To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Marie Curkan-Flanagan titled "The Contemporary Militia Movement: Network Television News Framing of a Social Movement." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communications.

Dorothy Bowles, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and
Recommend its acceptance:

Barbara Moore

Eric Haley

Thomas Hood

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

The Contemporary Militia: Network News Framing of a Social Movement

A Dissertation Presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Tennessee-Knoxville

Marie Curkan-Flanagan
May 2000

Copyright © Marie Curkan-Flanagan, 2000

All rights reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation and the degree for which it is a requirement would not have been possible without the support and friendship of many people. Most notably, I am very grateful to Professor Dorothy Bowles, who has served as my adviser throughout my Ph.D. program. She has taught me a great deal about how to become an independent researcher with a critical mind. She listened carefully, encouraged me to pursue my own research interests, and supported me at each crucial step of this dissertation project. She has become both a valued friend and colleague. Any success that I may be fortunate enough to enjoy in academics is largely due to her guidance and incredible capacity to help her students learn and to understand difficult concepts. I will forever be indebted to Dr. Bolwes.

I am also indebted to Professor Barbara Moore for giving me a precious opportunity to work as a teaching assistant within the broadcast department.
I would also like to thank Professor Thomas Hood and Professor Eric Haley for serving as committee members and for providing helpful suggestions for my study. I feel very fortunate to have had them in my committee. Their open-mindedness made my oral proceed in a discussion, rather than in an examination, format. Their insightful questions called my attention to a number of issues that I had ignored.

I am grateful to Dr. Richard Jensen, at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, who first introduced me to the study of social movements and got me entangled in a web of philosophical inquiry from which I hopefully never will extricate myself.

Finally, I am thankful for my family's support and love. My sisters and brother-in-

law, Alix and Steve (and Princess Carley), and Jackie and Mickey, and my godchild Mickey and his brother Charley believed in my ability even when I doubted. My parents, Michael and Denise Curkan, who (although they never quite understood "why" at this stage of my life I would choose to pursue a doctoral degree) stood by me even in the face of their own desires when that pursuit kept me miles from home. Last, and most, my husband, Michael whose love, constant support, and friendship are what have gotten me through a difficult four years.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the relationship between television news and social movements. More specifically, it examines the growing numbers of people who believe the government is infringing upon their civil rights. The groups formed by these protesters are referred to as to as "militias." For the American contemporary militias, the core organizing issues are concerns involving such matters as gun control, taxes, Constitutional liberties, and federal regulations. Operating in virtually every state, these militias share a primary goal, which is to bring about social change. At the heart of this study is television news because news is not neutral but selective, and those stories with more potential for dramatic conflict are more likely to appear in the newscast, painting a picture of the militia movement that may or many not be accurate.

Taking as a fundamental idea that the media engage in the social construction of reality, the author analyzed news stories as part of the historically specific meanings, values and assumptions inevitably embedded in society. Using framing analysis as a theory, this study qualitatively investigates the relationship between network news and the militia movement. Here, frames provide a systematic way of explaining how people use expectations to make sense of everyday situations. Additionally, frames make humans resistant to change and can arouse "strong emotions" such as hate, fear or love. As a result, the ways in which the media "frame" stories and the decisions journalists make or fail to make will affect public understanding of the militia phenomena.

Methodologically, this dissertation uses a grounded theory approach. Through (textual) analysis of verbal and visual texts in three hundred and seven television news

stories taken from ABC, CBS and NBC newscasts from 1989 to 1999, this study explores how the three major network news organizations "framed" the militia.

This study found that the major frames used by network reporters and producers included: terrorism, domestic terrorism, war and peace, and government control.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
One.	**INTRODUCTION**	1
	Purpose	7
	Need for the study	7
	Personal Interest	9
	Dissertation Outline	10
CHAPTER		
Two.	**MILITIA BACKGROUND**	
	Introduction	15
	Militia History: In the Beginning	15
	American Evolution of the Militia	19
	Current Status of Militias/ Definitions	24
	Second Amendment, Culture and the Militia	37
	Government Assessment and Response to the Militia	41
	Competing Opinions	44
	Summary	48
CHAPTER		
Three.	**LITERATURE REVIEW**	
	Introduction	51
	Social Movement	52
	Opinions, Beliefs, and Ideology	55
	And Now the News	62
	News and the Construction of Reality	69
	News Construction and Objectivity	74
	Framing	76
	Social Movements and the News Media	91
	Summary	102
CHAPTER		
Four.	**METHODS**	
	Introduction	104
	Analysis of television content	104
	Themes	115
	Labels	116
	Symbols	119

Study Question 122
Study Objective 122
Time Frame 122
Unit of Analysis 125
Data Collection 126
Data Analysis 134
Analysis of Visuals 136
Verification 137

CHAPTER

Five. DISCRIPTIVE FINDINGS & DISCUSSION
Introduction 140
General Description 141
Militia Numbers and Activity 141
Time and Militia Cells 143
Network Distinction Between Militias 146
Militia History 148
Frames, Themes and Labels 150
Frames 151
Terrorism 151
Domestic Terrorism 155
War versus Peace 157
Government Control 164
Themes and Labels 166
Visuals and Symbols 169
What Was Shown 169
Who Was Shown 180
What They Were Doing 181
Miscellaneous Categories 185
Precipitating Event 185
Constitutional Issues 187
Media and Social Movements 194
News Construction and Objectivity 196
Summary 206

CHAPTER

Six. CONCLUSIONS 207
Future Research 222

BIBLIOGRAPHY 224

APPENDICES 251
A. Chronological Order of Stories in Analysis 252
B. Example of Transcribed Newscripts 271
C. Categories and Codes 282
D. Total Stories by Network and Year 290
E. Militia Group Identified by Name and Geographic Location 292
F. Militia Leaders and Spokespersons Appearing on tapes 295
G. Special Interest Group Sources and Viewpoints 297

VITA 301

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the United States today a growing number of people believe the government is infringing upon their civil rights. As a result, many of these people have unified and joined groups formed around the idea that the government is increasingly tyrannical. For them, the core organizing issues are concerns involving such matters as gun control, taxes, Constitutional liberties, and federal regulations. These groups are referred to as militias.

It is estimated that more than four hundred and forty separate self-proclaimed anti-government militias exist in the United States. Although researchers disagree on the total number of groups—some claiming that four hundred and forty is a conservative figure and that more than eight hundred different groups have been identified—researchers do agree that it is difficult to pinpoint the total number of people who participate in militias because these groups are fragmented and carry a myriad of names and ideologies (Berlet, 1995; Doskoch, 1995; Swomley, 1995; Dyer, 1997; Stern, 1996; Mann, 1998). For example, in Arizona, groups sharing similar philosophies are called the "Association of the Sons of Liberty" and the "Volunteer Militia." In Colorado they are the "Constitutionists," the "Guardians of American Liberties," and "The New World Order." Showing up in New Mexico are "The New Mexico Unorganized Militia," "Concerned Citizens" and the "Patriots of Catron County," and in Tennessee, they are

called the "Tennessee Militia." "Operating in virtually every state," the primary goal of these militias is to bring about social change (Klaidman & Isikoff, 1996).

The actual number of militia units per state also varies, as do the total number of people now belonging to each militia unit. In Michigan, for example, Martin Lindsted, the spokesperson for the 7th Militia, claims ten thousand members with brigades operating or forming in sixty six of the state's eighty three counties. Typically, according to Lindsted, the weekly meetings draw fifty to one hundred attendees (Armed, 1997). In California, Harry Infalt, organizer of the El Dorado County unit, claims to have "units in more than half of California's fifty eight counties, including Sacramento." He adds, "Despite the pouring rain, nearly three hundred people from across the state gathered here (in El Dorado) to help form the newest unit"(Stanton, 1995). According to Berlet, (1995) nationally, "...there are perhaps five million persons who are influenced by the Patriot movement, compared to the ten thousand to forty thousand persons involved in the armed militia movement"(p.7).

In Weinberg's (1993) analysis of newspaper coverage of the militias, the author reveals that some militias have been involved in violent activities since about 1984, and in the last few years have stepped up their violent tendencies. According to Weinberg, some of these groups have resorted to acts of terrorism. In April 1985,

> 200 FBI agents invaded the compound of the Covenant Sword and Arm of the Lord (CSA), a group located on the Missouri-Arkansas border. Among other discoveries, the authorities found a rifle range known as Silhouette City (Weinberg, 1993, p.186).

In January 1987,

> A federal grand jury in Raleigh, North Carolina, indicted five members of the White Patriot party for attempting to steal weapons from a U.S military installation. The men had planned to use the weapons in order to rob banks and assassinate Morris Dees, a civil rights lawyer who had brought suit against the North Carolina KKK because of its establishment of paramilitary training camps in the state (Weinberg,1993,p.203).

Several of these groups use explosive high tech weapons, while others have been arrested in the possession of biological and chemical weapons, including the bubonic plague bacteria and the poisonous protein ricin (Jones, 1993; 1995, CBS May 26). In 1992 an Idaho militia member (Randy Weaver) held off the FBI while the community rallied to his support (Dunn, 1992, p. A1.); the California Housing and Employment Offices were firebombed by the Aryan Liberation front in 1993 ("California Agency," 1993, p.A9.); in Lincoln, Nebraska, a right wing extremist protected by free speech published Nazi material smuggled into the United States illegally (Jones, 1993, p. A1.); in the spring of 1995 at a remote Montana ranch, the Montana Freemen were involved in an 81-day standoff with the FBI, costing the American taxpayer about $7.5 million dollars (Los Angeles Times Mirror, 1996); in April 1995, Timothy McVeigh bombed the federal building in Oklahoma City, killing more than two hundred people, and in January of 1997, members of the Aryan Republican Army were arrested after robbing twenty two banks. "For two years the brash band of gun and bomb toting robbers zigzagged across

America's heartland, hitting bank after bank, wearing masks and taunting federal agents" (Cohen, 1997, p.F7.).

More recently, Eric Robert Rudolph has led the FBI and local police officials from twelve states on a two-year long manhunt. Rudolph, a member of the so-called "Christian Identity" movement, is wanted by the FBI for the January 29, 1998, explosion at an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Alabama. The explosion killed an off-duty police officer and severely injured a nurse (Levins & Eberhart, 1999, p.1).

Along with all of these stories the media has generated a steady drumbeat of reports describing militia ideology. According to Reynolds (1995a)

> Their fear (the militia) is based on all sorts of rumors about 'black helicopters' and foreign forces maneuvering in remote areas, that the Fed., perhaps in conjunction with the United Nations, will seize their guns and establish a 'new World order' dictatorship that will take control over their lives (p1).

The role of the media in relation to the militia is presently an important area to study because among sociological institutions, the mass media arguably have become the core systems for the distribution of ideology. News is not neutral (Gitlin, 1980). It is selective, and those stories with more potential for dramatic conflict are more likely to appear in the newscast. News is also part of the social construction of reality: historically specific meanings, values and assumptions inevitably are embedded in the news (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980; Hallin, 1990).

For example, research on the agenda-setting function of the media consistently has found that the public shares the press's agenda on major issues (McCombs, & Shaw, 1972; Lasorasa & Reese, 1987; Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993; Bennett, 1996). This could mean, say some critics, that the media are institutions strategically situated within a dominant political, economic and ideological order. From this perspective, media products are seen as promoting interpretations of social life ("preferred meanings") that maintain the status quo (Hall, 1980: Altheide, 1985; Edelman, 1988). Thus, the militia, a possible catalyst of social change (either for good or for bad) might not be given fair treatment.

From another perspective, in selecting news stories, journalists play an important part in shaping reality. Viewers and readers learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position within the newscast or placement within the newspaper. The process of selecting what to cover and what not to cover is called gatekeeping.

Gatekeeping is one of the oldest and best-known communication constructs. According to Watson and Hill, (1997) the term refers to the manner in which messages are selected, created, and controlled. A news story is the result of a number of choices by a variety of "gatekeepers." These controlling forces include the editor who decides on the day's coverage, the producers who give it a running order within a set of stories, and the technical people who give it its final shape.

Many gatekeeping studies (Buckalew, 1970; Whitney & Becker, 1982) have treated the decision making process about individual stories by individual journalists as "newswork." Newswork is described as the work of creating a newspaper or television

newscast dictated by the needs of the everyday operation within a "profit-seeking" venture (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Shoemaker & Mayfield, 1987). Because resources and time are almost always in short supply, newswork becomes a series of purposive learned routines used to expedite tasks. Hence, when discussing television newscasts, each newscast, then is created through a selection framework representing a tension between journalistic norms, meaning what news people need to know, and business norms. These business norms include using resources efficiently, meeting deadlines, beating the competition, and providing entertainment.

Furthermore, in the course of his/her workday, the journalist often will use a "frame" as a way to explain a particular phenomenon. The term "frame" has come to have several uses in the literature, as can be observed; Frames are a way to explain human experience. Tuchman (1978) uses the metaphor of news as a window, "framing" our view of the world. For example, most individuals were not in Oklahoma in the aftermath of the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. When covering the story, journalists and the visual media created "frames" for our understanding. As a result, when most people, including journalists, refer to the militia, their worldview often includes a "frame" image of the destroyed federal building or of the lone fireman holding a dead child.

Frames also provide a systematic way of explaining how people use expectations to make sense of everyday situations and the people in them. We are not born with expectations; rather we learn them through media messages or personal experience. As they move through time and space individuals constantly change the way they define situations, actions, and people (Goffman, 1974). Additionally, frames make humans

resistant to change and can arouse "strong emotions" such as hate, fear or love. However, "as human beings, we have cognitive skills that allow us to continually scan our environment, make sense of it, and then act upon these interpretations. Our inability to understand these skills in no way prevents them from operating, but it does impede our ability to make sense of our own sense-making"(Baran & Davis, 1995, p.298).

Against this backdrop, it can be argued that the news media tend to narrow the information range they provide the public by "framing" within institutional norms. As a result, the ways in which the media "frame" stories and the decisions journalists make or fail to make affect the public's understanding of the militia movement and "ultimately reinforce a dominant public culture"(Baran & Davis, 1995, p.301).

Purpose

Given that media can have a potential impact on construction of social phenomena like the militia, this study will explore how the three major network news organizations "framed" the militia through their newscasts. This study will employ qualitative (textual) analysis of verbal and visual texts of newscasts from 1989 to 1999.

Need For The Study

The militia movement is not an isolated phenomenon. Today, militias exist in all 50 states both in major cities and in rural areas (Johnson, 1995). This social movement is of interest because of the actions that have resulted from acceptance of its tenets, such as

the bombing of Oklahoma City's Murrah, Federal Building in April 1995 as well as attacks on Amtrak trains, harassment of government officials, and a string of bank robberies, assaults, vandalism, and murders (Stewart, 1996).

Additionally, one of the major aims of the militia movement is to elect public officials. One of those—Republican Helen Chenoweth of Idaho, who was elected to Congress with the help of the Idaho Militia—openly espouses her organization's cause in Congress (Schieffer, 1995; Obey, 1995; Andrews, 1995). Texas Republican Congressman Steve Stockman "admitted that a militia member had helped in his election campaign and that his staff was in frequent contact with members of the militia" (Ross,1995).

The militia was also chosen as the movement for study because little uniform information currently is available regarding it. While studies regarding the militia appear in sociology journals and law journals, far fewer have been published in political science journals. Unfortunately, what literature exists offers no consensus on who or what makes up the contemporary militia movement. No literature exists in communication journals. It is therefore, difficult for a communication scholar, to make any assessment regarding the militia because so very little published research is available.[1]

---

[1]Much of the literature reviewed is inconsistent and tends to reflect the views of government or special interest organizations such as the American Anti Defamation League (Armed and Dangerous,1997), the ACLU (Junas, 1997), the PEW Research center (Pew, 1996) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (Militia Watch, 1997). I could find only a few studies that actually dealt with the militia as a primary source. The most notable is Aho's (1990) investigation of the political "Right" in Idaho. Through participant observation, he discovered that Right-wingers look to a nostalgically, imaginary past. This is due, Aho concluded, to the fact that Right-wing groups attract people whose status in the world is threatened with displacement. It was through covert, long interviews that Aho was able to identify a common thread among the members of this sub-group. "The patriot is one who is vigilant in recognizing the government is his worst enemy. And he is willing to fight his own government" (p.45). This was a significant finding because two years after the research was published, the government had to contend with an armed stand-off between a militia member and the FBI at Ruby Ridge in Idaho.

Television has the greatest news audience in America with the easiest means of providing information to the public. As a result, understanding the relationship between television news and the effect it has on the audience is worthy of study.

Personal Interest

In October of 1994, after a 25-year career, I retired from the broadcast news industry. I ended my career in the position of news director for KOCO television news in Oklahoma City. Six months after my retirement, in April of 1995, members of a militia movement bombed the Murrah Federal building. While I had produced and covered many horrific news stories in my career, nothing could have prepared me for the magnitude of this disaster. Many of the people killed were my friends, and I knew and had worked with others who lost family members.

For several days following the bombing, the national television news media tentatively reported that the act of violence was completed by Mid-east terrorists (Martin, ABC, 1995; Mason: CBS, 1995; Williams: NBC, 1995a). When it was revealed that the people arrested were American, little information could be found, at any level, regarding who and what these militia groups were, or what ideology they espoused. This ignorance was apparent despite the fact that the FBI, as well as various special interest groups such as the Anti Defamation League, had been tracking the militia movement since 1984.

Additionally, on April 20, 1995, the day after the blast, an inflammatory message appeared on an Internet newsgroup identified as a site used by militia groups:

> If this turns out to be a bomb, expect them to tie it to the militia...I have expected this to come before now. I will lodge a prediction here. They will try to tie it to Waco, Janet Reno is behind this, the campaign will succeed because the media will persuade the public. Expect a crackdown. Bury your guns and use the codes (Armstrong, 1995).

Two days later, with bombing suspect Tim McVeigh in custody, an Internet message allegedly from McVeigh, describing himself as the "Mad Bomber," was discovered on America Online service. Dateline NBC discovered the information just before deadline, and was the first to report on the Internet data.

Immediately following the last memorial service in Oklahoma City, I chose to pursue a doctoral degree and concentrate my research on the militia phenomenon. More specifically, I began to search newspapers, magazines and the Internet to locate people who called themselves militia members. As a communication scholar, I am interested in trying to find why and how these groups of individuals are able to communicate. Furthermore, how are these groups able to grow, and in some cases perpetrate acts of terrorism, going about their business without being identified by the broadcast news media? This study is an extension of my research.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is organized into six substantive chapters. Chapter Two is intended to provide relevant information regarding the contemporary militia movement

and its relationship with various societal institutions, of which the media is but one. Understanding the interaction between the militia movement and these institutions is important because all societal institutions provide systems of beliefs, ideas, and values that contribute to human understanding. People are socialized into seeing the world in terms similar to those of the people around them, and within this "reality," an entire culture is defined.

I begin Chapter Two with an examination of the early history of militias; how militias were first organized and developed is the foundation for this chapter. The early history of militias is the framework that contributes to understanding how the militias evolved in the United States. This is a significant portion of this study, given that many scholars and critics alike disagree on who and what make up the contemporary militia movement.

Additionally, various members of social institutions and militia members themselves seem to disagree on who and what make up the militia. They also disagree on the role of the militia in contemporary society. The historical perspective thus provides a setting for a discussion regarding the current status of the militia.

Within this context, this chapter is also intended to provide the reader with some background regarding the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution. Understanding the relationship between the Second Amendment and various social groups, particularly the militia, is critical in understanding the militia movement because interpretation of the Second Amendment contributes to basic ideological differences within these same social groups.

If ideology can be seen as one culture's definition of reality, transmitted through a society's institutions, then it is important to study messages emanating from these institutions to see how the world is being represented. As a result, this chapter will also provide information concerning different social institutions and how their members have articulated their views about the current militia movement. Given that this study is designed to examine another institution, the broadcast news media, it is important to place the militia movement within the context of its time and place in history.

Literature from various government agencies, and several documents regarding the United States Congress and its views will be examined. This discussion is followed with an investigation and discussion of competing opinions from various special interest groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center and the National Rifle Association. All of this information will all be summarized and put into context for the rest of this study.

Chapter Three will provide the theoretical framework for this study. It will begin with an overview of social movements by reviewing a burgeoning literature regarding social movements and their development. This chapter also looks at how ideology affects a movement, particularly as movement members interact with society. Chapter Three will also investigate the literature regarding the theoretical framework of the media's power to construct a social reality and the effect of the media on social movements.

Finally, Chapter Three will examine the literature regarding the framing of news. Being products of a culture's dominant modes of thought and reflecting implicit cultural assumptions, frames are encoded unconsciously and automatically within all messages, making them a central ideological force. As a result television news is a message system that uses frames to help portray reality.

In Chapter Four, I lay out my research methodology. Since its introduction in the 1960s, grounded theory has been progressively developed in a way that is consistent with its original formulation, such that it is currently the most comprehensive qualitative research method available. The result is that grounded theory is a method that has been used extensively across a variety of social science disciplines.

I begin by describing and arguing for a textual analysis or qualitative rather than quantitative approach. This chapter attempts to explain why grounded theory eschews survey methods and structured interviews because they filter data according to preconceived categories. The grounded theory, researcher's basic attitude is to approach the field open-minded and with as few preconceived concepts and hypotheses as possible.

The intent of a grounded theory approach is to develop an account of a phenomenon that identifies the major constructs, or categories in grounded theory terms, their relationships, and the context and process, thus providing a theory of the phenomenon that is much more than a descriptive account.

In relation to theory construction, the authors of the method, Glaser and Strauss (1967) hold for a dynamic perspective. By this they mean placing a high emphasis on theory as process or "theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product." In this regard, Glaser and Strauss (1967) advise the researcher to be constantly on the lookout for new perspectives. This dissertation attempts to use the authors' strategies in order to gain a new perspective of the news media-militia effect or connection.

Chapter Five presents, in four sections, a descriptive analysis of the news stories that emerged from the data. First, the general description of the stories provides an overall picture of network news coverage. Second, what emerged from the many different

stories was broken down into frames, themes, and labels. This is an attempt to try to find meaning in network presentations. Third, symbols and visuals are investigated and discussed. The video analyses are presented to discuss how the pictures and symbols contained within them may have contributed to the overall coverage or effect of the stories broadcast. And, finally miscellaneous categories (not yet discussed) that emerged from the data are analyzed and presented in an effort to provide additional insight into how the militia was portrayed by network news producers and reporters. All of these various elements are analyzed and discussed within the context of the data.

Finally, Chapter Six summarizes the theoretical arguments I make in the previous chapters. This is followed by conclusions regarding the implications of this study for the academic, mainstream, and Liberal Left in this country.

CHAPTER TWO

Militia Background

Introduction

In order to grasp how people in the United States understand militias, it is important to know how militias developed and evolved over time and how, in the United States, they are perceived differently than they might be in a different part of the world. Additionally, it is important to understand how scholars, various social institutions and special interest groups view the contemporary militia movement because they, very often, are the sources used by the news media to transmit information regarding militia activity.

This chapter examines the early history of militias and how they evolved in the United States. It will also look at the various ways scholars have portrayed the militias and how the government and special interest groups view and portray militia members and contemporary militia activity within the context of American culture.

Militia History: In the Beginning

Historians generally agree that militias or the concept of the "citizen soldier"

began with the "Roman Republic" (Bayley, 1961).[2] Using Aristotle's arguments that the "Ascendancy of the middle order of citizens..." was the firmest guarantee of "...social and constitutional stability" (Bayley, 1961, p.196), Roman leaders and their generals advocated that good citizens should serve the state. As a result, there was a universal obligation to perform military service. Biondo (1531) states,

> The good citizen should serve with equal fidelity, for the state must be defended on the battlefield no less than in the forum. His military service brings him a twofold reward. It contributes to the preservation of the community of which he is part, and it affords him an opportunity to acquire personal glory and reputation in sustaining the common cause (as cited in Bayley, 1961, p.225).

Training for the Roman militia began for boys in their early teens, and those who declined to serve were reduced to the level of incompetents—they could not hold public office nor could they vote. Training included strict discipline, forced marches, military drills, fortified camps, and was followed by ceremonial induction by military oath. Using this strategy, the Roman Republic was able to subdue the whole of Italy and subsequently much of Europe and Asia. Also, according to Biondo (1531), the Roman militia had

[2] Bayley (1961) traces the work of dozens of historians over nearly a one thousand-year period. Specifically using the work of Buoninsegni (1410), Campano (1470), and Bruni (1508), Bayley traces the development of the Roman citizen soldier. Vast literature on the topic can also be found in Howard (1976), who places the citizen soldier within a historical context and Paret (1986), who looks at the Roman soldier through the framework of military training and strategy.

habitually furnished its own equipment and fought without pay for over a period of 200 years. "Even a stipendiary militia embodies a decline from the original republican ideal" (as cited in Bayley, 1961). This single point--a militia made up of private citizens serving for the greater good--is what leads to much of the discussion and confusion of the difference between a militia and a military.

As the Roman Republic grew and became the Roman Empire, the militia began to share in the bounty and spoils of war. Generals were often rewarded with vast tracts of land for militia victories, and the idea of a compensated militia became the norm.

According to Bayley (1961), by the early fourteenth century, elaborate codes dividing the spoils of war "constituted an unending irritation between the civil power and the military" (p.13). The established practice prescribed that lands, castles, and other immovables should go to the state. "Harness, armor, and *mobilia* in general were claimed by the militia, who were also at liberty to profit from the ransom of prisoners taken in war" (p.15). Unlike the "Caesars," however, generals signed contracts and never led their own armies in war. Additionally, governing states would double the salaries of any mercenary militias victorious in battle (p.16).

> The moral code, traditions, and customs which evolved lost control over the human material from which armies were recruited. Adventurers and ruffians who wanted wealth and plunder, men who had nothing to lose and everything to gain through war, made up the main body of the armies. As a result of a situation in which war was no longer undertaken as a religious duty (during feudalism), the purpose of military service became financial gain. In most of the civilized parts of

Europe, such as Italy, people looked with contempt on soldiers and soldiering (Gilbert, 1986, p.15).

The introduction of gunpowder transformed the basis of power in Europe during the Middle Ages. In 1502, Machiavelli participated in a disastrous military campaign that resulted in the mass slaying of a surrendering hostile force. The experience proved, to Machiavelli, the need for a "significantly new type of military leadership"(as cited in Bayley, 1961, p.240).

