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Framing Emotions on Mainstream Media Instagram Feeds During the First Wave of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Ramowanie emocji na kanałach instagramowych
mediów mainstreamowych w okresie pierwszej fali
pandemii COVID-19

Abstract

The main goal of this paper is to answer the following questions. 1) What visual narratives about emotions are constructed and imposed by mainstream media on their Instagram channels during the COVID-19 pandemic? 2) How do they frame them by complementing existing or creating new iconic-symbolic representations of the semantic framework of selected emotions (joy, fear, sadness, anger)? The selected visual material included photos and drawings and was examined using quantitative and qualitative content analysis and comparative semiological analysis. The analysis showed a low saturation of media messages with emotions and made it possible to describe the semantic media framework of individual emotions according to the following scheme: bodily sensations, expressive gestures, social situation and emotional culture.

Keywords: media frames, content analysis, Instagram, COVID-19, emotion frames

Abstrakt

Głównym celem tego artykułu jest znalezienie odpowiedzi na następujące pytania. 1) Jakie wizualne narracje na temat emocji są konstruowane i narzucane przez media głównego nurtu na swoich kanałach na Instagramie podczas pandemii COVID-19? 2) W jaki sposób nadają im ramy, uzupełniając

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istniejące lub tworząc nowe ikoniczno-symboliczne reprezentacje ram semantycznych wybranych emocji (radość, strach, smutek, złość)? Wybrany materiał wizualny obejmował zdjęcia oraz rysunki i został zbadany przy użyciu ilościowej i jakościowej analizy treści oraz porównawczej analizy semio-logicznej. Analiza wykazała niskie nasycenie przekazów medialnych emocjami i umożliwiła opisanie medialnych ram semantycznych poszczególnych emocji według następującego schematu: doznania cielesne, gesty ekspresyjne, sytuacja społeczna i kultura emocjonalna.

Słowa kluczowe: ramy medialne, analiza zawartości, Instagram, COVID-19, ramy emocji

Introduction. Representation of Emotions in Media

Despite the many studies and works referenced by the authors of this article, there is a lack of clarification on how to classify emotions.¹ Most often, emotions are divided into primary (biological²), secondary and even tertiary (social³).⁴ In contrast, there is no consensus on the very way emotions are experienced, verbalised or operationalised. Furthermore, the language of emotion is so varied that although there are hundreds of different words to describe emotions, the same emotion word can still have a different meaning in different cultures, even those using the same language.⁵ However, by commonalising various studies and theoretical approaches, it is possible to recognise that the four most universal emotions are similarly defined and recognised in all cultures: fear, sadness, anger and joy.⁶ And these will be the focus of our analysis.

¹ O. Simonova, *Emotional Culture as Sociological Concept: On Emotional Turn in Understanding of Modern Society*, "Culture e Studi del Sociale-CuSSoc" 2019, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 151. <http://www.cussoc.it/index.php/journal/article/view/96> (accessed: 16.04.2021).

² See: S.L. Gordon, *The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions*, in: *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, eds. M. Rosenberg, R. Turner, Basic Book, New York 1981, pp. 562–592.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ See: E. Bericat, *The Sociology of Emotions: Four Decades of Progress*, "Current Sociology" 2016, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 491–513. DOI: 10.1177/0011392115588355; T.D. Kemper, *Predicting Emotions from Social Relations*, "Social Psychology Quarterly" 1991, vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 330–342, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/278684> (accessed: 10.05.2021); A.R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2003 [1983].

⁵ J. Davitz, *The Language of Emotion*, Academic Press, New York 1969, p. 32–84.

⁶ See: P. Ekman, *An Argument for Basic Emotions*, "Cognition and Emotion" 1992, vol. 6, no. 3–4, pp. 169–200. DOI:10.1080/02699939208411068; T.D. Kemper, *Predicting Emotions...*; idem, *Themes and Variations in the Sociology of Emotions*, in: *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. idem, State University of New York Press, New York 1990, pp. 3–23; J. Panksepp, *Chapter 8 Fear and Anxiety Mechanisms of the Brain: Clinical Implications*, in: *Principles of Medical Biology*, vol. 14, eds. E.E. Bittar, N. Bittar, Elsevier 2000, pp. 155–177. DOI: 10.1016/S1569-2582(00)80010-0; K.R. Scherer, H.G. Wallbott, *Evidence for Universality and Cultural Variation of Differential Emotion Response Patterning*, "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology" 1994, vol. 66, no. 2, pp. 310–328. DOI: 10.1037/0022-3514.66.2.310; P.N. Johnson-Laird, K. Oatley, *Basic Emotions, Rationality, and Folk Theory*, "Cognition and Emotion" 1992, vol. 6, no. 3–4, pp. 201–223. DOI:10.1080/02699939208411069.

“The technological emotional regime is primarily a regime of emotional intensities, in which the amount of emotion matters.”⁷ New media⁸ blur the boundary between public and private, individual and collective. Moreover, “digital communication, in its temporal dynamics and intensities, can especially be understood with regard to ‘affective flows.’”⁹ Social media are the media of emotions.¹⁰ Contemporary emotional culture is characterised by the constantly increasing presence of emotions in the public sphere (including the media sphere – the author’s note) and the penetration of emotions from the intimate private sphere to the common public sphere.¹¹

The internet has become an ideal tool for the public articulation of intimate feelings, thoughts and emotions, not only by private individuals but also by the media, thanks to attributes such as interactivity, multiple uses, openness, omnipresence, relocation and intertextuality.¹² The media, by choice and way of framing things, suggest to viewers the validity of the message and elicit desired reactions in the viewers. The important question is how emotions operate in this environment, as they may influence not only message processing but also information selection and avoidance.¹³ Research shows¹⁴ that “the dominant emotions evoked by news coverage can have powerful consequences for how audiences relate to issues, the information they desire, and in turn, their be-

⁷ J. Serrano-Puche, *Emotions and Digital Technologies: Mapping the Field of Research in Media Studies*, “MEDIA@LSE Working Paper Series” 2015, vol. 33, p. 4, http://dadun.unav.edu/bitstream/10171/39702/1/WP33_FINAL-Emotions%20and%20Digital%20Technologies.pdf (accessed: 10.05.2021).

