



## **UNBIASED NEWS?**

**News from the BBC and CNN on September 11, 2001**

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### *Abstract*

Based on an analysis of two newscasts on September 11, 2001, the present study discusses whether newscasts are biased or objective. It shows not only what differences there are between a foreign public company the BBC and a domestic, private one CNN, but also that those newscasts are made into entertainment to get an audience. The analysis of data reveals the importance not only of word choice and metaphors but also of boundaries between voices and relations between the newsreader and his/her audience. To a great extent entertainment is created through images, the choice of film cuts.

Keywords: Sept. 11, newscasts, critical discourse analysis, bias, objectivity, entertainment.

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## *1. Introduction*

On Tuesday, September 11, 2001, America lost its illusion of being a safe and impregnable country. The first plane crashing into the World Trade Center in New York could be seen as a terrible air disaster but twenty minutes later the second plane made us all understand the horror of terrorism. Someone had created this scene knowing that media would turn its cameras towards the two World Trade Center towers, letting us all see the catastrophe. Not in our wildest dreams had we been able to imagine this attack. Science fiction had become reality, the attacks against The World Trade Center, the financial centre of the U.S., and fifty-six minutes later on the Pentagon, the military centre of the U.S., took media as well as everyone else by surprise. In contrast, during the Kuwait war ten years ago and during the recent conflict in Iraq, the media had time to plan and prepare their information since the war started after a long period of preparation. There was also an opportunity for the military and politicians to influence media and in that way also the public. The fighting parties used media consultants and propaganda agencies, which of course favoured the richest, that is the western world. The result was that readers, spectators and listeners got a distorted and biased picture of the events (Hadenius). But what about this event?

Today media plays an important part in our lives. There are radio, television, newspapers and the Internet. We have enormous possibilities to obtain knowledge about the surrounding world and get an objective view of events. Most of us are satisfied with the TV news after a hard day of work. We seldom criticise, we just swallow the news as neutral and objective. I taped the news on the BBC World and CNN International just a few hours after the events of September 11 had taken place. I think most people watched this newscast without reflecting upon distortion and bias. But I will claim that there is no unbiased news.

When I first heard about the terror attack I was sitting in my car listening to the radio. The reports talked about a plane that had crashed into the World Trade Center. “A new terrible accident” was my thought. The second time I heard about it I was in a sport shop and heard one assistant saying to another that Manhattan was on fire. He said it with a shrug of the shoulders as if talking about what to have for dinner. We are fed with accidents and catastrophes on television and we are seldom shocked by the news. But the following days I spent most of my time in front of the TV and I know many of my friends did the same. Why? Because reality exceeded the most ingenious science fiction but also because media made it into entertainment.

## *2. Rationale*

Today media is enormously important as a moulder of public opinion. Media has a responsibility to give us unbiased news, but do they? Norman Fairclough (1995) claims that news is biased to adjust to the culture and the ideological field it is a part of. Tuchman (1978) argues that there are a number of people who are involved in a news report and who have the opportunity to bias it. I will use their work to support my claim that news reporting is biased and made into entertainment. The results of my study will hopefully contribute to the study of news media and the effects of its representation of the world

## *3. Research Questions*

I have chosen two different media companies. The BBC World is a public British company and CNN International is a private American company relying on advertising. My first impression of the news reports was that CNN had a lot of facts and was very structured while the BBC gave the impression of uncertainty, hesitations and lack of facts. But is that impression correct? I will try to find out what differences there are in these two newscasts, if and how they are biased and how they are made into entertainment.

#### *4. Literature Review*

Norman Fairclough (1995) claims that media is influenced by culture, politics and economics. Every media company wants to make a profit and not only the company but also the people working within it. To make a profit, media companies need an audience, and to get an audience news must be entertaining and varied. The audience must consider news as pertinent and intelligible.

Tuchman (1978) presents a study of the constraints of news work and of the resources available to news workers. It is a study of news workers as professionals and of newspapers and television newsrooms as complex organizations. It is a study about news as the social construction of reality. Reporters negotiate with one another, share sources, work together and identify people who will serve as good sources of information. Photographers in the field choose what to film and how to present it. Editors and bureau chiefs negotiate who will cover a story and how it will be covered, when and where it will be shown in the news report and what segments of the reports and films will be aired. But also deadlines, the time of the day and reporters available are important factors when choosing what is newsworthy.

Berger (1999) explains that a metaphor is a figure of speech that generates meaning by using analogies, interpreting or explaining one thing in terms of another. Metonymy has a referential function; it allows us to use one entity to stand for another. But many linguists, especially Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors are not just a matter of figurative language, they are essential to the way we think. They discuss in their book *Metaphors We Live By* that there are no objective truths. Everything is relative to human and cultural valuations. To make our world comprehensible we perceive various things in the natural world as entities. We project boundaries and surfaces on them where no clear-cut boundaries or surfaces exist naturally. For example, we think a sentence like *The fog is in front of the mountain*, is true because it is relative to the normal way we understand

the world. We conceive the fog as a container and we give the mountain a front. We project a front-back orientation in context onto objects that have no intrinsic fronts or backs. Other cultures, for instance Hausas, make different projections. We also use metaphors to highlight some aspects and hide others. We create the metaphors but sometimes they rule our culture. To understand this we can look at the metaphor *Time is money*. Time in our culture is valuable and closely associated with work. We find a lot of metaphors that reflect this.

*You're wasting my time.*

*That flat tire cost me an hour.*

*You don't use your time profitably.*

*I lost a lot of time when I was sick.*

This sort of metaphor rules our lives when they talk about effectiveness while other cultures highlight reflection and meditation. The authors try with examples to give some indication of just how extensive a role metaphor plays in the way we function, the way we conceptualise our experience, and the way we speak (p.115). I will extend this to an analysis of metaphor in news reporting.

Television has come to play an important role in our society. It is a relatively new medium with its own unique set of characteristics that should not be compared with literature, as the language of television is much more like that of speech than written language. Television communicates with its audience by a continuous stream of images created by television itself but also by our language and culture. Television news tries to mediate reality and therefore it is important but also extremely difficult to analyse its message. Fiske and Hartley try in *Reading Television*(1989) to give us some tools for developing an awareness of how reality is produced. They compare the function of television with that of the ancient Celtic bard whose main function was to claw back subjects into a socio-central position and to give his audience a sense of cultural membership.

Hartley (1982) provides the reader with some of the discursive concepts and strategies for approaching news text that will help to develop a critical stance towards news.

### *5. Methods and Limitations*

Data consist of taped news reports from the BBC and CNN on September 11, 2001.

The British Broadcasting Corporation, the BBC, was started in 1922. It is a corporation established under successive Royal Charters. The BBC services are regulated by a separate Agreement under the Charter, which gives the BBC editorial independence. The corporation receives most of its income from the UK licence fee. It offers radio networks, information services and television channels. One of them is the BBC World that broadcasts all over the world. My newscast is taped from the BBC World at seven o'clock in the evening Swedish time, which is about four hours after the first tower was hit. The newscast is a four and a half minute long summary of what has happened so far during the day.