The new laws of warfare Machiavelli wanted to see introduced in Italy were the old laws of the Roman Republic military order. This new order would be built on a central need for discipline and the notion that society had a military obligation to serve the government. However, the invention of gunpowder and artillery seemed to many to make Roman methods obsolete.

Italy, during the Middle Ages, was not a unified country; rather, it was a series of small city states, many of which were involved in war on a regular basis—wars which, to Machiavelli, were fought with little discipline. In 1505, Machiavelli wrote his most famous "official reflection" on military affairs. The *Ordinanza* of December 1505 ordered the organization of a Florentine militia. Although the idea of a militia was not new, the *Ordinanza* called for the formation of a 10,000-man force, "who were to be selected by a government committee from males between eighteen and fifty years..." of age, who would be trained as individual units and who would be compensated by the state (as cited in Gilbert, 1986, p.19).

For Machiavelli, the militia was a "necessary prerequisite of success in war—confidence and discipline can exist only where the troops are native of the same country and have lived together for some time" (p.26). Additionally, according to Machiavelli, the task is not for a special privileged group but for all those who live in the same society (Gilbert, 1986, pg. 29). He argued that "hired mercenaries or foreign auxiliary armies cannot be trusted to protect a state of any type," and, "...mercenary forces never do anything but harm" (as cited in Gilbert, 1965).

Military and militia historians use this point in time as the basic information to argue that militias are the forerunners of the modern army (Gilbert, 1986; Rothenberg, 1986, p. 36). It is important to note that both militias and the military were formed to serve the state, and both are firmly rooted in the idea that they serve the government and society.

As history indicates, militias and a regulated military have the same roots. In the United States they evolved very differently.

American Evolution of the Militia

There is agreement among scholars (Szatmary, 1980; Slaughter, 1986;Weigley, 1986; Pitcavage, 1996) that, in the United States, militias have their roots and foundation within Colonial America. During this period, militias or patriots were seen by the public as serving a higher good; that is, they served a moral cause more important than obedience to the law and an end more important to society than order. Although the Colonial government could call upon the militia to serve for up to three months per year

(compulsory service), government control of the militia outside of those three months was non-existent. This was because "All American colonies passed militia laws under the authority granted by their charters" and "there never was a period of common law militia in America." In fact, the term "unorganized militia" is non-existent (Pitcavage, 1995, online). Simply stated, militias existed to serve their individually established colony.

> The term for those within the militia system was simply the militia. A distinction was drawn between those who did their militia duty in the compulsory units and those who did their militia duty in volunteer units. The compulsory militia was known as trainbands, beat militia, or enrolled militia. The volunteer militia was known as the volunteer militia, or the uniform militia. The term 'uniform' referred to the fact that the volunteers wore uniforms (Pitcavage, 1995,).

According to Pitcavage (1996), a militia historian,

> White able-bodied free males were required by law to belong to the militia by the statute law of the colony. Whether or not they actually served in militia units is another question. Sometimes, the militia laws were strictly enforced, sometimes laxly. The requirement for service could be met by joining either the colony's militia in your local area or joining (if they would have you) a volunteer militia unit. These companies were allowed under colonial legislation and were, of course, subordinate to the authority of the colony.

Pitcavage (1996) adds,

> ...state militias complemented (and sometimes competed with) the Continental Army for the defense of the Country. Though under the right circumstances, as at Bunker Hill or Saratoga, militia could be made to work wonders, most high-ranking officers came away with, at the very least, a mixed view of the military efficiency of the militia. At the same time, they were very well aware that public sentiment was greatly in favor of the militia, and viewed the notion of a standing army with great suspicion; indeed, this had been the case even during the war.

Following the American Revolution, George Washington insisted on creating a European-style professional army. His reasoning appeared to involve the

> ...tendency of irregular war, with its violations of the internal rules of war, to tear apart the entire social contract, as well as his specific concern to guard the dignity of the American cause as an essential part of the new nation's claim to equality of status among the nations of the world (Weigley, 1986, p.412).

In his "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment," Washington proposed a small regular army supported by a well-regulated compulsory service militia. "Washington also sought to realize his idea of a militia, but he had to settle for the Militia Act of 1792, which imposed a compulsory military obligation without erecting the machinery necessary to make the obligation much more than a theory" (Weigley, 1986, p.413).

Unlike Washington, Jefferson professed to favor the citizen-soldiers of the militia over regulars as the backbone of American defense—though he did little to strengthen the militia system. When writing the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson had asserted the "right of the people to alter or to abolish" a government that is "destructive of their inalienable rights."

In 1786, after Shay's Rebellion (a farmers' protest against taxation in Massachusetts), Jefferson wrote:

> I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachment on the rights of the people which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government....these transactions (that is, Shay's Rebellion) give me no uneasiness... (Jefferson, 1968).

Once the United States Constitution was signed and ratified, the militia changed, particularly in their relation to the established government. For example, in 1791, Pennsylvania was a center for distilling good whiskey, and there were more than 3000 distilleries in the state. Also in 1791, the newly formed American government decided to impose a tax on whiskey. Pennsylvania distillers refused to pay.

Free whiskey militias sprang up all over the state. They attacked federal marshals who tried to serve a warrant, tarred and feathered anyone trying to collect the taxes, attacked the mail, and incited riots. President Washington called up the "government-established militias," or military, and the rebellion or "people's militia" was put down. The Whiskey Rebellion was the first time the federal government showed its force and secured for the government the right to tax American citizens. It is also at this point that militias begin to change and lose their established rights, becoming groups living outside the social order (Slaughter, 1986).

Seventy years later, Southern militias known as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) were formed. These militias resorted to a reign of terror in an effort to retain their political and social dominance following the Civil War.

> ...Individuals and groups, organized and unorganized, intimidated, whipped, hanged, and shot Union men, blacks, and Republicans of both races. This gave the losers of the Civil War what they had failed to achieve in their conventional war, the freedom to order their own society and particularly race relations as they saw fit once the federal forces left the region (Rable, 1984, p.753).

This post Civil War KKK was officially disbanded in 1869 and effectively eliminated as an organization by 1871. However, it is important to recognize that a key premise for which this group formed is the desire to "have the freedom to order their own society" (Rable, 1984, p.758). Although the KKK was eliminated as an organization, it

did not stop other militia groups with different ideologies from forming. Nor did it stop them from using these same types of tactics to achieve their own ends.

The modern militia or KKK, was born in 1915. It was a fraternal organization dedicated to "...100 percent Americanism and the supremacy of the Caucasian race. It was Protestant rather than anti-Catholic" (Chalmers, 1981, p.30). The Klan's membership multiplied rapidly in the early 1920s when it became openly white supremacist, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigrant. Although centered in the Southeast, it was a national organization. The Klan elected its first Klansman U. S. Senator in Texas, provided the margin of victory for a friendly governor of Oregon, and elected a Klansmen U. S. Senator and governor in Colorado as well as in Indiana (Chalmers, 1981, p.291). At the height of its popularity, the "new" Klan was an acceptable part of society with nearly 6 million members. It was so acceptable, in fact, that, as a young man, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, who "...was an outspoken defender of the common man," became a member (Baltzell & Schneiderman, 1991).

What each of these citizen militias or patriot movements has in common is their desire to have the freedom to order their own society, using any method necessary in order to achieve that end.

Current Status of Militias/Definitions

When looking at the contemporary militia movement, scholars and critics alike disagree on many different levels. Arguably, the research is not very expansive and it is

inconclusive. It does, however, begin to paint a complex picture of this social phenomenon.

To begin, there is disagreement as to when the movement began (Aho, 1991; Diamond, 1995; Meador, 1996; Dyer, 1997, Kazin, 1997; Seul, 1997; Akins, 1998). There is also disagreement as to whether there is a difference between the patriot movement and the militia movement (Bennett, 1995; Bertlet, 1995; Berlet & Quigley, 1995; Stern, 1996; Junas, 1997; Flanagan, 1999). Part of this confusion is due, in part, to the fact that the terms "militia" and "patriot movement" tend to be used interchangeably and that much of the research has not traced the history of militias to put them into some sort of context.

Adding to these fundamental confusions, there is disagreement regarding who and what make up the militia movement (Aho, 1990; Meador, 1996; Stern, 1996; Gallaher, 1998); what their primary ideology and objectives are; and, finally, what level of force militias are willing to use to achieve their ends. The one point of agreement (Cooper, 1995; Eaton, 1995; Meador, 1996; Stern, 1996; Dyer, 1997; Burlein, 1997; Flanagan, 1999) is how they communicate.

First, when did the contemporary militia come into existence? Some scholars argue that the contemporary militia began to evolve during the 1960s (Conover, 1983; Conover and Gray, 1983; Diamond, 1995; Kazin, 1997; Seul, 1997).

Diamond (1995), for example, describes how present day militias came to be by tracing the roots of the early Christian Right to the evangelical movements of the Cold War era. Diamond argues that the 1960s focused on missionary and broadcast resources in competition with other denominational churches, which the evangelicals criticized as

being soft on communism. Diamond (1995) then argues that from the mid-1960s through the 1970s, the Right focused on the Vietnam War and the rise of the Republican party's most conservative faction. "The New Right's successful overtures to an increasingly politicized Evangelical constituency were accompanied by the declining influence of the organized racist." Here, Diamond (1995) uses the overwhelming defeat of Barry Goldwater and the defeat of George Wallace's presidential campaign as the impetus that created the neoconservative movement. The author explains that during the 1970s, the New Right and neoconservative movements grew in organizational influences. The author explains this as the arousal of conservative economic elites:

> Richard Mellon Scaife alone spent $100 million on the Heritage Foundation and a slew of similar think tanks. By the early 1980s, the 'conservative labyrinth' spanned nine foundations, dozens of corporate backers, and some seventy major organizations in categories ranging from military lobbies, electoral vehicles, media watchdogs, and campus outreach (p.205).

Diamond's (1995) research provides background information on the far-reaching influence of the militia movement.

Seul (1997) adds to these ideas by explaining that many paramilitary groups gained momentum in the 1960s and 1980s due largely to adequate financial backing.

Spurred by the civil rights movement in the 1960s which provided a shock to the

> Right, and Reagan's anti-government rhetoric in the 1980s, groups like the Minutemen and militias found new life under the themes of outside invasion and government corruption. And even as most people were no longer convinced of the imminence of invasion from an external power, paramilitary groups shifted only their characters; the plots remained the same (p.2).

Berlet (1995) agrees with the above-mentioned timeline but adds that the armed militias are part of a "diverse" right-wing social movement. Here, Berlet (1995) makes a distinction between militias and the patriot movement. Comparing militia movements, Berlet (1995) contends that the most famous militia movement in the United States is the Ku Klux Klan; that it "...arose as a militia during the turmoil of Reconstruction" (p.6).

Berlet (1995) concedes that militias are a social byproduct that evolved "on the heels both of economic hardship and the partial erosion of traditional structures of white male heterosexual privilege." Then he adds, "It is at times of economic dislocation and social upheaval that the right has grown dramatically throughout our history"(Berlet, 1995, p.6). Berlet concludes that armed militias "are the zealous offshoot of the larger and more diffused Patriot Movement" who have their roots in Colonial America.

There are those who disagree with Berlet basing their arguments on the fact that Colonial militias were part of the established social system (Pitcavage, 1996) and that the racist KKK is a product of the early 20th century (Chalmers,1981) rather than post Civil War America (Rable, 1984).

Kazin (1997) builds and adds on these ideas by explaining:

> After the publication of many emphatic 'bottomup' studies of wage earners, slaves, and woman reformers, it seemed time to discover the tenacious roots of a conservative coalition that could no longer be dismissed as extreme. As a result, historians now view the KKK of the 1920s as a movement of up to four million 'white Protestant nationalists,' regard Father Charles Coughlin as perhaps the New Deal's most persuasive critic, and understand the John Birch Society as a grassroots force that played a major role in the right's takeover of the Republican Party during the 1960s.

Militias, like society, evolved over time, changing as American society changed.

Meador (1996) and Dyer (1997) agree with Berlet's distinction between the militia and a patriot movements, but not with the time line. Meador (1996) states, "In the past decade, the patriot movement has spawned a new *paramilitary* militia. The growth of this movement has been particularly rapid over the past three years" (p.7). According to Dyer (1997), the contemporary militia movement has its beginnings in the early 1980s, the patriot movement in the 1990s. However, neither Meador nor Dyer account for the Minutemen nor the Posse Comitatus of the 1960s and 1970s, both of which are also seen as paramilitary militias.

Seul (1997) and O'Brien and Haider-Markel (1998) agree with Berlet's (1995) and Diamond's (1995) time line. However, Seul compares the Posse Comitatus to the militia and argues that mainstream militias "believe that they are fighting to uphold the standards of the Constitution" (p.5). Quoting Posse Comitatus literature, Seul explains,

> ...They (militias) are under the false impression that our country is still being run under the Constitution and Bill of Rights, it is not! Our country is being run under what is called, "The Emergency War Powers Act.'...if those of us who are adherents to Racial Identity ever came to power, there would be less tolerance in this country than there is now (p.5).

Seul (1997) then argues that these sentiments are what cause most militia members to separate themselves ideologically from groups like the "more" militant Posse. Seul (1997) also makes the observation, "It is also these sentiments that make it easy for government officials and the media to demonize militia groups by lumping them together with more extreme right-wing movements" (p.6).

By examining American Defamation League statistics, O'Brien and Haider-Markel (1998) argue that the conservative citizen's movement or "patriot movement" as well as the "citizen militias" emerged with the New Right in mainstream American politics of the 1960s (p.456).

O'Brien and Haider-Markel (1998) also conclude that the media helped spur the growth of the movement. They take the position that the increased growth of the new "citizen militias" is the "direct" result of the increased media attention following the 1995 bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Akins (1998) paints a completely different picture:

> In October of 1992, an assortment of right-wing political activists met in Colorado to discuss possible reactions to the arrest of white separatist Randy

> Weaver at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. From this meeting, the 'Rocky Mountain Rendezvous,' sprang the Militia Movement (p.1).

He adds,

> The Militia movement can be defined as a subgroup of the larger 'Patriot Movement.' The Patriot Movement includes the common law court movement, survivalists, theocrats, white supremacists, apocalyptic millenarianists, as well as several separatists (p.3).

According to Stern (1996), the 1992 "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous" was a direct result of the Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms Bureau's siege of the Randy Weaver ranch in Idaho. During the siege, an FBI sniper shot and killed Weaver's wife and 16-year-old son. Outraged by what he perceived as the unlawful behavior of federal officials, Christian Identity leader Pete Peters invited various groups of right-wing activists to a meeting in Estes Park, Colorado. The meeting lasted three days and was attended by

> ...Richard Butler, head of the Aryan Nations; Louis Beam, another Aryan Nations leader; anti-Semite Red Beckman; Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America; and Montana far-right activist Christ Temple...(as well as) neo-Nazis, Christian Identity adherents, anti-abortion activists, tax protesters, Ku Klux Klan members, and others who saw each other as ideological and organizational adversaries (p.36).

Obviously, determining who and what make up the militia movement is not any easier than sorting through dates that tell us when the movement began.

From a qualitative analysis perspective (series of long interviews on the Internet), Meador (1996) breaks the Patriot Movement down into three distinct groups of individuals. There is the "Concerned Activist who is a relatively healthy individual" with a flexible vision of his role in the militia. There is the "Protector/Enforcer who is less flexible, more intense, probably less healthy due to the acceptance of the possible need for violence." The third is the "Separatist, who is probably the least healthy, most intense and inflexible of the three. He is also the most secretive since he is less likely to trust others" (p.93). The one thing each of these groups has in common is that they believe the U.S. government has no authority over them.

In another qualitative study, Dyer (1997) spoke directly with militiamen across the Midwest. He asked dozens of militia members to describe their lives.

> There is one question I always ask the people I meet in the antigovernment movement: 'What was it that finally made you stop and say, 'This isn't right; I've got to do something about it?' The answers they gave me were varied, yet, in one sense the same: 'They took my farm.' 'The IRS took everything I owned.' 'Environmentalists wouldn't let me run my cows cause some damn little sparrow they said was endangered lived on my place.' 'They were going to put me in jail because I didn't have the money to pay my tickets.' 'They took away my kids because I can't pay my child support. I only make five bucks an hour. How can I pay child support?" (p. 6)

Dyer also saw a diversity of people attending militia meetings, and he blames the media for painting a cartoonish "Bubba" character to personify the antigovernment movement, a picture he states misrepresents the truth.

> The 'Bubbas' do exist, but they are only a small feature on the real face of the movement. Doctors, lawyers, insurance agents, and college professors were all in attendance at the meeting of the Third Continental Congress in 1997 (p.164).

For a different view, Gallaher (1998) states that the literature on the movement suggests, "most patriot groups are organized by farmers and ranchers protesting governmental land use policies and restriction" (p. 23). Gallaher (1998) also states, "The contemporary militia has no specific discursive center" (p.1) and is made up of "tax resistors, hemp and marijuana activists, adherents of the racist doctrine of Christian Identity, and Second Amendment activists" (p.2).

In their assessment, O'Brien and Haider-Markel (1998) agree on a "discursive center"—hatred of the government—but, in their description of "who" makes up the militia, they include the military veteran. "Militias are made up of Gulf War veterans, ardent gun owners, those with less political representation, and people with a greater propensity for violence" (p. 456). This study seems to build on Burlein (1997), who argues that Vietnam veterans make up a large portion of militia membership. On this particular point, FBI statistics seem to confirm that a large number of individuals who belong to militias are military veterans (Duffy & Brantley, 1997).

According to Akins (1998), militias are comprised of people from a variety of economic classes who are finding it difficult to compete in today's economy because of recent changes in the social structure. "They have educated themselves with movement literature and discovered rampant corruption and incompetence in government" (p.xi). Another point which appears over and over is the lack of confidence in the government. Again, there seems to be agreement that militias are made up of people who no longer trust or have faith in the American government.

Examining what militias believe or hope to accomplish, and sorting through their grievances also is not an easy task. For Berlet (1995), today's militias reflect present-day social concerns. He states that there is

> An undercurrent of resentment within the Patriot movement against what are seen as the unfair advantages the government gives to people of color and women through such programs as affirmative action. Thus, the militias are now only the most violent reaction of the backlash against the social-liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The Patriot movement represents an expression of profound anger, virtually a temper tantrum, by a subculture made up primarily, not exclusively, of white, Christian males (p.6).

Generally, scholars of the movement note the tendency in the movement to believe, as stated earlier, in conspiracy theories. Movement members also tend to believe in aliens, underground cities, and secret prisons built by the UN specifically for patriots. "The glue binding them together, " according to Abanes (1996), is:

> ...a noxious compound of four ingredients: (1) an obsessive suspicion of the government; (2) belief in anti-government conspiracy theories; (3) a deep-seated hatred of government officials; and (4) a feeling that the United States Constitution, for all intents and purposes, has been discarded by Washington bureaucrats (p.2).

Abanes (1996) is also concerned about the militia potential for violence.

> The picture grows more troubling when one takes into account the high levels of paranoia that abound in the patriot/militia movement. Most patriots, for example, believe that nearly everyone in the government is out to enslave U.S. citizens... (p.3).

In trying to answer the question "What do militias believe in?" the answer seems to depend on where in the country the research was conducted. This is due in part to the fact that each state draws a diversity of people and issues into its membership.

As stated, Dyer (1997) and Gallaher (1998) see farm issues at the core of the militia movement. Doskoch (1995) sees unfair taxation as a major issue. For Doskoch (1995), militia members believe the federal government is not only on their backs, "...but up their pant legs and in their pockets" (p.738). Doskoch (1995) explains that militias take a narrow and literal interpretation of the United States Constitution in that "all militias fear the government's confiscation" of their firearms. Other scholars (Swomley, 1995; Snyder, 1997; Seul, 1997; Weir, 1997) agree.

A variety of scholars depict the movement as openly anti-Semitic (Collette, 1995; Stern, 1996, Stock, 1996). "Patriots often refer to the U.S. government as ZOG, the Zionist Occupational Government. Such patriots claim that the U.S. government has been taken over by a secret and elite cadre of Jewish bankers whose ultimate goal is world domination" (Gallagher, 1998, p.23). For Akins (1998), this is the militia's "central organizing principle" (p.1). Here too, however, Akins states that militias are "opposed to the federal government" (p.3). He explains that militia activism is built on a fundamentalist perspective. Akins argues that once a person has accepted the basic tenets of the militia conspiracy theory, the activist "realizes that it is a duty, an obligation, to attempt the overthrow of the federal government." An ethical person has no choice because "in the eyes of God, the activist is required to oppose the evil, secretive cabal which has gained control of America" (p.xii).

Other scholars (Berlet, 1995; Swomley, 1995) view reproductive rights as an organizing idea. The "central organizing principle" for Swomley (1995) is the issue of abortion. Citing both the literature and rhetoric of several anti-abortion group leaders, Swomley views the militia as "extremely violent and dangerous." He specifically refers to various Right to Life groups as "terrorist" organizations (p.8).

For example, Swomley (1995) investigated the Reverend Matthew Trewhella, leader of the new U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP). According to Swomley "Trewhella... has called for church based paramilitary training." Additionally, Trewhella, whose congregation is primarily composed of people calling themselves "Missionaries to the Preborn" (formerly a branch of Operation Rescue), told the USTP convention that his Mercy Seat Christian Church in Milwaukee "holds classes for its members on the use of

firearms and...how to be a good shot." Swomley (1995) also asserts that Christian Reconstructionists' literature advocates "death for abortionists and homosexuals" (p.1).

In another example, Swomley explains:

> Another anti-abortion group is Human life International with 84 branches in 56 countries. The HLI supports the efforts of Operation Rescue, and its leader, Father Paul Marx, has been accused of anti-Semitism after having charged the Jews with not only condoning but more or less leading 'the greatest holocaust of all time: the war on unborn babies.' Marz has also opposed the right of women, gays, and lesbians, Muslims, and people with AIDS (Swomley, 1995, p.2).

Swomley (1995) concludes, "This is not merely a movement of gun-nuts running around in the woods on weekends in camouflage uniforms. It is a dangerous movement, even though there undoubtedly are some (or many) in it who would not by themselves endanger the lives of others" (p.4).

When asking about the ideology of the militia, one finds that the answer again rests on who did the research and on what individual militia group was being researched.

While there are varying opinions about many issues, there does seem to be some agreement (Eaton, 1995; Stern, 1996; Dyer, 1997; Burlein, 1997; Flanagan, 1999) as to how militias communicate. The two primary systems of communication include talk radio and the Internet. Stern (1996) states that militiamen are avid listeners to right-wing "talk radio" hosts.

> AM and FM talk radio has been helpful to the militias because some of the issues that drove America's private armies also played well on talk shows. Mainstream media, for instance, forgot the Branch Davidians after their fiery end. Not so talk radio. Waco was a huge topic. The talk-show host Rush Limbaugh...also spoke about concerns that overlapped the militias' agenda (p.222).

Of the Internet, Stern writes, "The main communication system of the militias is the computer." Computers ... can "hook you up with like-minded people around the globe through bulletin boards and newsgroups on the Internet" (p.225).

Finally, when trying to assess who or what make up the militia and what they want and believe, perhaps Abanes' (1996) observation is the most succinct. "This loosely knit network of perhaps 5 to 12 million people may be one of the most diverse movements our nation has ever seen" (p.2).

Second Amendment, Culture, and the Militias

Given that many scholars agree that one of the unifying ideas regarding the militia is the belief by their members that they have a Constitutional right to carry guns (Stern, 1996; Burlein, 1997; Seul, 1997; Snyder, 1997; Gallaher, 1998), it seems appropriate to place that belief into some sort of context.

Culture is a place to begin. Culture is the set of ideas, beliefs, customs, and behaviors that are shared by a people living in a specific place and time. We are not born

with culture — we acquire it from our parents and our social peers. Thus, an important component of culture is that it is transmitted from one generation to the next through a complex learning process. Other animals possess some of the behaviors that we associate with culture, such as the ability to use simple tools, to communicate with one another, and to demonstrate some forms of social behavior. But none have developed these interactive skills to the extent that human beings have.

The sophisticated development of cultural behavior is our unique adaptation to the world around us. The culture of a group consists of individuals sharing "(1) solutions to the problems of survival, (2) the ideals and values that shape rules of conduct, and (3) tools and other human-made objects (artifacts, or material culture). People become functioning members of their society as they learn and participate in the culture" (Hess, Markson, Stein, 1992).

Like the militia itself, many political, legal, and historical scholars believe that America's gun culture is rooted in its frontier heritage (Bellesiles, 1996; Reynolds 1995; Bellesiles, 1996). So, too, is the American ideal of freedom, equality, and individualism (Williams, 1970).

The right to freedom is part of what most Americans believe is their heritage. It is largely what American children are taught about the American Revolutionary period and what many militia groups refer to in their rhetoric. This idea is also cited by many historians as the basis for our Constitution and the Bill of Rights, documents that guarantee individual freedom to every American. Individual freedom is seen as emphasizing personal rights and responsibilities. As a result, the concept of individualism is also part of the American culture. Individual rights matter so much that a recent PEW

Research Center survey indicates that "Americans continue to express a strong sense of individualism." And, the survey adds, they feel that "their destiny is in their own hands"(PEW, 1998).

Part of our culture is our system of government, which is based on the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Embodied within this foundation is the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution. From the time its enactment and through most of the twentieth century, the Second Amendment seems to have been understood to guarantee to every law-abiding, responsible adult the right to possess a gun. Historically, militia group members have argued that they have a right guaranteed by the Second Amendment of the United States to carry weapons. Clearly, the United States Constitution's Second Amendment says, "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed" (Reynolds, 1995b, p.464).

Some people argue that the right to bear arms is conditional upon the need to have an armed citizenry as part of our national defense. Thus, if the need were not there, the founding fathers would not have asserted the right. Instead, its existence is presumed, probably as part of the general right of self-defense. However, it is important to consider that the Second Amendment was drafted in 1789, at a time when the only firearms available were single-shot pistols and long rifles. These were clumsy and difficult to reload, a far cry from the weaponry available in the present.

Furthermore, the Second Amendment justified universal armament by claiming the need for a well-regulated state militia. However, as Stentiford (1998) explains:

> Since colonial times Americans have used the militia to maintain local order during wartime and peacetime. The evolution of the militia and the Volunteers into the modern National Guard through the Militia Act of 1903 and the National Defense Act of 1916 transformed it from an amalgamation of state militia units into a reserve of the army (p.4).

