global pandemic and an ever-increasing number of natural disasters, police and protestors again have clashed in violence, resulting in governors issuing states of emergency, and bringing in the National Guard to quell the violence. At the height of the protests in early June, there were roughly 62,000 National Guard servicemembers deployed to 24 states for BLM protests (Kim, 2020).

Riot at the Capitol

January 6th, 2021, will always be remembered infamously in the history of the United States of America following the Riot and, arguably, attempted coup by self-proclaimed supporters of former President Donald Trump. A day meant to certify the

2020 election results turned into the Capitol being besieged by a mob, many of whom were armed with firearms and protective gear, who were in Washington D.C. for former President Donald Trump's "Save America March" and "Stop the Steal March" (Barry & Frenkel, 2021). Scenes of chaos as members of the mob clashed with Capitol law enforcement officers were seen on television sets across the globe, and quickly the mob was seen breaching the Capitol building itself. This breach resulted in 5 deaths, one being a Capitol police officer who was beaten by rioters and the other four were part of the group that had breached the Capitol, along with more than 140 individuals injured. During the first hours of the attack, one question was asked over and over, where is the National Guard?

The D.C. National Guard had roughly 350 members activated to assist the D.C. police with traffic did not have the clearance to be on the Capitol grounds. Due to Washington D.C. not being a state, the Guard cannot be activated by the Mayor of D.C. but has to be requested through the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon. This confusion resulted in the delay of sending in the D.C. and other state's Guard to assist law enforcement and quell the riot, even though the governors of Virginia and Maryland had components of their National Guard ready to go. Another factor that hindered the National Guard being sent was that authorization has to come from the President of the United States, after the request from the D.C. mayor goes to the Pentagon. Previously, for the BLM protests, former President Trump had publicly spoken his readiness to deploy Guard troops to "dominate the streets" in cities facing civil unrest in 2020. But, during the storming of the Capitol, it took V.P Pence to contact the Pentagon to give approval for Guard troops to be sent in. By the evening of the 6th there were almost 2,000 Guard

soldiers in and surrounding the Capitol building, with thousands more on their way. Following the aftermath of the attack, continuing security threats were assessed, and the National Guard responded by activating 25,000 Guard soldiers from all 50 states, D.C, and three U.S. territories to bolster security and protect critical infrastructure.

Framing

Over the last century, a notable literature has contributed to the understanding of what frames are, and how they impact society (Entman, 1993, Goffman 1974; Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Simmon, 1993; Zaller, 1992; De Vreese, 2005; Matthes, 2009). A frame is an abstract mechanism that influences an individual's perceptions of reality (Entman, 1993) by presenting information in organized themes, or patterns, to structure meaning. Knight (1999) described frames as powerful mechanisms that define and solve problems, as well as shape public opinion. Framing, or the process of implementing a frame, is the organizing and understanding information in a context that allows the actor to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" that information (Goffman, 1974; Hallahan, 1999). Framing has become one of the most widely used mechanism in a wide variety of disciplines but is most noted in communication studies (Cacciatore et al., 2015). Framing theory provides a theoretical understanding of how frames are organized and how audiences interpret, internalize, and differentiate key messages within media coverage and how they are guided to a particular understanding (Scheufele, 1999; Cissel, 2012; Green-Saraisky, 2015; Nicolini & Hansen, 2018). The media influences the audience's ability to process information by presenting, or framing, information on an event or crisis in a particular way. In this context, framing theory works alongside agenda-setting and priming by

showing how news media shapes public response and attitudes towards an event or issue (Cissel, 2012; Boyle & Mower, 2018; Cacciatore et al., 2015).

Media Framing

In research, framing can be used to assess news coverage in how it shapes and presents information (Boyle & Mower, 2018). Framing can be present both intentionally and unintentionally. When it comes to news media, framing theory assumes that journalists are active participants in determining what information is being presented and how it is being presented. This intentional framing introduces bias, such as distortion bias, content bias, and decision-making bias (Boyle & Mower, 2018). This has led to the creation of a progression of framing theory that looks specifically at different forms of media, known as media framing.

Media framing is an organizing technique that defines and shapes an issue or event within a particular context through the use of “selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard et al., 1991). It is well established in media framing literature that the public still relies upon the news media for receiving and understanding information, as well as determining what issues are deemed important and relevant (Zaller, 1992; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Scheufele, 2000; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; Cissel, 2012; O’Brien et al., 2019). The importance and relevance of an issue or event is assessed by determining the amount of time that is spent covering a particular topic and issue, how it is framed in context and given to the audience, as well as the tone of the frame (Brunken, 2006; O’Brien et al., 2019).

Research has shown that even though the media influences how the public sees issues and events happening around them, the result of this influence is not always the same across media sources or even events. For example, when the first COVID-19 virus was confirmed in New York City, national news coverage of the pandemic was the primary means of Americans receiving information on what the virus can do and how they should plan accordingly. A Pew Research article published halfway through March of 2020 showed that over half of American adults (51%) were watching the news “very closely”, and another 38% followed the news “closely” for information on the virus (Mitchell & Oliphant, 2020). This difference in influence can be seen when it comes to the perception of “misinformation” in news sources. The same Pew Research article used the center’s American Trends Panel, a nationally represented panel put together to assess trends in the United States, found that Republican and Republican leaning independent individuals were more likely to view the overall media’s approach to covering the virus negatively and more likely to report “misinformation”. The study concluded that regardless of political affiliation, individuals are more likely to use media outlets that align with their political views. Therefore, individuals will receive different coverage of the same events or issues, more specifically, they will receive different framing based on news sources. The differences in coverage are especially important during times of crisis.

A crisis can be defined as “an event in time with high levels of uncertainty, confusion, disorientation, surprise, shock, and stress” (Littlefield & Quenett, 2007; Seeger et al., 2003). During times of crisis, an even greater emphasis is put on news media to relay accurate and up to date information for the public (Littlefield & Quenett, 2007). Because of this elevated need of information, the public is susceptible to being

influenced in how they perceive or think about particular issues or events. Media framing of a particular event or issue not only impacts thoughts or perceived realities; it can also impact the perceptions of risk (Semeteko & Valkenburg, 2000), how the public responds to a crisis, and how a crisis evolves over time (Ven Der Meer & Verhoeven, 2013). A previous study conducted by Brunken (2006), looked at how various news sources framed the local, state, and federal government response to Hurricane Katrina by using a previously established framing typology (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Brunken found that during times of crisis, news media is more likely to use the *Human-Interest* and *Conflict* frames in order to relay information pertaining to the crisis at hand, but also that the frames used also varied over the duration of the crisis. Specifically, as time went on, the news sources were more likely to focus on the conflict between the levels of government trying to place the blame of the poor response on one another (Brunken, 2006). This shows that news sources can take advantage of multiple frames to hold the public's attention and even prolong the perceived issue or event (Brunken, 2006; An & Gower, 2009).

Content analysis is a research method that was first defined by Berelson (1952) as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. This method of analysis seeks out patterns in communication data in the original context of how they were first transcribed. Content analyses have been a part of framing research since its conception. With content analysis, researchers are able to detect, measure, and report “clusters of messages known as frames” (Cissel et al., 2012). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), along with numerous other researchers, have applied content analysis to show the prevalence of frames used by

news media, how they change over time, and for differing events (Brunken, 2006; An & Gower, 2009; Wallace, 2018; O'Brien et al., 2019; Martins et al., 2013; Clayton, 2018). Predominantly, researchers have used two approaches when conceptualizing frames in a content analysis, an inductive or deductive approach.