Cable News Network, CNN, was started in 1979 by Ted Turner in Atlanta, where CNN's headquarter still is situated. The media company broadcasts all over the world, day and night to about 140 millions viewers. Two hundred television companies are connected to CNN for service exchanges and two thousand reporters work for CNN. Its main income is received from news programmes and advertising. My newscast is taped from CNN International at nine o'clock in the evening Swedish time, that is about six hours after the terror attack started. This newscast is a summary of the same length as the BBC newscast.

In my transcripts I have chosen not to use punctuation since the newsreaders do not necessarily stop where punctuation is found in a written text.

The following conventions will be found in the transcripts:

Pauses: represented as dots between words, like . this. Longer pauses are shown by two . . or three . . . dots, or given as parts of a second, e.g. (0.5).

Hesitations: e, em, e: or e:m, with the colon marking an elongated syllable.

Emphases: CAPITAL LETTERS

Clarifications: xxx <clarified>

Uncertainty: ((xxx))

References to subheads, running subheads and views: (1) or (1.1)

In my work I will in the main use the analytical methods Fairclough describes. I will do qualitative analysis. However, my work is limited in time and by the small amount of data that was collected. An analysis of more and various newscasts would perhaps give other answers.

### *6. Definitions*

Discourse    the social action and interaction between people using spoken and written language (Fairclough pp.18, 54)

Genre        “a use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice” (Fairclough p.56), for example interviews, news reports and documentaries

Intertextuality discourse embedded in other discourses

Text         written, spoken and /or visual discourse (Fairclough p.57)

Voice        “the identities of particular individual or collective agents” (Fairclough p.77)

## 7. Findings

### 7.1 Genres, Voices and Discourses

In this section I will discuss genres, voices and discourses and how they are related by means of intertextuality. I will also try to look at discourse in a wider perspective.

#### 7.1.1 Genre

The discourse type of both the BBC and CNN is that of a hard-news story, of an unexpected event that must be disseminated at once. It has the generic structure of a hard-news story: a headline, a lead paragraph that describes what has happened, a series of satellite paragraphs and a final wrap-up. Since the attack is a couple of hours old at taping you have to assume there has been some analysis before these summaries are produced. Therefore the genre is better called informative developing news, e.g. facts are continuously reconstructed, as more information is available (see Tuchman p.55).

#### *BBC*

The BBC report starts with a long lead paragraph that summarizes the events. The headline is of special interest *TERRORISM ATTACK IN US*. *US* is of course an abbreviation of United States but a non-native English speaker could interpret it as the pronoun *us* when it is written in capital letters, and the news cast is aimed toward an international audience. *US* can then stand for the British and American people who have strong historical, economic and cultural relations. *US* can also stand for all spectators watching the BBC, including the BBC itself and in that way a feeling of solidarity is created. The subheads are loosely connected with discourse but they have a time progression, except the first one, which is a summing-up and is repeated three times.

There are other genres embedded. The stages can be described as follows. The discourse begins with Information (1-17) about the events, but then after a pause there is a shift to Description (18-23) as the newsreader gives his view of feelings and damage

mentioning the main agencies of state - *the White House, Congress, the State Department* - it shifts to Information (24-36). There is again a longer pause and there is a shift to Drama (37-42) when the newsreader comments on a video, and finally the wrap-up is Information.

### *CNN*

The structure of the CNN news report is not as clear as the BBC report. It has the generic structure of a hard-news story: a headline, a lead paragraph, a series of satellite paragraphs and a final wrap-up but the lead paragraph is different. The headline is *AMERICA UNDER ATTACK* backgrounded in red, white and blue, the colours of the US flag, giving a patriotic feeling. The word *AMERICA* has a broader definition than the US, a cultural as well as political meaning. It gives the impression of a huge number of people involved and of support from the whole continent. The subheads correspond with the views and the discourse. The running subheads seem to be standing by themselves. The lead paragraph does not summarize the gist of the story but the first six lines point out that the newsreader has something special to tell. There are satellite paragraphs that correspond to the views and the subheads. They all link back to the lead but they are not independent of one another. There is a time progression within them. The last six lines are a wrap-up of the story.

Other genres are embedded in this discourse as well. The stages can be described as follows. The discourse begins with Description (1-7) of an extraordinary event, but after a temporal - *today beginning at EIGHT forty five this morning* - it shifts to Information (8-17) about what has happened, then after a connecting adverb it shifts to Exposition (17-19) about an earlier terror attack, and after a transitional sentence it shifts to Information (21-30) again about the Pentagon. The next lines (29-34), starting with a temporal, and the visual image we see during the pause are Fiction. In fiction a writer makes up facts. The collapse of the tower, which nobody thought was possible, seems invented. There is a rising action (30-32), a climax during the pause and a falling action (33-34) as

usually are found in fiction. Another aspect of fiction is that time, the long pause, is presented as an experienced, emotional phenomenon not as exact measurable units. The next stage starts with a pause and is Exposition (34-45) and then after a temporal there is a shift to Narration (45-49) about a passenger, and at last Information.

### 7.1.2 Voices

In both the BBC news report and the CNN report, once we are shifted to Joy Chen, there is just one newsreader, just one voice we hear. But representations of discourse of a number of people are woven into the discourse of the newsreader, creating a complex web of voices.

An important variable in the representation of discourse is the degree to which boundaries are maintained between the representing discourse and the represented discourse, between the voices of the reporter and the person reported. One way of maintaining the boundaries is to allow people to speak for themselves or use direct speech (see Fairclough p.81).

#### *BBC*

The voices, those speaking or those whose speech is represented are: the BBC (represented by the newsreader), doctors (19) and the mayor (31). Speech is also attributed to Washington (11), the State Department (24), the Federal Aviation Administration (27), video (37) and a person waving (42). The voice of the newsreader dominates. He alternates in representing the BBC *what we know so far* and talking in first person *I think it is fair to say* or in generic third person *one has to assume*. Only twice does he represent the audience. In the early part of the report his voice is representing the BBC but in the latter part he is talking in first person. He uses *one has to assume* when he is speculating about the numbers of dead, a way to distance himself from the facts. The voices of the doctors are in indirect speech and here used to support the newsreader's own very powerful expressions *panic, devastation* and *enormous numbers of injuries*. The voice of Rudolph Giuliani is also in indirect speech and

again framing the newsreader's powerful expressions *panic really....civil services have probably been devastated*. The authorities, Washington, the State Department, the Federal Aviation Administration, are marginalized. They are not formulated as representations of discourse but formulated as representation of thought *disbelief in Washington* and as a representation of action *was putting to operation, were ordered to evacuate, had shot down*. The person who has taken the video is given a prominent place. He/she tells a dramatic story through the film. Since the newsreader relates to the video as one newly received, you get the impression it is from a witness, not a professional cameraman.