Thus, looking at the history of militias, it can be argued that, today, we have several militia, including the police, the Reserves, the National Guard, and the professional military.

Militia groups, however, have understood the language of the Second Amendment to support their viewpoint and have argued that the militia is, in fact, the general citizenry. The courts, however, consistently have defined a "well-regulated militia" as the National Guard, reasoning that as firearms used by the National Guard are not privately owned, any legislation dealing with the private ownership of firearms does not violate the Second Amendment.

Through a series of long interviews with some militia leaders, Seul (1997) sought to get an insight into their views regarding the Second Amendment. According to Seul, militia leaders told him, that "Guns really are a last resort for those who seek change through accountability." Seul added that several militia group leaders state that they have advised their members to "own only one or two guns and only for symbolic reasons" (p.65). In the words of Ohio militia leader J.J. Johnson (1995), "this movement isn't about guns...it's about liberty" (as cited in Seul, 1997).

From a very different perspective, former Chief Justice Earl Warren once stated that the use of the Second Amendment by the NRA and other pro-gun groups to justify a personal right to firearms ownership is "a fraud on the American People" (McCaffery, 1998).

Government Assessment and Response to the Militia

As a social institution, news provides one of many versions of reality. Scholars have often noted that news has a unique place in society in that it can influence policymaking processes and outcomes. This impact is noted by Linsky (1986) in his study of policymakers and their relationship to the media. He detected, for example, five impacts of television on policymaking:

1. Television diminishes the quality of communication among officials in public settings such as Congressional hearings;
2. Forces oversimplifications of the issues;
3. Nationalizes a story and puts it on the policymakers' agenda;
4. Creates a supportive environment for certain options;
5. Accelerates the policymaking process (p.66).

Given this information, the roles for the media in the policy process seem remarkably potent. If we are to understand the militia movement, it then becomes important to look at it through developments in public policy and the actions of policymakers.

Until the bombing in Oklahoma City, the United States did not have any document or parameters with which to define domestic terrorism. As late as 1986, a "semi-official" report of the Vice President's Task Force on Combating Terrorism defined terrorism as "...the unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. It is generally intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals, or groups to modify their behavior or policies" (Public Report, 1986,p.1). Unfortunately, "official" definitions of terrorism within the U. S. government were varied. "Virtually every agency dealing with terrorism had produced its own definition, yet no official U. S. government definition exists"(Wittebols, 1990, p.268). Additionally, the definitions that existed were in relation to international rather than to domestic terrorism.

This is a particularly interesting phenomenon because in 1983 the Oregon Committee on Judiciary introduced the Paramilitary Activities Statute into the Oregon State Legislature as House Bill 3001. The bill was introduced to respond to what was perceived "as an escalation in the amount and intensity of paramilitary training by a variety of 'hate groups' throughout the country"(Moore, 1984, p. 336). Moore (1984) explains that as many as "a dozen other individual states were passing similar Anti-Paramilitary Activities Statutes" due to the potential threat posed by these paramilitary groups (p.336). Moore also adds that many of these statutes were challenged in both state and federal courts. Additionally, as early as 1984 many special interest groups had identified and were investigating militia activity. These groups described the militia phenomenon as becoming more widespread and aggressive. Given this information, it is

hard to understand why no domestic anti-terrorism legislation or domestic terrorism definition existed.

Within hours of the Oklahoma City bombing, President Clinton called on Congress to increase FBI authority to monitor all "credit, hotel and travel records and telephone conversations" of any individual suspected of being a militia member (Dempsey, 1995). President Clinton also asked that Congress set up a "Federal Government Counter Terrorism Center headed by the FBI" (Williams, 1995b).

Without an established definition and in direct response to the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, Congress passed the Counterterrorism Act of 1995 (Comprehensive, 1995). With this legislation, the Justice Department authorized the FBI to organize the largest and most extensive wire-tapping operation in American history (Potok, 1997b.). The bill also allows federal law-enforcement agencies to perform surveillance operations without the necessity of a court order, it allows for the monitoring of the Internet, and it provides for the establishment of a computer database to track suspected militia members.

In April of 1996 Newsweek wrote:

> At the Justice Department Newsweek has learned, a secret task force called the Executive Working Group on Domestic Terrorism meets every two weeks, culls intelligence and plans strategy. Since the group was set up late last year, FBI militia investigations—including electronic eavesdropping and the use of

> undercover agents have increased fourfold. The Feds are trying to stop the bombs before they go off (p.47).

In their efforts to curb militia activity. Congress approved spending $4 billion of taxpayer money to monitor militia activity (Bowen, 1996). As a result, the FBI hired five hundred new agents (Potok, 1997a, p.A1) and more then half of these agents have been assigned to full-time monitoring of right-wing groups. These agents are also utilizing new "guidelines" as stated above which "allow more aggressive probes"(Potok, 1997b).

Competing Opinions

Long before the militia bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, several small special interest groups issued reports regarding the militia movement. This research came from such groups as the People Against Racist Terror, Western States Center, Infact, Institute for First Amendment Studies, Alternet, the Montana Human Rights Network, Political Research Associates, the Center for Democratic Renewal, Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment Vista and Coalition for Human Dignity, to name but a few.[3] According to Berlet (1995), the first national groups that tried to get the news media to pay attention to the threat included "Planned Parenthood,

[3] Located in the Pacific Northwest, the Coalition for Human Dignity was founded in 1988, and is dedicated to strengthening democracy and defending civil rights. Through strategic research, public education, technical training and organizing, the Coalition seeks to increase the ability of communities to effectively respond to the threat of organized racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and sexism (Coalition, 1999). This group and the Northwest Coalition against Malicious Harassment are largely responsible for the first national conference on the threat posed by the militias. This meeting was held near Seattle in January 1995.

Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, and the Environmental Working Group." What these groups

have in common is that they all saw the militia movement as potentially violent.

Given that there are supremacy groups within the movement, Morris Dees (1996) argues that militias are organized by and around white supremacy. Here too, the militia movement is seen as violent. In his book Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat, Dees details the illegal activities of militia members. However, Dees fails to explain why such groups turn to violence or why many seem to hold mainstream views. Since Dees is the founder and director of the Southern Poverty Law Center and its Klanwatch Project, his book, as could be expected, reflects the view of Klanwatch.

Members of the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDC), an Atlanta-based racism watchdog group, agree with Dees. They believe that the KKK and the militia movement ideologically overlap. "The racists have codified their language. Now instead of saying they hate blacks, they will speak out against government supported welfare mothers" (Kenney, 1996).

In American Militias: Rebellion, Racism and Religion, Richard Abanes (1996) argues that the militia movement is a result of a specific religious phenomenon. As Director of the Religious Information Center of Southern California, he, too, could be expected to have a specific agenda. Abanes (1996) argues that Identity Christian dogma has overwhelmed all other beliefs in the entire movement and has given the movement a white supremacist leaning. In Abanes' view, "it is the nature of many Americans today to accept, with little or no supporting evidence, the message of whatever demagogues they choose to follow"(as cited in Akins, 1998, pg. 14).

From another perspective, the American Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is an eighty-five-year-old organization founded "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people" (American, 1997). While its members take a broader view of militia ideology, they do acknowledge, as would be expected, that "Anti-Semites and racists have found a comfortable niche in segments of the anti-government extremist movement."

> Much of the movement's activity is directed by groups that promote anti-Semitism and racism in addition to their more visible agitation against the government. Propaganda materials passed around at meetings, conventions, gun shows and over the Internet assert that Jews or Jewish institutions are co-conspirators in the 'New World Order.' Classic anti-Semitic literature is hawked at many "common law court" and militia-oriented events (American, 1997).

The ADL views all militias as extremely violent and dangerous. At its 82nd Annual National Commission Meeting in Chicago, the Anti-Defamation League released a report "itemizing the influence" of a single militia—the Liberty Lobby. The Liberty Lobby was selected because they were the "...most significant anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the United States." According to the ADL report, the Liberty Lobby promotes Anti-Semitism and Extremism through three vehicles: *The Spotlight*, a weekly tabloid; their nationwide radio programs; and *The Barnes Review*, a monthly magazine" (American, 1999). However, it is important to note that this report did not expose the influence of the militia movement—it itemized the vehicles used to promote the views of the Liberty Lobby—not the impact of those views.

In direct ideological contrast to these groups and at the center for any opposition to gun control (and to varying degrees, for support of the militia movement) is the National Rifle Association (NRA). The NRA is a well-structured organization that includes a 76-member board of directors, 3 million members, and an $80 million budget (NRA, 1998). In every state and in relation to every gun-control initiative, the NRA has led the opposition. What the NRA and the militia movement have in common is their concern that adult individuals will have the freedom to decide for themselves whether to own and operate a lethal weapon and whether that right will be taken from them.

What the NRA has that the other aforementioned groups do not share is that the NRA has the financial support and backing of the gun industry. This is a particularly important point because very few Americans know that the gun manufacturing industry represents a large part of American industry. The gunmakers' importance rings clear in the revelation that in 1994 sales of firearms manufactured in the United States totaled more than $1.4 billion. "The value of handguns manufactured that year totaled $668 million, while the value of rifles and shotguns totaled $737 million. The value of ammunition totaled $680 million" (Violence, 1998). The combined value of weapons and ammunition was more than $2 billion. It's of little surprise that the gun industry employs a large group of lobbyists to promote and protect its interests and that it contributes large sums of money to the NRA.

The NRA, while not encouraging militia activity, doesn't discourage it either. In an official press release, the NRA states:

> The board of directors of the National Rifle Association of America has not adopted a formal policy regarding the formation of citizen militia groups, such as has occurred in numerous states. However, by its bylaws and policies, the NRA strongly supports the Constitution of the United States, and the Second Amendment to that document, which guarantee the right of citizens to participate in militia for proper, lawful and constitutional purposes. Although the NRA has not been involved in the formation of any citizen militia units, neither has the NRA discouraged, nor would NRA contemplate discouraging, exercise of any constitutional right (NRA, 1994).

Given that militia members equate gun ownership with liberty, fearing any effort to control firearms as a violation of their individual rights, "groups such as the National Rifle Association have fanned these fears to expand their own membership ranks" (Stern, 1996, p.9) and "financial base" (O'Brian & Haider-Markel 1998, p.461).

Summary

Trying to make sense of what the contemporary militia movement is and how other social groups interact with it can be daunting. It is, however, possible to reach some conclusion. First, even though they sprang from the same ideology—the belief that every citizen has an obligation to serve and protect the state—there is a basic difference between a militia and the military.

In the United States, generally, the military is made up of citizens who are trained and paid by the government to protect both the country and its citizens. In direct contrast, the militia is made up of private citizens who believe they must defend their individual communities from a tyrannical government. These groups are made up of unpaid civilians who, for the most part, train on weekends.

The basis for citizen militias, in the United States, is rooted in the American culture and in our historical past when Colonial American settlers organized militias to protect themselves from British rulers whom they had come to see as tyrannical. These citizen soldiers were, for the most part, farmers who, in times of crisis, formed loosely controlled military units to provide a common defense. In their early history, American militias served a greater good and were part of the governmental system. As society and social institutions changed, the militias evolved into various sets of small groups that operated outside accepted social parameters and were not sanctioned in any way by the government.

The key to understanding the change is to realize that militias evolved over time, they were not constant, and they changed as society changed. Given this assessment, it can be argued that the contemporary militia has its roots in the conservative citizens' movement of the last 40 years. Like their predecessors, their members also believe they are serving the greater good, but they operate outside accepted social parameters.

In reviewing all of the available literature, three things become apparent. First, despite their diversity, strength, and methods, militias are united on two key issues -- their members oppose any government involvement with individual lives, and they absolutely believe in their right to own and carry weapons. Second, they also oppose any

effort to place limits on the broadest possible interpretation of the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution. And third, as a result of the militia movement, the federal government has acquired substantially greater power to monitor its citizens.

What follows is a review of the literature this study. It will begin with an overview of social movements and their development followed by and investigation of the literature regarding the news media, through the theoretical framework of the media's power to construct a social a reality through their use of frames.

CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will address three objectives. First, the literature concerning the nature of social movements will be discussed. It is important for the reader to understand that a social movement, regardless of type, always constitutes a subculture or a counterculture. The only way a movement gains power and makes progress toward its goal is by creating doubt about the legitimacy and morality of established norms and institutions. This chapter will also focus on how a social movement emerges out of the confrontation between a dissident group and the established status-quo groups that define the limits of culturally acceptable beliefs or behavior. This analysis will be augmented with a discussion of how a social movement may coalesce and evolve within a unifying ideology. Particular attention will be devoted to the militia movement and its ideology.

In addressing second objective, I will maintain that the purpose of television news is driven by three well-established imperatives—to "objectively" inform, to entertain, and to make money—ideas that are not necessarily compatible within TV's existing set of norms. To wholly develop this idea and to meet the third objective, I will argue that television news provides a definition of social reality for its audience. The information the public receives through the news media is rarely an objective recounting of the day's events. News stories are an interpretation of events and, as a result, these particular

interpretations or "frames" of the event become a powerful and pervasive force in communication processes.

Finally, it will be argued that television news, as a cultural tool, uses frames both in conjunction with, and or apart from the verbal text and visual message in order to impart arguments about reality. This becomes an important element of this study, given that I examine both the verbal and the visual context of network news.

Social Movements

Resistance to or promotion of change is what drives a social movement. "Social change is the process through which values, norms, institutions, social relationships, and stratification systems are altered over time" (Hess, Markson and Stein, 1992, p.429). Most definitions of social movements include the following elements: 1) collective or joint action; 2) change-oriented goals; 3) organization; 4) continuity; and 5) extra-institutional collective action, such as protesting in the streets or political lobbying.

> Blending these elements together, we can define a social movement as a collective action with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional channels for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society or world order in which it is a part" (McAdam & Snow, 1997, p. xviii).

However, each social movement varies with the degree of change it seeks. For example, a fairly easy distinction between a reform and a revolutionary movement is that the former

seeks to make "some" changes and the latter seeks a complete overthrow of existing institutions. As a result of this type of distinction, theories and theoretical typologies regarding social movements vary.

Numerous scholars have contributed to the diverse body of information defining a social movement. Snow and Davis(1995) explain that most perspectives in American sociology regarding collective behavior flow from three different schools or communities of thought, each having a different focal point and each associated with a different university. The three schools include the Chicago perspective, founded on the work of Park and Blumer; the Harvard perspective, which asks the question "When does the rule of law fall apart?" and the Michigan school, which sees an organizational or "resource mobilization "approach to collective behavior.

The Chicago school, as stated, reflects the work of Robert Park and Herbert Blumer. Sociologist Robert Park is largely credited with establishing a field for the study of collective behavior; in fact, he coined the term "collective behavior." For Park (1927), "institutions and social structures of every sort" are the products of collective action (p.735). Furthermore, Park believed that collective behavior plays a dual role: crowds are not only responsible for getting rid of old established institutions, but they also "introduce" the spirit of the new ones (Park, 1972, pg.19-20). In addition, the author believed that collective behavior has a natural history of development, a typical sequence shaped by natural forces in which each stage triggers the next.

The Harvard school, as reflected in Neil Smelser's (1962) work, is associated with a movement's "underlying strains" (pp. 189-190). Strain is seen as the essential ingredient or component of social action in collective behavior. The author explains that

collective behavior consists of disruptions of the social order system caused by structural strain, and "structural strain" is the result of "ambiguities, deprivation, conflicts, and discrepancies" in society (p.16). The difference between collective behavior and other group behavior is that "belief" has elements in it that represent delusions or misperceptions about appropriate behavior in response to a given set of stressful conditions (Hood, 1997, pp. 2-3).

Over the last 20 years, the Michigan approach to collective behavior has dominated the field of study in social movement. This approach views social movements as efforts to produce or resist change. According to these ideas, change comes when opportunity and resources come together at a given point. Social movements are not abnormal events that attract alienated or marginal followers, but are part of the ongoing process whereby social goods are distributed (Tilly 1978; Zald and McCarthy, 1987).

Turner and Killian (1987) place varying views or sets of theories regarding social movements into three theoretical frameworks. First, convergence theories focus on the "characteristics and predisposition which individuals bring to the situation." These ideas suggest that when people with similar ideas get together or converge, some course of action can "emerge." Contagion theories emphasize the special psychological mechanisms whereby "moods, attitudes, and behaviors are communicated rapidly and accepted uncritically." Emergent norm theories examine the out-of-the-ordinary situations that guide and coordinate individual behavior. Emergent norms "provide meaning" and "interpretation of what is going on" and set the rules about what sorts of behaviors are acceptable for the actors within a given situation (p.3).

Opinions, Attitudes, Beliefs, Norms and Ideology

Homans (1961) explains that the more people associate with one another, the more they come to share common beliefs and values. This process strengthens the group's ties. As a result, ideas and interpretations drive all social movements, and ideas and interpretations are based on an individual's attitudes, opinions, beliefs and ideologies.

Generally, attitudes are viewed as having three interrelated components: cognitive, affective and behavioral. A preferable and newer approach, according to Oskamp (1991), is to consider the three aspects as separate and distinct entities, calling them beliefs, attitudes, and behavioral intentions.

Basing arguments on the work of Allport (1935), Oskamp (1991) explains that attitudes are viewed six ways:

1) A single attitude is seen as a shorthand term used to summarize many different behaviors.
2) An attitude can be considered the cause of a person's behavior.
3) Attitudes help to explain the 'consistency' of a person's behavior
4) Attitudes are important in their own right, regardless of their relation to a person's behavior.
5) Attitudes can bridge ambiguities between heredity and environment, since Both 'instinct' and learning can be involved in the formation of attitudes.
6) Attitudes are an interdisciplinary concept because various members of a Society share various attitudes (p.3).

However, according to Allport (1935) attitudes reflect the way individuals view the world around them and do not necessarily need to be associated with behavior. This idea that people know and understand the world around them based on their individual experience and knowledge is central to this dissertation.[4] Oskamp (1991) clarifies this point by explaining that "The central feature of all definitions of attitude is the idea of a readiness for response. That is, an attitude is not behavior, not something that a person does; rather it is a preparation for behavior..."(p.7). For Price (1992), attitudes are a "psychological predisposition" that contributes to the manner in which an individual responds to an issue (p.46).

Opinions are closely related to attitudes and often the "two terms have been used synonymously" (McGuire, 1969). Oskamp (1991) explains that opinions are narrower in content or scope than attitudes, and they are "primarily cognitive rather than emotion-laden." Oskamp further explains that "opinions are equivalent to beliefs," rather than to attitudes (p.12).

> Another way of putting this is that opinions involve a person's judgements About the likelihood of events or relationships, whereas attitudes involve a person's feelings or emotions about objects or events (p.13).

[4] Gordon Allport, a social psychologist, is the author of the landmark book Handbook of Social Psychology, which stresses the central importance of attitudes. He and his work are viewed as having laid the foundation for both defining attitudes and for much of the research on attitudes.

In a different approach, Price (1992) explains:

> Although both attitude and opinion imply approval or disapproval, the term [attitude] points more toward affect (i.e., fundamental liking or disliking), opinions more heavily towards cognition (e.g., conscious decision to support or oppose some policy, politician, or political group) (p.46).

From this perspective, an attitude is thought of as a global, enduring orientation toward stimuli, while an opinion is thought of as a single response to a given isolated incident or idea. Applying these ideas to movement members, the more a group can come to share common attitudes, beliefs and values, the more the movement is strengthened.

Ideologies are used as a "lens" through which to determine which actions, events and people are important. What drives an individual to participate or belong to a group, as in a militia, is a shared ideology. Attitudes contribute to the framework of ideologies, and ideologies are "rhetorical weapons in the battle for public opinion (whether to gain adherents or neutralize potential opponents). For those involved, ideologies serve as a cognitive map. They can help order a world perceived as confusing, frustrating, and crisis-filled" (Marx and McAdam, 1994, p.32).

Behavior in groups is neither spontaneous nor unstructured. Rather, established interaction patterns evolve even in the most unstructured groups. When a reference group is the source of values and perspectives, "One takes the role of a member of the group,

which is synonymous with having a psychologically functioning membership in the group, and one adopts the group's standpoint as one's own" (Turner, 1962, p.23).

Ideologies are also explained as complex and based on a long-lasting system of beliefs. Furthermore, ideologies refer to the beliefs that mobilize people for action.

> Well-developed ideologies identify a problem or troubling state of affairs, specify the cause, and offer a solution. They are usually stronger on identifying the problem and legitimizing the need for action than they are on the precise specification of how the problem is to be resolved (Marx and McAdam, 1994, pp.31-32).

Simply stated, "The beliefs associated with social movements may reduce ambiguity and anxiety and specify causal forces and agents" (Marx and McAdam, 1994, pp.31-32). If social movements are defined as collective action for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in society, then it can be argued that, through rhetoric, ideologies can be shaped to define and craft existing social arrangements as grievances.

For Smelser (1962), values and norms constitute the most general guides for social behavior. A strain in them generates a dysfunction or problem for a normally healthy society (p.17). Furthermore, the conditions conducive to collective behavior involve a real or perceived conflict, ambiguity, or change in the normative order. Individuals who take an objective view of the social order see these as real and existing independently of the definition that evolves among members of the group.

Smelser distinguishes between collective behavior and institutionalized behavior, implying that often there is a single unifying view or ideology at the root of collective action. The author's perspective is one that views some collective behavior as individualistic. An individual's behavior is based on group participants' commonly holding "generalized beliefs." "Generalized beliefs" are central to Smelser's theory of the nature of collective behavior. For Smelser, the process hinges on the occurrence of a specific event. In short, the "specific event" gives the movement action. When looking at militias, clearly the "specific events" are, as seen in the previous chapter, the 1992 FBI killing of Randy Weaver's wife and son in Idaho and the storming of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas.

In contrast, McCarthy and Zald (1987) downplay the role of grievance in accounting for the emergence and growth of movements. In a comprehensive explanation of the resource mobilization model, Goode (1992) asserts that strain cannot explain social movement because strain exists all around us. Social movement participation, Goode adds, "must" be explained at the structural, institutional and societal levels rather than at individual levels, and he adds that political, not psychological motives, are "crucial" to explaining activism (p.425).

With McAdam(1982), who refines the resource mobilization model by developing the "political process" model that accounts for both internal and external factors central to movement mobilization, both the ideology and societal developments affect a movement's behavior. There is additional support for this line of reasoning. For example, Ladd, Hood and Van Liere (1983) examine ideological themes in the

antinuclear movement and find a significant amount of overlap between the ideological themes of the movement and the individual beliefs of antinuclear demonstrators:

> What appears important is the extent to which consensus exists regarding key ideological themes and issues. While the demonstrators display a diversity of opinion in their personal reasons for opposing nuclear power (diagnosis), there is near unanimity of belief that nuclear power should be shut down and replaced by solar power (and other alternative technologies). These results suggest that certain key issues in the antinuclear ideology are analogous to what (Herberle (1951) has called 'constitutive ideas' and Smelser (1962), 'generalized beliefs,' and these are the central importance for mobilization (pp.266-267).

In essence, a generalized belief is the central component that links individuals predisposed to joining any group with an ideology that resonates with their own. It can then be argued that it is also the foundation on which militias are able to seek out new members.

Finally, according to Marx and McAdam (1994), "It matters little if one is ideologically or psychologically disposed toward participating if one lacks the opportunity to get involved" (p.90). Getting involved, due to the Internet, is no longer a prime consideration in movement behavior because as Festinger, Schachter, and Back learned as early as 1954, groups form in relation to distance.

According to the authors, there are two types of distance: physical and functional. Physical distance is described as the measured distance between two objects. Functional

distance is described as the positional relationship among people or things. Because the authors believed that "prestige, social status and the approval of others" are group oriented goals (p.3), they set up an experiment which provided housing to post World War II veterans and their families.

The housing projects consisted of 100 single-family houses arranged in 9 courts. The second project, directly adjacent to the first, consisted of 17 former military quarters, each divided into 10 apartments. All the apartments were made available to selected families for $35 a month. There were few prior acquaintances among all the residents and the social life of the community had to be built up.

Through participant observation, the authors deliberately planted information in the community to study and observe how the information spread. They found that once a social group is formed (regardless of location), "the connections within it also function as channels of communication along which information and opinions flow"(p.130). Additionally, they found that "social reality" and group behavior rest on the opinions or attitudes individuals perceived were shared by others (p.168). The also found that attitudes and opinions are to a major extent "anchored" in the groups to which one belongs (p.169). Hence, the authors proved that functional distance played a much more vital role than physical distance in the formation of groups.

This is certainly the case when dealing with members of a militia. Individuals interested in militia discourse, ideology, or patterns of association have managed to form groups using the Internet. Physical distance is not a consideration. Furthermore, existing members of a militia have managed to disseminate information and increase their enrollment through the use of this relatively new technological tool. Clearly, militias are

a growing phenomenon despite physical distance. The basis for this growth is a basic or central ideology. That ideology rests on the belief that the federal and state governments are violating constitutional rights in "...major and dangerous ways, particularly regarding individual rights guaranteed to all Americans in the Bill of Rights" (Dority, 1995).

If ideologies refer to the beliefs that mobilize people for action, then the basic ideology is the "generalized belief" that connects right wing groups one to the other as a militia regardless of other attitudes and opinions toward race, religion, reproductive rights, sexuality and the environment. Using this connective force as the basis, it can be argued that as a whole the militia is a social movement of national significance.

And Now the News

This study concerns itself with television news; thus, a discussion regarding broadcast news is in order.

By academic standards, television news is defined as dramatic, emotional or unusual; involving conflict; is timely; concerns current events, trends or changes; concerns politics or pocketbook issues; and contains either local interest or widespread interest (Stein, 1974; Turow, 1984; Dominick, 1996). Using professional standards, the overall goal of any newscast, local or national, is to objectively inform, entertain, and increase profits. It is within these well-established parameters that this study evolves.

When studying television news content, one must begin by making a distinction between a network, which serves the entire country, and a local station, which serves only one very specific area or market. Local newscasts are truly local in scope, "with

comparatively little time devoted to stories that take place outside a 50-mile radius" (Wulfemeyer, 1992, p.486) of the television station. Network news coverage is different in that it covers events that are national or international in scope.