In a framing analysis, content analysis can be implemented inductively (Simon & Xenos, 2000) where frames are identified by describing each specific frame in-depth by often relying upon direct quotes (Matthes, 2009) or patterns in the media content. With this method, C (Carini & Weber, 2017). Frames can also be conceptualized with a deductive approach by defining and operationalizing the frames that are being investigated before the analysis begins (De Vreese, 2005), and coding frames as variables. This was done by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), who took five generic news frames established previously by Entman (1991 & 1993) and applied them in a study to see how prevalent these frames are used in the news. These five frames: *Attribution of Responsibility, Conflict, Human-Interest, Economic Consequences, and Morality*, were again used by Brunken (2006) to assess how the news media framed various levels of government response following Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. For both of these studies, a deductive approach was used by creating a coding tool that consisted of 20 dichotomous variables that were then reduced down to the five frames by use of a factor analysis. Researchers can also combine both of these methods by inductively first doing an exploratory analysis on a subset of the sample and then creating a codebook to create variables (Carini & Weber, 2017).

Previous media framing literature has predominantly focused on conceptualizing and measuring two types of frames, issue-specific frames, and generic frames (Boydston

& Glazier, 2013). Issue-specific frames tend to focus on, and only be relevant to a specific topic or event. These allow the researcher to convey the frame at a high level of specificity, but at the same time, make generalizability difficult and hinder theory building (De Vreese, 2005). In contrast, generic frames can be generalized and can be applied to multiple topics and even across time (De Vreese, 2002). In this research, the five established generic frames that have predominantly been found in news media were used to assess how the National Guard is framed during times of crisis (Entman, 1991 & 1993; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Brunken, 2006; An & Gower, 2009).

Attribution of Responsibility: This frame is present when a news story focuses primarily on the cause or solution of an issue or event on an individual, group, region, or country (Semetko & Vaklenburg, 2000). Responsibility can be put on an individual or group as either being responsible for the event or issue as a whole or can be put on an individual or group for failing to curb the issue or failed to find a solution. For instance, President Donald Trump has been blamed for spreading misinformation regarding the Corona virus which could be attributed to greater harm being caused, even though he is not being blamed for causing the virus in general. Aside from placing blame, *Attribution of Responsibility* can also be present in news media when a group or individual is responsible for alleviating the negative impacts of a crisis or is working to solve problems related to a crisis. When the COVID-19 virus began to spread across the United States, there was a fear that hospitals would not have enough beds for those who contracted the virus. In response, the National Guard began building make-shift facilities next to hospitals to increase the capabilities of the hospitals, as well as alleviate the stress put on medical professionals.

Conflict: This frame is used to bolster public interest when it shows conflict and disagreement between individuals, groups, and/or organizations surrounding an event or issue. This frame is commonly used in the United States and can be attributed to taking complex issues and portraying them in simplistic terms (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Brunken, 2006). In crisis literature surrounding the National Guard, this frame can be seen when state and federal governments debate about who has control over the National Guard when it comes to implementation and when boots are on ground.

Economic Consequence: This frame occurs when the news gives the economic consequence, benefit, or general impact of an event or issue in regard to an individual, group, and/or institution. The severity of economic consequences can vary by issue or event, but this frame can still be used to draw and maintain public attention to an issue or event.

Human-Interest: When a news source uses the human-interest frame, they attempt to personalize an event or issue by presenting a “human face”, or emotional angle, in order to gain and maintain public interest. This frame can be seen when there is an uptick in COVID-19 cases and the news shows anecdotal stories of families being separated from loved ones due to quarantines.

Morality: A morality frame gives a moral or religious context when presenting an issue or event. Journalists often times incorporate others’ quotations or when using a morality frame.(An & Gower, 2009). Often in times of crisis or despair, people look to a higher power for faith and comfort, as well as to seek for answers (Brunken, 2006).

In addition to these generic frames, two issue-specific frames were inductively pulled from the articles to measure the levels of support or opposition to the Guard's response. Previous literature involving the government's response to a crisis has primarily focused on classifying the article as positive, neutral, or negative overall (Brunken, 2006). This previously established approach was not readily applicable to this study, due to the National Guard response to a particular crisis being imbedded within the overall text and not the predominant focus in the majority of the articles. Instead of focusing on negative, neutral, or positive tonal aspects of the article, this study took an inductive approach of assessing an article's "support" or "opposition" to the Guard's response to a particular issue within the article. This allowed the researcher to focus specifically on the article's portrayal of the Guard's response to a particular crisis.

METHODS

Data Collection

As a previous member of the National Guard for 11 years, the research took steps to minimize any potential preconceived notions or bias within this study. While minimizing any bias is key in research, it also gave the researcher perspectives into how the National Guard operates, giving insight that others who may not have this type of experience may miss out on. This study conducted a deductive quantitative content analysis to assess both generic and issue-specific news frames used by newspaper media when depicting the National Guard during times of crisis. The study sampled articles covering the National Guard's response to COVID-19 and BLM Protests from April 21 to June 20, 2020, and the Capitol Riot from January 4 to 22, 2021. The first timeframe for articles covering COVID-19 and the BLM Protests was selected due to the majority of states having activated their National Guards for COVID-19, and then June 20 was the weekend after Juneteenth. The second timeframe for the Capitol Riot began two days before the January 6 riot and followed through the January 16 Presidential inauguration. Two days prior to the riot, planning for the known upcoming demonstrations in Washington D.C. was underway, and the Guard presence was still at historic levels in anticipation for further conflict at the Capitol. A total of seven newspaper sources were used for this analysis: three national news sources, three local news sources, and one

news source from the National Guard. The national news sources used were The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and USA Today. The national newsprint outlets are all high circulating, as well as represent a diverse ideological approach in reporting (USA Today is centrist, New York Times more left leaning, and Wall Street Journal more conservative) (O'Brien et al., 2019; Nicoline & Hansen, 2018). This diversity is key in a content analysis due to news frames differing across outlet and issue/event (Boyle & Mower, 2018). Along with these three national news sources, the highest circulating newsprint in three cities that have been impacted by both COVID-19 and BLM protests were also used to assess the prevalence of frames and support/opposition of the Guard's response to the three crises. The three local news sources used were Louisville's Courier-Journal, Minneapolis's Star-Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times. These cities proposed for this analysis were chosen for their diverse geographic location (Southern, Midwest, and West coast), population size, and impact of the National Guard for both COVID-19 response and BLM support for the local government. The Guard News, the official newspaper of the National Guard, was also included in this study. The Guard News is the news reporting component of the National Guard and is made up of current Guard members who report on Guard units' missions, training, and any relevant information regarding the National Guard.

Articles were gathered using the ProQuest website and each news source's official website. The keyword search on ProQuest's website was used to initially find the articles. First, the three national and three local news sources were found in the ProQuest Newspaper Database. Then each news source was searched for the specific time range for each of the three crises. Once the news source and specific range was inputted, the

keywords “National Guard”, “COVID”, “BLM”, “Riot” and “Protest” were used to narrow the results for articles involving the National Guard and their response for both COVID-19 and the BLM protests. This was repeated for all three national and three local news sources. This process was also repeated to find the articles covering the riot at the Capitol, where the dates were adjusted and the keywords used were “National Guard”, “Capitol”, “Attack”, and “Riot.” To collect articles from the Guard News, a search on the National Guards website using the same search criteria was done.

Coding Procedure

The unit of analysis for this study was the newspaper article; articles were coded using an adaption of an instrument previously used in the literature for the use of the five generic tones and two issue-specific frames. The coding instrument was adapted from the instrument first defined by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), which has been replicated in numerous studies (An & Gower, 2009; Brunken 2006; Naoroz & Cleary, 2021). Originally, the instrument was made up of 18 dichotomous variables to assess the use of the five generic frames. This instrument was adapted to the current study and extended to 35 dichotomous variables. The instrument was divided into 25 variables for the five generic frames, and ten variables for the two issue-specific frames. Each of the five generic and two issue-specific frames were allocated five dichotomous variables to determine if the frame was present in an article (Appendix A). Each of the 35 dichotomous variables were coded as 1 = present and 0 = absent. If any of the dichotomous variables was present in the article, then the frame the variable was representing was coded as 1 = present. If no variable was coded as present for a frame, then that frame was coded as 0 = absent.