⁸ New media are media characterised by the interconnectedness of individual users acting as both senders and recipients at the same time, interactivity, multiplicity of uses, openness, ubiquity, spatial indeterminacy, delocalisation, intertextuality and unification of forms and genres. See: D. McQuail, *Teorie komunikowania masowego*, trans. M. Bucholc, A. Szulżycka, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2007, p. 57. Manovich believes that new media are media reduced to the digital form. See: L. Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, trans. P. Cypryanski, Oficyna Wydawnicza Losgraf, Warsaw 2012, pp. 84–90. In this text, new media will be equated with online media.

⁹ M. Lünenborg, T. Maier, *The Turn to Affect and Emotion in Media Studies*, “Media and Communication” 2018, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 1. DOI: 0.17645/mac.v6i3.1732.

¹⁰ See: S.Y. Tettegah, *Emotions, Technology, and Social Media*, Elsevier Academic Press, London 2016.

¹¹ O. Simonova, *Emotional Culture as Sociological Concept...*, p. 152.

¹² See: D. McQuail, *Teorie komunikowania masowego...*, p. 148–171; M. Filiciak, *Kultura konwergencji i luka uczestnictwa – w stronę edukacji medialnej*, in: *Kultura 2.0. Wyzwania cyfrowej przyszłości*, eds. E. Bendyk, M. Filiciak, J. Hofmokr et al., Polskie Wydawnictwo Audiowizualne, Warsaw 2007, pp. 43–52; L. Manovich, *The Language of New Media...*, p. 79–119.

¹³ T.M. de los Santos, R.L. Nabi, *Emotionally Charged: Exploring the Role of Emotion in Online News Information Seeking and Processing*, “Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media” 2019, vol. 63, no. 1, p. 43. DOI: 10.1080/08838151.2019.1566861.

¹⁴ K. Döveling, A.A. Harju, D. Sommer, *From Mediatized Emotion to Digital Affect Cultures: New Technologies and Global Flows of Emotion*, “Social Media + Society” 2018, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1–11. DOI: 10.1177/2056305117743141.

havioral choices.”¹⁵ This is also influenced by the language of emotions, shaped by time, norms, and values and determines which feelings are socially valid, which are dangerous, which expressions of emotion are desirable, which should be developed and which should be discarded.¹⁶ This is particularly important during a crisis. Especially then, the media need to help the audience define their own community, build a common language, including the language of emotions, and convey knowledge.¹⁷ Mass media are not only a source of knowledge about reality but are primarily purveyors of an interpretive framework for what the viewer watches and reads.¹⁸ The selection of specific attributes of a person, phenomenon or event significantly influences the audience’s perception and evaluation of them. It is often a purposeful selection influenced by journalistic and economic values. “[A] news frame represents a consistent construction of an issue, suggesting certain associations, attributes, judgments or decisions.”¹⁹ Often framing studies treat emotion as a mediating factor between the frame and the audience’s response.²⁰ At the same time, they do not examine the frame of emotion itself or how it is presented. The authors will be interested in emotion as the object of the frame rather than as the mediator determining the frame’s end result, the audience’s response.²¹ Because media effects are not the same for everyone and often depend on individual dispositions and contexts, frames can have either more or less effect or no effect.²² Therefore, when analysing emotion frames, the authors wanted to discover universal elements structuring the frames, understandable to most audiences regardless of socio-cultural status, something biologically familiar to all humans, what Jiménez calls basic configurations.²³

We use the interpretative-semantic approach in the constructivist paradigm to analyse emotions and their media framework. It is best suited to the undertaken research project because it assumes the social production of reality and its multivariant nature through meanings, and it also specifies how senders

¹⁵ T.M. de los Santos, R.L. Nabi, *Emotionally Charged...*, p. 42.

¹⁶ O. Simonova, *Emotional Culture as Sociological Concept...*, p. 148.

¹⁷ B. Kovach, T. Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and The Public Should Expect*, Three Rivers Press, New York 2014, p. 245–256.

¹⁸ See: W. Gamson, A. Modigliani, *The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action*, in: *Research in Political Sociology*, ed. R. Braungart, Jai Press, Greenwich 1987, pp. 137–177; A.R.T. Schuck, A. Feinholdt, *News Framing Effects and Emotions: Research Trends and Developments*, in: *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds. R. Scott, S. Kosslyn, John Wiley and Sons, New York 2015, pp. 1–15. DOI: 10.1002/9781118900772.etrds0241.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ S. Lecheler, A.R.T. Schuck, CH. de Vreese, *Dealing with Feelings: Positive and Negative Discrete Emotions as Mediators of News Framing Effects*, “Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research” 2013, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 189–209. DOI: 10.1515/commun-2013-0011.

²² A.R.T. Schuck, A. Feinholdt, *News Framing Effects and Emotions...*, p. 5.

²³ J. Jimenez, *Semiology for Artists and Designers*, Zona Limite, 2018, p. 20.

and receivers construct this reality. The authors assume that the visual frame is a semiotic text built from semantic, syntactic and pragmatic elements.²⁴ Based on Gordon's theory of emotion,²⁵ which distinguishes between the components of emotion and semiological assumptions, the semantic frame of visual messages is analysed using the example of photographs and drawings. This article examines the indexical frame at the denotation level and the iconic frame at the connotation level.

The main aim of this paper is to find an answer to the question: firstly, what kind of narratives about emotions are constructed and imposed by mainstream media on Instagram channels, and secondly, how they frame them by complementing existing or creating new iconic-symbolic representations of the semantic framework of selected emotions (joy, fear, sadness, anger), for which the vocabulary is the iconosphere of societies affected by the SARS-CoV-2 virus in a global (international) perspective. The analysed visual material included 515 photos and drawings published on Instagram accounts of national daily newspapers from different countries.²⁶

The article structure is as follows – the first part discusses methodological assumptions (objectives, hypotheses, characteristics of methods and research corpus), and the second part presents the results of our analyses and descriptions of particular visual emotion semantic frameworks. Finally, the last part contains concluding remarks that form a summary; it also indicates new fields for discussion and recommendations for further exploration of the topic.