Local stations also serve a smaller, very specific demographic audience. For example, the Minneapolis/St. Paul market has a very small African-American population and a very large Scandinavian population; Miami and Los Angles have a high Hispanic but low Native-American population; and Oklahoma City has a very high Native-American and very small Asian population. This sort of demographic make-up becomes a significant factor in making decisions regarding local news coverage because a local newsroom will always cover stories that concern their largest specific demographic audience. Hence, a Native-American festival, rally, or protest will always be covered in Oklahoma City, but rarely will it be covered in Miami. In contrast, the networks make decisions affecting overall demographic and social groups. Given that I have argued the militia movement is national in scope without national geographic and demographic barriers, it is appropriate to conduct this research project by focusing on network news content.

Apart from the above-stated distinctions and the fact that networks have considerably more money to spend than local stations, few other elements distinguish local news from network news. This is a particularly important factor because content decisions in a television newsroom are made the same way, regardless of the size of the operation or of the number of people working within that operation. As a result, all television newsrooms operate in the same way and within the same constraints.

Content decision-making is a significant part of this study. It is important because networks cannot always cover a local story, or they cannot arrive at the scene of a story in a timely manner. It, therefore, becomes the local affiliate that covers the event and then provides the visuals and the information to the network. As a matter of fact, most network/affiliate station contracts demand that the local affiliate provide news stories "exclusively" to their respective networks. Again, this is a significant issue because the networks are all highly competitive.

Additionally, the definitions for news are standardized. They are standardized because almost all network reporters and most producers get their start in the local market and thus learn their values and methods from the same source. Also reinforcing this standardized definition of news is the fact that local reporters reach the network by moving from station to station, moving-up from small to medium, to top twenty market, and finally to the networks. Moving up through increasingly larger markets is a broadcast journalism norm. As a result, few stations violate the standardized definitions for news.

Finally, because money norms about collecting and presenting news were developed to cut expenses and create ratings both at the network and at the affiliate level, practices and results at both levels are similar. As a result, the competitive nature of news will encourage the network to air a story exactly as the local reporter or producer has produced it. This emphasizes that local newsworkers often view the world in the same manner network newsworkers do. It could then be argued that news "frames" generally provide a template that guides journalists in assembly of facts, quotes and other story elements into a news story. Consequently, news norms and mutual dependency create a

local/national or overall cultural reality for any given phenomenon for the audience. Gamson (1992) would agree that news frames "orient interpretations" by the audience.

As stated, all news operations have constraints. One of the major constraints on news presentation is time. The typical newscast is only thirty minutes long and must include about twelve minutes of commercials. Commercials are an important element because news must make money if it is going to stay on the air. "As a result, only a minute or two can be devoted to all but the most significant stories, and the diversity of events in a typical news day produces an amalgam of stories" (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991, p.247). By allowing a news story to run considerably longer than one or two minutes, a news operation is indicating that the story is significant. The more time devoted to a story, the more significant it becomes. For example, on April 19, 1995, all three networks devoted their entire newscasts to the militia bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. Indisputably, the story was significant.

Given that news is always supposed to be timely, and that reporters and gatekeepers are typically operating within a twenty four-hour window, decisions on what to air must be made in a timely manner. Furthermore, CNN, MSNBC, FOX and the Internet are all competing for the same network audience and the same national advertising dollar. Therefore, the emphasis on the "freshness" and speed of getting the product on the air places pressure on newsworkers to get their job done quickly and efficiently. As a result, an unconscious reliance on a general store of recurrent structures or frames seems very functional, making newswork faster and more uniform. In line with this, it has been argued more generally that "competition for a single revenue source results in imitative uniformity"(Tunstall, 1991, p.182).

Another constraint of television news is the visual nature of the medium. With so many stories to choose from and so little time to tell them, stories with a strong visual dimension tend to be favored by producers. Several researchers (Dominick, Wurtzel & Lometti, 1975; Burkhart, 1990) have examined the entertainment element of news and Rybacki & Ribacki (1991) concluded that the highly visual story is both easier to tell and more in keeping with the entertainment imperative of the news" (p.248).

In keeping with the goal to increase profits, if a newscast is going to draw an audience, it must also be dramatic. Fiske (1987) investigated television news and concluded that negative events are more rhetorically powerful and compelling than positive events because they contain dramatic conflict. I would agree. If the overall goal of a newscast is to inform, entertain, and increase profit, then the dramatic element in news adds to the immediacy of a story, which in turn supports the overall goal.

Many scholars have examined the above-stated theoretical viewpoints describing how journalists' actions are constrained by organizational and occupational routines. Molotch and Lester's (1975) typology of news stories as either unplanned accident news or planned routine or scandal news, Tuchman's (1978) study of "making news," and Fishman's (1980) Manufacturing the News all fall into this category. Schudson (1991) refers to this phenomenon as the "sociology of journalism."

Other scholars refer to it as "newswork" (Buckalew, 1970; Epstein, 1973; Whitney & Becker, 1982; Berkowitz, 1990). As stated, newswork is described as the work of creating a television newscast, dictated by the needs of the everyday operation within a "profit-seeking" venture (Shoemaker & Mayfield, 1987; Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

Specifically, looking at the networks, Epstein (1973) argued that newswork contributes to consistency of news coverage based on constraints placed on the organization from what he terms outside sources:

> Network news thus is snapped and constrained by certain structures imposed from without, such as government regulation of broadcasting and the economic realities of networks. (p.43)

Epstein (1973) concludes that, for the news audience, changing networks does not mean changing to a different reading of events. However, Epstein (1973) doesn't take into consideration the highly competitive nature of news that could contribute to the sameness of coverage. A considerable amount of literature builds on this concept. This sameness of story content and positioning within news formats also suggests a sameness of "frames" being used to make news decisions within reports.

For example, Gitlin's (1980) conclusion that, while there is some difference in the use of frames in various news organizations, the overall repertory of frames is standard and remains standard. It could then be argued that because resources and time are almost always in short supply, newswork becomes a series of purposeful learned routines used to expedite tasks, and that frames are the expediting factor.

Using the concept of frames but from a different perspective, Tuchman (1978) points out that the news profession claims to present reality by means of its routines for the gathering and reporting of "objective facts." Tuchman argues that what objective

facts actually deliver is a "construction of reality." From this perspective, news construction is embedded in the overall culture.

Berkowitz (1990) builds on this idea by explaining that newswork really exists in a cultural context where people constantly encounter extraneous conditions and accomplish work in a way that cannot meaningfully be understood through an examination of individual decisions or variables. Himmelstein (1994) extends this idea but asserts that news content is dictated by circumstances. The author states, "Enterprise journalism, which is time-consuming and expensive, requires extensive backgrounding of stories and cross-checking of sources." He adds, this "...has led to increase reliance on the pre-packaged press release, news conference, public speech and 'photo-opportunity'--routinely covered stories, often of questionable news value, whose principal value to the news organizations is their low cost and easy availability" (p.247-48). In an effort to be more concise, television news stories are often decided on, selected and framed in a particular way because they are easy and cheap to cover in this manner.

Furthermore, some literature suggests that newsworkers agree on what a story is about before even going to the news scene. The result, according to Epstein (1973), is that, "the film of an event is thus defined, to a large extent, by the prior expectation of it" (p.164). For Gitlin (1980), these expectations are frames and frames are, not "tacked onto" a story but arise naturally from newswork routines. Within this context Gitlin (1979) also outlines the following assumptions about news: News focuses on events, not on the underlying conditions. News concerns conflict rather than consensus. News is about personalization and news concerns facts that advance the story, not the one that explains it (p.28). As a result, it can be argued that news routines contribute to frames,

frames are part of a reporter's social experience in and out of news, and, therefore, frames contribute to a social construction of reality.

The significant reason for assuming that news newsworkers use frames within newswork is simply because newsworkers are indoctrinated with the same dominant ways of perceiving the world as is everyone in our culture. And, as stated, for the news audience, changing networks does not mean changing to a different reading of events in the world.

News and the Construction of Reality

News is, among other things, a symbolic process by which a vision of reality is constructed for the viewer. Communication researchers have not only emphasized journalism's role in the dissemination of information, but also have stressed the news media's contribution to the construction of meaning within a society (Gitlin, 1979; Hall, 1982; Carey, 1986). Gaye Tuchman (1978) noted that news programs tell "stories." Tuchman adds that "to say that a report is a story, no more, but no less, is not to demean news, nor to accuse it of being fictitious. Rather, it alerts us that news, like all public documents, is a constructed reality possessing its own validity." In order to follow this reasoning, an explanation of the social construction of reality needs further examination.

The Social Construction of Reality is a premise for how and why individuals view the world in a certain manner and what role the media could play in shaping that view. The current understanding of constructionism is based on the work of George

Herbert Mead (1934) who developed the idea of symbolic ineteractionism to show the relationship between internal psychological processes and social systems.

Herbert Blumer (1969) built on Mead's work by explaining that symbolic interactionism has three components. First, human beings act towards things on the basis of meaning that things have for them. Second, meaning of things is derived from or arises out of social interaction that a person has with others, and third, meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretive process by the person in dealing with thing which are encountered (Blumer, 1969). Blumer (1969) also based some of his ideas on the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966) who were interested how people construct their view of the world.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) propose three steps in the creation of reality: externalization, objectification, and internalization. Through externalization, humans project into the world their physical and mental activity. Objectification occurs when the products of human activity become a reality, a reality which then confronts its producers as an external and distinct fact. Finally, internalization brings structures in the objective world back into the subjective consciousness. Consequently, Berger (1967) explains:

> It is through externalization that society is a human product. It is through objectification that society becomes a reality. It is through internalization that man is a product of society (p.4).

Because society is a human construction, it can be reconstructed or altered. Society is not by itself static and unchanging. Berger (1967) further argues:

> Culture, although it becomes for a man a 'second nature,' remains something quite different from nature precisely because it is the product of man's own activity. Culture must be continually produced and reproduced by man. Its structures are, therefore, inherently precarious and predestined to change (p.6).

The assumptions about the social construction of reality include: (1) We know the world only as we perceive it. (2) Our perceptions are based on learned interpretations. (3) This learning is social: we learn from and among persons in "social interaction." (4) The main vehicles which convey this meaning include "symbols, including language;" cultural myths -- larger social meanings of objects, actions, signs, episodes; the "structure and practice of our institutions;" and our rules for congruent action. (5) These vehicles of meaning together construct "our world-view -- our sense of how the world works," what is valuable, why things are the way they are; our sense of ourselves, our identity, purpose; our ideologies -- our sense of the appropriateness of the structure of, and the exercise of, power, action and roles in society.(6) Our selves, our societies, our institutions "change continually," through interaction. (7) The "real conditions" of our existence are not subjective, however: they only have meaning through social interaction; their perceived value, causes, and significance are "socially produced." (8) Reality, insofar as it means actuality to us, is situational, or pragmatic: the context governs our interpretation (Blumer, 1969; McQuail, 1972; Tuchman, 1978; Fiske, 1987;

Hess, Markson, Stein,1992; Gamson, 1997). More simply, while individuals determine meaning through their interactions with others, social problems are products of a process of collective definition or collective framework (Gamson, 1992).

The social construction concept suggests that there is a difference between the "objective reality" or the thing that is really out there and the constructed reality. The constructed reality is based on interpersonal, cultural, and media clues (Gamson, 1992).

With these definitions, television becomes a human construct, "and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures. The medium responds to the conditions within which it exists" (Fiske and Hartley, 1985, p.16). Also with these definitions, the news can act as a socializing agent by constructing a reality and then disseminating this reality to the public. The social element comes into play when upon receiving the news media's "reality" message, the vast majority of the audience agrees upon this reality and accepts it.

It is important to remember, however, that the creation of reality is a process; it happens constantly and continuously. All events, actions, and reactions influence definitions of social reality. As a consequence, reality is fluid and changing; it is not static. Following this argument, social construction can also be referred to as "social agreement of reality" (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

Research on social construction and the news media has covered several topic areas. For example, Adoni and Cohen (1978) found that television news coverage of economic issues gave viewers the false impression that the news media helps them understand those issues. Herman and Chomsky (1988) examined the news media's coverage of deaths resulting from political conflicts in Central America during the 1980s.

These authors argued that the news media's coverage of death and abuse is greatly determined by political considerations, with the interests of the U.S. government being systematically supported by such coverage. And, in 1991 Ivengar examined television news frames of political issues and found television news to be episodic; that is, case-study, event oriented, rather than illustrative of social forces behind events. As a result, people were less likely to hold authorities accountable for problems while attributing causal responsibility to the victim.

Some studies have fallen short of their objective. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) examined public opinion and media coverage of nuclear power from 1945 to the 1980's. They found that the news media portrayed nuclear power through a series of interpretive frames from "progress" through "runaway technology." Although they describe some opinion survey results about nuclear power, they do not directly relate public opinion to their interpretive frames. Thus, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) fall short of demonstrating the effects of news coverage on public opinion about nuclear power.

What all these studies have in common is that they generally view news as an element that contributes to the social construction of reality. Additionally, social construction researchers commonly agree that news coverage is confusing sometimes contradictory, and sometimes-chaotic (Nimmo & Combs, 1990). Finally, borrowing from Gamson, it can be argued that constructed reality of news content can reveal potential influences on public opinion and public policy.

News Construction and Objectivity

In 1972, McQuail observed that the media functioned on at least three levels. The first of these is the media's role in providing information not accessible firsthand (experientially) to viewers. For McQuail, the media are especially important sources of knowledge because the media play a part in "shaping the individual and collective consciousness by organizing and circulating that knowledge" that contributes to people's view of the world (p.13). The second function of the media lies in its ability not just to provide information that becomes a basis for viewer's subjective realities, but to determine the nature and character of that information. And the third function of the media is the rhetorical structuring that frames the news internally. Internal structures refer to the language used in the production of media products. Does it "ring true" with its audiences? McQuail's study, basically, asked the question, does the media reflect reality?

Over the past twenty-eight years, the research community has gradually reached a consensus that the news media construct and interpret social reality in the process of disseminating information. News is no longer seen as a "distortion-free mirroring of a fact driven reality" (Ryan, 1991, p.23), but rather as a "reconstruction of reality, a deliberately constructed product that reflects the world views of the news producers themselves" (Shields & Dunwoody, 1986, p.43).

However, the idea that TV offers a "window on the world" still seems to be common in the newsroom. Given the above stated parameters, what people see and hear as news varies from individual to individual. It can also vary from reporter to reporter.

The question, therefore, must be asked, "Is it possible for journalists to provide information fairly?"

Objectivity is an element of newswork. It is also one argument most journalists use to claim that they provide viewers with unbiased reporting. The ideal of objectivity (that is, the impartial voice of the journalist reporting the story about social reality) is often the driving force in a newsroom. Nonetheless, some researchers argue that objectivity is impossible to attain. In examining the media, Hall (1984) states that objectivity "like impartiality, is an operational fiction." He argues from the position that balance, consensus, impartiality and objectivity, the basic news values, upon which all good reporting is based, are "manipulated" symbolic realities. Hall asks, "Balance between what and what? Consensus among whom? Impartiality in what sense? Objectivity in whose eyes." Hall states all edited or manipulated symbolic reality is "impregnated with values, viewpoints, implicit theorizing and common-sense assumptions"(p.28).

Fiske (1987) builds on these ideas by asserting that "theories of news which foreground questions of accuracy, bias, or objectivity are based on an empiricist notion of reality"(p.282). He argues that news can never give a full, accurate, objective picture of reality, nor "should it attempt to" (p.307).

From a different perspective, Goodwin (1990) asserts news stories are unavoidably handled from particular points of view. He suggests that "the real issue is whether the range of biases represented is fair. In other words, does it adequately reveal the range of points of view held by the public?" (p. 54). He adds that "...it is quite

plausible to believe that all media images are constructed and still maintain that some constructions are more truthful than others" (p.57).

Finally, Stone states that "most of the time, objectivity is just the rationale for regurgitating the conventional wisdom of the day" (as cited in Curran & Gurevitch 1991, p.228). As an experienced broadcast news reporter, producer and manager, I tend to agree with this assessment.

Framing

Regardless of which approach to communication theory one takes, few dispute the importance of framing (Goffman, 1974, Hall, 1977, Tuchman, 1978, Gitlin, 1980, Gamson 1989, Maher, 1995,Ghanem, 1996; Scheufelle,1999). The term "frame" originated with Bateson (1972: while watching otters playing at the zoo) then was developed further by sociologist Erving Goffman (1974).

Bateson (1972) first used the word "frame" to denote a message he termed metacommunicative. This term refers to both the explicit and implicit messages. In either type of message, the frame (such as commas and periods on printed pages) helps the receiver understand the message.

Goffman (1974) adds to Bateson's (1972) work, by explaining that a frame is the "principle of organization which governs events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them"(p.11). For Goffman (1974) any account of any event, and the very recognition of an event-as-an-event, is necessarily circumscribed by a frame and transformed via keys.

Keyes are important elements in framing analysis because they perform a crucial role in determining what it is humans think is actually going on in any situation. Keyes allow for the transformation of human activity. Goffman uses the following example to explain keyes:

> For participants, playing, say at fighting and playing around at checkers feels to be much the same sort of thing—radically more so than when these two activities are performed in earnest, that is, seriously. Thus, the systematic transformation that a particular keying introduces may alter only slightly the activity thus transformed, but it utterly changes what it is a participant would say was going on. In this case, fighting and checker playing would appear to be going on, but really, all along, the participants' might say, the only thing really going on is play (p.47).

Frames also organize "strips" of the everyday world (or any other multiple realities). Goffman defines a strip as "...an arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity" (pp.10-11). Goffman's major interest lies in the ability to distinguish between communication, the messages that "people explicitly send to each other; and expression, the impressions that people give off, whether they are aware of them or not" (Collins, 1980, p.194). Thus, framing refers to a process in which certain segments of social action are selected from the continuous stream of activity and organized in a generally familiar and understandable way.

Using Goffman's (1974) terms, "individuals frame information to enable them to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large"(p.21). Goffman further explains that frames turn nonrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event. Without the frame, they would be "mere instances of inchoate talk, that is comprehensive sound"(p.12). Manning (1980) outlines Goffman's definitions, by explaining that frames:

a. indicate the reflexive nature of social life.
b. show that simultaneous meanings are present in life as they are in language (such as when we change the meaning of a terms from literal to metaphoric by placing them in quotation marks.
c. show that actions change our definitions, we can alter our principal or original meanings and confer new ones, or add them to the first set. (p.273)

Hence, frames inform and shape messages and information by organizing ideas.

Several researchers (Snow & Benford, 1988; Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992) have identified three core tasks accomplished by the act of framing. Typically, frames provide a way to look at some event or aspect of social life, a manner in which to evaluate the situation, and a potential solution to the presented questions or problems. Within this context, frames function in four ways to accomplish these tasks. First, they define problems by determining what a causal agent is doing and identifying the costs and benefits, measured in common cultural values. Next, they predict the causes and identify the forces responsible for creating the problems. Third, frames make moral judgments by

evaluating causal agents and their effects, and finally, frames suggest solutions and predict the likely effectiveness of those proposed solutions (Entman,1993).

The challenge a researcher faces when using framing analyses to conduct research lies in the perceived ambiguity of Goffman's literature.

Much of the debate surrounding Goffman's work deals with choices in research methods. Generally, the choices follow the division between a dominant empirically oriented paradigm (what is going on?) and a metaphoric one (what is the meaning of what is going on")?

In attempting to understand Goffman's work, Entman (1993) refers to framing as a "scattered conceptualization" (p.51). Trumbo (1995) agrees and concludes that "nowhere is there a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking" (p.2). Brosius and Eps (1995) go further by arguing that framing is not clearly explicated but is merely a metaphor that cannot be translated into research questions.

Some scholars have attempted to put parameters around framing analysis. For example, there are attempts to explain that framing is an extension of agenda setting. In fact, one of the recent developments in agenda-setting research is to go to what researchers call beyond the "first level" of an issue to a "second level" that examines the relative attributes of an issue (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997).

McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) argue that the emergence of framing research has stimulated agenda-setting research and helped correct an issue-centered bias. Adding:

> It seems that attribute-agenda setting is a natural extension of the agenda-setting concept, but as a result, agenda-setting research and framing research are exploring almost the same problem—that of the reality-definition function of the media (p.24).

There isn't any question that there are similarities between framing and agenda setting. Both are concerned with the prominence of various phenomena. However, there clearly are differences since framing, as discussed early, involves more than evaluating information. Bringing "framing" within the broader context of agenda setting is to lose sight of the significance Goffman placed on the social construction of reality. Additionally, as Gitlin observed (1978) agenda setting is "narrow and ahistorical: analytically it abstract both media and audiences from their social and historical matrix"(p.246).

From another perspective, Scheufele (1999) states that frames are systematically "fragmented approaches" in political communication (p.103). In attempting to argue that framing is an effects theory, Sheufele explains that theoretical vagueness regarding frames is due, in part, to the lack of a commonly shared model underlying the research. As a result, Scheufele constructs a four cell model and argues for a more "metatheoretical" perspective.

Asserting that conceptual problems translate into operational problems, limiting results, Scheufele(1999) demonstrates that there are two dimensions to framing analysis. First—media frames: second—audience frames. The way frames are operationalized,

that is broken down into the dependent variables (factors influencing creation of the frames), and the independent variables (frames examined as outcomes of the way mass media treat an issue) will influence research outcomes. As a result, studies in which frames serve as independent variables will typically be more interested in the effects of framing. With this four celled model, framing can be used as a theory to broaden our understanding of media effects.

As seen with these two examples, in communication theory, framing has its roots within the media effects paradigm. McQuail (1997), explains that beginning in the late 1970s a new approach to media effects, termed "social constructivist" (as discussed earlier), saw media influence as having their most significant effects by constructing meanings and offering these constructs in a systematic way to the audiences. According to McQuail (1997), this time period is "... also evidenced by a shift away from quantitative survey methods"(p.331).

This emerging paradigm of effects has two main thrusts: first, that the media construct social formations and history itself by "framing images of reality in a predictable way," and second, that people in the audiences "construct for themselves their own view of social reality"(p.331).

Hence, a frame is a "Specific set of expectations that is used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time" (Baran & Davis, 1995, p.299). However, as stated, "news does not mirror society. It helps to constitute it as a shared social phenomenon, for in the process of describing an event, news defines and shapes that event"(Tuchman, 1978, p.184).

In television news, framing studies have been conducted in an effort to identify the messages being sent through news stories. A concern about the public's response to news stories has been at the core of much framing research. For example, Reese and Buckalew (1995) examined frames of reference in relation to newswork and coverage of the Persian Gulf War. The authors examined news content in television news and concluded that the structure and patterns in local television with its community ties and need for audience appeal created a consensual frame that supported a legitimately controversial government policy by connecting it to a patriotism frame.

In a pre-and post Cold War content analysis of network news, Norris (1995) investigated how American reporters selected and structured complex news about international affairs. Norris concluded, the Cold War frames cued journalists and viewers about "friends and enemies" throughout the world.

There are numerous other examples of framing in the news. For instance, within an election campaign, the familiar horse race frame (who is ahead, who is behind) dominates coverage of the primaries (Hallin, 1990). Also prevalent in political communication research is the concern about how people receive political information from news. A considerable amount of attention has been paid to the way news frames influence people's understanding of political realities (Gamson, 1992; Newman, Just & Crigler, 1992). Within this context, framing has been used to focus on the process by which thematic or stylistic organizations of news stories emphasize a particular story line.

In reporting complex acts of "terrorist" violence, the victim-perpetrator frame simplifies the attribution of responsibility (Cohen & Wolfsfeld, 1993). The black-white racial frame can shape coverage of riots, whether appropriate or not (Gray, 1987). Finally

people in alternative social movements such as feminists (van Zoonen, 1988; Creedon, 1993), gays and lesbians (Voland, 1992) and antinuclear activists (Entman, 1993) may be framed in ways that they themselves may judge to be negative. In short, these frames are cultural products that derive from socially complex beliefs and are shaped by the dominant ideology.

The importance of news framing may be its impact on the audience's interpretation, evaluation, and judgements (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). For example, Iyengar (1991) determined that different news frames provide different standards by which people make judgements about social problems. That is to say, individuals all have different levels of prior experience and these experiences help in interpreting news frames. Gamson (1992) clarifies this concept by explaining that when the media portrayed affirmative action in terms of special interest as opposed to an institutional effort for social justice, people tended to view the issue as an individualistic moral problem as opposed to a social one. Along these lines, Pan and Kosicki (1993) explain that the interplay between news frames and the individual's knowledge is a key process for determining the ways of interpreting news texts.

In order to understand framing analysis Tuchman (1978) examines the purpose or role of frames in the communication process. Tuchman explains that "strips" dictate how frames function. In applying Goffman's frame analysis to the process of news reporting, Tuchman (1978) illustrates a "strip" to show a function of frame as follows:

"How was it?"

"Not much."

"Six graphs?"

"Okay."

Tuchman points out that this exchange can be meaningful only with a frame in the form of additional information so that the strip is transformed:

> A reporter returns to the city room from the scene of a fire. He approaches the city editor, who looks up from his work and asks the reporter, 'How was it?' Referring to the fire, the reporter replies, 'Not much.' The editor asks, 'six graphs?' The reporter replies, 'Okay,' and goes to his desk, where he writes six paragraphs about the fire (p.193).

Because the strip was framed, Tuchman argues that the strip becomes recognizable as a conversation concerning an occurrence. It can be seen as the negotiation about the newsworthiness of that occurrence. The fire that the reporter observed is not any fire. It is a minor fire, a specific fire that is worth six paragraphs of news coverage (p. 193).

Tuchman also maintains that how the news is framed, or organized, may actually be seen as the act of constructing reality. The way the news is framed provides one interpretation of an event out of many possible interpretations.

Linsky (1986) provides a relevant example in the coverage (during the Carter administration) of the neutron bomb. The story is described and framed in a Washington Post article as one that "killed people but left buildings intact." This initial framing "haunted all discussion" of the bomb from that point on as "a singularly perverse weapon" (p.220). Linsky (1986) explains that the bomb could also have been described as

one that would kill enemy soldiers in their tanks while "reducing blast damage in civilian areas"(p.220).Because alternative possibilities were not presented, this single view becomes reality.

It is in this manner that, the act of making news becomes the act of constructing reality rather than providing a true picture of reality. By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide actions. As a result, the way in which the media "frame" stories and the decisions journalists make or fail to make enlarge the discrepancies between "truth" or facts and what the media perceive as facts.

Gitlin's work in The Whole World is Watching (1980) also deals with the use of frames within news stories. Gitlin says:

> [Frames are] persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. Frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences (p.7).