Before the analysis was conducted, inter-coder reliability testing was done to assess the reliability of the coding instrument. The benefit to using generic frames is that they can be generalized to multiple topics at different points in time, allowing the researcher to establish reliability and validity in their study (De Vreese, 2005). Reliability testing is key in measuring frames in a content analysis, due to frames being abstract variables that can be hard to identify and code (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Boydston et al., 2013). Outside of conceptualizing frames, intercoder reliability shows that the analysis can be trusted, and lays the groundwork to validity (Lombard, et al., 2020). Intercoder reliability is the formal process where two or more coders code a sub sample of the overall population that is to be used for the analysis, and measure how many times they reached the same conclusion.

The primary researcher trained a second coder on the coding instrument, and then they coded articles separately and met to discuss their findings. Differences that arose during the coding sessions were discussed, reconciled, and adjustments were made to the coding instrument. For testing, 10% (n=59) of each news sources was randomly sampled and percent agreement, Cohen's Kappa, and Krippendorff's alpha was used to assess intercoder reliability. Table 1 presents the alpha scores for the overall presence of a frame = .96, with each generic frame ranging from 0.86-1. The *Attribution of Responsibility* frame had an alpha = .86 (.83 to 1), *Conflict* = .96 (.91 to 1), *Economic Consequence* = 1 (.79 to 1), *Human-Interest* = .92 (.92 to 1), and *Morality* = 1 (1). For issue-specific frames, the overall alpha = .96, with *Support* = .96 (.79 to .97) and *Opposition* = .89 (.84 to .93). All of the frames and aspects of tone met the criteria of >.70 to be considered reliable (Lombard et al., 2020).

Two of the generic frames, *Conflict* and *Attribution of Responsibility*, were adapted from the original frames used by previous researchers to better fit the newspaper articles used for the study. These changes were added during the inter-coder reliability testing due to aspects of the articles that did not quite fit the existing definition of the frames. For example, the *Conflict* frame primarily focused on conflict that had happened or was currently happened and failed to measure the potential for conflict. To circumvent this issue, a variable meant to measure the potential for conflict was added. For the *Attribution of Responsibility* frame, language was added in an existing variable to show that the Guard themselves have offered up solutions to an aspect of the three crises as opposed to just the story offering suggestions. The last minor change was to the *Economic Consequence* frame, to where the saving of time and bolstering staff was added to one of the variables. This was prevalent during articles covering both COVID-19 and BLM Protests, where Guard members were added to hospital and policing staffs.

Table 1: Inter-Coder Reliability Statistics for Framing Coding Instrument (n=59)

	% Agreement	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha
CRISIS	1	1	1
FRAME	0.98	0.954	0.96
ATTRIBUTION	0.95	0.87	0.86
ALLEVIATE	0.95	0.90	0.90
RESPONSIBLE	1	1	1
SOLVE	0.95	0.90	0.90
SUGGEST	0.97	0.87	0.87
QUICK	0.95	0.82	0.83
CONFLICT	0.98	0.96	0.96
DISAGREE	0.98	0.91	0.91
CRITGUARD	1	1	1
POTENTIAL	1	1	1
SIDES	0.98	0.96	0.96
WINNER	1	1	1
ECONOMIC	1	1	1
FINLOSS	1	1	1
FINSAVE	0.98	0.94	0.94
FINCOST	0.98	0.79	0.79
FINCONS	1	1	1
FINJUST	1	1	1
HUMAN	0.97	0.92	0.92
GUARDLIVE	0.98	0.92	0.92
ADJECTIVE	1	1	1
AFCTSMALL	0.98	0.93	0.93
AFCTBIG	1	1	1
PICFEEL	1	1	1
MORALITY	1	1	1
QUOTEMORAL	1	1	1
RIGHTWRONG	1	1	1
RELIGION	1	1	1
SOCIAL	1	1	1
PICMORAL	1	1	1
TONE	0.98	0.96	0.96
SUPPORT	0.98	0.96	0.96
HOPE	0.90	0.79	0.79
ENTHUSIASM	0.98	0.97	0.97
SUCCESS	0.98	0.96	0.96
SOLUTION	0.97	0.93	0.93
GAIN	0.93	0.86	0.86
OPPOSE	0.97	0.89	0.89
DISAP	0.97	0.86	0.86
FRUST	0.97	0.84	0.84
SKEPTIC	0.98	0.93	0.93
THREAT	0.97	0.86	0.86
FAULT	0.97	0.87	0.87

After intercoder reliability testing had shown the coding instrument to be reliable, the remaining articles in the population were coded using the coding instrument. To test

the hypothesis, chi-square statistics and Cramer's V were conducted. Pearson's Chi-square is a non-parametric test that is often used to compare differences between two or more groups to an outcome, as well as gives a p-value for significance (McHugh, 2013; Franke et al., 2012). Specifically, in hypothesis testing, it gives researchers the ability to test, reject, or fail to reject the null hypothesis. Along with Chi-square tests, Cramer's V statistic was also used to consider the magnitude, or strength of association between the groups used in the Chi-square analysis. To where a Cramer's V of 0 shows complete independence between the two variables, and a Cramer's of 1 show that the variables are completely dependent on one another. For the purposes of this study, a Cramer's V of .3 (a moderate association) will be deemed sufficient enough to report (Rea & Parker, 1992)

RESULTS

Inter-Item Reliability

To measure the reliability of the coding instrument, Cronbach's alpha was used to test for inter-item reliability. Cronbach's alpha tests the internal consistency of a set of items that are supposed to measure the interrelatedness of a set of items by computing correlations between the items (Schmitt, 1966; Ursachi et al., 2015). Cronbach's alpha produces an alpha score, which ranges from 0 to 1, to where alpha levels between 0.6-0.7 show an acceptable level of reliability, while alpha levels above 0.8 indicate a high level of reliability (Ursachi et al., 2015). Cronbach's alpha presents limitations when alphas are both too high and too low. A too high of an alpha can suggest redundancy (Cronbach, 1951). If an alpha is too low, items may be removed if they have too low of a correlation, thus boosting the alpha (Peterson, 1994). The coding instrument being used is adapted from previous research but has been changed to better fit the current study. Because of the adaptations, standardized Cronbach's alpha scores were explored and are presented in Table 2. Proportions of the items coded as "0" and "1" are reported as means. All of the five generic and two issue-specific frames showed acceptable alpha levels (.65-.93).

Table 2: Inter-item Reliability (N=585)