Methodology: Research Objectives and Hypotheses

The announcement of a global pandemic (as it later turned out, this was the first wave of the virus epidemic) and the associated restrictions and lockdowns had a decisive impact on media content. Every day, audiences around the world were flooded with information about the number of infections, deaths, subsequent administrative decisions to limit the spread of the virus and requests to apply individual and social safety rules. The messages were emotional and intended to evoke specific attitudes and behaviours in the recipients. The authors of this article were particularly interested in the media messages published by the mainstream media on their social media since it is the new medium that

²⁴ J. Ochnio, *Obraz jako powszechne narzędzie komunikacji – refleksje nad semiologicznym statusem fotografii*, in: *Kreatywność językowa w komunikowaniu (się)*, eds. K. Burska, B. Cieśla, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2014, pp. 209–220. DOI: 10.18778/7969-404-4.17.

²⁵ S.L. Gordon, *Social Structural Effects on Emotions*, in: *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. T.D. Kemper, State University of New York Press, New York 1990, pp. 145–179.

²⁶ A complete list of all analysed visual material with publication dates can be found in Appendix 1.

is naturally predestined to function in a specific emotional regime, assuming a high intensity and variety of emotions experienced.²⁷ Therefore, it was assumed that coverage featuring emotions related to the COVID-19 pandemic would make up a large percentage of all materials and the following research hypothesis was made:

H1: messages about the COVID-19 pandemic on Instagram channels of mainstream media are highly emotional (measured on the emotion exposure scale: highly emotional messages²⁸ – emotions appear in at least half of the published visuals).

We also assume that the visual messages are bipolar with the dominance of one type of emotion: positive or negative and that there are differences between the emotionality of publications in the countries analysed. Thus, the subsequent hypotheses are formulated as follows:

H2: a particular medium will be dominated (in meaning and frequency) by one type of mediated emotion: positive (joy/happiness) or negative (fear/sadness/anger); and:

H3: there are differences in the degree of emotion saturation of the Instagram accounts of the studied media (measured on the emotion exposure scale: emotionally neutral messages – emotions appear in less than one-fourth of the visual materials; moderately emotional messages – emotions appear in more than one-fourth but less than half of the visual materials; strongly emotional messages – emotions appear in at least half of the published visual materials).

Subsequently, the authors were interested in means, forms and contents through which the media generate representations of emotions, which iconic codes of the semantic framework they use and whether, based on the semantic framework: indexing and iconic, the perlocutionary functions of the visual messages analysed can be formulated and specified. Jiménez, in his theory of emotive response, assumes that each typical configuration corresponds to a typical emotive response common to all humans, regardless of cultural context.²⁹ A similar assumption underlies framing theory, which states that what the media show and how they show it can elicit certain emotions and the attitudes, behaviours and dispositions of an audience.³⁰ Indeed, the media do

²⁷ J. Serrano-Puche, *Emotions and Digital Technology...*, p. 4.

²⁸ Emotional message: a message that communicates the mental states and processes of individuals through bodily reactions, expressive or verbal behaviour of characters.

²⁹ J. Jimenez, *Semiology for Artists and Designers...*, p. 20.

³⁰ See: H.J. Kim, G.T. Cameron, *Emotions Matter in Crisis: The Role of Anger and Sadness in the Publics' Response to Crisis News Framing and Corporate Crisis Response*, "Communication Research" 2011, vol. 38, no. 6, pp. 826–855. DOI:10.1177/0093650210385813; R. Kühne, C. Schemer, *The Emotional Effects of News Frames on Information Processing and Opinion Formation*, "Communication Research" 2015, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 387–407. DOI: 10.1177/0093650213514599; S. Lecheler, A.R.T. Schuck, CH. de Vreese, *Dealing with Feelings...*

not show pure facts but put them into a framework that facilitates their understanding.³¹ Based on these postulates, we assume that within the mediated framework of emotion, there are certain common and universal elements that minimise interference with the reading of visual codes. They are what Jimenez calls basic configurations.³²

Research Methods and Research Organisation

It was decided that quantitative and qualitative content analysis and comparative semiological analysis would be the best methods to find answers to the research questions and verify the validity of the hypotheses. The basic idea of semiological interpretation is that a photographic image is a sign or an arrangement of signs behind which cultural meanings are hidden³³ and should be considered on two levels: literal or denotative (indexical frame), and symbolic or connotative (iconic frame).³⁴ Both levels are used as interpretive schemas of the semantic frames under study.

The unit of analysis is the photo/drawing and its caption, which serves two functions in this case. First, it reveals the sender's intentions and anchors the photo to a particular emotion. Secondly, it supplements the image with content that is not visible, clarifies and provides interpretative clues. The content of the caption was not examined separately but together with the image as a certain whole, constituting the visual-verbal mode of the semantic framework. It should also be noted that the study aimed to analyse materials that presented emotions in an unambiguous way. The coding procedure first assessed whether the selected emotion was present in the image and the caption. Sometimes, an image in the visual layer represented different emotions than in the verbal layer. In such a situation, both emotions were coded. Other times, an emotion appeared only in the text layer. In such a situation, the emotion was also coded. There were also images in which more emotions were identified, in which case all emotions were coded separately. Only the emotions in the image and the caption were coded, not those that the image could evoke in the viewer.

³¹ K. Gross, P.R. Brewer, *Sore Losers: News Frames, Policy Debates, and Emotions*, "Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics" 2007, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 122–133. DOI:10.1177/1081180x06297231.

³² J. Jimenez, *Semiology for Artists and Designers...*, p. 20–23.

³³ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia wizualna. Fotografia jako metoda badawcza*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2005, p. 81.

³⁴ R. Barthes, *Image. Music. Text*, Fontana Press, London 1977, p. 36–37.