For Gitlin (1980) these frames are used to create meaning. By focusing on the conceptual building blocks that create frames, Gitlin makes his point. For example, a framing devices used in coverage of the anti-war movement is the term "polarization," as the Students for a Democratic Society movement was balanced with the ultra-right in news reports. This created a mood of inflexibility and placed a "we" versus "they" image

within the minds of viewers. Later methods of framing included reliance on statements from official government sources, emphasis on violence and on the communist connection. It is by imposing order and delimiting the information in a news story that reporters created meaning.

Many other scholars have examined the use of frames in media text. Dijk (1988) concluded "News is not characterized as a picture of reality, which may be correct or biased, but as a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed"(p.8). Neuman, Just and Crigler, (1992) explain that the various media use these frames as "conceptual tools" and rely on them to "convey, interpret, and evaluate information" (p.60). Entman (1993) explains that to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more important in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. For social actors (Snow et al., 1986), for bystander audiences (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984), and for news audiences (Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth, 1983; Brewer and McCombs, 1996), frames can be decisive in influencing how people perceive issues.

From the structural, or "process" perspective of news, Gitlin (1980) contends that frames are not "tacked onto" a story but arise naturally from newswork routines. When newsworkers arrive at a news scene, frames influence how a situation is decoded, then how it is encoded into a new story, as events in the world are translated into signs.

Fields (1984) builds on this study by also arguing that the very activities and routines newsworkers engage in are socially constructed. To make his arguments Fields uses the term "keyed" as Goffman (1974) describes it.

For Goffman, keyes are a "set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by participants to be something else"(p.44). In a more simple explanation, keys are the elements of human convention that transform "strips" of ongoing activity into something else as seen by those participating in the event.

Fields (1984) also contends that news is a carrier of socially structured "codes" or "frames." He concludes that news routines are:

> a set of rules for framing and keying events. Indeed, those rules themselves are recognized—"framed"—as "journalism."...The rules governing procedures the journalists used when interacting with the informant and when gathering more information constitute an activity commonly "framed" as "journalism"—an activity that, of course, could be "keyed" as "in house communication for political elites" (pp. 81-82).

As seen with this example, the rules governing journalistic procedures constitute an activity commonly "framed" as "journalism." This can also be seen as "newswork." While some scholars believe newsworkers encode news reports according to frames, others believe initial framings of an event or an issue begin with news sources and, as such, frames tend to reinforce the status quo. In a content analysis of newspapers, Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan (1987) confirm this heavy reliance on official sources. They assert that such dependence on governmental and elite sources limits "the diversity of information available to the public"(p.53). Lance Bennett (1996) is also

critical, arguing reliance on official and elite sources results in mass media that simply pass on a "daily garble" of confusing images. In his discussion of how the media frame the news, Bennett states:

> The news gives people a me-first view of the world, in which my well-being, my group and my country are emphasized over social realities that differ from one's own. Even the two-sided format used in most reporting usually offers one side that is much closer to home than the other (p.27).

Like Tuchman (1978) Bennett is concerned that people too easily assume news stories are a true picture of reality rather than one of many possible constructions of that reality, and that they respond to the construction. He adds:

> Even, and perhaps especially, those images with the most dubious links to reality can generate actions in the real world, actions that have real effects: the election of corrupt leaders, the acceptances of oppressive laws or ideas, the labeling of social groups, support for wars, or tolerance of chronic social and economic problems (p.73).

Entman (1993) also believes there is power in frames and builds on these ideas. "The frame in a news text is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of actors or interests that compete to dominate the text" (p.55). Thus the power of a frame can be

as great as that of language itself and, as such, reinforces the voice of those in power and maintain the status quo.

Some researchers have studied framing using cultivation as an approach. Researchers in this area argue that there are negative implications in the framing process. Parenti (1993), for example, claims that framing can provide the basis for some persuasive communication. By using the examples of emphasis, nuance, innuendo, and dramatic video, Parenti (1993) concludes that journalists can create a desired impression without resorting to advocacy journalism and without forsaking objectivity. According to Parenti (1993), one common framing method is to select labels that convey politically loaded images. On the CBS Network Evening News, for example, Dan Rather referred to the Black civil rights movement and the student anti-war movement as the "civil disturbances of the sixties." Parenti explains that a very different impression would have been created for the viewer had Rather labeled them "movements for peace." For Parenti (1993), the use of a frame makes it possible for communicators to "bend the truth" rather than break it. Using these arguments, however, I find it difficult to understand how Parenti can conclude communicators have not "forsaken objectivity."

As stated, and as just shown, news stories are approached at all levels of the news process with a certain consistency. This consistency comes from what is variously termed an "angle," "slant," or "news perspective." Altheide's (1974) thesis in Creating Reality is that newsworkers' use of a news perspective involves the "capacity to approach events from one dimension," thereby determining the overall thrust of a story (p.73). Within the news profession, such a perspective is not considered an interpretation of reality, but

simply a means of obtaining the greatest interest and coherence from an event for the audience.

Angles or slants allow a news crew to quickly decide, upon arriving at a news event which details warrant being put into words and pictures. Angles, slants, and perspectives are also central organizing ideas, or dominant themes, that emerge from television news producers and that help audiences judge the importance of news events within the context of the newscast.

From a sociological standpoint, the terms "slant" or an "angle" can also be interpreted as a "frame" because the study of framing effects has its roots in the rising interest in media constructions of reality. This study proposes that "frames" inform the use of angles and slants, but that the meanings of "frames" exist in society as core hegemonic beliefs.

Summarizing a wealth of literature, one can say a frame is a central organizing idea in news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through selection, emphasis, exclusion. In sum, media discourse, experiential knowledge, and culture come together in constructing a frame. Since journalists are part of humanity, they too are subject to "framing" and interpreting the world around them.

At issue for this study is the ability to find meaning within the text of broadcast news and to allow meaning to emerge from the content. Given this parameter, this study rejects traditional approaches to content analysis based (to be discussed in Chapter IV) on the usual practice of constructing a category system before applying it. This practice risks an investigator's imposing his/her own meaning-system on the news rather than taking it from the content. As a result, an interpretive approach will be used in this study.

Additionally, with Collins(1980) this study takes the position that framing analysis is theoretical "in the grand tradition; they (theories) always concern the central questions of the conditions of social order"(p.173).

Social Movements and the News Media

Herbert Blumer (1971) determined that the foundation of a social problem can be found in the way the public makes "meaning" or understands and defines the issue in question. Blumer (1971) argued that "Social problems are not the result of an intrinsic malfunctioning of a society but are the result of a process of definition in which a given condition is picked out and identified as a social problem"(p.301). When an individual or group of individuals has identified the problem, the group coalesces and a social movement emerges. "No condition is a social problem until someone considers it a social problem"(Best, 1995, p.5).

A social movement by definition is abnormal and anti-routine. Additionally, the essence of protest is that it presents a challenge of some sort to the status quo. Protest takes place to question the way things are now, and protest often affects the current modus operandi of societal institutions. For Zald and McCarthy (1987), the public's perception of a social movement's intensity of action may reflect media coverage rather than the actual "membership strength or the scope and intensity of grievances" (p.372). Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) build on these arguments by stating that "the collective definition of social problems occur not in some vague location such as society or public opinion but in particular public arenas in which social problems are framed and

grow"(p.58). By this definition, public arenas include the news media. Since this study concerns itself with how television news has presented the militia movement, it is appropriate to examine how scholars have viewed the news-movement dynamic.

First, it is important to remember that the very nature of protest makes it newsworthy. Protest fits the textbook definition of what makes news: it's dramatic, emotional or unusual; involves conflict; is timely; concerns current events, trends or changes; concerns politics or pocketbook issues; and contains either local interest or widespread universal interest (Stein, 1974; Mencher, 1986; Dominick,1996).

Examinations of news content show that news stories about protests tend to focus on "the protesters' appearances rather than their issues, emphasize their violent actions rather than their social criticism, pit them against the police rather than their chosen targets, and downplay their effectiveness" (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p.3). This kind of coverage constitutes what has been called the "protest paradigm" (Chan & Lee, 1984).

Scholars have also found that news sources play a central role within this dynamic. When a protest group challenges some portion of established social institutions or ideas, the media have a wide range of choices in deciding whether to air news of social protest, what sources to use, and how to frame the issue. Gans(1979) describes the journalist-source interaction as a dance where the sources do the leading. He said that elites best meet the two important criteria for selection as news sources: availability and suitability or legitimacy in the power structure. He concluded that news sources are dominated by prominent "knowns," such as those with economic or political power. "Unknowns" (such as protesters) account for only one-fifth of news sources. Gans

explains that a common world view among journalists (which they assume is shared by their audiences) contributes to a media that is inherently conservative.

However, although research shows that the media generally support the status quo, researchers also recognize that under certain conditions the media will criticize groups in power. For example, Bennett's (1996) concept of "indexing" identified an important factor that regulates the degree to which media support the status quo. According to Bennett, the media are more likely to be critical when there is elite conflict within the power structure.

Additionally, journalists, with their generally shared goal of discovering the "truth," have potential to challenge and disrupt that status quo. The status quo can also be threatened by how a story is reported, as contradictory frames structure an event.

For example, underlying much of the reporting on the militia movement is the frame that the FBI has a "right," as sanctioned by Congress, to intervene in what they perceive as lawlessness. Within that right is an underlying assumption that the FBI acts in the best interest of society. Hence, support for the status quo. This dominant reading of reality sometimes comes into conflict with other frames, such as individual freedom, or the effects of unsanctioned FBI action on individual family life. Hence, FBI actions may be seen as a challenge to the status quo, because a more dominant frame in American society is the ideal of family unity. These conflicting frames contributed to the manner in which the 1992 news story of the 11-day siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, was covered and how the media shaped events that subsequently unfolded.

The story made the national news when U.S. Marshalls and subsequently the FBI were involved in a shooting match with a white separatist, Randy Weaver. When it was

over, Weaver's wife and son were dead. In the initial coverage, the news media rhetoric tended to favor FBI activity. In the aftermath of the shooting, coverage did not. Throughout the latter coverage, the media was critical of FBI "mis-handling" of the entire investigation. After a two-year investigation in which there clearly was evidence of "conflict within the FBI structure" it was determined that the FBI agents acted without authority. As a result, the head of the department was sanctioned and fired and Randy Weaver's family was awarded two-million dollars in their lawsuit against the FBI.

Selectivity of sources is also an issue. While examining television network coverage of marijuana issues, Shepherd (1981) discovered a selectivity of sources. His investigation found that seven out of 10 interviews used as sources in the stories were with administrative officials, usually with officials in government institutions. He concludes that decisions about which social problems dominate the news depend on the ideological questions determined by the political power structure. In a two-year study, building on Gans(1979) and Shepherd, (1981)Cooper and Soley (1990) concluded that network newscasts rely on a very small, elite, homogeneous group of experts for information.

Generally, depending on the story frame, the media treat protesters as deviant law-breakers threatening the social fabric. The literature provides numerous studies that lead to the conclusion that the mass media "delegitimize" or "marginalize" protest groups that challenge the status quo (Gitlin, 1980; Altschull, 1984; Shoemaker, 1984; Cohen, Adoni, and Bantz, 1990; McLeod & Hertog, 1992; Bennett, 1996). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) go further by explaining that the media support for the status quo is embedded in

the processes of news production and often occurs without the conscious awareness of the individuals who produce the message.

In general, theories about social movement and the news media examine how the media and movements interact and how issues are debated in arenas of public discourse (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Morris and Mueller, 1992). For example, Baylor (1996) asserts that movements consciously seek media attention to enhance their chance of success. Through a case study of the American Indian movement, he argued that positive or negative outcome of media attention largely depends on how media agents "frame" movement goals and actions. Baylor (1996) concludes that media attention impedes movement success.

Voland (1992) studied news coverage of the gay and lesbian movement and explains that media images of a group or of group ideology are the result of an intricate interaction between group behavior and the media. The result of this interaction leads "...to a certain public identity and definition of the group" which will cause the movement either to be accepted or rejected by the audience. Kennamer (1994) agrees and states that "a group's ability to affect public opinion positively is linked to the public's perception of the group's legitimacy" and that this public perception is directly affected by the news media (p.75). Other researchers (Gitlin, 1980, Shields & Dunwoody, 1986, Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986; Ryan, 1991; Bowers, Ochs & Jensen, 1993; Ghanem, 1996) have also contributed to this idea. With few exceptions, the literature indicates that the media provide the linkage that pulls together individuals, groups, and institutions who otherwise would perhaps not know of each other's existence.

However, groups that operate outside the accepted social and political boundaries of society are denied access to the media. For example, Lauderdale (1980) studied media coverage of a 1976 Philadelphia march protesting the Bicentennial celebration (the Bicentennial was a national event, one that most Americans were generally proud to participate in). The study found that the media, despite the fact that an estimated thirty-five to forty thousand people participated, largely ignored the event. The lack of coverage of the protest effectively defined it as a nonevent for the majority of Americans. Lauderdale concludes that press inattention may be an effective means of social and political control because it limits the ability of the public to respond to a movement. Altschull (1984) agrees, and adds that when access to the mass media is denied, the media "serve as significant instruments of social control" (p.128).

Olasky (1988) builds on these ideas and accuses the media of unfair coverage of social movements that are in opposition to the status quo—in this case, the anti-abortion movement. Olasky concludes that journalists' "cozy relation to power" causes them to delegitimize one cause (anti-abortion) in the course of championing another (pro-choice) (p.150). Shoemaker,Chang, and Brendlinger, (1987) summarize this type of impact as follows:

> Critics of the U.S. mass media have suggested that the media act as agents of social control, not by preventing the publication of new and different ideas, but rather by varying their coverage of political groups according to how different the groups are from the status quo (p.362).

Other scholars (Gitlin, 1980; Dahlgren, 1981; Hall, 1981; Hartley, 1982; Turow, 1984) suggest that the social, political, and cultural forces that significantly shape their work govern news media interaction with movements and movement leaders. For Parenti (1993), the news media function as a prism rather than as a mirror—a prism that "picks up rays of information from all directions and refracts them, bend them, before sending them out again"(p.121). Further, those associated with the actual work of journalism---reporters, editors, producers, news anchors—carry ideological biases into their work. These attitudes and values may come in the form of political bias driven by the corporate boardroom, or from biases of their own social group, which is largely made up of cosmopolitan, urban upper-class individuals. Consequently, when and if journalists give greater weight to one side or the other in covering issues, the side favored often corresponds with their own views of social reality. From this critical perspective, television is perceived as yet another powerful agent of control for those who hold the dominant ideology within a society. As a result, protest movements are marginalized by those in control of dominant social institutions.

From another perspective, Gaye Tuchman (1978) places institutional mores at the heart of the movement-media link. The author indicates that a social movement passes through distinct phases or cycles as it progresses from an informal association to a complex organization. Tuchman explains that the media are significant contributors to the process because news organizations determine a group's legitimacy. "As groups evolve, coverage of their activities changes inasmuch as news organizations coordinate their news nets with legitimate institutions,"(p.134). Tuchman writes that the more legitimate the organization, the more positive the news coverage. "Once framed within the web of

facticity, a social movement cannot undercut the news net by challenging the legitimacy of established institutions"(p.154). Once a group is "framed" as having ideologies that are outside of accepted institutional norms, the group must change its tactics in order to gain media attention.

Although Gitlin (1980) doesn't specifically address the "cycles" model, clearly his seminal work gives credence to the link between movement behavior, cycles, and their relation to the media. By critically examining television news, Gitlin analyzes and describes how the television networks portrayed the Vietnam War and the anti-war movement.

For Gitlin (1980), television news covered the anti-war movement as "spectacle," focusing on the countercultural aspects of the movement. He contends that the effect was to keep the movement marginalized vis-a-vis American society as a whole. As the movement grew and came to reflect larger numbers of mainstream society, the media continued to focus on the violent tendencies within the movement. Although the movement was predominantly nonviolent, it needed media coverage to spread its message and expand its base. However, the media's coverage of staged events to provide conflict and tension created an escalation of tactics by members in the movement. This escalation of tactics became necessary in order to keep the broadcast journalists' attention. Gitlin adds that this symbiosis created a formula for coverage by creating frames or "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selective emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse"(p.71). Gitlin asserts that the results were that these news "conventions" encouraged the same extremists they deplored.

Perhaps Gamson's (1988) "constructivist model" offers a more thorough explanation of what happens between the media and the public. Like Gitlin, Gamson asks how the media influence movements. For Gamson, however, the constuctionist model includes *both* the media and the public as part of the same cultural system. As part of the same cultural system, both parties possess the same cultural "scripts," "schemata," or "frames." Here the focus is on how television affects the process of constructing meaning.

In another study, Gamson (1992) identifies three components of collective-action frames: injustice, agency and identity. The injustice component involves a sense of unfair treatment by authority toward movement members. Agency refers to a sense that citizen action could make things better if those things are perceived as injustice. The final component, identity, concerns the process of developing adversarial frames. Gamson finds that most groups are more likely to develop a collective identity when they share a common social element such as race or class.

In this study Gamson states that "Political consciousness bridges the study of movements and media" (p.xi). Using data from network television news, national news magazines, editorial cartoons, opinion columns, and focus groups, Gamson talks with working people to get their opinions on such political issues as affirmative action, nuclear power, American industry and the Arab-Israeli conflict. For each of these issues several interpretations or frames prevalent in the media texts are described. For example, for the nuclear power topic "progress," "no public accountability," "not cost effective," and "devil's bargain" frames were identified. These frames were compared to how people talked about these issues.

Gamson explains that the process of opinion formation is more complex than it is usually depicted. "Frames that are present in social movement discourse but are invisible in mass media commentary rarely find their way into their conversations "(p.6). For Gamson (1992), news or the media are simply conduits of information that give people something to talk about. Yet the media is only one source of knowledge. Arguing that people condition media information with their own experience or that of the people they know, he asserts that media images have no fixed meaning because people "frame" or organize their world in order to understand what is going on around them.

> The public discourse that people draw on is much broader than the news and takes many forms. In discussing affirmative action, for example, several groups quoted the advertising slogan of the United Negro college fund that 'A mind is a terrible thing to waste.' A variety of movies and television programs were brought in more than once, including Silkwood and The China Syndrome in discussions of nuclear power(p.118).

Furthermore, he explains that because individuals cannot be aware of every event that takes place on any given day, and because not all events hold significance to all people, the public relies on journalists to sort through and present those items they deem worthy of broadcast. Gamson (1992) concludes that people are quite capable of conducting their own informed and well-reasoned discussions about issues. However, the media can affect and influence public opinion:

> The results suggest a reframing in the long-standing debate on the magnitude and nature of mass media effects on public opinion. The effects discussed here are *effects in use*. Instead of treating media content as a stimulus that leads to some changes in attitude or cognition, it is treated as an important tool or resource that people have available, in varying degrees, to help them make sense of issues in the news. When they use elements from media discourse to make a conversational point on an issue, we are directly observing a media effect (p.180).

Building on this study, Gamson (1997) explains that people draw meaning not only from news but also from advertising slogans, movies and one another. The result is that the media "often obstructs and only rarely and unevenly contribute to the development of collective action frames" (Gamson, 1997, p.242). The problem, he explains, is that people have difficulty in connecting their media-based understanding of the issues with their everyday lives.

What Tuchman, (1978), Gitlin (1980), and Gamson (1992) have in common is their belief that there is a substantive link between movements and the media, and that frames are a central organizing idea, or dominant theme, that emerges from a news story. For these scholars, news providers use frames to help audiences judge the significance of news events.

Summary

Without question television news allows people to witness and hear events they would not normally be able to experience. This literature review demonstrates that the news media influence how people are described, their understanding of issues, and the framing and creation of issues. Arguably, television news allows a person to see and to hear, but not to participate in, the flow of power, claims, and accusations. Therefore, news is not a window on the world; it is part of the process of reality construction. Additionally, if the news cannot be objective, a relevant question becomes "How does the news make meaning?" Part of the answer to this question is through the use of language, symbols, and the visual structure of the newscast. In other words, the news creates certain meanings and not others through its narrative and its visuals, and the scholar's job is to unravel this process of meaning. With Gitlin (1987), this study attributes to the media the power to construct a social reality by defining and shaping the image of social movements.

After Gitlin (1979), Tankard (1992), and Entman (1993), this study also assumes that the choice of news frame is the first normative choice in story construction. It will not be the purpose of this study to judge the accuracy of militia stories on network television news. Nor will this study concern itself with how many stories have been broadcast regarding the militia. This study will concern itself with the network news construction of the militia through sociological frames. By examining frames with care, discovering the conditions of their emergence and transformation over time, I will show

how the workings or routines of the broadcast news media may have created a public image of the militia movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

Method

Introduction

Given the importance of media to social protest groups, this dissertation grew from a concern with what the news media show and tell us about social movements. The news is, among other things, a symbolic process by which a vision of reality is constructed for viewers and, as such, news is a powerful cultural tool that has the ability to neglect certain issues and to marginalize others.

To that end, and using qualitative methods, this study investigated the use of frames, both verbal and visual, by television network news in the presentation of militia-related stories. Typically, frames provide a way to look at some event or aspect of social life, a manner in which to evaluate the situation. The use of these frames by broadcast news contributes to or help shape public perceptions of the militia movement.

Analysis of Television Content

Content analysis of television programs began as early as 1954 (Asamen & Berry, 1998, p.271). Underlying the raison d'être of most content analysis is the assumption that media content influences audiences' perceptions and conceptions of social reality.

However, there is no single way to conduct a study using content analysis as the primary method because the definitions of content analysis vary. They vary based on the researcher's particular viewpoint or the type of work the researcher is involved in.

For example, the critical scholar examines the use of words within the text. Vande Berg and Wenner (1991) refer to this as rhetorical criticism. Although seen as a critical approach, it is a form of content analysis. Central to rhetorical criticism is the examination of television texts as essentially persuasive—that is, "whether the text was intended or not intended to persuade viewers to respond to it by feeling, thinking, or acting in a specific manner" (p.33), the material nonetheless has this effect. Here, words in and of themselves become important in the message.

Using another critical perspective, researchers have conducted content analysis borrowing from the work of Kenneth Burke (1966). For Burke, symbolic action makes life dramatic; that is, life is not merely like a drama, it is a series of unfolding dramas. From this viewpoint, analyzing television news means relying on the dramatistic pentad. The essential elements of the pentad include: acts, actors, agencies, scenes, and purposes:

> Acts make up the script, plot line, or scenario of a drama, of any news event. Actors are dramatis personae—heroic, villainous, or foolish characters of narrative. Agencies are the means actors use to achieve their aims and to attempt to legitimize their ends. The scene is the setting or locale of symbolic action. Purposes consists of motives, intentions, and meanings actors bring to and take from a drama, an event (as cited, Nimmo & Combs, 1990, p.26).

With this type of content analysis, the researcher seeks to answer questions such as: "Who is reported doing what to whom?" "What general plot line organizes these acts—tragedy, comedy, etc.?" And "What meaning do reporters give the drama?" This approach does not treat television news as a first-hand report of raw material, but as information that has been stylized.

The classic definition of content analysis was provided by Berelson (1952) more than forty-five years ago:

> Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (p.18).

To understand and perform content analysis in terms of this definition requires understanding Berelson's (1952) own interpretation of "objective," "systematic," and "quantitative." Accurately evaluating his words means accurately counting occasions of word usage and applying statistical measurement techniques to them. For Berelson, discussions of quantitative research designs, however, generally begin with the data collection process or sampling. "This usually means two types of sampling: probability sampling and convenience sampling" (Light et al., 1990, p.56). In probability sampling, each member of the population has a known, non-zero probability of being chosen, allowing statistical generalization from the sample to the population of interest. "Any sampling strategy other than simple or stratified (probability) random sampling is seen as convenience sampling"(Maxwell, 1996, p.70).

Stacks and Hocking (1992) defined content analysis as "a research method or measurement technique that involves the systematic study of content of communication messages"(p.250). By placing the emphasis on the word systematic, most definitions of content analysis implicitly refer to quantitative methods. Here, variables are chosen and categories are constructed. Additionally, a sample is selected randomly, then variables are quantified and measured (Stempel & Westley, 1989; Cresswell, 1994). Quantitative analysis typically uses descriptive statistical procedures to report on frequency of the variables, and then uses inferential statistics to generalize from the sample to the larger population to test for significant differences.

This type of analysis, however, has been criticized for either counting the wrong things (Winston, 1983; Hackett, 1984) or for its lack of concern for the potential "diversity of meanings carried" within the elements being studied (Barkin & Gurevitch, 1991, p.311).

Scholars who prefer more holistic, meaning-centered methods have looked to qualitative or cultural methods of analysis. As Anderson and Meyer (1988) put it, "Qualitative research methods are distinguished from quantitative methods in that they do not rest their evidence on the logic of mathematics" (p.247).

Qualitative content analysts arrive at meanings holistically in their contexts (Fink & Gantz, 1996). That is, "The analysis is extended to an interpretative reading of the symbolism underlying the physically presented data" (Berg, 1995, p.176). The key to qualitative content analysis is the use of descriptive techniques to interpret observation and to search for meaning in the content. It is this emphasis on the latent content rather

than on the manifest content that distinguishes qualitative content analysis from quantitative content analysis.

With qualitative data, observations are not reduced to numbers. The data emerges strictly from the perceptions/observations of the researcher. Furthermore, category development is as important as it is in quantitative content analysis. For example, both types of data collection require establishing mutually exclusive categories, groupings that are both exhaustive and reliable. With qualitative data analysis, however, developing the categories can be both an inductive and a deductive process.

In qualitative content analysis, the researcher also has the ability of analyzing the data during the course of the study. If a significant variable emerges during the course of analysis, then a new course can be taken accordingly (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Altheide, 1996). Critics of qualitative analysis often argue that this evolutionary process is in direct opposition to social science methods. They argue that in social science, the scientist's role is to simply gather facts without injecting bias, that is, without placing interpretation into the analysis.

From yet another perspective, some scholars believe that a blend of both quantitative and qualitative methods is the best way to analyze television news content. As it pertains to television news, Frank first introduced the blending of the two above stated methods in 1973. For Frank (1973), the "hard" quantifiable data is useful for concrete information, while the "soft" qualitative approach utilizes the judgment of the researcher to evaluate the entire news story within its news segment.

In Nightly Horrors, Nimmo and Combs (1990) build on Frank (1973) and effectively utilize both quantitative and qualitative approaches to television news

analysis. The authors performed what they called both "hard" and "soft" content analysis of videotapes retrieved from the Vanderbilt Television News archives. In their work, Nimmo and Combs (1990) analyzed the content of several on-going network news stories, such as the Iranian hostage crisis of 1980 and the Tylenol poisoning cases of 1982.