	Alpha	Mean	SD
ATTRIBUTION	.65	.7	.02
Does the article suggest the Guard has the ability to alleviate aspects of the crisis?		.64	.02
Does the article suggest the Guard is responsible for issue(s)/problem(s) stemming from the crisis?		.13	.01
Does the article suggest the Guard is capable of solving aspects of the crisis?		.35	.02
Does the article suggest the Guard can/has made suggestions to impact the issue(s)/problem(s) stemming from the crisis?		.15	.01
Does the article suggest the Guard has a duty to take quick/urgent action in response to the crisis?		.25	.02
CONFLICT	.78	.51	.02
Does the article suggest there is disagreement to the Guard's response to the crisis?		.13	.01
Does the article show criticism towards the Guard's response?		.14	.01
Does the article suggest there is a potential for conflict between the Guard and others?		.46	.02
Does the article refer to there being two or more sides of the issue(s)/problem(s) regarding the Guard's response to a crisis?		.46	.02
Does the article refer to the Guard as winning or losing in their response to a crisis?		.14	.01
ECONOMIC	.7	.19	.02
Does the article mention financial losses now or in the future due to the Guard's response?		.02	.01
Does the article mention the saving of resources/finances due to the Guard's response?		.15	.01
Does the article mention the cost/magnitude of expense with bringing in the Guard?		.02	.01
Does the article mention the economic consequences of not bringing in the Guard?		.04	.01
Does the article mention an economic justification to bringing in the Guard?		.18	.02
HUMAN	.68	.5	.02
Does the article go into the personal lives of Guard servicemembers?		.08	.01
Does the article employ adjectives that generates feelings?		.05	.01
Does the article emphasize how individuals/families have been affected by the Guard in their response to the crisis?		.36	.02
Does the article emphasize how groups/communities/organizations have been affected by the Guard's response to the crisis?		.44	.02
Does the article contain pictures of the Guard that might generate strong feelings?		.14	.01
MORALITY	.73	.13	.01
Does the article provide a quote regarding the Guard's response to the crisis that references values, morals, and/or religious tenets?		.11	.01
Does the article contain any moral message of right/wrong regarding the Guard in its response?		.05	.01
Does the article make any reference to God/higher power with the Guard's response?		.02	.01
Does the article offer social prescriptions about how to behave regarding the Guard's response?		.11	.01
Does the article contain pictures of the Guard that could pertain to religious tenets?		.01	0
SUPPORT	.84	.61	.02
Does the article suggest hope in the Guard's response?		.37	.02
Does the article suggest enthusiasm to the Guard's response?		.39	.02
Does the article suggest that the Guard was successful with their response?		.31	.02
Does the article suggest that the Guard has provided solutions to the crisis with their response?		.54	.02
Does the article suggest that the presence of the Guard has made a positive impact with their response?		.44	.02
OPPOSE	.93	.17	.02
Does the article suggest disappointment in the Guard for their response?		.1	.01
Does the article suggest frustration with the Guard for their response?		.11	.01
Does the article suggest skepticism of having the Guard present during the crisis?		.1	.01
Does the article suggest that the Guard is a threat to others in their response?		.15	.01
Does the article suggest that the Guard is at fault in their response?		.13	.01

Coverage of Crisis

Using the coding instrument, each article was analyzed in a quantitative content analysis. The population of articles gathered was composed of newspaper articles that covered the National Guard's response during the COVID-19 pandemic (n=160), BLM protests (n=254), and the Riot at the Capitol (n=170). Tabulations were run to show the distribution of crises both within and across each news source, with chi-square testing and Cramer's V signifying significant associations as well as the strength of those associations. Finally, pairwise comparisons of percentages showed news sources that did not statistically differ in their coverage for a crisis and are annotated by superscripted letters (Table 3). For articles covering the Guard's response to COVID-19 the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Courier-Journal, and the Los Angeles Times did not statistically differ in their coverage (annotated by the superscript "A" in Table 3). Similarly, the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, USA Today, and the Courier-Journal also did not statistically differ in their coverage of COVID-19 (annotated by the superscript "B"). Finally, the USA Today and Star-Tribune did not differ significantly on their coverage of COVID-19 (annotated by the superscript "C"). One key finding is that the Guard News did not get grouped with any other of the news sources except for the articles covering the Capitol Riot. The Guard News had a higher coverage of COVID-19 than the rest of the sources, as well as a lower number of articles covering the BLM Protests.

Table 3: Percentage of Crisis by Source (N=585)

	Total in Population	New York Times (n=100)	Wall Street Journal (n=91)	USA Today (n=83)	Courier-Journal (n=50)	Star-Tribune (n=61)	L.A. Times (n=100)	Guard News (n=100)
COVID-19	160(27.4%)*+	9(9%) ^{A,B}	14(15.4%) ^{A,B}	17(20.5%) ^{B,C}	7(14%) ^{A,B}	19(31.1%) ^C	6(6%) ^A	89(89%)*+
BLM Protests	254(43.4%)*+	55(55%) ^B	49(53.8%) ^B	25(30.1%) ^A	31(62%) ^B	30(49.2%) ^{A,B}	60(60%)* ^B	4(4%)*+
Capitol Riot	170(29.2%)*	36(36%) ^{B,C}	28(30.8%) ^{B,C}	41(49.4%)* ^C	12(24%) ^{A,B,C}	12(19.7%) ^{A,B}	34(34%) ^{B,C}	7(7%)* ^A
Global $X^2_{(12)}=265.36$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.48$								
Note: Values in parentheses represent percentage of each crisis in the overall population as well as in each news source. * $p<.001$ (Pearson's χ^2 test) * Cramer's $V > .3$ Note: Superscripted letters (A through C) signify sources that do not differ on crisis coverage ($p>.001$)								

Each of the seven news sources varied with their coverage of the three crises.

Overall, all but three of the news sources had the most articles for BLM Protests, then the Capitol Riot, and finally the least amount for the Guard's response to COVID-19. New York Times had a higher number of articles covering the BLM Protests (n=55), with fewer articles covering the Capitol Riot (n=36) and COVID-19 (n=9). This is a surprising find due to the early impact of COVID-19 on New York City. The Wall Street Journal had similar representation of the crises in their articles as the New York Times, such that the most where for the BLM Protests (n=49), then Capitol Riot (n=36), and COVID-19 (n=14). Alternatively, the USA Today had a higher proportion of their articles covering the Capitol Riot (n=41), followed by BLM Protests (n=25), then COVID-19 (n=17). All of the national news sources had fewer articles covering the COVID-19 pandemic, even though it had such an extensive impact on the country on many different levels.

Louisville's Courier Journal had the most of its articles covering the BLM Protests (n=32), then the Capitol Riot (n=12), and had the least of the articles covering the Guard's response to COVID-19 (n=7). The focus on the Guard's response to the BLM Protests is due to the large protests that chanted not only George Floyd's name, but

also the name of Breonna Taylor, who was killed during a botched “No Knock” warrant being served. Minnesota’s Star-Tribune had the largest number of their articles covering the BLM Protests (n=30), then COVID-19 (n=19), and lastly the Capitol Riot (n=12). This prevalence of articles covering the BLM Protests can be attributed to the death of George Floyd occurring in Minneapolis, marking the city as “ground zero” for the protest movement. With a history of racist accusations from the black community (Fubar et al., 2020), tensions were high between those on the streets protesting had the largest portion of its articles covering the BLM Protests (n=60), followed by the Capitol Riot (n=34), and finally articles covering COVID-19 (n=6).

The Guard News had the majority of its articles covering COVID-19 (n=89), and the remaining covering the Capitol Riot (n=7) and the BLM Protests (n=4). The interesting finding is the disproportionate coverage of a specific crisis for a particular news source. Specifically, the Guard News had 89% of articles covering COVID-19. The Guard News’ coverage of COVID-19 also represented 55% of the total number of articles covering the crisis, while the rest of the articles for the pandemic were more evenly distributed across the remaining six news sources. Even though the Guard News covered a high portion of the articles for COVID-19, they had a small contribution to both the BLM Protests (n=4) and the Capitol Riot (n=7). This may be due to the Guard News being hesitant to depict the National Guard in issues that have more conflict. This source primarily focused on “conflict-free” types of responses by the Guard; in the articles that did cover the BLM Protests and Capitol Riot, the focus was on the Guard working with law enforcement and not their impact on the demonstrators involved in the two crises. Pairwise comparison of percentages show that the Guard News did not get grouped with

any other of the news sources except for the articles covering the Capitol Riot. The Guard News had a higher coverage of COVID-19 than the rest of the sources, as well as a lower number of articles covering the BLM Protests.