Characteristics of the Research Corpus

For the analysis, visual material was collected in the form of photos and drawings published on the Instagram accounts of national daily newspapers from different countries. The selection of countries was purposive and had to do with the scale of COVID-19 incidence, the handling strategy adopted by the country, and the policy adopted towards the threat. The countries with the most liberal approach were Sweden, the UK and the USA (through the first stage of the pandemic); countries with a strict approach: China, Italy and Spain; countries with a mixed approach: Poland and Brazil. Based on the circulation information of the dailies (as of 9 October 2020), the three most popular were selected from each country (if a daily newspaper did not have an account on Instagram, or in the pilot study, it turned out that it did not publish photos about coronavirus, the next one from the list was used instead). The period of interest to this paper's authors was between the end of February, i.e. the first cases of SARS-CoV-2 reported in Europe, and the end of July, i.e. when most countries relaxed their restrictions, lifted many bans, and the pandemic began to lose momentum (in the case of China, where the epidemic broke out much earlier and was brought under control sooner, the study period was pushed back ten weeks). So the study period covers 23 weeks from 24 February to 2 August. One sample from each week was drawn from the posts published on Instagram. If there were no COVID-19 pandemic-related posts in a given week, a photo from the remaining weeks was added. For Chinese dailies, difficulties were encountered in collecting material. Most daily newspapers do not have an Instagram account, and those that do are in English. Nevertheless, it was decided to include them in the research sample. Eventually, all photographs published on the Instagram accounts of two Chinese dailies were included. In the case of two other newspapers, Sweden's *Göteborgs-Posten* and Poland's *Rzeczpospolita*, all coronavirus-related material published during the study period was taken without a random draw, as there was not enough material for random sampling. A post was treated as related to the COVID-19 pandemic if it was accompanied by a relevant hashtag (#coronavirus, #covid, #COVID-19, #lockdown, #pandemic, #quarantine #sarscov2); however, such situations were rare. It was much more common to search for pandemic-related keywords in the descriptions of visual materials: covid, coronavirus, pandemics, epidemics, lockdown, quarantine, etc. A total of 515 photographs and drawings were collected.

Presentation of Research Results

At the outset, it should be noted that the data presented below, due to the unrepresentative sample, cannot be subjected to statistical inference or generalised to the entirety of the messages. However, they provide an important context and introduction for the qualitative analysis conducted later in this text. They also allow us to verify hypotheses and observe certain trends that should be statistically tested after completing the research sample.

All four basic emotions occurred with varying frequency in the material analysed (Table 1).

Table 1. The Analysis of Emotions in Daily Newspapers by Country

Country	Newspaper	Frequency N = 515				% of total per country
		Joy n = 136	Fear n = 55	Sadness n = 46	Anger n = 14	
Poland	Rzeczpospolita	1	2	1	–	19
	Gazeta Wyborcza	5	–	1	1	
	Fakt	2	–	–	–	
Brazil	Estadão	5	5	2	2	77
	Folha de S. Paulo	3	11	6	1	
	O Globo	6	6	4	2	
Spain	ABC Diario	7	2	3	1	55
	El Mundo	7	5	2	–	
	El País	6	2	2	1	
Italy	Il Sole 24 Ore	2	–	–	–	42
	La Repubblica	12	–	4	–	
	Corriere della Sera	9	–	1	1	
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet	9	1	–	–	44
	Göteborgs-Posten	–	–	1	–	
	Dagens Nyheter	8	1	2	2	
China	China Daily News	5	2	2	–	36
	People's Daily	7	1	–	–	
UK	The Times	11	1	2	–	59
	The Daily Mail	15	–	3	–	
	Daily Mirror	2	6	1	–	
USA	The New York Times	5	5	4	–	52
	The Wall Street Journal	1	4	4	2	
	USA Today	8	1	1	1	
% of images that contain emotions		49				

Source: Own study.

It was surprising to find that emotions feature in less than half analysed material. The lowest frequency of emotions was found in the Polish media (19% of pictures), while the highest frequency was in Brazilian media (77% of pictures). The authors realise that the sample is not representative, but given the circumstances of the pandemic situation: the uncertainty, the closure of more economies, the increasing number of infections and deaths, including the collapse of health services in some areas of Italy and Spain, the dramatic situation in Brazil and New York, one cannot be faulted for expecting a higher emotionality of the published images. The visual material in which emotions were presented without a doubt is less than half of the analysed images; therefore, it should be considered that H1 was disproved.

On the other hand, an interesting trend can be observed when analysing the percentage of images saturated with the four emotions for individual Instagram accounts. Namely, in posts dominated by joy, the other emotions occurred much less frequently or not at all. In eleven dailies: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Fakt*, *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *Il Sole 24 Ore*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *People's Daily*, *The Times*, *The Daily Mail* and *USA Today*, publications of joy-saturated messages account for between 61 and 100% of all emotional messages. As many as six countries (Poland, Spain, Italy, Sweden, China and the UK) have overwhelmingly positive media coverage, with between 56 and 79% of all media coverage being joyful. As shown in Table 1, negative emotions manifest a tendency to cumulate. In seven dailies (*Rzeczpospolita*, all Brazilian ones, *Daily Mirror*, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*), all three appear with a high frequency (between 64 and 90%). Only in the case of *El Mundo* is the number of messages with positive and negative emotions equal. Such results support the veracity of H2.

Finally, the analysis of the frequency of emotions published in national media allows us to observe significant differences in emotionality in different countries, proving H3 true. The material analysis shows that newspapers in Brazil, the United Kingdom, Spain and the USA published the most emotionally charged messages, while those in China and Poland were the least emotional. There may be many reasons for these differences: 1) the type of media analysed (tabloids can be expected to publish more emotional messages than opinion-forming newspapers, where the mediatisation of emotions may be more restrained); 2) the profile of the medium (business newspapers are more restrained in mediating emotions); 3) the scale of the pandemic, the high number of infections and deaths; 4) the emotional culture of the society; 5) the dependence of the media on politics; 6) the size of the country.

Each emotion analysed is triggered by diverse factors in distinct situations. They are expressed to varying degrees on four levels,³⁵ which were taken as the compositional skeleton of the emotional culture of the semantic framework, which includes somatic symptoms, gestures, social situation and emotional culture. The first of these is *bodily sensations* resulting from the emotion experienced. These are the somatic symptoms typical of a given emotion, such as crying, smiling, frowning, wrinkling the nose, squinting, feeling butterflies in the stomach or choking up. The second level consists of *expressive gestures* characteristic of the given emotions, e.g. raising hands, clenching fists, hunched or upright body posture and covering the face with hands. The other two levels are *social situation* and *emotional culture*, which Thamm³⁶ refers to as social structure and social content. Social structure is nothing but certain social rules, etiquette, relationship patterns and situations in which we should feel a certain emotion. Emotional culture includes rituals, art forms, symbols and values, i.e. social content, which complements the social structure by giving it a group-specific meaning.

The Media Semantic Frame of Joy

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of images depicting joy allows the construction of a semantic media frame of this emotion, structurally similar in all analysed media. The elements of the compositional skeleton occurring most frequently would be what Jimenez calls basic configurations.³⁷ In the case of the joy frame, these include somatic symptoms, gestures, causes and surroundings that evoke the emotion of joy, locations, certain patterns and forms of behaviour and values.