> The content analysis process was described as follows:
>
> The 'hard' approach examines discrete and quantifiable items of data, such as seconds of airtime, story placements, and frequency counts of words. The 'soft' approach is more subjective and evaluates entire news segments, stories, and broadcasts in keeping with selected criteria (p.22).

More simply, the hard approach basically quantifies the data with frequency counts that include the number of reports, the seconds of airtime, the particular network, visual content, etc. The soft approach utilizes what Clancey and Robinson (1985) call "spin" or ideological tilt. This view can also be interpreted as a frame.

Rather than refer to the process as content analysis, scholars who prefer a cultural approach refer to news content analysis as textual analysis. And many of these scholars suggest that textual analysis should begin with what has been referred to as a "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Charmaz, 1994) or "grounded method" approach.

What is a grounded theory approach? According to Corbin and Strauss (1994) a grounded theory is one that is:

> Inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then provide it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (p.23).

For Glaser and Strauss (1967) the term grounded theory does not "refer to any particular level of theory but to theory that is inductively developed during a study and in constant interaction with the data from that study"(as cited in Maxwell, 1996, p.33). This theory is grounded in the actual data collected, in contrast to a theory that is developed conceptually and then simply tested against empirical data. Similarly, Charmaz (1990), places the emphasis on how grounded theorists construct theory from data:

> By starting with data from the lived experience of the research participants, the researcher can, from the beginning attend to how they construct their worlds. That lived experience shapes the researcher's approach to data collection and analysis. In comparison, more traditional logical-deductive approaches explicitly derive hypotheses from pre-existing theories, what fundamentally structure both the data collection and analysis toward verification of refutation of these hypotheses (p.38).

Other characteristics of a grounded theory approach are the constant comparison of categories and emerging data; the sampling of different groups of data to maximize the similarities and the differences between units of information, and a limited or sparse literature review at the beginning of the plan in order to convey an inductive design. Here, the literature review contributes substantially to the end of the study as a means to compare and contrast the findings (Corbin & Strauss, 1994; Charmaz, 1994; Stamp, 1999). Flint (1998) explains this process further:

> In keeping with grounded theory's constant comparative approach to theory building, literature is examined in light of the research findings. The literature review is a continuation of theoretical understandings where findings in the literature provide additional data to which a study's finding can be compared. It is a two-way analysis where questions emerging from the study are posed to the literature and issues found in the literature are addressed by the study's findings(p. 271).

Thus in keeping with the grounded theory approach, the emerging ideas process takes place in the analysis, and the literature is reviewed in detail during the analysis, not during the review.

Stern (1980), highlighted various ways grounded theory differs from other methodologies:

> (1) the conceptual framework is generated from the data rather than from previous studies, although previous studies always influence the final outcome of the work; (2) the researcher attempts to discover dominant processes in the social scene rather than describing the unit under study; (3) every piece of data is compared with every other piece; (4) the collection of data may be modified according to the advancing theory; that is, false leads are dropped, or more penetrating questions are asked as seems necessary; (5) rather than following a series of linear steps, the investigator works within a matrix in which several research processes are in operation at once.

In other words, the investigator examines data as they arrive and begin to code, categorize, conceptualize, and to write the first few thoughts concerning the research report almost from the beginning of the study.

With grounded theory, sampling or data collection uses neither probability sampling nor convenience sampling (discussed earlier). Qualitative researchers use what is referred to as "purposeful sampling" (Patton, 1990, p. 169) or what LeCompte and Preissle (1993, p.69) call criterion-based selection. Strauss and Corbin (1994) refer to this process as theoretical sampling.

Theoretical sampling is sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory. "Proven theoretical relevance indicates that concepts are deemed to be significant because they are repeatedly present when comparing incident after incident, and are of sufficient importance to be given the status of categories" (p.176). As a result, sampling is directly tied to coding procedures. "Open

sampling" is associated with open coding; "relational and variational" sampling is associated with axial coding and "discriminate sampling" is associated with selective coding (Strauss & Corbin,1994 p.176).

As stated, the three basic types of coding procedures are defined as open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. With open coding, the aim is to discover, name, and uncover as many potentially relevant categories as possible. Here, conceptual labels are placed on happenings, events, and phenomena. It is also possible to look "purposefully" for data bearing on categories. Openness rather than specificity guide the sampling choices. "Open sampling can be done purposively or systematically, or occur fortuitously" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.176). By definition, open coding refers to "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data"(Strauss & Corbin , 1990, p.61). All possibilities are open.

Open coding is followed and paralleled by axial coding. Sampling still proceeds on the basis of related concepts (categories), but the focus changes. Axial coding also is referred to as relational and variational sampling. Its aim is to "maximize the finding of differences," and it too can occur deliberately or systematically (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.176). For example, when analyzing network television news, one could consider that the three networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) can each become an individual category. This categorization obviously would be useful in comparing how each network may have covered a single story.

The categories themselves are examined in terms of conditions, context, action/interaction, and consequences. The purpose of axial coding is to relate the

categories and subcategories. "Sampling now focuses on uncovering and validating those relationships" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.187).

Selective coding aims to integrate the categories to form a theory, to validate the statements of relationships, and to fill in any categories that needs further development. This is also referred to as discriminate sampling, and its aim is to maximize opportunities for verifying the story line and relationships between categories. As a result, sampling must become directed and deliberate, with conscious choices made about whom and what to sample in order to obtain the needed data. This process may require returning to documents or going to new ones. The goal is to achieve theoretical saturation. The general rule in grounded theory research is to sample until theoretical saturation of each category is reached.

Grounded theory differs from other qualitative approaches because traditional qualitative approaches collect the data first before commencing the analysis. In contrast, grounded theorists use their emerging theoretical categories to shape the data collection while doing the fieldwork. The rigor of the grounded theory method depends upon developing the range of relevant conceptual categories and saturating those categories in order to explain the data.

For Glaser and Strauss (1967) a well-constructed grounded theory should " ...meet four central criteria for judging the applicability of theory to a phenomenon: fit, understanding, generality, and control"(pp237-250). Maxwell, (1997) argues "In qualitative research, both existing theory and grounded theory are legitimate and valuable" (p.33).

This study emerges from this grounded theory perspective. Qualitative rather than quantitative methods are used because I take as my starting point the position that understanding reality cannot be an unmediated process. We cannot understand the world in a way that is free from its historic and social context. In fact, language and images are always meaningful only through culture; they are not neutral. Given this starting point, a grounded method is necessary to identify the ways in which social understandings and assumptions penetrate the news, and to see how the news constructs, objectively, the world it claims to summarize and describe.

By using a grounded theory perspective, this dissertation investigated how the broadcast network news media framed the militia movement.

Themes

Any type of analysis is the search for meaning, and meaning can be found in various forms. For journalists themes can create meaning. As a result, themes were identified, because themes are more basically tied to the format used by journalists who have a short time in which to tell a story that their audience can recognize. In journalism, "themes are miniframes for a report" (Altheide, 1996, p.30):

> Themes are general definitions or interpretive frames (e.g., 'Cities are more dangerous than ever,' 'the most corrupt administration in history,' or 'modern life is sick'. In the case of political coverage, there is the 'horse race theme'—which candidate is leading or how public opinion poll data used to make a 'race more

> exciting'--but there is also the 'underdog theme,' as when a 'front—runner' candidate is overtaken or whether individual sues a corporation—also referred to as a 'David and Goliath theme' (p.31).

It is important to note here that themes and frames are related; however, they are not determinate. Themes are the recurring typical theses that run through news reports. "Frames are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event"(p.31).

Labels

Like themes, labels also create meaning. Labeling is seen as an interactive process between those who violate a norm and others who interpret and react to the violations. Labeling theory was first developed in the 1950s and it has its roots in earlier symbolic-interactionist studies. The basic premise of labeling theory is that deviance is not a personal quality and not created by deviants' acts. Instead, deviance is created by group definitions and reactions. It is the emphasis on the process of defining a person's or groups behavior. According to Becker (1973), deviance is not a quality of behavior itself but is created in the interaction between the person who commits the act and those "who react to it"(as cited Hess, Markeson & Stein, 1992, p.9).

Some scholars (Gove, 1973; Cockerham, 1979) argue that deviant labels are a result, not a cause, of deviant behavior (as cited Hess, Markeson & Stein, 1992). Others, like Scheff (1966) have proposed that labeling is the single most important cause of a deviant career.

As studies have pointed out, labeling can have not one, but several effects, including (1) creating deviant behavior; (2) maintaining deviance; and (3) affecting other areas of life, including jobs, family relationships, and friendships. For example, a label of mental illness puts people at a higher risk of job loss and rejection by potential mates, as well as generally undermining their ability to cope (Hess, Markson, & Stein, 1992). Hence, if a group or an individual is labeled weak or strong others will treat or react and perceive the individual or group as such.

As it pertains to the media, scholars argue that the processes of social reaction to news events are structured through the mass media. Young (1986) asserts that media's construction of imagery, definition and labeling of deviant behavior assist in establishing the reality and context of the problem. While other scholars (Simmons & Lowry, 1990; Fair, 1993; Harrison, 1998) argue that media labels allow the public to define and articulate social order symbolically.

For Gerbner (1988) the choice of media labels isolates acts and people from meaningful contexts and set them up to be stigmatized and victimized. Looking at specific media labels such as calling some people "barbarians" makes it easier to act barbarically toward them. Presuming some people to be criminals permits dealing with them in ways that could be considered criminal. Calling some people crazy or insane makes it possible to suspend rules of rationality and decency, and placing stigmas on large numbers of people enables a culture to enforce its norms.

For example, researching media use of labels in covering international terrorist news events, Simmons and Lowry (1990) conducted a content analysis of one hundred and eighty five randomly sampled news stories from Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News &

World Report from 1980 to1988. They found that the "terrorist" label appears in sixty six percent of the stories; and that when the label terrorist appears, "gunman," "guerrilla," and "attacker" are also used, but less frequently.

In another example, Fair (1998) conducted a twenty-year analysis (1978-1998) of newspaper coverage of the Unabomber case. The accused was labeled as a hermit, a murderer, a serial killer, a bomber, a terrorist, insane, or as the "embodiment of evil." The Unambomber was considered dangerous because of the threat that he posed to society: remaining a man at large, evading the government's grasp for nearly twenty years as he systematically carried out acts of violence. Particularly in the 1990s, this elusive criminal was seen not only in terms of the threat that he represented, but also in terms of a seemingly larger trend of internal terrorist violence.

Fair (1998) explains that labels allowed the portrayal of the Unabomber to evolve from that of an empty presence to elaborate psychological and social profiles. In addition, Fair says "media coverage demonstrates how society turns an unrecognizable threat into a labeled entity," then seeks to demonize both him and the "evil" he embodies, and finally expels from society both the individual and the threat he poses. Fair concludes by explaining that news coverage reflected the cultural milieu of the United States during that time period.

In relation to social movements and labeling, Opp and Roehl (1997) argue that official negative sanctions promote rather than prevent deviant behavior because sanctions initiate processes of stigmatization that push the norm violator into a deviant career. What all of this means is that labeling militia groups as extremist could have the

effect of making militia behaviors more extreme, and that media labeling allows the public to construct a mental image that defines the behavior.

Again, if qualitative content analysis is the search for meaning in its symbolic form, then it becomes necessary to examine media labels because they tend to define a movement for the public. As a result, this study also kept track of the various labels used to describe militia activity and militia members as they emerged.

Symbols

Humans have the ability to create symbols. According to Gozzi (1990), symbols are the key to culture and to cooperation within a given society. In New Words and a Changing American Culture, Gozzi (1990) explains that words are the names we give our "cultural memories." They serve as "markers of cultural attention" or encoded memories. Put simply, members of a culture take note of a phenomenon, formulate a concept or abstraction related to it, and codify—or encode--the idea into a word.

Researchers agree the most basic and most important symbol system is "language itself" (Hess, Markson, Stein, 1992, p.38). However, symbols exist in other forms. Symbols can also be found in pictures, gestures, music, or events. In and of themselves they signify nothing but the purely arbitrary meaning that members of a group attach to it. For example, Osborne (1967) maintains that we identify light with the sun, warmth, growth, and comfort. In contrast, we associate dark with mystery, night, cold, and other uncomfortable things.

Visuals are the symbols people respond to in the most dramatic ways (Osborne, 1967; Burke, 1986, Berger, 1982; Larson, 1995). Some basic visual symbols are buttons, badges, or bumper stickers. These symbols make their points simply: "Think Globally;" "Guns Don't Kill; People DO." Researchers know that people who display bumper stickers, wear T-shirts with a product label, or sport campaign buttons will be far more likely to vote for a candidate, buy the product, or join the cause they are promoting. "This is because by making their symbolic 'statement,' they have already 'acted' and have, as a result, committed themselves to the candidate, product, or cause" (Larson, 1995, p. 116).

According to this argument, visual symbols can immediately create an image, either positive or negative, in the listener's mind. Consequently, the ability to use symbols effectively is directly linked to the ability of a group, organization, or society to persuade (Osborne, 1967; Lederer, 1991; Larson, 1995).

Relating these ideas to the news media, Jervis (1970) argues that symbols could be used to influence an audience's image of a political candidate. In the same way Edelman (1971) concluded that visual symbols are never neutral.

When looking at the use of symbols by news sources, Altheide (1987) looked at terrorism reports on British and American television news. Altheide argues that television news formats "limit, constrain, and distort information about terrorism." He adds that the shape and impact of news messages are distorted because "government officials, who are the primary sources in this type of news coverage, draw on a substantial symbolic arsenal in condemning terrorist activity" (p.162). In sum, words and

specific pictures can often become symbols, and news constraints contribute to the way viewers understand news phenomena.

When studying relationships between social movements and the visual media, it is important to assess the symbolic meanings of a given visual symbol. This necessity is due, in part, to the fact that in any situation, movement members and observers view and understand symbols differently. For example, the 1993 FBI storming of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, has become a symbol for virtually everyone in the country. Most of us can visualize a single image of the full screen, visual frame of the compound on fire. For militia members, this visual image (or symbol) represents yet another example of government intervention in individual freedom. For law enforcement officers, the image represents another example of lawlessness; for the general public, it is an example of an encroaching militia movement.

It can also be argued that members of a militia group use symbols as a way to show others their militia affiliations. Symbols enable militias to promote, advertise and bring solidarity to the membership. Conversely, symbols also allow the public to recognize and identify individuals, groups, or concepts as those belonging to the militia movement.

If ideologies are generalized beliefs that allow individuals to share common ideas, then symbols are the manifestations of those ideas. And, having argued that qualitative content analysis is the search for meaning in its symbolic form and that people respond to visual symbols in dramatic ways, this study also kept track of images, clothing, and identifying marks as they emerged.

Study Question

How has network television news framed the militia movement during the 1990s?

Study objective

The objective of this study was to understand how broadcast news frames or portrays the militia movement. This study also examined the salient themes, labels, symbols and visuals relevant to the way network news presents the militia and investigated how these patterns were linked to one another. Additionally, this study also generated hypotheses for future research.

Time Frame

Since no single historical account exists of all of the news events regarding the militia movement, the first phase of this study attempted to collect all of the information available, starting on November 9, 1989, and continuing to February 28, 1999. The time period 1989 to the present was selected, in part, because of Diamond's (1995) observation that the tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 [5] and the subsequent fall of Communism cast adrift many American, staunchly anti-Communist, dissidents.

[5] On the 9th of November 1989, the border separating Western from Eastern Germany was effectively opened. After more than 30 years the Berlin Wall was taken down (Ramm, 1999, online).

In her book, Roads to Dominion, Diamond (1995) traces a 50-year quest of "outside" organizations for political power and examines how they moved from the sidelines of U.S. politics to center stage. Diamond states:

> President Reagan's departure from the White House left neoconservatives, the New Right, and the Christian Right without a unanimously popular and unifying leader. ...Bush enjoyed early approval from movement conservatives...until he embarked on divisive domestic policy initiatives that aroused the ire of right-wing movement activists. At issue were the perennial questions of the state's role as distributor of wealth and power. ...Bush's first fateful move came in 1990 when he reluctantly abandoned his 1988 campaign pledge, 'read my lips: no new taxes' (p.276-277).

Diamond (1995) further explains that those same military lobbies, media watchdogs, and paramilitary groups that once assisted government agencies in spying on civil-right and anti-war dissidents were now forming anti-government armed militias and blowing up federal buildings. As a result, the author concludes, militias are a central ingredient to the Radical Right.

Robert Jay Lifton, director of the John Jay Center for the study of Violence and Human Survival in New York, agrees with these time parameters. Lifton explains that "The United States is going through a period of post Cold War confusion. The collapse of the Soviet Union has left us adrift. We may have won the Cold War, but we've lost a purpose. As a result, a sense of frustration and anger pervades the whole society"

(Doskoch, 1995). Charles Strozier, also of the John Jay Center, adds "...the end of the millennium is the shadow on everyone's mind on the Christian right." That shadow, he says, is galvanizing militia members "who truly think apocalypse is at hand" (Doskoch, 1995).

> Social movement researchers have often viewed the development of a coherent ideological base as one crucial component in the emergence of collective protest. The development of an ideology from a diffuse, amorphous set of beliefs to a relatively well-defined system containing important structural elements is central to movement development (Ladd, Hood, Van Liere, 1983, p.252).

A ten-year period is sufficient both to indicate whether network news portrayal of the militia changed, and to suggest how the movement, as portrayed by network television newscasts, changed, developed, and coalesced over time. The time frame for this study encompassed the ten-year period from November 9, 1989, to February 28, 1999, when data collection began. February 28, 1999 was selected as the closing parameter for this study in order to maintain consistency throughout the collection process because, as stated, with grounded theory the search, coding, and analysis process begin immediately and simultaneously.

Unit of Analysis

The basic unit for this study is the individual news story. A news story is defined through criteria developed by Larson and Hardy (1977):

1. A dateline or headline-type statement followed by copy read by the announcer is a story.
2. A dateline or headline-type statement followed by a string of filmed or taped presentations on the same subject, with copy read by the announcer interspersed, is a story.
3. A dateline or headline-type statement followed by a correspondent's report, together with a lead-in and lead-out by the announcer is a single story.
4. A string of correspondents' reports under a single heading but from different locations and different slants are considered different stories. The lead-in by the announcer is considered part of the first story and the lead-out is considered part of the last.
5. Headlines that refer to stories later in the newscast are not considered stories (p.255).

The last criterion is particularly important because most newscasts include what are considered "teases" or promotional statements designed either to keep or to bring the audience to the product. Promotional teasers and headlines are not designed to convey substantive information and therefore will not be included in this study.

Data Collection

This study makes the assumption that virtually all local television newscasts are no longer available for examination. It is common practice among local stations to not keep a newscast, as broadcast, for more than sixty days. Additionally, the FCC no longer requires stations to keep copies of their scripts for more than three years. As the time period for this study includes ten years, it is impossible to examine local television station data. As a result, and in an effort to remain consistent, this study focuses only on network news, despite the fact that much of the material may have originated with local stations.

Data collection for this study began with a search of the Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstracts located on the Internet. Vanderbilt has been videotaping the nightly newscasts of the three major networks since 1968. Vanderbilt also began videotaping CNN on January 1, 1989.

All of the evening network (ABC, CBS, and NBC) newscasts and news stories that contain any information regarding any militia for the 10 years specified above were collected. While CNN, FOX, and MSNBC could currently be considered players in the television news game, they all do not operate in the same manner, nor is data being collected by the Archives for all these operations.

CNN, for example, is a 24-hour news service, and although the Vanderbilt Archives began to collect CNN data in 1989, CNN did not begin airing a regularly scheduled nightly newscast until 1995. Fox and MSNBC are also not included in this study because no records currently exist of their broadcasts. In an effort to be consistent,

only ABC, CBS and NBC news stories that aired between the specified dates are included in this study.

Items included in Vanderbilt's collection of news broadcasts are indexed, and the index is designed to help in locating specific news segments from the tape of an entire newscast. The indexing, however, is specific. For example, a preliminary search using the search term "militias" brought up militia stories plus a lot of stories about militia events occurring outside of the United States. Since this study concerns itself only with the militia movement in the United States, careful scrutiny and screening eliminated material concerning foreign groups or events.

Additionally, the Abstracts are an abbreviated print version of the newscasts and the stories. They are simply a compressed version of the newscasts, not verbatim transcripts, and they exist in various degrees of detail and are subject to interpretation. As a result, an in-depth study of the stories within the newscast required an examination of the videotapes and a verbatim transcription of the information.

The collection or initial process used only the words "militia" and "militias." Starting with data from the year 1989, each word was entered individually for each year within the stated ten-year period; the individual abstracts were read and then printed. A list was compiled of the material and taken to the Vanderbilt Archives in Nashville for a screening of the videotapes. A screening of the tapes was essential to ensure that the individual stories contained relevant information.

Using this process, three discoveries of note occurred. First, I eliminated two stories from the preliminary analysis. Despite the fact that the two stories below were found using the search term "militia," a screening indicated no mention of any militia

whatsoever. I examined the anchor lead-in, the anchor tag, checked to see if the story preceding or following the one in question dealt with the militia movement. It did not!

As a result, these two stories were dropped from my pull chart.

7/28/96	ABC	5:30:40	5:36:50	6:10	Atlanta, GA/ Olympic Games Park bombing	*Militia*
7/28/96	CBS	5:05:40	5:12:50	7:10	Atlanta, GA/ Olympic Games Park bombing	*Militia*

Second, there were several incidents in which the preliminary search indicated that a news story was four to five minutes in length. Further examination of either the full abstract or a screening of the tape indicated that there were actually two stories with two separate reporters. For example, the preliminary search indicates that a militia story aired on April 19, 1997.

1997.04.19 MILITIAS 5:36:50-5:41:30 . . . . . Saturday . . . . . ABC

When first locating this story, one would believe that a single four minute and thirty second story had aired on ABC. Upon pulling the full abstract it becomes clear that two separate stories aired.

1997.04.19 MILITIAS 5:36:50-5:41:30 . . . . . Saturday . . . . . ABC

(Studio: Renee Poussaint) Two reports on the changing militia movement in the US introduced.

(Tulsa, OK: JuJu Chang) The militia movement examined; scenes shown from a Tulsa, OK, militia meeting, where speakers railed against government intrusion. [Two MILITIAMEN, militia leader John TROCHMAN - comment.] The new tactic of leaderless resistance in which the movement has gone underground & communicate via the computer Internet outlined. [Montana militia movement Randy TROCHMAN - talks about readiness.] ["American Extremists" author John GEORGE - says it is hard to predict which militias are dangerous.]

(Studio: Renee Poussaint) Report introduced.

(Ft. Davis, TX: Bill Redeker) A visit to a small armed camp in Ft. Davis, TX, where a group called the Republic of Texas is trying to secede from the US featured; scenes shown from the mountainous compound. [Republic of Texas member "GREG," leader Rip McLAREN - state their views] (Vanderbilt, 1997, Online).

The newscast tapes were the most reliable measure of story lengths. Of more significance were several incidents in which the paper abstracts did not in any way state that two separate stories existed or in some cases three.

Additionally, in several separate incidents the abstract gave no indication that a story involved the militia. For example, the search term "Oklahoma City bombing" yielded what appeared to be a nine-minute story. In reality, the nine minutes comprised a group of stories, only one of which involved the militia. However, following use of the search term "militia," the story did not appear because it was imbedded in the overall coverage of the Oklahoma City bombing.

As a result, it was not only necessary but also imperative to locate and read the full abstract, screen the videotape, and time each story used in the analysis. It was also necessary to identify and search as many different codes and categories as possible in order not to miss any potential stories.

Once all of the "militia" and "militias" indexed stories were screened and approved, personnel at the Archives dubbed-over all of the stories to VHS tapes. This first round of research yielded one hundred and eleven individual stories. The transcriptions of those tapes, including the anchor's lead in and tag, were the initial database for this study.

Because grounded theory works by suggesting explanatory ideas for the instances framed in the text it was important to keep copious notes regarding emergent findings and ideas. The idea was to see a relation between the text and any idea, concept or theory grounded in the text. As a result, open coding began by first arraying the stories chronologically by date, with the oldest story first. Chronological ordering facilitates the data analysis and it allows the examination to proceed as a process.

The stories were then entered into a computer in alphabetical order by network, ABC first, CBS second, and NBC third. The resulting list was then printed, and as new

stories were added, the list was amended (see Appendix A). Each story was then transcribed. During the transcription, initial codes were identified and directly typed onto the page (See sample scripts Appendix B). When this initial process was complete, the scripts and their abstracts were placed into a notebook.

During this process of open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), the stories were compared and contrasted, one to the other, and codes were placed (handwritten) on each story to indicate a potential emerging category. The intent of the category system was to begin to derive a single dimension or issue on which each story was most focused and to try and establish and identify new search terms. This too is in keeping with a grounded theory approach because collection of data takes place at the same time as analysis. At the end of this initial process, ten potential broad categories emerged.

The initial categories included identifying a militia group by (1) name, (2) total numbers, (3) group leader, (4) geographic location, (5) ideology, and (6) descriptive activity. A separate list of categories was created that identified specific stories by name or its specific news event. For example, the Oklahoma City Bombing was categorized simply as Oklahoma City Bombing.

The name category included: the Montana Freemen, Viper Militia, The Committee of 1776, Republic of Texas, Four Corners Militia, Idaho Militia, and the Michigan Militia. The belief systems or potential ideology were coded: supremacist or supremacy, separatist, patriots, fundamentalist, survivalists, Christian right, far right, racist and anti-abortionists. The descriptive activity category included: paramilitary, confrontationists, terrorists, and domestic terrorists .

The specific stories that emerged included (7) Ruby Ridge and Randy Weaver, (8) David Koresh and Waco, (9) the Oklahoma City Bombing, and the (10)Timothy McVeigh trial .

Each of the individual name, belief, and descriptive codes was re-entered into the Vanderbilt Archives database and new stories were located. The process continued as described above. Stories that were not already part of the file were added to the database for this study. This process yielded another eighty stories.

In the case of the stories identified by their specific names or news event (i.e Ruby Ridge, Waco, the Oklahoma City bombing, and the McVeigh trial), every aspect of the story was identified, re-entered and searched.