Boundaries between the reporting and the reported voices are very loose as the discourse of reported voices are in indirect speech or related to as representation of thought or action.

Even in the subheads there is representation of discourse. The voices are: the mayor of New York, United Airlines and reports. The voice of the mayor is the most prominent. He is quoted twice, once in direct and once in indirect speech. The voice of United Airlines is formulated as a representation of thought *is concerned*. The last one is one or several voices reporting from the Pentagon; we do not know who gives the report, but the voice is given prominence by the direct quotation.

*CNN*

The voices here are: The CNN (represented by the newsreader and the reporter in New York Aaron Brown), the mayor of New York, witnesses in the Pentagon, authorities, the federal government, one witness in New York and a passenger. The one who actually speaks is the newsreader but speech is attributed to the mayor (20,37), witnesses in the Pentagon (24), the federal government (26), Aaron Brown (27), one witness in New York (39) and the passenger (47). Speech is also attributed to authorities but only as a representation of action. The voice of the newsreader is given prominence here. She, as a representative of

CNN, is the authoritative guide for the audience *we are trying as best as we can to try walk you through*. But – *you* – also indicates that even she as the mediating and authoritative voice is not in complete control of the situation. She is also a representative for the audience *an image we cannot forget*. Only once does she speak in first person *and now I try to show you some live pictures*.

Two voices are quoted in direct speech. One is the mayor of New York whose voice is represented in direct speech (20) the first time he is mentioned and in indirect speech (38-40) the second time. In the first case his voice is used to frame the newsreader's retrospect of an earlier terror bombing and in the second case his voice is connecting the newsreader with the witness. His voice is positioned both in the earlier and latter part of the discourse. The other voice quoted in direct speech is Aaron Brown (28-29). He is giving weight to the voice of the federal government whose voice is in indirect speech (27). His voice is also positioned in the middle of the discourse. Being taken up in the newsreader's voice legitimises the voices of witnesses (25, 40-42) and the passenger (49-50). They are in indirect speech. They play an important role in verifying the event. The voice of the authorities (26) is marginalized. We do not know which authorities, just that they confirm what witnesses have said.

Boundaries between the reporting and reported voices are not strong as most of them are quoted in indirect speech. However, boundaries are strong for the mayor of New York and Aaron Brown. Both are quoted in direct speech (20, 28-29). They are both on the spot; one is the highest authority in New York, and the other is a representative for CNN. The hierarchy of the voices is rather clear, first the newsreader who is given the most space and also summarizes, then the mayor of New York who is mentioned twice, Aaron Brown quoted in direct speech, and then witnesses, the federal government and a passenger who are mentioned in indirect speech and at last the authorities.

In the subheads there is representation of discourse as well. The last one is a statement by President Bush. It is a prominent one, no running subheads at the same time, a view of Manhattan and a strong statement showing action. But it is not given much space and is placed at the end of the report. The voices of the running subheads are: American Airlines, United Airlines, Greyhound Bus and European Union Official. They are all written in indirect speech. The most interesting one is the last; who is s/he and from what country?

### *7.1.3 Conclusion*

When a catastrophe happens people need to feel security and solidarity. I have found that the two news reports create security by using a relevant genre, informative developing news, and newsreaders well known to the audience. To create a feeling of solidarity both reports involve more people than just the inhabitants of the US in their headlines. But there is a difference between them. While the BBC looks at the event from the outside and the headline creates solidarity, CNN has a domestic view and the CNN headline widens the frontiers of the US as to an imminent war. The boundary between the discourse types and the order of discourses is stronger in the CNN report, reflecting the force of society to unite the country in a difficult situation. There are more voices of common people and fewer of authorities in the CNN report. I think this mirrors the difference between these two media companies. The BBC, paid for by fees from the public but via authorities, relates to authorities to a greater extent while CNN, more dependant on its audience as a private company, involves its spectators more.

### *7.2 Language*

As I mentioned earlier, my first impression of the two reports is that the BBC report is full of hesitations and lack of facts and that the CNN report is very structured and full of facts. A closer view shows that both reports take up the same main facts but that they are divided in different parts in different ways. There are also differences in hesitation. Both reports differ

very little in repeating words or expressions and in elucidating words. The number of pauses differ also very little but they are used differently.

### 7.2.1 Presentation style

#### *BBC*

The report is divided into five parts. The first part (1-17) summarizes the four incidents. The second part (18-23) describes the damage the incidents create. The third part (24-36) tells, by using military words, what measures are taken. The fourth part (37-42) shows the fate of one person. And the fifth part is a summing-up.

The BBC reporter hesitates eleven times with e: sounds and twice with words. Pauses are used seven times indicating hesitation but most pauses are natural, ending a clause. Pauses are also used to help emphasize already stressed words like *THIS believe it or not* . (3) or emphasize the content like *concrete pillow . in white . someone* . (38) and in the summing-up. A longer pause is used to change subject (36). There are also two passages without pauses (18-21, 30-32). The first passage is nearly the same as the second part I have described above containing words like *panic*. And that word is repeated in the second passage.

#### *CNN*

The report is divided into six parts. The first part (1-7) serves to arouse expectations. The second part (8-29) gives a summary of the events by using military words. The third part (30-40) describes the collapse of the WTC towers. The fourth part (41-45) talks about the Pentagon. The fifth part (46-49) describes the fate of a passenger. And the sixth part is a summing-up. The CNN reporter hesitates just five times, every time with a word. Pauses are only used three times to indicate hesitation. In this report the main function for using pauses is to emphasize both already stressed words or expressions but also emotive words like *terrorism, confusion, killed, attack, lives, speculations* and *leaping*. A long pause

(31) emphasizes the view of one tower collapsing. I will discuss that later. There are two passages without any pauses (8-11, 42-45). The first is about the first airliner crashing into one tower and the second about damage to the Pentagon.

### 7.2.2 Words and expressions

The two newscasts are about four and a half minutes each. But the CNN report contains more words, about one fifth more. A text is made alive when many adjectives and adverbs are used. When I counted them I found a sharp difference in the use of adverbs. The CNN report has nearly twice as many adverbs as the BBC report, twice as many adverbs of time and adverbs of manner but fewer adverbs of place. The CNN report has also four sentence adverbs (28,29,31,39) compared with BBC's one (22) but the adverb is the same *not*. I will look more closely at the different parts of each report and discuss words and expressions.

#### BBC

The most interesting part in the BBC report is part two. There are several strong nouns describing the damage from the incidents such as *panic, devastation, injuries, deaths, hospital* and *burns*. This part is closely related to part four where the adjectives *desperate* and *impossible* give the same feeling of disaster.