Chi-square testing was done to assess if there were significant associations between the coverage of the three crises between the seven news sources and whether the frequencies of each frame differed from the expected frequencies within each of the news sources and crises. The global chi-square analysis (Global $X^2_{(12)}=265.36$ $p<0.001$, Cramer's $V = .48$) showed there were significant associations between the seven sources and three crises. The differences in distributions of crises covered by news sources is shown in Table 3 with the reported percentages, but further analysis showed that not all differences were significant. As shown in Table 3, there was an overall significant finding showing that there was a strong association between the news sources and the crises ($X^2_{(12)}=265.36$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.48$). This finding suggests that there is a significant difference in the distribution of coverage of crises between the sources. To explore these differences, chi-square and Cramer's V was conducted to find the association of the news sources by each specific crisis. Chi-square testing showed there was a significant difference in coverage between news sources for the Guard's response to COVID-19 ($X^2_{(6)}=243.67$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = .65$) and BLM Protests ($X^2_{(6)}=97.75$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = .41$).

To further explore at which of the news sources had significant differences, another round of Chi-square testing was conducted. Significant findings were found only in the Guard News coverage of both COVID-19 ($X^2_{(1)}=228.55$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.63$) and BLM Protests ($X^2_{(1)}=76.29$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = -.36$). This finding shows

that the Guard source had a higher-than-expected coverage of COVID-19, and inversely had a lower-than-expected coverage of the BLM Protests. The Guard paper likely focused on their Covid-19 relief efforts, because these stories emphasize their positive impact on communities; the Guard's role in the BLM Protests is more conflicted, as reflected by the criticism of the Guard's treatment of protestors in some cities.

Ordered Frames

To determine the order of prevalence of the five generic frames in the overall population of articles, and how they varied across each of the news sources and crises, percentages of each of the generic frames were examined and reported in Table 4. First, to determine the overall use of frames by the news media when covering the Guard's response to a crisis, the population of articles (N=585) was analyzed using cross-tabulation to determine how each of the generic frames were used. At least one frame was present in 77.3% (n=453) of the articles, whereas the remaining articles did not use a frame when covering the Guard's response. Overall, in the population, the order of prevalence of frames used were: *Attribution of Responsibility* (70.3%), *Conflict* (51.5%), *Human-Interest* (50.3%), *Economic Consequence* (18.8%), and *Morality* (13.2%). These overall ordered frames were not consistent across crisis lines. For COVID-19, the frames in order by prevalence were: *Attribution of Responsibility*, *Human-Interest*, *Economic Consequence*, *Morality*, and then *Conflict*. The ordered frames for BLM Protests were: *Conflict*, *Attribution of Responsibility*, *Human-Interest*, *Economic Consequence*, and *Morality*. Finally, the ordered frames for the Capitol Riot were: *Attribution of Responsibility*, *Conflict*, *Human-Interest*, *Morality*, and *Economic Consequence*.

Table 4: Percentage of Frame Variables by Crisis (N=585)

	Total in Population	COVID-19	BLM Protests	Capitol Riot
<i>Generic Frame Present</i>	77.3%	78.3% ^A	75.2% ^A	79.4% ^A
<i>Attribution of Responsibility</i>	70.3%	72.1% ^A	66.1% ^A	74.7% ^A
<i>Conflict</i>	51.5% ⁺⁺	1.2% [*]	70.5% ^{++A}	70.6% ^{*A}
<i>Economic Consequences</i>	18.8% ⁺⁺	39.8% ⁺⁺	16.9%	1.8% [*]
<i>Human-Interest</i>	50.3% ⁺⁺	70.2% [*]	42.1% ^{*A}	43.5% ^A
<i>Morality</i>	13.2% ⁺⁺	26.1% [*]	9.5% ^A	6.5% ^A
<i>Issue-Specific Frame Present</i>	68.9%	70.8% ^A	68.1% ^A	68.2% ^A
<i>Support</i>	60.9% [*]	70.8% ^A	50% [*]	67.7% ^A
<i>Oppose</i>	17.6% ⁺⁺	.6% ^{*A}	33.9% ⁺⁺	9.4% ^{*A}
Global $X^2_{(2)}=1.16$ $p<0.561$ Cramer's V = 0.04				
* $p<.001$ (Pearson's χ^2 test) + Cramer's V > .3 Note: Superscripted letter A signifies articles covering each crisis that do not differ on the use of a frame ($p>.001$)				

The global chi-square test did not show that the use of frames had a significant relationship with the crises used for this analysis (see Table 4). Pairwise comparison of percentages only yielded two groupings for the use of a particular frame during each of the crises. Crises with the superscript “A” for a particular frame had percentages that were not statistically different from one another. For instance, the use of *Attribution of Responsibility* did not statistically differ for articles covering COVID-19, BLM Protests, or the Capitol Riot. Articles covering the COVID-19 pandemic did, however, statistically differ from articles covering the BLM Protests and Capitol Riot in the use of the *Conflict* frame.

To further test difference of coverage between the frames found to differ between the crises, chi-square testing was again used to views each crisis independently. The results showed that even though the *Conflict* frame showed significant difference than the expected distribution between the crises ($X^2_{(6)}=95.59$, $p<0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.4), it was only significantly associated and had a large effect size with the news articles covering the BLM Protests ($X^2_{(1)}=65.01$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.33). The articles covering the

BLM Protests (n=254) used the *Conflict* frame (70.5%) the most out of all generic and issue-specific frames, such that if there was a frame present it had a high probability of having the *Conflict* frame in the article. The use of the *Conflict* frame was also significantly associated with both articles covering COVID-19 and the Capitol Riot, but did not meet the threshold for effect size measured with Cramer's V. The increased likelihood of the use of the *Conflict* frame during the BLM Protests is due to the confrontations between the Guard and demonstrators, while the Guard was assisting law enforcement. There were several occurrences in the articles covering the protests that the Guard was grouped in with law enforcement with use of force against those protesting. One example of this is the David McAtee shooting in Louisville, KY. The Guard and Louisville Metro Police Department (LMPD) were sent out of downtown to the "West End" to disperse a crowd of individuals that were gathered past the imposed curfew. While dispersing the crowd with the use of "pepper balls", shots were fired from a nearby BBQ restaurant. Upon hearing the shots, the Guard soldiers present and LMPD officers returned fire, striking, and killing Mr. McAtee. The modest effect size of the use of *Conflict* frame during COVID-19, and the Capitol Riot can be explained by the fact that there wasn't much conflict presented in the articles. But, for the Capitol Riot, the threat of violence and conflict was present as the inauguration of President Biden grew closer.

The frame *Economic Consequence* also showed significant difference across the three crises ($X^2_{(6)}=64.16$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.33). This difference was only significant and substantial in articles covering COVID-19 ($X^2_{(1)}=63.85$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.33), such that these articles used the *Economic Consequence* frame more often than in the overall population (39.8% and 18.8% respectively). Articles covering the Capitol

Riot were also found to have a significant difference from the overall population, but they did not meet the threshold for effect size. Finally, there was a significant difference overall between crises with the use of *Human-Interest* and *Morality* frames, but there were not significant associations between these frames and the articles covering each specific crisis. The issue-specific frame of *Oppose* was found to differ between the crises ($X^2_{(2)}=86.13$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.38$). This issue-specific frame was only found to have a significant association with the articles covering the BLM Protests ($X^2_{(1)}=81.73$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.37$). Articles covering the BLM Protests had an overwhelmingly higher prevalence of the *Oppose* frame ($n=33.9\%$) than the other two crises. This finding will further be discussed in the discussion section of this paper.

Next, the prevalence of generic and issue-specific frames used by the news sources covering the Guard's response to a crisis was investigated. Initially, the null hypothesis of the Chi-square testing was not rejected for the differences of having either a generic or issue-specific frame present across all seven news sources. Looking at the percentages of frames used by the seven news sources in Table 5, only three (New York Times, USA Today, and the Guard News) used the five generic frames in the same order of prevalence as the total population. Global chi-square test showed that there was a significant relationship between the use of a frame among the seven sources, but the Cramer's V effect size statistic showed this relationship to be weak (Global $X^2_{(6)}=19.07$ $p<0.004$, Cramer's $V = 0.18$). Pairwise comparison of percentages grouped each of the sources that did not significantly differ on the use of a frame using superscripted letters (A through C). All seven of the news sources did not statistically differ in the use of the *Attribution of Responsibility* frame (all seven sources had the same superscript "A").