This structure of the semantic frame of media joy may indicate its perlocutionary function, which is to diminish the negative effects and to “tame” the pandemic. Materials containing positive emotions are supposed to support the audience, show them the opportunities that the whole situation brings, lift their spirits, create new heroes and build a sense of security despite the difficult circumstances of the epidemic.

³⁵ S.L. Gordon, *Social Structural Effects on Emotions...*, p. 145–179.

³⁶ R.A. Thamm, *The Classification of Emotions*, in: *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research*, eds. J.E. Stets, J.H. Turner, Springer, New York 2006, pp. 11–37. DOI: 10.1007/978-0-387-30715-2_2.

³⁷ J. Jimenez, *Semiology for Artists and Designers...*, p. 20–23.

Picture 1. An Example of Visual Material Containing a Frame of Joy



Source: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAKjlxMISuY/> (accessed: 26.06.2022).

Table 2. The Semantic Frame of Joy

Level of the skeleton	Semantic frame of joy
Somatic symptoms	Rich facial plasticity: lip shape, smile and laugh – no mask cases (80%), eye expression (61%)
Gestures	Whole body reactions: physical proximity to another – hugging, kissing, holding hands (50%)
Social situation	Actors experiencing joy: private environment – family, circle of friends, partners (61%) Situational patterns: being close to loved ones, participating in celebrations of various occasions, the presence of people from the circle of loved ones (64%), overcoming the virus, regaining health and freedom (59%) Locations of experiencing joy: public (51%)
Emotional culture	Behavioural patterns and forms of expression: showing yourself love, affection, gratitude (66%), care for others, respect, providing help, a caring attitude towards the sick and needy (72%), being close to loved ones (63%) Values: love (50%)

Source: Own study.

The detailed results of the content analysis indicate this function of the framework:

- 1) Images saturated with joy present persons (medical workers, members of uniformed services, cured patients, ordinary people, neighbours, family members) who fight the disease in the period of the pandemic and recover, helping others by treating, caring, running errands, accompanying in loneliness, illness.
- 2) Images saturated with joy present everyday life in the shadow of COVID-19. Weddings and family events take place, people go on dates, celebrate anniversaries, finish school, play sports, take part in religious meetings, social games. Living your life turns out to be possible and satisfying in spite of the restrictions and ubiquitous masks, rubber gloves and social distancing.
- 3) Happy images represent a return to normality after lifting the lockdown and the reopening of the economy.
- 4) Happy images show people smiling, laughing, kissing, hugging, jumping for joy, toasting, clapping, wearing wedding dresses, holding balloons, flowers, champagne and red hearts.
- 5) Attitudes recorded in the research material also testify to the aforementioned functions of messages containing joy. In addition to social distancing and observing the rules of quarantine, the following were noted: helping, courage and gratitude, respect expressed by caring and taking care of others, showing love and tenderness to oneself, being carefree, making time for hobbies, shortening the distance, keeping traditions, being industrious, keeping fit.

In the face of threats to health and life, uncertainty about the future, economic crisis and social damage caused by lockdown, broadcasters have returned to communicating the fundamental values of love, family, fun, parenting and friendship, freedom, tradition, community, work, politics and good form, God and art. The frequency of particular values may reflect the priorities of an average citizen who, in the face of a multidimensional crisis, turns to what is most important in their life, often re-evaluates life and changes priorities, pushing work, appearance or even freedom to the background.

The Visual Semantic Framework of Fear

Taking into account the most frequent elements of both frames: indexical and iconic, a semantic media frame of fear common to all media was created. In the case of messages saturated with fear, the basic configurations are few and far between, and they occur at different levels than in the case of messages saturated with joy. The messaging commonalities across different media are the causes of fear, certain values and forms of expression.

Picture 2. An Example of Visual Material Containing a Frame of Fear



Source: *USA Today*, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B9xC-rJjkSk/> (accessed: 26.06.2022).

Table 3. The Semantic Frame of Fear

Level of the skeleton	Semantic frame of fear
Social situation	Situational patterns: fear of death (53%), fear of disease (65%), uncertainty of health, social and economic situation (81%)
Emotional culture	Patterns of behaviour/forms of expression: fear accompanying concern for others, efforts to provide basic needs and living conditions (50%) Values: life (53%), health (69%), safety (51%)

Source: Own study.

This structure of the semantic media fear frame may indicate its perlocutionary function, which is to reinforce social control in order to shape compliance with sanitary regimes in members of pandemic-affected societies. By presenting such a fear frame, it seems that the media want to induce a sense of threat and uncertainty in the audience, which would result in adaptation to the imposed strictures.

The results of the content analysis indicate such functions of this framework:

- 1) Fear-filled images situate the people in a hospital, where medical staff, patients and their families fight for life and health.
- 2) Images saturated with fear present medical staff tired of the unequal struggle with the effects of the virus, full of anxiety about whether the health care

- system will endure, whether the patients will be saved, marked with masks and visors, disoriented because of the lack of system solutions.
- 3) Images saturated with fear portray individuals at cemeteries, where cemetery workers are forced to prepare more and more burial places, and families say goodbye to their loved ones, put coffins in graves and pray for them, as well as in hospitals and homes where people leave with a priest's blessing and incense smoke.
 - 4) Fear-filled images depict ordinary everyday activities, family meetings where family members sit at a distance from each other, wearing masks, visors and limiting physical contact. Fear also appears in response to the irresponsible behaviour of others who break quarantine rules and do not keep a social distance, which can spread the virus.
 - 5) Fear-filled images show empty shelves in shops and pharmacies, people driving empty carts in supermarkets, entrepreneurs closing their businesses.
 - 6) Images saturated with fear portray people who are terrified, pale, holding their heads in a gesture of helplessness.
 - 7) Attitudes observed in the analysed material also testify to the above-mentioned functions of media messages. In addition to the emerging respect for others, sacrifice, providing help, quarantine compliance and keeping a social distance, as well as an attitude negating the need for quarantine compliance, were also noted. This attitude instilled fear in the people concerned about the possibility of further spread of the virus.
 - 8) Values communicated by the broadcasters, such as health, life, safety, family are also thought to induce conformist attitudes in the audience and evoke a sense of threat.