When the reporter describes the measures taken by authorities he uses military words and expressions evocative of a war situation such as *evacuation plan, operation, order, airspace* and *shot down*. But even in this part he returns to words of disaster in the last five lines.

An interesting expression in the first part is *palls of smoke*; there *pall* also means a quilt to cover the dead man.

#### CNN

In comparison with the BBC report I have found not only more adverbs but also more expressions from nature, media, business and war in the CNN report. The first part has

both strong adjectives like *extraordinary*, *horrific*, *unprecedented*, *difficult*, *enormous* and emotive nouns like *terrorism* and *confusion*, serving to arouse the audience's curiosity. There are two expressions that give prominence to the importance of the events. These are *search of events* and *scope and scale*.

In part two and three several discourses are represented. The actual news reporting is mixed with words that could have come from military authorities. There are words like *target*, *attack*, *fortress* and *order*. The word *designed* (16) also presupposes that the event was staged. Words like *explosion* and *implosion* associate to nuclear power and the authorities. *Wager* comes from the business world.

### 7.2.3 Metaphors and Metonymy

I will discuss some metaphors in the news reports on September 11, using Lakoff and Johnson as a basis. One metaphor the BBC and CNN have in common is the newsreader as a representative for the whole company. I also see Aaron Brown as a metaphor for CNN.

#### *BBC*

Ontological metaphors serve various purposes. They let us view events, activities and emotions as entities and substances. The most obvious ontological metaphor is the one where a physical object is specified as a person. I have found two, *twin towers* and *Wall Street the heart of New York City*. The two towers were alike, they were the centres in Wall Street, and they were the centres for the economy of the US and in many ways the western world. As the heart is an absolute basis for life, economy is the basis for prosperity in a country. By using personification we understand the importance of the New York financial centre.

There is one orientational metaphor. Such metaphors have to do with spatial orientation, up-down, in-out, front-back and on-off. *Now an update on what we know*,

reflecting that if you add more of a substance to a container, the level goes up. In this case the BBC adds more facts to what we already know.

In a conduit metaphor, words have meanings independent of contexts and speakers. You can compare an expression like *The meaning is right there in the words* with *We need alternative sources of energy*. You find that the first expression can correctly be said of any sentence but the latter means something very different to the president of Mobil Oil or to Green Peace. The conduit metaphor defines a relationship between form and content. Linguistic expressions are containers and their meanings are the content of those containers. When we see a small container we expect the content to be small and vice versa. According to this we can say that in a conduit metaphor more of form is more of content. An example of this is iteration. The word *panic* is mentioned four times and the expression *enormous numbers of* is mentioned three times, which give us the impression of a huge catastrophe. By repeating, the reporter expresses his feelings about the event.

As I mentioned before, in metonymy one entity stands for another or one part stands for the whole. Metonymy also allows us to focus more on certain aspects of what is being referred to. In the words *Washington* and *Pentagon* the place stands for the institution. In the expressions *the federal administration* and *American civil services* the institution stands for the people responsible. In both cases you avoid pointing out any special person and so make it more difficult to place responsibility for an action. Instead of talking about hijackers and passengers the reporter talks about a *hijacked aircraft* or a *plane*. An object is used for the user. I can see two possible effects of that. The first is that the reporter will protect his audience from the thought of the last minutes in the lives of the passengers. And the second and probably the most likely, he sees the aircraft in the same way as those who have planned the attack. The aircraft is a missile that has reached its target.

CNN

The same forms of metonymy are found in the CNN report. The institution stands for the persons responsible in *the federal government*. An object is used for user in *airliner, aircraft, commercial general jet* and *commercial aircraft*.

The Pentagon is described as an impregnable fortress, a symbol of the nation's military, but I think the Pentagon also can be a metaphor for the US. The US has been into wars many times but always made war outside its own borders since the Civil War. The US has been impregnable, like the Pentagon.

The two towers are said to be landmarks. There is a double meaning here. A landmark is something big and divergent in nature helping you to recognize where you are in the surroundings, as the towers help you to recognize your position in Manhattan. But landmark also means an important event that influences changes as this catastrophe will do.

There are two orientational metaphors. *To bring you up-to-date on what we know* is a typical more is up, down is less metaphor. The other one is *lower Manhattan*. Low stands of course for southern Manhattan to Americans but can also be interpreted as low in comparison to high that is the two towers of the World Trade Center. According to Lakoff and Johnson, health and life are up and sickness and death are down. You can therefore interpret *lower Manhattan* as Manhattan after the towers had collapsed. But in this case when it is mentioned together with the workday and before the crash, it forebodes something evil.

*The workday was well under way* and *try to walk you through* are two examples of time as a moving object metaphor. We move toward the future and receive a front-back orientation of time. The workday was moving ahead toward the catastrophe as time moves

toward the future and neither could be stopped. Here time is oriented with respect to time.

But in the second example time is oriented with respect to people.

Many metaphors we use in our daily life have to do with nature. *The events were unfolding through the day* give us the feeling that we are going to see something extraordinary and unknown. *The smoke billowed* is associated with a movement of huge waves.

There is some iteration in the report with the same function as in the BBC report. It emphasizes time (12) and action (40).

An example of personification is given in the expression *gaping hole*.

#### 7.2.4 Conclusion

One of the main differences between the BBC and the CNN report is to be found in the use of hesitations. Compared to the BBC report there are no sound hesitations in the CNN report and few hesitations with words or pauses. This difference in the use of hesitations gives the effect that the content of the CNN text has more validity. But it also indicates that the BBC report is more immediate and the CNN report more revised.

As I said before, a close look at facts shows that the texts take up the same main facts. But CNN emphasizes the attacks on the towers and the Pentagon, which underlines the importance of these two buildings as icons for economy and military but also stresses the need for entertainment, which the parallel running views show. I will discuss them more in section 7.4.

The CNN text has a richer and more varied language and contains more words. The whole text is enriched with adjectives and adverbs, which reminds one of a thrilling story. The effect is of course to make the text entertaining. The use of military words is interesting. While the words in the CNN text show military action, the BBC words show protection and defeat. Also the strong words describing disaster strengthen this impression of the BBC text.

Both texts use metaphors to enrich the language and make us understand. The use of metonymy is interesting. None of the reports talk about the hijackers instead of a hijacked plane. As I said before the plane can be seen as a missile but this also shows that at this time nobody knew who was responsible for the attack and that nobody wanted to speculate. Nor are the people in the institutions mentioned. The institutions are responsible for their orders as a coalition government in a war situation.

### *7.3. Relations and identities*

When you tell a person about an event you foreground different aspects depending on whom you are talking to. Your tone, your choice of words, the degree of interaction you expect from the hearer, all differ depending on whether you are talking to a close friend or an authoritative person. The problem media are faced with is that they do not see their addressees. They must develop their audience. According to Fiske and Hartley (ch.5) there are many different ways to see the audience as consumers of the media market, a mass audience of individuals or a mass audience of families. The audience want to satisfy some psychological needs. They want information and knowledge to understand the world, they want social connectedness to strengthen contact with family and friends, and they want to release tensions, to escape and to get diversion. Media must furthermore take into consideration that the audience hold different political views.