Inversely, the Guard News did statistically differ from the other six news sources in the use of the *Conflict* frame (all but Guard News had the superscript “A”). The news sources did differ when using the *Human-Interest* frame. As seen in table 5, the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Courier-Journal, Star-Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times all did not statistically differ in their coverage of the *Human-Interest* frame. The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Courier-Journal, Star-Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times also did not statistically differ. The Guard News did statistically differ from the rest of the news sources and was not grouped with any of the news sources.

Table 5: Percentage of Frames by News Source (N=585)

	New York Times	Wall Street Journal	USA Today	Courier-Journal	Star-Tribune	L.A. Times	Guard News
<i>Generic Frame Present</i>	80% ^{A,B}	74.7% ^{A,B}	79.5% ^{A,B}	76% ^{A,B}	60.7% ^{*A}	74% ^{A,B}	89% ^B
<i>Attribute of Responsibility</i>	74% ^A	64.8% ^A	78.3% ^A	74% ^A	57.4% ^A	60% ^A	81% ^A
<i>Conflict</i>	51.5% ^A	65% ^A	53.9% ^A	63.9% ^A	70% ^A	42.6% ^A	63% [*]
<i>Economic Consequences</i>	18.8% ^A	11% ^A	18.7% ^{*A}	4.8% ^A	8% ^A	21.3% ^A	16% ^{**}
<i>Human-Interest</i>	50.3% ^{*A}	35% ^{A,B}	36.3% ^B	60.2% ^{A,B}	36% ^{A,B}	49.2% ^{A,B}	41% ^{**}
<i>Morality</i>	13.2% ^A	8% ^A	2.2% ^A	6% ^A	2% ^A	11.5% ^A	9% ^{*+}
<i>Issue-Specific Frame Present</i>	73% ^{*A,B}	60.4% ^A	71.1% ^{A,B}	64% ^{A,B}	54.1% ^A	67% ^{A,B}	84% ^{*B}
<i>Support</i>	63% ^{A,B}	53.9% ^A	61.5% ^{A,B}	42% ^A	52.5% ^A	56% ^A	84% ^{*B}
<i>Oppose</i>	17.6% ^{B,C}	23% ^{B,C}	22% ^{A,B,C}	14.5% ^{*C}	36% ^{A,B}	6.6% ^{B,C}	26% ^{*A}
Global $X^2_{(6)}=19.07$ $p<0.004$ Cramer's $V = 0.18$							
* $p<.001$ (Pearson's Chi ² test) + Cramer's $V > .3$ Note: Superscripted letters (A through C) signify sources that do not differ on use of a frame ($p>.001$)							

Frames were then examined within the context of each of the seven news sources, to determine if there was any statistical difference in the expected use of the given frames. Results suggested numerous significant differences but after testing with Cramer's V, to measure the size of the association, only the Guard News had strong significant differences in framing. Specifically, the Guard News had significant differences in the use of *Conflict*, *Economic Consequences*, *Human-Interest*, and

Morality frames. There was a significant difference in the *Human-Interest* frame ($X^2_{(1)}=65.14$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.33$) in its use in the articles for the Guard News. The moderate effect with this finding shows that the Guard News, being a news source for the National Guard, had a higher focus of giving the Guard a "human face" and emotional angle. Coupled with the Guard News focusing heavily on the Guard's response to COVID-19, the articles primarily focused on giving the personifying the Guard's response to show the positive impact that the Guard was having in their response. Results show that there was a statistically higher than expected use of the frame. *Economic Consequences* ($X^2_{(1)}=54.22$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.3$) and *Morality* ($X^2_{(1)}=106.97$ $p<0.001$ Cramer's $V = 0.43$) frames also met the thresholds for significance and Cramer's V , and showed that the Guard News had a higher use of these frames than the expected use. Finally, the two issue-specific frames were analyzed to see if their use significantly differed than expected across the seven news sources. While there were significant p -value findings, none of the differences met the threshold set for Cramer's V . This suggests that the associations between the use of the frames and the respective news sources were weak, or that the use of the issue-specific frames did not differ from what would be assumed. No news source had a significant difference from the total population or other news sources on the use of these frames.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to fill gaps within communication and media framing literature regarding how the news media frames the National Guard during times of crisis. A frame is an abstract mechanism that influences an individual's perceptions of reality (Entman, 1993) by presenting information in organized themes, or patterns, to structure meaning. News media use frames to give attention to certain events, like crises, to bolster sales and viewership by relying upon their respective audience's salience. By focusing on the audience's salience, the news media is able to make a crisis stand out and has the potential to influence public perceptions. Because of this, framing is key to understanding how the news media can potentially influence public perception of how the National Guard responds to different crises.

To fill these gaps, this study put forward three hypotheses that have been pulled from comparable literature. The first hypothesis, that the overall order of prevalent frames would in the population of articles would coincide with the ordered frames found in news media by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), was stated to determine the prevalence of frames used overall regarding the National Guard during times of crisis. These results were then compared to the work of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Table 3 shows that the ordered frames in the population were: *Attribution of Responsibility*, *Conflict*, *Economic Consequence*, *Human Interest*, and *Morality*. The same results were found by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) for the overall use of frames in the news media. This

finding shows that the five generic frames found by Entman (1991 & 1993) to be relevant in the news media are still generalizable decades later to another topic being added to framing theory. Specifically, these five generic frames are prevalent when the news media reports on the National Guard's response to a crisis. It is important to establish the prevalence of frames used, and then compare them to previous research, due to the gaps in the literature surrounding the Guard's response to crisis. There is no research on how the news media can influence the public perception of the Guard's response. This is not the case when discussing how the news media influences public perceptions of how various levels of government respond to crises.

Even though the overall prevalence of the five generic frames is consistent with past research, previous literature has shown that the use of these five frames can differ depending on what the news is covering (Brunken, 2006; An & Gower, 2009; Nijkrale et al., 2015). Knowing that frames can differ depending on what the news is covering, the second hypothesis of this study assumed that this would be the case in the framing of the Guard's response to different crises. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the articles covering COVID-19 will have a higher prevalence of the *Human-Interest* frame than the other five generic frames. This was due to the prediction that the news articles would focus heavily on the Guard's impact on individuals, families, communities, and the nation as a whole with their response to the pandemic. The results showed that while the prevalence of frames did differ between the three crises, they did not differ as predicted. The frame of *Attribution of Responsibility* was still the most prevalent generic frame used for both articles covering COVID-19 and the Capitol Riot.

The articles covering these two crises focused heavily on the Guard being there to relieve the strain felt by the crisis. One reason why the *Attribution of Responsibility* was still more prevalent is that the coding instrument was geared towards measuring the Guard's impact on having a positive or negative impact on both the overall crisis and just a small portion of it. This generic frame did not just single out whether or not the Guard was responsible for a crisis, or responsible for making it worse. Instead, it also focused on the Guard's ability to alleviate or solve the crisis as a whole or just one facet of the crisis. Another reason why *Attribution of Responsibility* was more prevalent, is that the national news sources are focused more on reaching a wide audience. By trying to reach a larger audience, the limited space given to the Guard within the newspaper article was focused more on the response as a whole and not the individual impact. There was the potential for a cross over between the *Attribution of Responsibility* and the *Human-Interest* frames because they both tried to measure the impact that the Guard had. This was not the case though in this study due to the specific questions used in the coding instrument to differentiate between the frames. For example, in the Guard's response to COVID-19, a recurring theme of the articles was the relief felt by those impacted by the Guard's presence at testing sites or at food distribution center. While these articles focused on the Guard helping alleviate some of the issues surrounding the pandemic, they did not go into much detail about the lives of the Guard servicemembers or those that they were assisting. There were very few occurrences of the Guard being framed as causing or making an aspect of a crisis worse. Mainly, this was only the case when there was an occurrence of abuse of force against protesters during the BLM Protest, when the Guard was framed as being grouped in with law enforcement. This was evident in both the

shooting of David McAtee, as well as the use of helicopters flying low over protestors during the BLM Protests in Washington D.C. Overall, the Guard did have a measurable positive impact on relieving aspects of COVID-19, whether it was building makeshift care facilities, passing out food to those in need, or working with local and state governments to work out logistics of distribution of resources. There were also positive occurrences during the BLM Protests, to where the Guard presence gave reassurance to business owners that their property would be protected. For the Capitol Riot, the militaristic presence of the Guard was set to deter another show of force from demonstrators who sought to overturn the election.