The Visual Semantic Framework of Sadness

By isolating the most frequent elements of the compositional skeleton, it is possible to build a semantic media frame of sadness adopted by all media. The basic configurations common to media messages in the case of sadness are somatic symptoms and gestures, causes and subjects evoking emotions of sadness, patterns of behaviour and values. The media images of sadness and joy seem to be the most universal and the easiest to commodify. Facial plasticity, characteristic gestures, as well as values and behavioural patterns based on them, turn out to be independent of the socio-cultural layer.

It is also an interesting observation that fear and sadness often co-occur. Sadness can also indirectly evoke a sense of fear in the audience. Moreover, similar attributes are used to build their media representations: they are felt for similar reasons, in the same social locations, by similar people, accompany the

Picture 3. An Example of Visual Material Containing a Frame of Sadness



Source: *Folha de S. Paulo*, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBRdvS4nywG/> (accessed: 26.06.2022).

Table 4. The Semantic Frame of Sadness

Level of the skeleton	Semantic frame of sadness
Somatic symptoms	Facial plasticity, facial reactions – sadness manifested by tears, closed eyes hiding tears, downturned lips (68%)
Gestures	Whole body reactions: physical closeness to another person – sadness expressed by hugging, patting and embracing (50%), body posture – head lowered helplessly, crouching (50%)
Social situation	Grief of survivors: over loved ones – family, friends (53%) Situational patterns: fear for life and health (80%), loneliness, helplessness 42%
Emotional culture	Patterns of behaviour/forms of expression of grief: concern for others, respect, showing love (62%), funerals, burying the dead and remembering them (76%) Values: life (70%) and family (54%) Symbols: masks (56%)

Source: Own study.

same cultural rituals, and are associated with similar values and attitudes. In our view, the perlocutionary function of the semantic sadness frame, which is to reinforce social control in order to shape compliance with sanitation regimes in members of pandemic-affected societies, is also similar. In the case of the

sadness frame, we can additionally speak of a therapeutic function aimed at relieving difficult, traumatic experiences and an existential function – stimulating in-depth reflection on human fate in a crisis.

The results of the content analysis evidence these functions:

- 1) Pictures saturated with sadness present people in the communion of feeling this emotion. They depict crying individuals with sad expressions on their faces, lowered heads, embracing, consoling and praying.
- 2) Images saturated with sadness portray suffering from loneliness, separation from loved ones, having to give up favourite activities, death and illness of loved ones, fear for life.
- 3) Sadness-filled images portray health professionals who dealt with the effects of the Sars-CoV-2 virus on a daily basis in hospitals, where patients fight for their lives and often die because there are no means to help them effectively.
- 4) Images saturated with sadness portray funeral service workers witnessing families saying goodbye to the COVID-19 victims at the cemetery; athletes, priests and businesspeople also experienced sadness. The latter fell victim to the restrictions imposed by the authorities, which resulted in economic losses, often resulting in insolvency and unemployment.
- 5) Sadness was also experienced by the nearest and dearest behind the closed doors of their homes and private spaces, but also, significantly, it moved into the streets and squares, that is, into public places, churches, nursing homes, and even places not associated with sadness, such as restaurants.
- 6) Values noted in the research material, such as life, health, love and family, testify to a turn towards autotelic values and symbols, such as masks, disposable gloves, uniforms, crosses, vestments, hourglasses, incense or a photo of the deceased only to reinforce this message.
- 7) Attitudes recorded in the analysed material, such as burying the dead and remembering them, accompanying the dying, showing care, love and tenderness, observing the rules of quarantine and keeping a social distance are supposed to have a purifying and therapeutic function.

The Media Semantic Frame of Anger

The media semantic frame of anger is poor compared to those of other emotions. This indicates the difficulty in capturing the basic configurations of this frame and expressing them through visual codes. For example, anger resulting from a reduction of status caused by the actions of others³⁸ may be much more socially and culturally conditioned than sadness or joy.

³⁸ T.D. Kemper, *Predicting Emotions...*, p. 334.

It is difficult to speak of a unified base of emotional behaviour expressing anger. Members of different national and cultural communities have different repertoires of emotions governed by cultural norms, for instance, which define precisely how and when and towards whom anger should be expressed.

Picture 4. An Example of Visual Material Containing a Frame of Anger



Source: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_uM-UwIFVD/ (accessed: 26.06.2022).

Table 5. The Semantic Frame of Anger

Level of the skeleton	Semantic frame of anger
Social situation	Actors of anger: mainly experienced by ordinary citizens (60%) Situational patterns: loss of life's achievements, being left without adequate support by the state, bad, ineffective laws (71%) Locations of experiencing anger: public (62%)
Emotional culture	Behavioural patterns/forms of expressing anger: anger accompanying demonstrations and protests (50%); anger in opposition to authority and law (71%) Values: safety (71%) Symbols: masks (71%)

Source: Own study.

The perlocutionary function of the anger frame seems the same as that of sadness and fear (social control to shape compliance with sanitation regimes in members of pandemic-affected societies and a therapeutic function to discharge negative tensions). Indirectly, it is meant to induce fear in the audience.

Based on the results of the content analysis, the following conclusions were drawn:

- 1) Images saturated with anger present anti-system attitudes resulting from unreasonable laws restricting civil and economic freedoms leading to social and economic damage and the need to remain in isolation, forcing people to undergo tests for COVID-19. Such anger pushes people to participate in street demonstrations and anti-government protests.
- 2) Images saturated with anger present persons, often medical workers, experiencing powerlessness in the face of an epidemic and inability to help.
- 3) Images saturated with anger depict individuals disagreeing with the actions of coronasceptics, who, not believing in the epidemic, break quarantine rules and do not maintain social distancing, gathering in public places and exposing the community to the spread of the virus.
- 4) Images saturated with anger touch upon the spiritual sphere and the experience of the funeral ritual, accompanied by an attitude of respect towards the dead, which is externalised in the symbol of the cross, the gravestone wreath and images of saints.
- 5) The attitude of opposition to the authorities and such values as security, truth, justice and freedom, work and self-determination also testify to the functions of the messages indicated above. Banners with protest slogans, empty chairs of absent restaurant customers and national flags are emanations of this.

Conclusions and Discussion

The study concerned the mediatisation of emotions in visual media as a socio-cultural process and clarified the peculiar “media logic” of the pandemic period by setting rules and principles for the creation of media messages about emotions, taking into account the requirements of producers, the refinement and diversity of media formats and the principles of economic markets.