In this section I will look at how the newsreader's social and personal identity is created and how he/she creates a relation to the audience. I will also foreground some other participants who give us a hint about what audience the BBC and CNN turn to.

#### *BBC*

The newsreader, Phil Hayton, has supplied news for the BBC since 1968. He is well known to the audience. He is a middle-aged man, grey haired, dressed in a grey jacket and blue tie. He is the anchor who ties all features together. When the newscast starts we see

Phil Hayton for a couple of seconds. He has a shifting gaze as if looking for his text but then quickly looks right into the camera. It appears to me that he has a written script that he looks at and also comments on. The text consists of clauses that are declarative in mood and make assertions. The vocabulary is of a high standard. This gives the newsreader authority. He speaks as a representative for the BBC using the pronoun *we*. Only once is *we* used to mark connectedness with the audience (32). He directs himself to the audience with the pronoun *you*. I think the audience is seen as learners and the newsreader as a teacher. But Phil Hayton also makes many hesitations and gives comments with strong, descriptive nouns and adjectives. A large number of words are stressed which result in a large number of short information units. The text is given a conversational tone. There is thus a contrast in the text between authoritativeness and conversation that point, to ambivalence in the newsreader's identity. He is the professional news anchor but, confronted with this terrible catastrophe, also one of the people.

The participant I want to mention in the BBC report is a person who is standing in one of the towers waving for help. This person has a complex identity that involves a multiplicity of simultaneous social purposes. First of all this person stands as a representative for all victims in the catastrophe but also for the helplessness people who were watching felt. The newsreader draws his own conclusion as one of the audience: no help is available. The person arouses sympathy and helps us understand what is happening. Secondly this is entertainment. This tragic figure creates dramatic tension. The scene could be cut from a movie. As I mentioned before, people want information, connectedness and diversion and this video contains all. To me the video seems misplaced, not at all like the other views. Shakespeare wrote ambiguous plays, one story for the educated classes and another for the working class. Is this a conscious political move? A video for those who have difficulty in abstract understanding?

CNN

The news anchor here seems to be Aaron Brown who is standing on a rooftop in New York with Manhattan behind him. My transcript starts when he gives the word to Joie Chen who will do a summing up of what is known so far. She is a younger woman, about thirty-five, dressed in black, dark hair pageboy style, with glasses. She has a written script in her hand but starts talking directly without looking at it. She seems well prepared and reads the text very fast to match the views. She has few natural pauses and few hesitations, which indicates reading. Even the long pause when the first tower collapses seems to be arranged. She is no expert, just a mediator or informer of news. As does Phil Hayton, she directs herself to the audience with the pronoun *you* and uses the pronoun *we* for CNN. A notable difference is the use of inclusive *we*. This makes her an ordinary person, one of the audience. Only once does she take the expert role as an educator about a terror bombing in 1993 in World Trade Center. In the end she says *I try to show you....* I interpret that as if she is relieved that her report is done. It must be hard to be an American and tell this news without showing feelings. That is one reason why I think she is reading the text as well.

During the whole newscast voices are heard. The sound from them billows to and fro. It is impossible to hear what is said. But during the long pause when the first tower falls, the voices come forward and sound very upset. The voices in the background intensify the impression that Joie Chen is just a mediator, and behind her the whole CNN is at work. But the agitation of the voices also intensifies the whole situation.

### 7.3.1 Conclusion

There are contrasts in presenter identities and relations with audiences between the BBC and CNN. The emphasis in the BBC is upon personal identity and teacher-learner relations with the audience. Phil Hayton is allowed to show more of human feelings and to give his own

interpretation of the events. The BBC trusts his ability and gives him freedom in reporting. Joie Chen is a mediator and in that way she has an institutional role. The institution in this case is CNN but it could also have been the authorities. In a war situation it is important what and how things are said and the news reporter is not given much freedom, which the reading indicates.

#### *7.4 Image and text*

In this section I will look at the visual images and how they are related to the text. The visual images create entertainment, fear and tension and are in that way crucial to television. What the audience sees on television is what someone wants them to see. Even if a news report is understood to show facts and media chooses its material from that perspective, there is always a gap between appearance and reality even though the audience may not be aware of it. In the case of the BBC and CNN, they have chosen totally different visuals.

##### *7.4.1 Images*

###### *BBC*

At the beginning of the news report the audience sees the newsreader. He is sitting at a desk, placed in the middle of the picture and behind him there are four or five persons behind television screens and computers. We do not see all those persons clearly just the top of their heads except one man standing and another entering. The impression is that the newsreader is not alone. Others are working on the subject as well. In *Making News* (p.116-119) Tuchman discusses what the distance in framing means. The newsreader is shown at far personal distance, which means that subjects of personal interest and involvement can be discussed as well as more formal business and social talk. This is in accordance with my discussion in the former section. Phil Hayton is a man who is given freedom to hold his own opinions as well as a professional newsreader.

There are just four more different views during this broadcast. The BBC does not have any lack of film because before this summing up, the former prime minister of Israel is interviewed and behind him are shown pictures from different parts of Manhattan and after the summing up, an anti-terrorism expert is interviewed while the aeroplane flying into the second tower is showed several times. Still the BBC has chosen to show just four long takes.

The first one is a view over south Manhattan taken at a far distance, probably by aeroplane. This wide-angled shot from above at a distance is used in actions to suggest danger and it is also a way to emphasize physical distance (Tuchman p.112). Manhattan is embedded in smoke. The camera is zooming slowly to and fro. The colours are green, grey and light blue. The sun highlights the smoke. The picture is reminiscent of a Baroque painting in colouring and lightning. And so is the next one.

The Pentagon building on fire and the sky above are seen. The colours are dark blue and grey. The sun highlights the smoke in pink and yellow. A helicopter goes three times from the left to the right above the Pentagon building. A close view of this sequence reveals that the same short take is shown three times. It is the same helicopter that goes three times from the left to the right in the picture above the Pentagon building. As I mentioned before the BBC was not out of film so this is really confusing. A reason to repeat this take can be to give prominence to the fact that the state of emergency is good. The helicopter becomes a conduit metaphor, more of form is more of content.

The third view I have discussed before. A person is standing in one of the towers waving a white cloth. First you see a relatively close view of the person and then the camera makes a wide shot to depict the whole situation and then again zooms back to a closer view. The person is at a public distance that depersonalises. It may be that the photographer cannot film closer. The colours here are brighter, a light blue sky, a white building with black windows and grey smoke. The white walls of the building and the black windows make a

pattern like bars in a prison, which the building also is to that person who has no possibilities being saved. The smoke goes down like the tower is going to do. The brighter colours here make a sharp contrast between human fate and the ongoing life.