As for the Capitol Riot, it was hypothesized that the *Conflict* frame would be the more prevalent frame. Surprisingly, this was not the case. But this was due to the articles primarily focusing on the Guard's response to the attack in the coming weeks before the inauguration. In reality, the articles primarily only mentioned the potential for conflict as a justification for the historic National Guard presence in D.C. for the inauguration. There was a lot of conflict in the articles, but that was primarily due to the conflict surrounding the government response rather than the use of or role of the National Guard in this conflict. More specifically, the conflict in the articles was about President Trump's or other officials' hesitancy in reacting to the attack and sending in the National Guard to assist with the Capitol Police, not about the presence or role of the National Guard.

Part B of the second hypothesis was partly supported by this research, because the articles covering the BLM protests did have a higher use of the *Conflict* frame than the other generic frames. The use of the *Conflict* frame had a strong association with the articles covering the BLM Protests, successfully rejecting the null hypothesis. This was

not a surprising finding, due to the nature of the protests being about police brutality and racial injustice. A surprising finding though, was that the National Guard was very often grouped together with law enforcement during clashes with protestors, due to the preconceived perception that the Guard is meant to protect the people during times of crisis. For example, in Louisville after the shooting of a local restaurant owner David McAtee, the Guard and Louisville Metro Police Department officers responded to a crowd outside of the downtown area past curfew together and in the confusion of dispersing the crowd shots were fired and Mr. McAtee was killed. The Guard had been placed as an asset for LMPD, with vague language to their responsibilities, as opposed to being a separate entity. This resulted in the Guard having an ambiguous role during the protests. This was surprising due to the researcher's preconceived notion that the Guard was meant to be a barrier between law enforcement and demonstrators. As a former National Guard soldier, the researcher has taken part in training exercises where this was the case; the formations taught were designed to create a buffer between two conflicting sides. Another preconceived notion that was had, and not supported by this paper, was that the Guard was seen as a universal sign of hope during times of conflict in the United States. Areas of the U.S., like Los Angeles, who have had a negative history with the Guard's intervention during the L.A. race riots were not happy to see the Guard during the BLM Protests and were even hesitant when seeing the soldiers during the pandemic response.

This phenomenon was also evident in other cities, where the Guard did not have a clear role outside of "supporting local law enforcement". In Washington D.C., during the BLM Protests, there was further ambiguity regarding whether articles were

referencing the National Guard or the limited active-duty soldiers that were brought to the White House. This was especially evident in the aftermath of former President Donald Trump's photo in front of a church close to the White House, where Capitol Police and what were referred to as just soldiers cleared peaceful protestors with smoke and gas.

The third hypothesis assumed that there would be more *Support* shown overall for the Guard's response to COVID-19 and the Capitol Riot, and more *Opposition* to the response to the BLM Protests. The results showed that the news articles covering all three of the crises showed more instances of *Support* for the Guard's response than the instances of opposition. Even though the articles covering the BLM Protests had a more even use of the two issue-specific frames, there was still more *Support* shown. This finding was consistent across all of the news sources. There was an overwhelming use of *Support* across all seven news sources. Assumed political affiliation, or lack thereof, did not impact the prevalence of *Support* vs. *Oppose*. Even where there was a closer equal coverage of the two issue-specific frames, there were no significant differences found.

The show of support towards the overall response of the Guard in the population, across the three crises, and the seven sources suggests that the news media did not want to specifically target the Guard even when they were involved in questionable actions during the BLM Protests. Even with the high use of the *Conflict* frame for both BLM Protests and Capitol Riot, the articles did not take an overly negative stance but chose to focus on the positive aspects of the Guard presence such as guarding businesses and government buildings. Another key point is that the *Conflict* frame was also present if

there was a suggestion that there was the potential for conflict. This was evident in all seven sources where the Guard had the potential of getting into conflict with demonstrators at BLM Protests as well as at the Capitol Riot.

Previous research shows that news media has a significant impact on public opinion surrounding everyday issues, as well as whether or not the public deems certain issues as important or not (Brunken, 2006; Martins et al., 2013; Boyle & Mower, 2018; O'Brien et al., 2019). In times of crisis, such as the three crises examined in this study, the news media is key in relaying ever changing information to the public. For COVID-19, the spread of the virus and recommendations for how to protect oneself, the news media played a key role in dispersing information. To shed a silver lining on a dismal situation, reporting on how the Guard has stepped up into various roles to serve the United States people potentially gave hope once again to the public. Without the news media reporting what was being done, the likelihood of the general public knowing the breadth of the impact the Guard provided may have gone overlooked. Thus, the news media played a key role in furthering the knowledge that the National Guard's role is to be there for Americans in times of need.

While the Guard was providing support for the COVID-19 pandemic, they were simultaneously providing support for local and state governments during a period of civil unrest in the United States. This support, much like for the pandemic, came in various roles. For those in the nation who were not living in the epicenters of the BLM Protest movement, there was a reliance on the news media for information. Stories of conflict between protesters and law enforcement were very prevalent across the news media, even if the majority of the protests across the nation were peaceful (Dave et al, 2020; Mansoor,

2020). Even with the prevalence of showing the violence, destruction, and clashes with police, the seven news sources used for this study did not predominantly depict the Guard negatively. Again, this is a key finding due to the difference in coverage of the government and the Guard. Whereas in the articles, the news sources were quick to call out the police or government, they were not as quick to expound on the potential negative impacts of the Guard during this time. Again, the news media furthered the idea that the Guard was overall there to help. Even with the occurrences of excessive force, there was more of a showing of the positive side of the Guard's response.

The Capitol Riot was the arguably pinnacle moment in a year of extreme political division. Fear gripped the nation as thousands of demonstrators descended on the Capitol in Washington D.C. Adding to the confusion of the situation was the fact that the Guard wasn't there. In the articles, repeatedly there was a call for the reason why the Guard wasn't there, often times placing the blame on various government levels. The seven sources framed the Guard as the one force that could have been a contributing factor to quell the violence. Further, after the initial conflict, the Guard was repeatedly reported as coming from across the nation to protect democracy in the U.S. Capitol.