For the Ruby Ridge story, both Ruby Ridge and Randy Weaver were entered and searched. This 1992 story regarding the 11-day siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, made national news when U.S. marshalls were involved in a shooting match with separatist Randy Weaver, and it is particularly important to the militia movement. It is important because when the siege was over, Weaver's wife and son were dead. For members of the militia movement, this story is often the one cited as the event marking their decision to join a militia movement. However, when researched using the single term "militia" this story never appears.

In relation to the Waco standoff, the terms "cult," "Branch Davidian," "Vernon Howell," "Waco" and "David Koresh" emerged and were investigated. This story involved a fifty-one day standoff between the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). The agents of BATF attempted to enter the Davidians' Mt.Carmel compound to execute an arrest warrant for Vernon

Howell, also known as David Koresh, on weapons' charges. However, the Davidians resisted the BATF with gunfire, resulting in the deaths of four BATF agents and the wounding of sixteen others. In addition, several Branch Davidian members were also killed or wounded.

The initial raid failed in its stated objective to arrest Koresh. Subsequently, FBI and Treasury officials were dispatched to the commune. On the morning of April 19, 1993, two Combat Engineering Vehicles entered the commune to begin injecting tear gas into the building. Four hours later, after several rounds of tear gas injection and retaliatory gunfire from the Davidians, the commune was set on fire. The blaze engulfed the building, killing the people inside. In the end, seventy-five Branch Davidians were dead, including twenty-five children. This story also was not available via the term "militia."

Every single story's abstract was carefully screened as was the videotape. I decided to include only those stories that explicitly discussed or described a militia or militia activity. For example, when considering the Oklahoma City bombing, I did not include stories that described rescue efforts, stories of survivors, or police activity not specifically related to the militia.

Again, stories that were not already part of the analysis were added to this study's database as they were discovered. The process continued as already described until categories and codes became redundant, relating back to stories already part of the database. This entire process required a screening of 1154 videotapes and yielded a total of three hundred and seven individual stories.

As grounded theory dictates, in order to allow the categories to emerge, I collected all the abstracts and previewed, selected and transcribed all of the relevant tapes. Both a graduate student and an undergraduate student checked the transcriptions against the tapes several times to ensure accuracy.

Data Analysis

This analysis is based on the grounded theory method first introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In general, the grounded method consists of extensive reading, sorting, and searching through material; comparing within categories, coding, and adding key words and concepts; then writing minisummaries of categories. The novelty of grounded theory relates to the manner in which the information is both collected and analyzed. This method is distinguished from other approaches in that data collection and analysis proceed **simultaneously.**

As each script was re-read, and analyzed handwritten codes were place at the bottom of the page. The codes identified potential frames or categories. Any themes, labels, and potential symbols contained in the news story were underlined on the script itself.

Memoing was interleaved with the coding process. Memos are essential to a grounded theory method and are described by Glaser and Strauss(1967) as "The theorizing write up of ideas about the codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding." The advice the authors give is to "stop and memo" as coding sparks off ideas (p.83). Memoing reflects the process of constant comparison across

indicators and codes. It saturates dimensions of the main categories that have emerged through coding and constantly generates open questions for further coding and data collection.

Once all of the stories were collected, transcribed, and coded a series of several different outlines were developed to try and put parameters around central ideas or concepts. In the end a total of twenty-one categories were identified (see Appendix C). However, one problem for this study was memo management. Coding proceeded line-by-line to avoid missing an important aspect that might escape in the overview approach. As a result, the large number of transcribed stories made it difficult to keep track of the developing memos, particularly since some were word-processed while others were hand-written. Additionally, transcribing all of the stories took more than nine months, and memory of older memos faded and new ideas wanted to be recorded before they got lost.

Grounded theory also requires building theory "from the ground up"—that is, letting patterns in the data become visible rather than imposing a set of hypotheses or expectations on the information being collected. Adopting this approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I repeatedly watched the segments, transcribed the narratives, and made extensive, shot-by-shot video transcriptions of each story. I made notes on significant patterns, people, language, time, and revealing events and narratives in the news. Essentially, I did all of the work.

In keeping with grounded theory's constant comparative approach to theory, the literature review is a continuation of theoretical understanding where findings in the literature provide additional data to which a study's findings can be compared. In a two-

way analysis, questions emerging from this study were posed to the literature and issues found in the literature were addressed by the study's findings.

Reflection upon the emergent theory led to a realization that this study's findings related to other literature areas such as terrorism, constitutional issues, and talk radio. These literatures could not have been explored prior to the collection of data because the research had not yet revealed the theory's components. These ideas or elements emerged from this study.

Analysis of Visuals

Researchers (Nimo & Combs, 1990; Wadsworth, 1986; Gray, 1987; Altheide, 1996) suggest that when investigators are researching television news, analysis of the visuals should also become part of the process. Altheide (1996) directs attention to the wide variety of techniques available to qualitative content analysts, and it is his view that such techniques produce richer and more reliable interpretations of media presentations then mere studies of verbal content and their meaning.

Examining video requires taking into consideration several different components of the viewing experience. For example, some items to consider are camera moves, editing, and effects. Camera moves include high or low camera angles, point of view, close-ups, extreme close ups, and long shots. Editing devices include cuts, dissolves, match action, parallel action and continuity. Digital effects include squeeze frames, split fields, wipes, type of supers and animation (Zettl, 1999; Millerson, 1999). Researchers (Fiske & Hartley, 1985; Gray, 1991; Metallinos, 1996; Mullen, 1999) argue that all of

these production devices could contribute to the meaning of a news story. As with content analysis, here too there are a variety of ways in which to analyze video content.

This study will be based on video analysis procedures outlined by Altheide (1996). The outline entails simply describing the visuals by "what was shown," "who was shown," and "what they were doing"(p.22). This sort of descriptive study will provide useful data about the content of television output as a complete message system.

Verification

Guba and Lincoln (1981) explain that with qualitative research the term reliability is something of a "misfit" and suggest that the scholar think about reliability in terms of "dependability," "consistency," or "trustworthiness" of the results obtained from the data. That is, rather than demanding that outsiders get the same results, one wishes outsiders to concur that, given the data collected, the results make sense—they are consistent and dependable. To promote agreement with my conclusions, I have provided a detailed accounting of my methods in order to provide a clear and accurate picture of how the data was collected and analyzed.

To establish internal validity, the researcher is required to show that the observations in the study reflect genuine features of the situations under investigation and not merely his/her own conclusions. To ensure internal validity, Stempel and Westley (1989) offer as guidelines "triangulation," "long term observation," "peer examination," and "clarification" of researcher bias.

Using Stempel and Westley's method, this study used triangulation in two forms: First, militias were examined through a "historical perspective," looking at how militias were first formed and how they evolved within the United States, and second, militias were viewed "synchronically." "Synchronically" refers to selection of relevant facts regarding a problem or issue and to the placement or role of that problem or issue within "today's" society (p.381). As this study examined and traced a ten-year period of discussion of militia movement, it was able to maximize comparisons for a synchronic examination.

Since this study also traced the history of the militia from its beginnings during the Roman Republic to its American Revolutionary foundation in United States history, through both its military and civilian evolution during Reconstruction, up to and including its revitalization in contemporary American society, this study can support arguments and conclusions requiring long term-examination and in-depth exploration of historic values.

Regarding clarification of researcher bias, Strauss and Corbin (1994) explain that effective development of theory is greatly enhanced by sensitivity to theory. This sensitivity to theory consists of professional knowledge of the discipline, as well as awareness of both the research style and the personal experience that I bring my inquiry. As stated, I have considerable experience as a television reporter, producer and manager. However, as Strauss and Corbin (1994) caution, researchers who use their own conceptual roots as sensitizing concepts must be alert to the central issue that in using grounded theory methodology, literature and experience are used as data to explain the theory; the theory is not derived from them. Finally, an undergraduate student screened

my transcriptions against the tapes several times and a graduate student reviewed the final transcripts against the tapes to ensure accuracy. The same graduate student examined the videotapes to ascertain that I had not missed any significant visual or symbol.

External validity deals with the question of how one's findings match reality. One of the assumptions underlying qualitative research is that reality is holistic, multidimensional, and ever-changing; it is not a single, fixed, objective phenomenon. The primary strategy utilized in this project to ensure external validity is the provision of rich, thickly detailed descriptions so that anyone interested in transferability will have a solid framework for comparison.

Several patterns and trends emerged from the examination of the news stories. The next chapter details these results and discusses the meanings and messages contained in the news stories.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discriptive Findings and Discussion

Introduction

What emerged from the many different stories was broken down then coded by various subjects, approaches, frames, themes, labels, symbols, and visuals. This data was then restructured and combined into various broad categories. The findings for this analysis are the results of this process.

The analyses of this study are presented in four sections. First, the general description of the stories broadcast are provided to give an overall picture of network news coverage. The few numbers contained in this qualitative study are merely to help the reader understand the scope of the analysis. Second, frames, themes, and labels, are examined and analyzed within the context of the militia movement. Third, symbols and visuals are reviewed as results of a video analysis. Findings are presented to discuss how these symbols and pictures may have contributed to the overall coverage or effect of the stories broadcast. And, finally, miscellaneous categories that contribute insight into how the militia movement was portrayed by the networks newscasts are investigated and discussed.

All of the stories that emerged during the collection and coding process of this study make up the data for this analysis. Naturally, all of the stories included deal directly with the militia or with some issue directly related to the militia movement.

General Description

A total of three hundred and seven network television news transcripts make up the data for this study. The breakdown is as follows: one hundred and five transcripts from ABC news, one hundred and ten from CBS news, and ninety-two from NBC news. The broadcast dates range from November 1989, through February 28, 1999. In all there are two hundred and twenty eight packages, or stories, presented or covered by reporters, and seventy-nine voice-overs, stories presented by the news anchor. As would be expected, the most militia stories of all the years included in this study appeared in 1995, the year of the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. (For full listing see Appendix D.)

MILITIA NUMBERS AND ACTIVITY. Thirty-one different militia groups operating in seventeen different states are identified in the data. (See Appendix E) Each of the thirty-one different militias examined in this study is shown participating in some type of political or illegal activity. These various activities range, on the moderate side, from participating in Preparedness Expos where military uniforms, guns and militia literature are sold (Tulsa, Florida, Washington State militias) to a demonstration (Committee of 1776) in Washington D.C. The more extreme group actions include involvement in the murder of a police officer (Four Corners Militia) and planning or participating in various types of bombings or sabotage (Georgia Militia, Viper Militia, Virginia Mountaineer Militia).

Like law enforcement agents, special interest groups and scholars, the network news organizations are unable to identify how many groups or how many people make up

the militia movement. The first attempt to do so is made by reporter Jim Cummings for NBC on November 30, 1994. While profiling the Michigan Militia, Cummings states, "It (the Michigan Militia) already claims twelve thousand troops..." then adds "...there is also an armed militia here in Indiana and in at least twenty other states."

Following the Oklahoma City bombing, ABC, using Anti-Defamation League figures, claims militias are operating in thirteen states (1995, ABC April 21). A week later, ABC's Bill Redeker identifies thirty states (1995, ABC April 29) and five days after that Peggy Wehmeyer states that militias are identified in "...forty states" (1995,ABC May 5). On April 19, 1997, ABC reports that militia memberships are running steady, "...ranging from as little as ten thousand, armed militia members across the country to as many as forty thousand."

For CBS, the Michigan Militia is made up of "...fifteen thousand members and is part of a growing nationwide phenomenon who believe the government is their enemy" (1995, CBS, April 21). The very next day, however, reporter Martha Teichner's report indicates that "...with an estimated ten to fifteen thousand members in thirty-five states, the militia movement is perhaps most visible in Michigan" (1995, CBS, April 22).

NBC is more circumspect. "Militias are most active in Montana, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Texas, Michigan, and Florida, but they also operate across state lines" (1995, NBC April 21). In another report, reporter Bob Faw states, "No one is certain how large their arsenals are or how many militiamen there are or even in how many states—estimates range from twenty-two to forty-nine" (1995, NBC April 24) while Fred Francis reports, "Although its impossible to count their actual numbers, a new study (does not identify it) says militias existed in thirty-five states a year ago and today they are in forty"

(1995, NBC June 19). However, one year later the same reporter, Fred Francis, indicates there are militias in "...thirty states" (Francis, 1996, NBC July 2).

Over time, all three networks take a more cautious viewpoint and adopt state-by-state and group-by-group approaches. For example, while reporting on the Viper Militia in Arizona, ABC reports, "The state has twenty-eight organized militias and probably dozens of smaller less organized groups" (1996, ABC, July 3). And, while covering the Republic of Texas stand-off, Bill Reddeker explains there are "...as many as ten thousand" in this single group (1997, ABC April 19).

CBS, while covering a rash of bombings and attempted bombings directed towards government buildings in California, reports, "There are fifty-eight counties in all (California). County clerks in at least forty-nine of them have been threatened (by militias) for refusing to record phony bogus documents"(Matthews, 1997, CBS June 3).

And NBC's Mike Boetcher investigates militia activity in the Midwest and reports, "...even though Kansas has about one percent of the nation's population, it has thirteen percent of the reported hates crimes in this country"(1997, NBC April 18).

Given that no one can either identify the total number of militias or their membership, a report aired by NBC's Mike Boetcher could be seen as potentially misleading to the viewer. Boetcher states "After the Oklahoma City bombing national militia membership dropped, but an NBC News investigation of the anti-government movement shows its numbers surging again an estimated five percent in the past year" (1997, NBC April 18).

TIME AND MILITIA CELLS. A key element to emerge from this data is that causal responsibilities for acts of extremist behavior evolved from being assigned to the

militia as a whole, to being attributed to specific militia groups. This development is also consistent with networks' taking a more cautious state-by-state approach to covering militia activity. Coverage of the Viper Militia in Arizona (1996, ABC, July 3) and the Republic of Texas (1997, ABC, April 19) is consistent with this premise.

Although introduced in July of 1996, more than a year after the Oklahoma City bombing, it is not until 1997 that the networks begin to air stories that try to differentiate one group's behaviors from another's. The following, however, is the only distinction that they make: Although network newsworkers consider all militia to be participants in paramilitary extremism network reporters' do attempt to explain that militia "cells" are those that are more prone to committing acts of violence. The FBI generally see a militia cell as a small group of four to five members who are related either by birth or by having served in the military together.

In 1996 CBS's Jim Stewart reports on the growing militia movement. Scenes show various acts of violence from bank robberies to bombings. In the text, Stewart questions whether these incidents are isolated or part of a larger conspiracy. He indicates that the FBI does not know, and further explains that the FBI "seems far less concerned with the public militias then they are with the lone wolves and smaller terrorist cells out there." This is followed with an interview with Joe Roy, a spokesperson for the Southern Poverty Law Center, who says:

> These guys are autonomous, they're operating their own cells, they answer to no one, and when they take it upon themselves to commit some kind of aggressive

> act like was seen in Oklahoma City, they don't have to clear it with anybody (1996, CBS July 2).

Yet, in 1997 for most newsworkers it is a "...changing militia movement" not a recognition that these distinctions were always in place (1997, ABC April 19). JuJu Chang reports, "But the movement is also going in another direction, underground. Radical members have adopted another tactic, known as leaderless resistance. They are organized into small groups or cells." Adding,

> In the past year, several leaderless resistance cells have been charged with robbing a bank in Washington, plotting a political assassination in Georgia and possessing illegal weapons in Arizona. Experts say dangerous ones are a small minority (1997, ABC April 19).

While NBC reports

> The racist anti-Semitic, Aryan Nation militias are the very public mainstream militias. There are also the secret cells called leaderless resistance. Cells are modeled after the French underground with 3 to 15 members answering to no central command. These, experts say, are the ones to worry about (Boettcher, 1997, July2).

Given that terrorism can also be described as ordinary crimes that all "societies enact laws against," that it is carried out by an "organized group," and that it refers "to actions that are intended to produce fear and alarm," it would seem that the distinction between a cell and a militia group is significant (Howard,1992, p.14). Certainly, Timothy McVeigh and his accomplice fit these parameters, but this group could only be called a militia cell.

Scholars (Gitlin, 1980; Altheide, 1987; Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Ivengar, 1991) have argued that television news coverage has the power to influence support or opposition to social movement. As a result, the public's perception of a social movement's intensity of action may reflect media coverage rather than the actual strength, scope, and intensity of a movement. Following this line of reasoning it can be argued that identifying militias as "group" or "cell" becomes a significant element in shaping the publics' perception. The distinction between group and cell, however, is made well after the Oklahoma City bombing and it could well be too late to change or affect viewer perceptions.

Generally, the militia groups that received coverage during the ten-year period of this study threatened violence but reiterated time after time that they were not extremist organizations, nor is there evidence indicating that they were. The data indicates that it is the militia cells that received the major portion of news coverage. Therefore, the observations that media can have a potential effect on viewer perceptions of movement intensity may be correct.

NETWORK DISTINCTION BETWEEN MILITIAS. All three networks make little or no distinction between differing ideologies among the groups. The term militia and patriot are used interchangeably, and volatile descriptive terms such as far-right,

fundamentalists, milleniumists, supremacist, white supremacist, survivalist, and separatists are used without definition and tend to be used to describe or visually depict activity rather than ideology.

With the exception of hate and fear of the government and apprehension at the prospect of losing their right to carry weapons, there is little agreement among the networks regarding militia ideology. The following are some examples, and they all refer to the militia in general rather than to a specific group.

> Civil liberties groups say that hate groups have infiltrated at least eight civilian militias (1994, NBC Nov.30).

> They have used this kind of biblical fundamental Christianity as a basis, a justification for their political program (Wehmeyer, 1995, ABC May 5).

> ...some of it racist, some of it anti-Semitic (Amos, 1995, ABC May 7).

> In many cases the hate groups of the past have reconstituted themselves into the militia (Francis, 1995, NBC May 22).

> ...mixture of religion, freeman philosophy (anti government) and who advocate white supremacy (Sarrifin, 1996, ABC March 29).

> ...no one voice speaks for them all (Muller, 1996, ABC March 30).

(For full list of militia leaders and spokespersons see Appendix F).

...There are a number that believe they should stay underground and just prepare for a day when they have a one world government (Sarrafin, 1997, ABC Feb,1).

...anti-abortion, anti-gay, and anti-tax message" (Boetcher, 1997, NBC April 18).

...who believe that society, as we know it is about to collapse(Lewis, 1998, NBC, June 8).

Obviously, network reporters lack consensus on militia ideology. As a result of this lack of consensus, it appears difficult for reporters to separate militias from other pre-existing social right-wing groups. Looking at the dates of the above data, time does little to alter the perspective. One point of agreement among networks, however, is that the militia are a "...national paramilitary sub-culture" (Wehmeyer, 1995, ABC May 5).

MILITIA HISTORY. There is also little agreement regarding when militias first appeared on the social scene. Immediately following the Oklahoma City bombing, ABC's Brian Ross states the Michigan Militia "...has been under investigation for the last ten years"(1995, ABC April 22), while another reporter at ABC connects militias to the far right of the '70s and declares them to be "racist and anti-Semitic" (1995, ABC May 7). In this **very same** newscast another reporter, Deborah Amos, states, "It's a movement invisible to Americans until the bombing in Oklahoma City..."

For CBS, Jim Stewart proclaims that the NRA and the militia have been working together for "...twenty years"(1995, CBS May 12), while another reporter states, "It is activity that dates itself to the middle 1970s and the scare of Middle East terrorism"(1995, CBS October 30). In another CBS report, New York's Democratic Congressman Schumer lends his support for a time frame. He says, "Nobody really knew this was a problem until five years ago, and at first the FBI and other agencies were sort of like babes in the woods..."(1996, CBS July 2). Dan Rather, the primary anchorman for the network, also gets involved. In an eight-minute story (longest among all stories emerging in this the data), he connects the contemporary militia movement to a 1976 Arkansas paramilitary organization and declares "...most right-wing extremists went to jail in the 1980s" (Rather, 1997 CBS March 24). However, law enforcement officials explain that efforts of the 1980s centered on their goals to "quash Neo-Nazi terrorist activities" (Leitch, 1997, p.1), not militias.

On the other hand, NBC's Jim Cummins reports that the Michigan Militia (the largest and fastest growing, most well established and well organized militia) was founded in April of 1994, just seven months prior to airing the report (1994, NBC Nov.30). Three years later, in 1997, Brian Williams reports, "One of the legacies of Waco and the Oklahoma City bombing was the sudden emergence of militias in this country"(1997, NBC April 18).

Surprisingly, in the five-year period before the Oklahoma City bombing, militias are **virtually non-existent** on network television newscasts. Between 1989 and 1995, only two stories are specifically identified as militia stories. In the other few stories, although they describe militia activity, participants are identified as separatist,

supremacist, or white supremacist. These types of identifiers, however, are usually associated with a group's ideology and not with a type of activity. These descriptions are also surprising because, as Chapter Two of this study clearly indicates, by the early 1980s not only was the FBI aware of militias as a growing movement, but special interest groups and some academic scholars also viewed the growing phenomenon as a potential social threat. And, as stated, several states had begun passing anti-paramilitary activity legislation.

It is, therefore, difficult to understand why, despite the overwhelming amount of information available regarding militia growth and activity, the three networks provided little to no coverage on the militia movement prior to the Oklahoma City bombing. If television is the primary source of news for most Americans, it is therefore not surprising that most American viewers, like network news workers themselves, were taken by surprise at the level of membership and size of the militia phenomenon. It would also seem that in the case of the militia movement, the old cliché claiming that if the "Networks don't cover it, it doesn't exist" is true.

Frames, Themes, and Labels

This section of this study examines the dominant frames, themes, and labels that emerged in the data. As discussed in Chapter Three, frames inform and shape messages and information by organizing ideas. They are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event. Frames also enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely.

As seen in Chapter Four, themes differ from frames in that they are the recurring typical theses that run through news reports. Generally, themes are broad definitions of a phenomenon. In journalism, themes are seen as miniframes for a report.

Labels differ from frames and themes in that they are not descriptions of the actual behaviors of human activity but they are the interpretations placed on behaviors by other observers. Labels allow the public to define and articulate social order symbolically.

Each of these elements taken individually can impact the public perception of a news event. Taken collectively, they can be used to build a theory to broaden our understanding of media effects.

Frames

TERRORISM. The media engage in framing by the way that they characterize an issue. The frame the media give an issue establishes its meaning and how it is to be perceived. Because there is often more than one way to think about a subject, media frames influence the public by getting them to think about an issue in a certain way. By far, the largest number of stories contained in the data is concerned with some form of militia threat, intimidation, violence and control.

As a result, the dominant frame throughout this data is the terrorism frame. It can also be argued that terrorism is the frame that links various social groups organizationally and ideologically. Placing the militias within a terrorist frame can have a direct effect on how the viewer understands the militia movement and can overstate the overall danger

the movement poses. By examining the concept of terrorism, it is easy to understand why.

The National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1976) points out that those who practice terrorism "...exhibit behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community." The impact of fear, therefore, is critical because all violence produces fear and alarm as a byproduct, but in the case of terrorism, it is not a byproduct—it is the objective. If the militia movement is framed within this context, the viewer has little recourse but to fear the militia unilaterally.

Several scholars explain how and why terrorism can cause this effect. Hacker (1980) reveals that "...terror, which is inflicted from above, is the manufacture and spread of fear by dictators, governments, and bosses. It is the attempt of the powerful to exert control through intimidation." Terrorism, which is imposed from below, is the manufacture and spread of fear by "rebels, revolutionaries, and protesters."

Additionally, there is little debate that the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City was an act of terrorism. However, by linking the militia to this event directly in the narrative, or indirectly in the visuals, newsworkers can find militias guilty by association. By describing the events in Oklahoma City as a "bombing cataclysm" (1995, CBS April 27) and using themes that describe the event as "The deadliest crime ever committed in the United States" (1995,NBC April 27), the networks are intrinsically making the association that all militia members are terrorists.

Further, interviews with militia members that appear in this data tend to reinforce the networks' construction of militias as terrorists. For example, three days after the

Oklahoma City bombing, ABC's Brian Ross investigates the role of the extreme-right-wing militias in relation to the bombing. From New York he reports,

> But just last night one of the heroes of the movement,
> Bo Gritz, after first expressing sympathy for the victims went on to praise the professionalism of the bomb itself.

Gritz is heard saying, "The destruction in Oklahoma City of a nine-story government building was a Rembrant...it was a masterpiece of science and art put together" (1995, ABC April 22). Ross, obviously was not in the audience, nor did he listen to the entire speech delivered by Gritz. Gritz is a militia leader not affiliated with any particular militia group. He is also a decorated Vietnam Veteran who was responsible for getting Randy Weaver out of his home during the Ruby Ridge stand-off. Following the Oklahoma City bombing he happened to be in Dallas speaking in front of a large audience about his Ruby Ridge experience and on an out-of-control FBI agency. During the course of the speech an audience member asks him about the Oklahoma City bombing. As a military veteran, his speech alludes to the fact that the bomb was very obviously constructed by military personnel. A local television station in Dallas was present during the speech. Taken out of context, the speech gives the viewer a sense that Gritz is praising the bombing. In reality, Gritz is making an observation on the bomb's construction.

However, because good and evil have their limits, the networks report that even

militia members themselves have limits. For example, ABC's Morton Dean reports:

> Some state militias have reacted to the hot light of publicity since the deadly attack in Oklahoma City. In Michigan today where one of the most active militias is located, organizers Norman Olson and Ray Southwell were forced to resign (1995, ABC April 19).

This is an erroneous piece of information because both men continue to appear in the data and they continue to actively participate in militia activity. In fact, Norman Olson is one of the individuals selected by the Michigan Militia to testify before Congress during the Militia Hearings just two months after the news story airs (1995,ABC June 15; 1995, CBS, June 15,1995 NBC, June 15).

Terror and terrorism are not the same, but they belong together, indisputably linked by the shared belief that fear is the strongest, if not the only, effective human motivation and that violence is the best, "if not the only, method to produce and maintain fear" (Hacker, 1980, p.144). When the media selects and uses interviews with certain militia members and not others, this dominant frame is reinforced.

For example, Mark Koernke of the Michigan Militia advises militia members to "...shoot first and ask questions later" when dealing with the FBI (1995,ABC April 24). The next day Koernke shows up again. This time he expresses his opinion of the federal government while holding a noose in his hands. Koernke is reported saying, "You can get about four politicians for one-hundred and twenty feet of rope" (1995, ABC April 25).