The fourth view is of the first tower falling. The colours are dark, black buildings, a dark grey sky and highlighted grey smoke. The dark colours represent death and disaster.

During the Baroque period, a consciousness about the proportion between universe and humans arouse; the Reformation and new ideas about universe led to a vision of infinity and smallness of mankind. It was shown in art by new perspectives, the lighting, and the interpreting of the crucial moments of life, of evil and good. The choice of views that BBC has done corresponds very well with these thoughts, the smallness of mankind, the evil and the crucial moments of life.

*CNN*

While the BBC just has a few longer takes CNN has chosen many short takes beginning with a view from the studio. We just see Joie Chen. She is sitting to the left at a close social distance. Behind her is a blue wall, above her the letters *CNN* in orange and to the right the picture with the text *AMERICA* in red and *UNDER ATTACK* in white. The newsreader is marginalized; the text is the principal theme, national identity is shown through the colours. The newsreader's black clothes, a symbol for grief and funeral as well as formality, strengthen the gravity.

From the studio we go to Manhattan and are shown the two towers in grey and blue. One tower is on fire. When the plane comes toward the second tower the view is darkened and the plane is highlighted in a circle so that we will not miss it. After the explosion the view is lightened again. Despite the highlighting of the plane we see no details.

The plane could as well be seen as a missile and CNN wants us to see it as a weapon attacking the US.

The next view is from the Pentagon. The Pentagon is on fire and flames of fire are licking the roof. The camera zooms to the Pentagon South Parking lot with cars, people and policemen and then back to the building again, a method to set aside all questions about where we are. Tension is created in the view by the opposition between the Pentagon in flames with distorted parts and the fresh, green trees nearby.

The next view shows the two towers again. The whole picture is in grey brown colours as if there is already dust and soot in the air. There is a close view of the first tower when it is falling and then the camera zooms out to catch both towers and the cascade of smoke and dust that is falling down. There is a short cut of blue smoke against the sky and then again a cut from the area around the towers with clouds of dust and smoke surrounding the other skyscrapers. Here the sun is highlighting the smoke and creating the same impression of a Baroque painting as the views from the BBC.

The newsreader says that we see the military side of the Pentagon and at the same time we see the building with distorted parts and flames in windows; the place looks desolate. Some firemen hose water at the building and one fireman is foregrounded. It is the only person we see at a rather close view. We all know that the rescue party did a fantastic job during this catastrophe and this is a conscious choice of CNN to emphasize their work.

The next view is from Pennsylvania and the open area where the fourth plane crashed. From a distance we see smouldering ground, some people, an ambulance, a helicopter and a man running towards it. We do not see the plane or any remainder of it. Actually we have to trust the newsreader when she says this view is from Pennsylvania; there is no proof of that in the picture.

#### 7.4.2 Relation to text

##### *BBC*

The views are very well related to the text. You find exact phrases for all views except the last one. When we see the newsreader and the team behind him the phrase is *are joining us*. The phrases related to the other views are: *south Manhattan in New York city*, *palls of smoke coming up from the Pentagon* and *just to the left of that concrete pillar in white someone in the World Trade Centre*. For the last view, there is a phrase indirectly related (43,44). But there is also a tension between views and text. At the same time as these Baroque pictures are shown, the newsreader talks about awful things.

During the long helicopter take the newsreader does not only talk about the Pentagon but also about the fourth plane, the enormous numbers of injuries and deaths and the orders of the authorities. They are all important issues and there ought to be some pictures relating to them. Did the BBC find it more important to go out with up-to-date news the whole time than to have up-to-date views?

##### *CNN*

The newsreader's text and the views are very well related. The newsreader refers directly to the views several times. She especially points out the highlighted plane, the Pentagon and the collapse of the Trade Center tower. However, the view of the Pentagon in flames is in great opposition to the text about the Pentagon as an impenetrable fortress.

All the subheads are connected to the views and the newsreader's text very well. They shortly refer to what is said and what is shown, all except the last one, which is a forceful statement by President Bush shown at the same time as we see Manhattan wrapped in

smoke. It is a military signal that seems to tell us that we shall look at what these attackers have done and that we proclaim war on them.

#### *7.4.3 Conclusion*

There is a main difference in the choice of cuts. The BBC seems to have chosen from an artistic point of view. Their cuts look like paintings from the Baroque. They are all taken from a distance, a way to dissociate oneself from the events. A tension is built up between the beautiful cuts and the serious and awful events that the newsreader tells about. This tension creates entertainment. The videotape with the person waving from the tower is not made as a painting. The focus is on the person himself and the pattern the windows make, like bars in a prison. We all understand that this person is going to die and even if it sounds terrible, this is entertainment. The human race wants to see others' misery. Why should otherwise a crowd gather round a car accident or an execution?

CNN is focusing on shorter cuts and cuts with more action as in a war film. They start with national identity, the colours of the flag, they go on with a missile attack, the Pentagon distorted in flames, a tower falling, some heroic firefighters working and at last a field of death. These cuts could be elements in a film. This creates tension and makes the newscast into entertainment. But opposition in the cuts as well as cuts and texts related to them also create tension.

#### *8. Conclusion*

My first impression of these two newscasts was that the BBC report had a lack of facts and gave an impression of uncertainty and that the CNN report was very structured and full of facts. If someone had asked me the 11th of September which newscast was the most reliable I would definitely have answered CNN. But after having examined the reports I say that my first impression was to a great extent wrong. Both reports contain about the same facts but

they are presented differently, biased differently and made into entertainment differently.

And today my answer would have been the BBC.

Even if Great Britain and the US are closely related by history and culture there is a clear difference in the way the two news companies handle the event of September 11. The BBC looks at it from the outside; the catastrophe and the damage are foregrounded, while CNN chooses a domestic attitude; focus is laid on the attack. The country is confronted with an imminent war. It is of great importance which facts are told and how they are told. That is why the CNN report is very carefully designed. The newsreader has no free space. She is strictly reading a manuscript and that also explains why the text exactly matches the views and she manages to use such an enriched language. Whether CNN or the government authorities control the report is difficult to say. CNN is a freestanding, commercial company but at such a special event, co-operation is not surprising. In the report the authorities are backgrounded and voices of common people are more frequent, but on the other hand the authorities are showing ability to take action and the statement by President Bush is a strong one. The BBC, with its view from the outside, gives its reader greater freedom to explain and interpret the events. And as a well-known authority the newsreader can hesitate when choosing words as he tries to tell in an intelligible way.

Entertainment is created in language by strong adjectives, emotive nouns and metaphors, which are used in both reports, but the main focus is different: the BBC on the catastrophe and CNN on war. But what really create entertainment are the views shown. The BBC chooses long cuts and artistic views at a distance. It is a way to dissociate oneself from the events but perhaps also a way to show neutrality and not take a definite position. That can explain why the plane, the missile is not shown. An exception is the person waving in one of the towers where the BBC takes sides with the victim and at the same time gives its spectators something gripping, hair-raising and spectacular, an artifice Shakespeare used in his days.