Our analyses allowed us to delineate a framework highlighting universal elements common to the visualisations of each emotion: joy – smiling, laughing, kissing, hugging, jumping for joy, toasting, clapping; fear – pale face, holding the head in a gesture of helplessness; sadness – crying, lowered head, close physical contact. In line with Jiménez’s concept, which states that typical configurations

evoke the same emotions,³⁹ we will try to draw some generalised conclusions and their order.

First, Instagram feeds have proven to be excellent tools for capturing emotions and transforming them into digital inspirations.⁴⁰ They are archives of feelings that can be viewed, compared and shared. The semantic framework of emotions with the criterion of structure and function was treated as a way of generating new meanings specific to situational experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Second, the first wave of the pandemic evoked fear and sadness. Subsequent waves show a shuffling and evolution of emotions, e.g. anger emerged after fear subsided. Variations in emotion profiles – moving from fear and sadness to anger and then positive emotions (joy) – may also be the result of easing sanitary restrictions and the normalisation of emotions as the nature of the pandemic was understood better. Media images of sadness and joy are the most universal and easiest to commodify. We found that the frames indexing joy and sadness are much richer in content than fear and anger. This points to the general conclusion that joy and sadness are the emotions most easily shared socially through universal codes using Instagram channels. The weaker exposure to fear and anger during the first wave of the pandemic, translating into poorer forms of semantic frames, allows us to assume that it is somewhat more difficult to build a universal frame here, as typical configurations are expressed with more effort and resistance (perhaps with discomfort due to the pejorative overtones of the emotion) or are more subtle. These are strongly socially and culturally conditioned emotions, while their core – the iconic frame – is heterogeneous. However, further research in this area is necessary to verify the interpretations put forward.

Third, the developed semantic frames of emotions can be treated as discursive media products with distinctive visibility and symbolic content, the acquisition of which is a process beyond the initial (original) context and act of receiving the frames. Audiences tend to discuss ambiguous (symbolic) media products and their contents. Opinions are also shared with people who were not involved in the reception of the original message. From a social point of view, the dissemination of the emotion framework involves storytelling, meaning-making, interpretation and reinterpretation of pandemic emotional behaviour, resulting in colloquial messages, over time, dominating colloquial circulation and inspired

³⁹ J. Jimenez, *Semiology for Artists and Designers...*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ A. Lasén, *Mobile Media and Affectivity: Some Thoughts about the Notion of Affective Bandwidth*, in: *Mobile Media and the Change of Everyday Life*, eds. J.R. Höflich, G.F. Kircher, C. Linke et al., Peter Lang, New York 2010, pp. 131–154.

by media products. The proposed semantic framework of emotions is thus a good example of media forms of discursive extension shaping social opinion.⁴¹

Fourth, based on the results of the analysis, it can be argued that in the face of any threat (in this case, the COVID-19 pandemic), the media adopt one chosen emotional strategy: comfort (reducing the negative effects and “taming” the pandemic) or scare (strengthening social control in order to shape compliance with sanitary regimes in members of affected societies). On its basis, an emotional community is formed, which is shaped by media content. Similar conclusions were formulated by Barbara H Rosenwine, who observes the formation of different “emotional communities” similar to social communities in different periods.⁴²

Our analysis also allows us to formulate several methodological postulates for further verification in similar empirical projects:

- 1) Interpretive research on emotions requires taking into account subjective elements (subjective experiences of individuals, reality perceived as impermanent and ephemeral, search for unique and individual features) and objective elements (objective experiences of all individuals, reality perceived as permanent and lasting, search for repetitive and universal features) without accentuating and exaggerating the contrast between them. This postulate is necessary to be fulfilled in future projects of this type, extended to the study of the reception of semantic frames in the audience.
- 2) The constructivist paradigm requires a new inclusive opening that considers the treatment of media as certain practices of users’ relations with media in terms of a particular situation and tools that order the impact on other practices in the real social world. The developed semantic framework of emotions points to the need to see media not only through the prism of media productions. The new paradigm model should make it possible to highlight the levels of people’s involvement in different aspects of emotional media culture (analyses of situations related to the communication of emotions using the semantic framework indicated the need to complement and expand the different dimensions of emotional culture). Ultimately, constructivism should provide a better basis for studying “virtual communities” with a specific emotional culture. While in their historical development, the old technologies distributed and disseminated standardised messages to anonymous audiences (*allocution pattern*), the new media technologies, thanks to the offer of messages (with a huge increase in volume and variety of forms and content), provide their users with a high degree of individual choice and

⁴¹ J.B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of The Media*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1995, pp. 47–48.

⁴² B.H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Cornell University Press, New York 2006, pp. 24–25.

self-definition according to their interests and needs (*consultation pattern*).⁴³

The presented semantic framework of emotions, whose vocabulary is the iconosphere of societies affected by the SARS-CoV-2 virus, is one example of the process of individualisation of media use.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the prospects for further research on the media semantic framework of emotions:

- 1) An interesting field for further research is the question of how and by what means semantic frames of emotion (during pandemics as well as other crises) are created in other media.
- 2) The relationship between the linguistic and visual semantic frameworks of emotions (determining similarities and differences) corresponds with the above question.
- 3) Some conclusions from the conducted analysis (the dominance of the semantic frame of sadness) inspire the general question of whether the media semantic frames of sadness and fear are complicit in causing greater “moral panic” around the topic of pandemics in the sense of a certain state of anxiety in social life, created by the spreading social tension caused by the threat to values important to people.⁴⁴

Appendix 1.

Daily Newspaper	Publication dates	Total analysed materials
Rzeczpospolita	19.02, 4.03, 12.03, 18.03, 18.03, 23.03, 25.03, 27.03, 1.04, 2.04, 7.04, 14.04, 15.04, 20.04, 28.04, 5.05, 13.05, 1.06, 10.06, 24.06, 12.07, 29.07, 1.08	22
Gazeta Wyborcza	28.03, 24.02, 4.03, 12.03, 22.03, 23.03, 3.04, 16.04, 3.05, 10.05, 14.05, 23.05, 31.05, 8.06, 14.06, 18.06, 22.06, 27.06, 4.07, 12.07, 17.07, 21.07, 30.07	23
Fakt	13.03, 14.03, 15.03, 16.03, 24.03, 27.03, 1.04, 10.04, 20.04, 21.04, 22.04, 22.04, 30.04, 6.05, 6.05, 8.05, 11.05, 1.06, 22.06, 1.07, 9.07, 22.07	23
Estadao	28.02, 7.03, 15.03, 22.03, 26.03, 3.04, 10.04, 13.04, 22.04, 2.05, 9.05, 11.05, 24.05, 27.05, 6.06, 12.06, 16.06, 26.06, 29.06, 11.07, 15.07, 22.07, 2.08	23
Folha	26.02, 2.03, 15.03, 18.03, 27.03, 5.04, 6.04, 17.04, 23.04, 1.05, 10.05, 16.05, 22.05, 27.05, 1.06, 11.06, 15.06, 28.06, 1.07, 12.07, 19.07, 24.07, 29.07	23

⁴³ W. Schulz, *Reconstructing Mediatization as an Analytical Concept*, “European Journal of Communication” 2004, vol. 19, no. 1, p. 95. DOI: 10.1177/0267323104040696.