Across all three crises, the Guard was still presented as an institution that is called upon in times of need. There was slight variation on how the Guard was depicted among the three national and local sources, but the main variation was found between the Guard News and the other six sources. The Guard News had the least amount of the *Conflict* frame, as well as no instances of the issue-specific frame of *Opposition*. This may be due to the audience of the Guard News being primarily members of the National Guard and their families; not showing conflict or the Guard in a negative light is due to not wanting

to worry the families and loved ones of the Guard members who may be putting their lives at risk with their activation, or simply just being away from their families. It does show a drastic bias for the Guard, which was the only news source to have such a blatant bias towards the Guard's response to the three crises. Overall, between all of the seven sources, a key finding is that these variations still lead to the Guard being shown in an overwhelming positive light. These findings also coincide with previous research that crises are framed differently, even if overall the Guard was framed similarly to the overall frames used in the news media.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Limitations

This study sought to lay the foundation for establishing how the media frames the National Guard during times of crisis. The main limitation to this study is that it primarily focused on the perception of the frames and not on the reception. The reception of the frames by individuals is also an important component for framing research, but due to time constraints and methods, was not assessed in this study. By focusing on three crises that happened during the same time period, this study was able to compare how the media framed these crises differently. Unfortunately, there are more crises than the three that were explored during this study. The crises used for this study are rare in regard to the use of the National Guard, so the potential to replicate this study for the Guard's response to a pandemic or nation-wide civil unrest will be a challenge for future research. Also, this study only explored newspaper media, limiting the generalization of the findings. Newspapers have been established as a predominant source of news, but there are still portions of the population that do not use newspapers. Older, more financially stable and educated individuals make up the majority of those who still reads the newspaper. This could be due to financial cost and the time that it takes to read the paper, or a sense of nostalgia. Future studies should focus on other forms of media, especially internet and television news, which may have a more direct role in framing crises.

Future Research

Future research should consider that news media often times does not dedicate an entire story to the National Guard during times of crisis. While this study focused on the use of five generic frames most used in the news media, it did not focus on more issue-specific frames which are designed for a specific issue or event. Issue-specific frames may be the key in understanding exactly how the media depicts the Guard during times of crisis. Furthermore, it was earlier stated that the Guard has historically been grouped as part of a government response. To assess the potential justification for this grouping, a study should focus on comparing how the news media frames the Guard independently as well as when the Guard is framed as part of a government response. Lastly, future framing research on how the news media frames the National Guard should assess how the population receives these frames by taking into account the reception of the frames.

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**APPENDIX A
CODE SHEET**

Article Information

Variable	Description	Code
ARTID	List the number assigned to the article	
CODER	Mark which of the coders is completing the sheet.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (2) <input type="checkbox"/> (3)
CRISIS	Mark which crisis is being coded: 1) COVID-19 2) BLM protest 3) Capital building riot 4) Both (If both is coded, then a separate sheet needs to be filled out per crisis and mark 4 as well as which crisis is being coded on this sheet).	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (2) <input type="checkbox"/> (3) <input type="checkbox"/> (4)
DATE	List the date as a 3-digit code: August 27 is 827	
WORD	List the word count of the article	

Notes:

Generic Frames

The following section of the code sheet is for identifying frames within the article. If a frame is present, mark “1” for yes for the FRAME variable, and then proceed to identify which frame is present. If there is no frame present, mark “0”.

Variable	Description	Code
FRAME	Is there a frame present in the article? (Yes=1) (No=0).	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

ATTRIBUTE: Does the article suggest that the Guard _____ . (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
ALLEVIATE	has the ability to alleviate, lessen the impact, or make things better, in regard to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capitol building riot with the response they are providing?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
RESPONSIBLE	is responsible for issue(s)/problem(s) stemming from their COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capitol building riot response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SOLVE	has the ability to solve or resolve aspects of COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capitol building riot with the response they are providing?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SUGGEST	can/has made suggestions for solution(s) to the issue(s)/problem(s) surrounding COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capitol building riot response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
QUICK	has a duty to take quick/urgent action in regard to responding to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capitol building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

CONFLICT: Does the article _____ . (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
DISAGREE	reflect disagreement between the Guard and individuals/groups surrounding their response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
CRITGUARD	show criticism of the Guard in its response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot, by groups/individuals?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
POTENTIAL	state/imply that there will be conflict involving the Guard and its response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SIDES	refer to having two, or more, sides of issue(s)/problem(s) regarding their response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot, with one side involving the Guard?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
WINNER	refer to the Guard as winners and/or losers in their objective/goal during their response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

ECONOMIC: Is there a mention of _____. (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
FINLOSS	financial losses now or in the future due to the Guards response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FINSAVE	saving resources/finances due to Guard response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot? Including time and staff.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FINCOST	the cost/magnitude of expense involved in bringing in the Guard in response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FINCONS	economic consequences of not bringing in the Guard during COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot? Including continued destruction/loss of resources.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FINJUST	justification of bringing in the Guard to respond to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

HUMAN: Does the article _____. (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
GUARDLIVE	go into the personal or private lives of Guard servicemembers?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
ADJECTIVE	employ adjectives or personal account that generates feelings, such as outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, compassion, etc.?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
AFCTSMALL	emphasize how individuals or families have been affected by the Guard (positive or negative) during their response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
AFCTBIG	emphasize how groups, communities, or organizations have been affected by the Guard (positive or negative) during their response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
PICFEEL	contain one or more pictures of the Guard that might generate feelings, such as outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, compassion, etc.?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

MORALITY: Does the article _____ . (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
QUOTEMORAL	provide a quote from an interview that references values, morals, and/or religious tenets?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
RIGHTWRONG	contain any moral message of right or wrong?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
RELIGION	make any reference to a God/higher power, or any other religious tenets?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SOCIAL	offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
PICMORAL	contain pictures that could pertain to moral or religious tenets?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

Issue-Specific Frames

The following section covers the tone of the article revolving around the NG response to one or more of the crises. If the article suggests support or opposition to the NG response, mark “1” for the **TONE** variable, if not then mark “0”

Variable	description	Code
TONE	Does the article suggest opposition or support for the Guard’s response to COVID, BLM protest(s), and/or the Capital building riot? (Yes=1) (No=0).	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

SUPPORT: Does the article suggest _____? (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
HOPE	That there is hope regarding the NG response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
ENTHUSIASM	That there is enthusiasm regarding the NG response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SUCCESS	That the NG has had success with their response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
SOLUTIONS	That the guard has had success in its response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
GAIN	That the NG has gained in its response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

Notes:

OPPOSE: Does the article suggest _____? (Yes=1) (No=0).

Variable	Description	Code
DISAPOINTMENT	That there is disappointment in its response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FRUSTRATION	That there is frustration in the NG response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (0)

SKEPTICISM	That there is skepticism in the NG response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)
		<input type="checkbox"/> (0)
THREAT	That the NG is a threat in its response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)
		<input type="checkbox"/> (0)
FAULT	That the NG is at fault with its response?	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)
		<input type="checkbox"/> (0)

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE | 2021 | M.A. OF SOCIOLOGY
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY | 2019 | BACHELOR OF LIBERAL SCIENCE
BOWLING GREEN HIGH SCHOOL | 2009 |

Research & Teaching Experience

- Graduate Assistant University of Louisville 2019-2021
 - Research Experience
 - Research Assistant Conducting Meta-Analysis
 - Research Assistant on Peer Mentoring study
 - Instructor on Record
 - SOC 202: Social Problems (Fall 2020)
 - Graduate Teaching Assistant Experience
 - SOC 201: Introduction to Sociology (Spring 2020)
 - SOC 201: Introduction to Sociology (Spring 2021)
- Bowling Green State University 2011-2019
 - Center for Undergraduate Research and Service (CURS) Summer Grant (\$2000), Bowling Green State University
 - Served as Primary Investigator on original research: Submitted a proposal, obtained IRB approval, designed survey instrument, collected data.
 - Presented Findings at CURS Symposium
- Ohio Army National Guard 2009-2020
 - Conducted Small Arms Training Courses
 - Supervised and Analyzed Weapon Qualifications
 - Facilitated Live Fire Training Missions for Mortar Platoon

Published Manuscripts

- Mowen, Thomas J., Taylor Tolles, & Ryan Shroeder (2020). "Strain and Prescription Drug Misuse in the United States Military." *Deviant Behavior*, 41:11, 1454-1467.
- Benitez, Ivan, Benjamin Fisher, Taylor Tolles, & Emily Wright. "Controlling Schools: How School Resource Officers' Roles Map onto Schools' Behavior Management Strategies". *Crime and Delinquency*, 1-24.