That CNN does not show pictures of victims is understandable. Who wants someone to see a close friend or a family member caught in the tower? Instead the main focus also here is on the attack and the imminent war. The views could be from an action or war film.

I claim that the news cast from the BBC is more objective from my point of view, a modern European influenced by culture, politics and economics in the western world. But it is still biased. A short newscast, a summing up of the reality, must be simplified and then a choice is made what to say and what to show. The reality the BBC chooses to show us is their interpretation of reality. In the case of CNN, the information has a more distinct sender. It is easier to discover that the information is biased through their choice of words, their choice of views and their focus on war. The more observant the addressee is and the more distinct the sender is, the easier it is to recognize distortion and bias.

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*10. Appendix*

BBC World 2001-09-11 19.00 Swedish time

London, Philip Hayton

Time: 4.30

Headlines in red, changing all the time:

**TERRORISM ATTACKS IN US    BREAKING NEWS**

Subheads in blue:

1. Four hijacked planes crash-two in New York, one into the Pentagon, one in Pennsylvania (1-6)
2. The Mayor of New York says “a tremendous number of people have died in the attacks” (6-8)
3. Four hijacked planes crash-two in New York, one in the Pentagon, one in Pennsylvania (8-9)
4. Both World Trade Centre towers have collapsed after two planes crashed into them (9-13)
5. A third plane has crashed into the Pentagon in Washington (13-17)
6. United Airlines is concerned about flight 175 after three other planes hijacked and crashed (17-19)
7. Four hijacked planes crash-two in New York, one into the Pentagon, one in Pennsylvania (19-22)
8. Government buildings in Washington have been evacuated (22-26)
9. Reports say five floors of the Pentagon have collapsed and it is still on fire (26-32)
10. The Mayor of New York has called for an evacuation of all of lower Manhattan (32-46)

Views:

1. The reporter sitting in the studio, in the background a lot of TV screens and computers, one person standing, three persons sitting (1-2)
  - 1.1 Manhattan in smoke seen from the other side of the Hudson river (3-9)
4. Pentagon in smoke, helicopters are flying from left to right three times (9-32)
  - 10.1 A close-up of a person standing in the second tower of the World Trade Center waving with something white (32-40)
  - 10.2 A view of the upper part of the same tower (40-43)
  - 10.3 A close-up of the person waving again (42)
  - 10.4 A view of the first tower falling (43-46)

(1) Now an update on what we know so far for those of you who are joining us this time . there have been . four incidents involving four separated apparently hijacked aircraft . (1.1) two which came from Boston THIS believe it or not . is south Manhattan in New York city . underneath that smoke . is . what's left of the World Trade Centre the two towers the distinctive twin towers of the World Trade Centre e: which collapsed . after the two towers were HIT by two hijacked aircraft . both of them had been hijacked from e: Boston (2) routes involving Boston e: and shortly after the first tower hit about an hour later it collapsed . then the second tower collapsed as well (3) now ... under the fat smoke . is where . millions of people literally DO work in Wall Street the heart of New York city (4) THIS IS THE SCENE of what's left . in Wall Street south Manhattan along the Hudson river e: and . at the same time as that was happening . e: disbelief in Washington when we saw palls of smoke . coming up from the Pentagon . the e:m the defence headquarters . of . all the US defence systems there you see the smoke rising (5) this happened about half an hour later . just across the Potomac river from the White House . a third plane presumably hijacked . had flown in to the outer rim of this building close to the helicopter site .. and shortly after that we had news of a fourth aircraft which we now know to be a United Airlines aircraft . which e came down a seven six seven . which came down . in (6) southern Pennsylvania about eighty miles from Pittsburgh . four incidents therefore . panic devastation enormous numbers of injuries and one has to assume (7) enormous numbers of deaths both in the south of New York city doctors talking ENORMOUS numbers of people who had been admitted to hospital PARTICULARLY with extensive burns and across the the whole of Washington DC equal panic no . massive crumbling building they don't have that any high rise buildings (8) in Washington DC but PANIC . right around the main agencies of state . e: across the White House . Congress . the State Department as an evacuation plan was putting into operation . and large numbers of government officers and civil servants were ordered to evacuate .

fearing that there were other planes up there in the skies over the eastern seaboard (9) even though the federal administration < federal aviation of administration> had shortly after ten to nine after the first incident . had SHUT DOWN all the airspace in order that all planes land and that NONE take OFF well that's the scene e: an hour or so ago at the Pentagon . across the river from Washington DC . PANIC really I think it's fair to say e: in BOTH Washington DC and New York City the mayor of New York City Rudolph Giuliani has ordered e: an evacuation of the whole of southern Manhattan . (10.1) one has to remember that even the emergency services have probably been devastated by this because they had turned up at the World Trade Centre we saw many of them earlier . and they were COVERED with e: smoke and soot and dust . and one has to assume that they were attending the World Trade Centre trying to rescue people when the first tower collapsed . but many of them might have perished AS WELL .... you can see . in those images this is video we just received VIDEO just to the left of that e concrete pillar . in white . someone . in the World Trade Centre desperate for some kind of rescue but e: .. I suspect above the limit of ladders and the helicopters IMPOSSIBLE at that time . (10.2) that is the one . standing . building I THINK of the World Trade Centre the two of the even more distinctive towers . have collapsed following they're being hit (10.3) you can see that person . waving desperately and (10.2) these were the scenes . (10.4) at the World Trade Centre within . half an hour after the two . civilian passenger aircraft hijacked had been flown directly INTO both towers unbelievable . though it may seem for those of you who are just joining and e are . unaware of what has happened in the last three and a half hours

CNN 2001-09-11 21.00 Swedish time

Atlanta, Joie Chen

Time:4.30 minutes

Headlines:

**BREAKING NEWS**

**AMERICA UNDER ATTACK (America in red)**

Subheads:

1. UNITED NATIONS EVACUATED (1-2)
2. TWO PLANES CRASHED INTO TOWERS OF WORLD TRADE CENTER (2-24)
3. PLANE CRASHES INTO PENTAGON; PART OF BUILDING COLLAPSES  
(24-26)
4. MAJOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS EVACUATED IN WASHINGTON AREA (27-30)
5. BOTH TOWERS OF WORLD TRADE CENTER HAVE COLLAPSED (30-43)
6. FIRE STILL BURNING ON WEST SIDE OF PENTAGON FOLLOWING CRASH  
(43-47)
7. UNITED FLIGHT 93 NEWARK-SAN.FRAN. CRASHES IN PENNSYLVANIA  
(47-55)
8. BUSH STATEMENT: U.S. WILL "HUNT DOWN AND PUNISH" ATTACKERS  
(55-57)