⁴⁴ S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, Routledge, London 2011, p. xxxiv, 1-20.

Daily Newspaper	Publication dates	Total analysed materials
O Globo	24.02, 6.03, 12.03, 18.03, 27.03, 3.04, 8.04, 17.04, 26.04, 2.05, 9.07, 14.05, 20.05, 29.05, 7.06, 13.06, 17.06, 28.06, 2.07, 9.07, 16.07, 26.07, 1.08	23
ABC Diario	26.02, 2.03, 9.03, 18.03, 26.03, 2.04, 6.04, 16.04, 26.04, 30.04, 14.05, 20.05, 25.05, 6.06, 12.06, 21.06, 22.06, 2.07, 12.07, 19.07, 19.07, 24.07, 30.07	23
El Mundo	28.02, 7.03, 14.03, 21.03, 27.03, 2.04, 10.04, 17.04, 26.04, 29.04, 9.05, 12.05, 19.05, 29.05, 4.06, 13.06, 20.06, 23.06, 29.06, 12.07, 14.07, 25.07, 29.07	23
El Pais	26.02, 3.03, 13.03, 22.03, 27.03, 2.04, 6.04, 14.04, 24.04, 27.04, 4.05, 11.05, 21.05, 28.05, 2.06, 8.06, 17.06, 22.07, 1.07, 12.07, 19.07, 22.07, 28.07	23
Il Sole	25.02, 4.03, 20.03, 15.03, 24.03, 31.03, 6.04, 17.04, 24.04, 27.04, 29.04, 5.05, 16.05, 20.05, 29.05, 3.06, 10.06, 19.06, 23.06, 8.07, 9.07, 13.07, 31.07	23
La Repubblica	26.02, 6.03, 15.03, 18.03, 23.03, 1.05, 9.04, 19.04, 23.04, 30.04, 9.05, 11.05, 18.05, 30.05, 4.06, 7.06, 17.06, 25.06, 1.07, 12.07, 16.07, 20.07, 28.07	23
Corriere	26.02, 6.03, 9.03, 22.03, 4.04, 12.04, 15.04, 26.04, 30.04, 6.05, 17.05, 18.05, 30.05, 4.06, 12.06, 18.06, 24.06, 3.07, 3.07, 12.07, 18.07, 20.07, 29.07	23
Svenska	2.03, 4.03, 16.03, 30.03, 31.03, 10.04, 13.04, 21.04, 30.04, 27.04, 7.05, 13.05, 18.05, 24.05, 27.05, 2.06, 13.06, 18.06, 22.06, 3.07, 7.07, 17.07, 22.07	23
Göteborgs-Posten	26.02, 2.03, 3.03, 4.04, 14.04, 4.05, 9.05, 28.07	8
Dagens	26.02, 4.03, 13.03, 21.03, 29.03, 31.03, 12.04, 14.04, 20.04, 28.04, 6.05, 17.05, 24.05, 25.05, 5.06, 10.06, 15.06, 24.06, 5.07, 10.07, 17.07, 22.07, 28.07	23
China Daily	23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 1.02, 2.02, 4.02, 5.02, 6.02, 10.02, 10.02, 12.02, 13.02, 18.02, 20.02, 22.02, 24.02, 24.02, 25.02, 26.02, 28.02, 2.03, 4.03, 5.03, 17.03, 23.03, 29.03, 8.04, 10.04, 12.04, 13.04, 15.04, 22.04	32
People's Daily	20.01, 28.01, 28.01, 28.01, 30.01, 30.01, 4.02, 11.03, 24.03, 26.03, 2.04, 3.04, 14.04, 16.04, 20.05	15
The Times	6.03, 21.03, 23.03, 28.03, 3.04, 7.04, 14.04, 24.04, 3.05, 4.05, 13.05, 19.05, 20.05, 26.05, 26.05, 1.06, 17.06, 24.06, 5.07, 6.07, 13.07, 20.07, 21.07	23
Daily Mail	11.03, 19.03, 20.03, 25.03, 26.03, 3.04, 10.04, 14.04, 17.04, 23.04, 27.04, 28.04, 1.05, 5.05, 11.05, 13.05, 20.05, 28.05, 4.06, 18.06, 23.06, 14.07, 20.07	23

Daily Newspaper	Publication dates	Total analysed materials
Daily Mirror	26.02, 28.02, 8.03, 18.03, 21.03, 30.03, 8.04, 8.04, 10.04, 14.04, 6.05, 13.05, 13.05, 21.05, 1.06, 1.06, 15.06, 19.06, 2.07, 3.07, 17.07, 24.07, 30.07	23
The New York Times	27.02, 6.03, 13.03, 21.03, 27.03, 3.04, 12.04, 15.04, 20.04, 30.04, 5.05, 15.05, 24.05, 25.05, 7.06, 10.06, 18.06, 28.06, 3.07, 10.07, 16.07, 25.07, 27.07	23
The Wall Street Journal	27.02, 2.03, 17.03, 23.03, 5.04, 6.04, 14.04, 20.04, 30.04, 6.05, 12.05, 22.05, 26.05, 7.06, 9.06, 18.06, 22.06, 29.06, 7.07, 15.07, 24.07, 28.07	22
USA Today	1.03, 6.03, 15.03, 18.03, 26.03, 30.03, 11.04, 14.04, 24.04, 29.04, 6.05, 13.05, 18.05, 25.05, 6.06, 12.06, 15.06, 28.06, 1.07, 12.07, 16.07, 24.07, 31.07	23
Total		515

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