Running subheads:

- 1.1 10.29AM ET: SECOND WTC TOWER COLLAPSES (1-2)
- 2.1 11.04 ET: UNITED NATION HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK EVACUATED  
(2-4)
- 2.2 11.18AM ET: AMERICAN AIRLINES CONFIRMS TWO JETS LOST: 150  
PEOPLE ABOARD (4-7)

2.3 11.59 UNITED AIRLINES CONFIRMS TWO CRASHES: 110 PEOPLE LOST  
(8-13)

2.4 FAA: NOT A SINGLE COMMERCIAL PLANE NOW FLYING IN UNITED  
STATES; UNPRECEDENTED ACTION (13-17)

2.5 GREYHOUND, LARGEST U.S. BUS LINE, SUSPENDS OPERATIONS ACROSS  
MUCH OF COUNTRY (17-20)

3.1 STEM CELL DILEMMA (YELLOW, NOT RUNNING) (24-30)

5.1 FAA: NO COMMERCIAL LANDINGS OR TAKEOFFS ALLOWED UNTIL AT  
LEAST TOMORROW, NOON EASTERN (30-42)

5.2 EUROPEAN UNION OFFICIAL DENOUNCES ATTACKS AS “ACT OF WAR BY  
MADMEN” (42-43)

6.1 FAA DIVERTS ALL U.S.-BOUND TRANSATLANTIC FLIGHTS TO CANADA  
(43-47)

7.1 WASHINGTON HOSPITALS ON “MAXIMUM ALERT” AS CASUALTIES  
ARRIVE (52-55)

Views:

1. From the studio in Alabama, the reporter is sitting to the left, to the right a huge blue picture with the text AMERICA on red and UNDER ATTACK on white (1-8)
- 2.3 A view from the two towers of WTC, the first tower is on fire (8-13)
- 2.4 The second plane, highlighted, flows into tower nr 2, the explosion (13-17)
- 2.5 Smoke from the towers (17-20)
3. The camera is zooming from the Pentagon in smoke to a closer view, a bridge nearby with a lot of people and a car park, on the bridge there are two signs: Pentagon South parking, Washington Bird Memorial Br Next right (20-26)
1. The camera is zooming back to the Pentagon building in smoke (26-30)

2. The upper part of the towers of WTC, the first tower is collapsing, the camera is zooming to and fro on the ash cloud from the towers (30-42)
3. Fire-extinction on the Pentagon, zooming on fire men, a burning window, fire fighters working, a collapsed part of the building (43-47)
4. A view of an open area with trees, people and burning parts on the ground, a helicopter and an ambulance, a survey and then a closer view (47-55)
5. A survey of Manhattan with the smoke from the WTC (55-57)

(1.1) Aaron an extraordinary covers there of the rooftops in New York of this extraordinary and horrific search of events that we have been (2.1) watching . throughout this day here on CNN ((acts)) of terrorism . and it's such unprecedented scoop and scale . and it's really quite difficult to follow and quite frankly there have been an enormous amount of (2.2) confusion . as all these events were unfolding through the day so we are trying . as best as we can to try walk you through all this now . to bring you all up-to-date on what we know . about the events that have taken place today beginning at EIGHT forty five this morning that is eastern (2.3) time . when the World Trade Center the workday was well under way there in lower Manhattan an airliner crashing into one of the twin towers of the Trade Center the people in New York and then very quickly people all around the nation watchin just TERRIBLE horror as the thick black smoke billowed from the tower but . THAT as it turned out . has ((APPROVED)) . was really . just the beginning EIGHTEEN MINUTES later just eighteen minutes later you see . you see (2.4) the highlighted picture there on the right side another very big commercial general jet moving . towards the OTHER tower of the World Trade Center and THERE ... you see again . the explosion taken place ON camera . for ALL to SEE . quite apparently . quite specifically designed to do that that was at nine o three eastern . cameras were trained . on the two twin Centers of course (2.5) you know that the Trade Center was the target of a terror bombing back in 1993 which killed . SIX people the attack . injured so many more and it really ! DOES . palp in comparison to what we have seen today although as we just heard . the mayor (3) of the city of New York nobody wants make a guess yet . on what fun toll be IN MIDDLE OF ALL OF THIS suddenly Washington became a target you see it here . this is the PENTAGON which we always view as some sort of .. unpenetrable fortress . PENTAGON symbol of the nation's military might also command post today . Pentagon ((RAPPED)) by the explosion occurred at nine (3.1) forty five this morning witnesses say that the commercial aircraft crashed into the ARMY SIDE of the

building . that has been confirmed by authorities as about this time the federal (4) government ordered all the nation's airports closed . and ordered all planes in the air to get on the ground and as you just heard from Eric Brown . aircraft will not be in the commercial <commercial aircraft> will not be in nation sky until some time tomorrow now move ahead to ten o'clock eastern . (5) the FIRST of the two Trade Center towers COLLAPSES and you see . the TREMENDOUS plume of smoke and debris left . this is an image we cannot forget...(0.6)

And that was the visual sighting you see really just almost an explosion as an implosion as it just gave away . all that was left the ash . falling from the top of the tower as it came down twenty nine minutes later the second Trade Center tower collapsing . we CAN REPORT that we know some fifty thousand people worked daily in the area of the Trade Center buildings . these towers used as landmarks received TENS OF THOUSANDS of visitors each day . the mayor of New York city has said that he DOES believe ((that)) HORRENDOUS number of lives . has been lost in the course of this tragedy but he did not want to wager any sort of speculation . on what the final toll will be at ((least)) one witness . told us that in the moments . before the buildings collapsed he saw people LEAPING . LEAPING to try to save their own lives from the Trade Center towers back (5.2) in Washington . we get a closer look at what occurred at the Pentagon . what was left the great FLAMES and the (6) gaping HOLE of the Pentagon apparently left by that hijacked plane that crashed into the Department of Defence again we're retold this is the ARMY SIDE of the building of the Pentagon building which of course has five sides now commercial aircraft . we also know has crashed in . (6.1) SHANKSVILLE Pennsylvania that is south south (7) east of Pittsburgh . about eighty miles south southeast of Pittsburgh along I seventy six . the report says that just before the crash a passenger was on board . telephoned nine one one .. saying that the plane had been hijacked and trying to warn trying to get help now that .. would account . would explain . the crash

there . for all four planes that have been confirmed as being hijacked over US skies today .  
again two crashing into the World Trade Center towers . one into (7.1) the Pentagon . and  
this last one we see a debris of it there . in the agricultural area the farming areas the rolling  
hills of Pennsylvania . ((and)) now I will try to show you some live pictures of lower  
Manhattan AT THIS HOUR again you (8) still see . a thick plume of smoke there Aaron  
Brown standing by again in his vantage point on his rooftop in New York city now Aaron  
what do you see

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