In 1996, at a Montana standoff, militiamen warn CBS "...this is going to be the place where the second American Revolution culminates" (1996, March 31). And a year later, Terry Noble, a former member of the Sword and Arm of the Lord, explains, "...there is no such thing as innocent people...all are casualties of war" (1997, CBS March 24). Sound bite after sound bite taken from militia members or leaders reinforce the terrorism/terrorist frame.

Moreover, regardless of the group or its overt ideology, the concept of militias as terrorist groups is strengthened repeatedly by experts and victims who proclaim an event to be a terrorist event. One such example is the July 2, 1996, coverage of an Arizona Amtrak trail derailment. Reporter Bob Orr notes that the "Sons of Gestapo" left a note on the tracks stating this was retribution for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' siege in Waco, Texas. In this story, terrorism expert Frank McGuire proclaims the event to be terrorism and Amtrak President Thomas Downs condemns the militia as "cowards" and "terrorists." While in complete agreement that the derailment is an act of terrorism, the Sons of the Gestapo are not a militia. In fact, they are a long-standing racist hate group established in the 1950s. Up until this incident Sons of the Gestapo had little known connection to the contemporary militia movement. It can be argued that this particular incident is an example of a hate group that has reconstituted itself as a militia.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM. Another dominant frame, which builds on terrorism, is the "domestic terrorism" frame. Unfortunately, it wasn't until the 1980s that scholars with a comprehensive understanding of communication began to concentrate their attention on issues of media and terrorism. As a result of this late involvement, there

is extensive literature on terrorism (as seen here) and its relationship to the media, but scant literature available regarding domestic terrorism. Hoynes & Croteau (1989) provide particular insights into this narrow conception of terrorism by demonstrating that terrorists' acts are those that are committed against us, the United States.

It is important to distinguish between the terrorism frame and the domestic terrorism frame because, as Herschberg (1998) explains, it is with the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City that the United States lost its "...domestic terrorism virginity" (p.1). With Herschberg, this study has also found that the frame domestic terrorism now means terror from within the borders of the United States. The term now has become part of our national language. Prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, network news stories that refer to domestic terrorism ALL refer to terrorism within the borders of another country—not ours—or to either family and domestic violence. In this data the domestic terrorism frame is repeated to explain extremist activity taken against our own government by Americans.

Although Wittebols(1991) investigates international terrorism, his ideas can be applied to domestic terrorism. Wittebols argues that there are three themes in how terrorism is covered. First, "we are victims, they are terrorists"; Second, the "United States government strives to do good in the world." Third, "terrorism is the product of irrational minds, not objective conditions"(p.262). Taking these three themes, the author concludes that the net political effect of news coverage of terrorism is to reinforce the position and role of the U.S. government in the world and to allow the U.S. government to operate in a business-as-usual fashion. As explained by Wittebols, each of these

themes is present and consistently repeated in coverage of the militia movement by network news.

There are few attempts to exempt militia members from the terrorism frame. NBC's Jim Cummings explains "...But even their critics say most militia members are decent people who do not want to start trouble"(1994, Nov.14). In another example, despite the fact that the same presidential speech is available to all three networks, only ABC uses this portion of President Clinton's address: "The president said he was not addressing all militia members, most of whom he said are 'law abiding'..."(1995, ABC, May 5). These examples are few and far between.

WAR AND PEACE. Another frame emerging from this data is the war versus peace frame. By extending and placing the term terrorism in its historic context, Rapoport and Alexander (1982) further clarify the term as to deliberately attack the defenseless and to commit war crimes, atrocities, and murders. "Terrorists see themselves as revolutionaries who are at war with their government" (Rapoport and Alexander, 1982 pg.98). Herein lies the second dominant frame of this study—war, and all those labels and themes associated with war, guns and paramilitary activity. The militias are fighting a war with government officials, particularly with the FBI and ATF who are trying to maintain peace and order.

In a just war there are accepted forms of behavior. In an unjust war, terrorists recognize no ethical or humanitarian limits to their use of violence. This is an important distinction between terrorism and other forms of violence: any means are permissible and everyone (including civilians, women, children, and neutrals) is expendable in the interest of "revolution," "justice," or "liberation." Thus terrorists neither

recognize nor observe any rules or conventions of war. "They assume a license to savagery "(Rapoport and Alexander, 1982 pg.101).

ABC's Jim Hickey's interview and profile of Linda Thompson, the self-proclaimed leader of the national militia movement, best exemplifies this.

Hickey: Members of the Michigan Militia call themselves patriots and freedom fighters defending the U.S. Constitution.

Thompson One of the things that's unique about our Constitution, we have the ballot box and when that fails we have the cartridge box. (1995, April 21).

Prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, only two network news stories deal with the militia directly. The first of these two stories aired on CBS on April 6, 1990. The CBS story examines the hostile rhetoric of a newly formed group and presents an effort by a local Milwaukee councilman to organize a Black Panther militia. In Dan Rather's lead-in the implications are clear, "The speech is angry Black rhetoric of the 1960's, but the time is now and the speaker is an elected official in Milwaukee."

Reporter Jacqueline Adams reports, "This weekend three hundred people showed up, when McGee began recruiting for what he called a Black Panther Community Militia." Councilman McGee is shown wearing military fatigues, and he is seen hanging a white doll, by the neck, from a tree. He says, "We're gonna kill them with the gun if we have to!"(1990, April 6). Reporter Adams adds: "McGee has said his Anti Crime Brigade might commit random acts of violence against whites in five years unless Milwaukee

revitalizes its black community with 100 million dollar jobs program." The narrative and pictures for this story revolve around violence, and a recurring theme, "bullets rather than ballots" (1990, April 6).

Here, it could be argued that Councilman McGee has combined the Black Panther Party rhetoric of the 1960s to demand social changes with contemporary militia themes.

The second time militias appear, four years later, is on NBC. This story paints a picture of the militia movement that remains consistent in this data, throughout all remaining coverage, across time, and across networks. Here, Tom Brokaw introduces for the first time a fundamental concept describing militias (of course this story airs before the Oklahoma City bombing):

> It sounds like something out of a B-movie: armed organized soldiers training for a war they think is coming soon, and the enemy here, the U.S. Government. This is not fiction, however; it's happening in this country.

The militia is framed as a single paramilitary organization preparing to fight a war, and society as a whole seems to be in peril. Paramilitary is by far the dominant descriptor used by all three networks.

In the story that follows Jim, Cummins, the reporter, investigates both the Michigan and the Indiana Militias. Members of these groups are shown wearing military fatigues and firing shotguns and rifles. These military images are consistent and become permanent images for all three networks for any and virtually all-subsequent coverage of the militia. Cummins states, "This is the Michigan Militia, a self-proclaimed fighting

force of ordinary citizens preparing to defend themselves against the federal government." The story continues, " They provide their own guns and bullets; they run obstacle courses and they hear warnings from their leaders." The warning revolves around a suspected incursion by federal troops or even as many as 500,000 United Nations-foreign troops training in the United States. The militia fear of a global government is discussed.

Also discussed is the size of the movement—"encompassing twenty states"—and the manner in which militia groups communicate and grow:

> Citizen militias are widespread because authorities say members in all these states can now meet on the information superhighway. They communicate with faxes, phones, videos, and especially computer networks (Cummins, 1994 NBC, Nov. 30).

This again is a consistent portrayal of militia activity.

This story is also the first time that any network makes a link between the militia movement and Randy Weaver. Up to this point, all of the 1992 and subsequent coverage regarding Weaver and the Ruby Ridge standoff has referred to Weaver as either a separatist, a supremacist, or a survivalist with no connection whatsoever to the militia. Reporter Cummins states:

> ...NBC news has found a more ominous use of computer networks by militias. In a message identifying the FBI sharpshooter who killed the wife of white

supremacist Randy Weaver in Idaho two years ago, the message includes the FBI agent's home address (Cummins, 1994 NBC Nov.30).

Relying on information from various civil liberties groups, Cummins reports that "...hate groups have infiltrated at least eight civilian militias." The implication is that militias and hate groups are two distinct sets of social phenomena or movements. This concept loses its significance as coverage develops and as militias take on a terrorist frame.

Following the Oklahoma City bombing, the war frame intensifies and militias are uniformly referred to as paramilitary organizations by all three networks.

(the militia) wanted to directly confront the government militarily. They believe that violence is an effective means of propaganda (1995, ABC April 22).

But they (the militia) have another potentially potent weapon in their arsenal—propaganda. It's a weapon that the powerful Montana Militia has turned into a far-reaching call to arms (1995, ABC April 29).

(militias are) Americans heavily armed wearing the camouflaged uniform of the warrior(1997, NBC April 18).

You've seen them on maneuvers, running obstacle courses, honing their battlefield skills. The militia movement in America are far more than

weekend warriors (1995, CBS April 24).

They wear uniforms and practice survival skills...(1995, NBC April 24).

In one NBC story, several dozen new militia recruits are seen wearing fatigues and are heard taking the Militia Oath, much as any new military recruit would.

If need be I will enter into mortal combat against enemies of the United States Constitution and U.S. Militia to carry out this oath. So help me God (1996, NBC July 2).

Not only are the militias described and depicted in military terms but the militias themselves are heard referring to their attitudes and behavior toward the government in military terms.

(We are) freedom fighters defending the United States Constitution. ...by force if necessary (1995, ABC April 21).

If you don't have the guts to defend freedom, grab a shovel and start digging your own grave (1997, ABC April 19).

The federal government is out of control, making war against its own citizens(1997, CBS March 24).

The war is being fought between the militia and an "out of control" government.

The implications are clear in yet another frame, the disaster/crisis frame. These stories employ an "impending doom" tone to present their facts. In other words, stop the war and arrest the deviants, or else!

For the most part, those people attracted to militias are also explained to be veterans or part of the military. Numerous sources indicate that militias seek to recruit those with paramilitary experience or those who have access to weaponry. Militias are described as having a propensity to attract and recruit Vietnam veterans. This is referred as the "Rambo fantasy." In trying to determine why Arizona has such a large number of militias (28), ABC's Forrest Sawyer reports:

> Arizona is also home to an unusually high percentage of ex-military men and women who are often the favorite target of militia recruiters. Indeed, at least two members of the Viper militia were veterans...(1996, ABC July 3).

The leader of the Montana Militia is described as an ex-Marine (1996, ABC March 29), as are Bo Gritz, recognized as a national spokesperson by the networks (1996,CBS April 27), and Norman Olson of the Michigan Militia. In fact, much of the coverage of the Timothy McVeigh (arrested, tried and convicted of the Oklahoma City bombing) places emphasis on the fact that McVeigh shared and developed his militia ideologies while serving in the military.

When trying to describe the anti-government militia ideology, all three networks report that the militia see themselves as revolutionaries and explain the connections in terms of the American Revolution: "Going all the way back to 1775 when a citizen's militia took up arms at the Battle of Lexington..." Like their historical brethren, "Militia members are recruiting new members for their cause and say that is to limit government power by force if necessary"(1995, ABC April 21). The war frame combined with the terrorism frame cultivates a sense of imminent danger and fear.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL. The last significant frame to emerge in this data is the government-control frame. Several researchers have studied media portrayal of so-called deviant behavior. Cohen (1972) and Cohen and Young (1973) discovered that the media exaggerated the activities of deviants and tended to overstate the danger they posed, thus promoting a conservative ideology and generating support for law and order. It can then be argued that such coverage provides society with objects of moral indignation and with scapegoats, diverting attention from institutional causes. Again, as with the terrorism frame, this is clearly the pattern for coverage of the militia.

Here the implications of the government-control frame go beyond the initial observation. Not only is the government portrayed as the party best suited to solving militia problems, it is also shown taking direct action to solve the problems. Many stories indicate that the government has quickly initiated new legislation. This appears as though the government is taking fast action. Terrorists don't stand a chance. The public need not be concerned when the government is on the job and all good Americans are doing their part to help. Martha Bethel, a Montana judge threatened by a militia member, is profiled:

"It's a concern to the whole country and so she took her story to Washington to tell lawmakers about what's going on in the shadows of Montana (1995, ABC July 21).

Despite the fact that the government-control frame is misleading, it is still an appealing one for both reporters and the public. It is relatively easy for reporters to cover governmental events. Much of the information is made available to them through press releases and news conferences. Stories using this type of frame seem to encourage a good/bad mentality and may appeal to those who prefer this perspective. The FBI and ATF are identifiable good guys and the militias are bad guys, lunatics and yahoos. The audience is left with little doubt about which side has done wrong and should be punished. Followed to their logical conclusion, events will end with the villains being punished for their deeds. This also tends to be a popular theme in American culture.

Of the thirty-one different militia groups contained in this data, all but four are involved in some type of violent action and all are shown carrying weapons. However, using the network's own assessment of the size of the militia movement, statistically these thirty-one groups cannot begin to represent the whole movement. And, at no time is the movement placed within its actual historic and social context; thus the public never gets to see the whole picture. Reynolds (1995a), a law scholar, observed that when a large number of people in a society believe there is something wrong with their government, all too often there is. Oklahoma Republican, State Representative Charles Key echoes Reynolds: "The problem isn't necessarily with a lot of people that are conspiratorial in their general makeup. I think the real problem is with the government doing many things over a long period of time in a way that aren't trustworthy"(1997, CBS June 13). At no point in this data do the networks attempt to broadcast or explain what could be at the

root of militia activity, and it is government experts who dominate attempts by anyone knowledgeable to do so.

To summarize, the four major frames of network news coverage of militias were the terrorism, domestic terrorism, war versus peace, and government control frames. Thus, what viewers saw were mostly the events, the government's reactions to those events, and little from militia members who are not aggressive but who could have legitimate concerns about issues involving the limitation of individual rights.

What follows are an examination of the themes and the labels used in this data. These themes and labels virtually reinforce everything just stated.

Themes and Labels

Imbedded within the terrorism frame are themes that include ideas such as "purveyors of hate and division," "campaign of terror," "deadly force," "militia menace," and "deviant law breakers." On April 24, 1995, ABC describes the militia as "promoters of paranoia." On the same day NBC's Tom Brokaw, explains that for the militia, "...the assault weapon is their torch of liberty." The following year, NBC reports that militias have goals to "...terrorize the American people" and that these groups are "...changing this country"(1996, July 2). In June of 1996, CBS explains militias are "...a vast conspiracy of domestic terrorism." A few days later they are a "...vast conspiracy of domestic terrorists hell-bent on destroying the government" (1996, CBS July 2).

Contained within the war frame are themes such as "aid and abet," "massive assault," and "far-reaching call to arms." Violence is an end in and of itself. For example,

following the Oklahoma City bombing ABC reports "...(the militia) wanted to directly confront the government militarily. They believe that violence is an effective means of propaganda" (1995, ABC April 22). Clearly, militias are a threat to the status quo.

Labels accomplish what themes might not. Labels imbedded within terrorism include ideas such as "rabid activists," "vigilantes and extremists" and "criminals." Labels imbedded within the war frame include "warriors," and "patriot, "disenfranchised males."

Generally militia members are labeled "anarchists" (1995, NBC April 24) and "revolutionaries and rebels" (1996, ABC March 29). Labeling militia members as lunatics, "extremist" (1995, ABC Nov 2), "Yahoos" (1996, ABC July1), rednecks and referring to their leaders as "crazy"(1995, NBC June 9) makes it easier to place militia groups outside of societal norms. Placing them outside of societal norm facilitates placing militia groups in a terrorist frame. Hence, the justification is circular.

All of these themes and labels are counterbalanced against those themes and labels that explain and depict government officials as doing their best—to enact laws "...Congress will try to move very quickly"(1995, ABC April 24), to limit militia activity. The FBI and the ATF are said to be actively and "aggressively investigating" and arresting militia group members, or in one case the FBI is said to be "overloaded with new cases" and as a result is "overburdened" (1996, NBC July 29). These types of themes and labels appear over and over again throughout the data and reinforce the terrorism frame.

Clearly, all three networks use themes, labels and other minor frames for the militia that place them within the broader master frame of terrorism. However, as Gerbner (1988), explains, although acts of terrorism claim very few victims, news coverage cultivates a sense of public anxiety. The media then uses this anxiety to depersonalize enemies and gain support for both its public and political institutions. Here again, although the United States had no established anti-terrorism policy, within a few months of the Oklahoma City bombing and fairly extensive coverage of paramilitary terrorism, Congress passed sweeping legislative changes enabling the FBI to investigate virtually anyone they suspected of belonging to a militia organization.

Visuals and Symbols

Any form of analysis is the search for meaning, and meaning can be found in various forms. For this video analysis, procedures outlined by Altheide (1996) informed the method used to study the material. Essentially, Altheide's outline provides that visuals be identified and analyzed based on "what was shown," "who was shown," and "what they were doing"(p.22). Additionally, this study examined how some visuals could be interpreted as symbols and how those symbols could impact the visual and verbal messages viewers were exposed to. Thus, this descriptive study provides useful data about the content of television output as a complete message system.

What Was Shown

To answer the question "What was shown?" the data provides three sets of dominant visuals. The first set of visuals includes military uniforms—more specifically, camouflage uniforms—and guns and weapons of various types and intensity. The second involves the American flag, and the third includes news events, that could also be considered symbols. These symbols include the Ruby Ridge standoff, the burning of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco and the Oklahoma City bombing.

Clothing is a language system of communication that through its symbols conveys much about the wearer. Before people speak to one another, their clothing makes a statement that expresses their sex, age, class, occupation, origin and personality, as well as what they are or what they want to be at a particular moment.

There is also considerable support for the hypothesis that an individual's clothing affects not only their behavior but the behavior of others as well (Lefkowitz, Blake & Mouton, 1955; Harris and Baudin, 1973; Mauro, 1984).

By common definition, a uniform is a "standardized form of dress imposed on a member of an organization"(Mauro, 1984). In most societies the military uniform is seen as a symbol of power, organization and often integrity (Bickman, 1974).In the United States, military personnel, who wear uniforms, are seen by many as those who embody American social values. These values have both individual applications (for example, personal integrity) and organizational applications (such as selfless service or obedience to the laws of war). For those who wear military clothing, a uniform suggests a sense of discipline, uniformity within the organization, and a commonality (Dutch, 1998).

Uniforms help to establish the boundary between people who are within the system and people who stand outside of it because uniforms are also perceived as a symbol of legitimate authority over a wide range of situations.

The military uniform also provides a sense of cohesion for the wearer, and group cohesion makes units more effective. Soldiers are more effective if they are confident they can count on support and aid from their comrades. This is certainly the case with the militia. The wearing of camouflage allows those individuals within various groups to recognize that they are part of a militia. However, this also makes it difficult to distinguish one militia group from the another.

Virtually every story contained in this data visually depicts militia members wearing camouflage uniforms. However, in many instances, so are the government

personnel sent to control militia activity. It is often difficult to distinguish between the militia from the government control agents.

In an effort to visually distinguish between the militia and government agents, anchors and reports use narratives that could only be referred to as pejorative. While the viewer is looking at uniform-clad militiamen, they are described as extremists, "fanatics"(1993, CBS July 8), "yahoos" (1996, ABC July 1),"crazy" (1995, NBC June 19) and "domestic paramilitary terrorists"(1995, ABC April 24). The term paramilitary reinforces the idea that militias are operating outside of the law, and the reference to terrorists reinforces that militias are to be feared.

For example, on July 2, 1996, CBS, reports "these militia are part of a network of conspirators bent on ending government violence." While ABC, covering the same story and using the same type of visuals, reports that the event is "A vast conspiracy of domestic terrorists bent on destroying the government."

Other examples that emerge from this data contain stories that show the networks using a paramilitary type of video even when it isn't really needed to produce the story. The best example here is the NBC coverage of the Montana Freeman standoff. The event lasts for several weeks and the FBI and ATF are at the scene monitoring activity. Many of these government officials are wearing camouflage uniforms, but so are members of other militias that have come to support the Freemen. One of those supporters is Ken Olsen leader of the Michigan Militia. In order to move the story along, the reporter uses file video (video shot at a different time and place) of yet another militia group and the narrative indicates:

These are the militia of Montana, not affiliated with the group hold-up here in

Jordan—who describe themselves as law abiding citizens (1996, NBC March31).

The implication here is that the militia bystanders are part of the paramilitary group seen in the video. However, the file video is of the Michigan Militia, not the Montana Militia. The only connection to the Michigan Militia is one person, Ken Olson. There is also no video anywhere in this data showing the Montana Militia participating in any type of paramilitary activity. Ironically, by their own account and contained in the lead to the very same story, "...Freeman are not considered part of the militia movement."

Another strong example is the CBS coverage of right-wing talk radio programs that espouse what some have called violent talk. In this example, reporter Eric Engberg is in Washington and obviously did not personally interview Gordon Liddy, one of the more controversial radio hosts who broadcasts from the Midwest.

The cover video is of Liddy, his radio station, and his telephone interaction with listeners. Yet Engberg chooses to do a stand-up (visual reporter closing). As a retired producer, I can reasonably explain that a reporter stand-up, when the reporter was not at the scene, is at best useless and only serves to assuage a reporter's ego. Nonetheless, Engberg's standup takes place in the station's studio control room. Here, Engberg is seen standing in front of 24 small television monitors. Contained in every monitor screen is video of militiamen wearing camouflage uniforms, involved in training maneuvers and carrying weapons. In an effort to tie Liddy's talk show to militia activity Engberg quotes an unidentified militia source:

> If you send your jack-booted baby bushwhackers to confiscate my guns, pack them a lunch, It will be a damned long day (1995, CBS April 25).

This production method only serves to reinforce for the viewer a paramilitary militia threat. Thus, it can be argued that for the viewer, the camouflage uniform as worn by the militia becomes a symbol of terrorism.

Like the uniform, guns are threatening but in a much more realistic sense because guns are grounded in reality. Guns and weapons kill people. In this data, guns and weapons are shown as often as are people wearing uniforms. In every instance that the militia is shown wearing uniforms, they are also shown carrying guns or practicing their marksmanship.

In contrast, and in an effort to control the problem, government agents also in uniform are shown arresting individuals from various hate groups and militias and confiscating those guns and weapons. The emphasis is on the government's ability to identify and confiscate weapons. In every instance they, government agents, are in control.

The most obvious sign that they are in control is in the Waco video, which is used consistently. The video contains military tanks, a powerful weapon in the government's military arsenal. In fact, Wright (1996) argues that the image of the tank "as an unstoppable crushing machine" has been a "global symbol" of American power "throughout the 20th century (p.130). Using this symbol against one's own people, as it was in Waco, is a reflection of the government's power against those who confront it.

The obvious presence of weapons only serves to intensify what the viewing public may see as a serious threat to social order. When viewers are faced with the dichotomy of understanding who and what militias are and what they do, they are left with little recourse but to believe what they see and what they hear.

By definition, symbols convey meaning. Murray Edelman (1971) writes, "Every symbol stands for something other than itself...and it also evokes an attitude, a set of impressions, or a pattern of events associated through time, through space, through logic, or through imagination"(p.6). Among political symbols, the flag is perhaps the most visible and revered in many political cultures. For most Americans the flag is a definition of our country. The flag is symbolic of patriotic fervor and love of country (Sullivan, Fried, & Dietz 1992; Clark, 1997), and it implies a readiness to sacrifice for it, to fight for it, perhaps even to give one's life for it. Images of the flag have the ability to incite vigorous responses, and they can evoke emotions associated with "patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glories or humiliations, and promises of future greatness" (Edelman, 1994, p.6).

Contained in this data are many instances where both the militia and government agents invoke the flag. While there are too many examples to cite, three stand out as the most dramatic examples of how the media are able to dramatically show each side of the militia phenomenon from a very specific perspective, again reinforcing all that has already been analyzed and argued.

The very first example is the coverage of the fifty-one day standoff between the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, and the government. Here, the Branch Davidians are holed-up in a compound: members of the religious group are flanked all sides by

government agents and various types of military equipment. The most prominent piece of equipment is a tank poised to fire at the compound, and high above the tank is the American flag. The image of the flag is cast against a blue sky or with the sun peering through it, or the flag is the focal point through which other images emerge. These images are used repeatedly throughout the standoff.

Given that during the event in 1993, videographers had to stand at least several hundred feet away from any activity, this particular visual framing had to be specifically called for either by the reporter or the producer. Anything other then extreme and medium shots had to be specifically choreographed and arranged because on-site news crews would have lost their physical place in the crew line-up. I can attest to this fact without question. I was the news director for KOCO in 1993. During the entire fifty-one day standoff our station was the ONLY station to be present the entire time. Additionally, ours was the ONLY station present the morning the compound was set on fire.

This type of framing of a visual is used to accomplish a specific goal. Here, it can be argued that the implication is that the government is protecting the public and behaving in a patriotic manner.

So, too, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, the camera moves from a wide shot of the bombed building; smoke is billowing all around, and left standing in front of the building is the American flag. The implication for the story is that Americans can get through this devastating event by rallying around the flag. Considerable research indicates that in times of crisis Americans have a propensity to "unite around the flag"(Dandeker, 1995, p. 299).

Conversely, although many militia-training areas have a flag in the background, little emphasis is placed on it. When the flag is used, it is used to vilify groups or to show the lack of reverence various groups have for this symbol of American patriotism.

A third example of media use of the flag occurs when NBC's Mike Boettcher covers the growth of the movement in Kansas. Here Boettcher interviews the Reverend Phelps, who is described as the leader of a Topeka-based anti-gay Christian militia. The Reverend Phelps is interviewed and shown pointing to the American flag flying upside down over his church. The Reverend Phelps says "The tide is turning now and they are paying attention to what we are saying." A local police sergeant explains that the upside-down flag is "...drawing converts to its banner" of militant anti-government, anti racial groups (1997, NBC April 18).

In reality, this group is a long-standing Christian fundamentalist group, which has reconstituted itself as a militia. These fundamentalists, view themselves as patriots who believe in America, but who feel, "...as Americans we've lost our direction." They use the flag to wrap themselves in the militia movement. This use of the flag allows network news to portray yet another, hate based, anti-American group.

Edelman (1971) argued that visual symbols are never neutral. When looking at this data Edelman's observations are profound. This is particularly true in the case of the two specific aforementioned news events. Clearly, the burning of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco and the Oklahoma city bombing have become symbols and none of the pictures involving these symbols are neutral.

A third news event, the standoff at Ruby Ridge has also become a symbol. For the militia movement, Ruby Ridge and Waco are symbols of government oppression. They represent the inability of some individuals to own weapons, practice the religion of their choosing, or live their lives in a manner they choose. This is echoed in several interviews obtained from militia members:

> We are a new American police state. There will be no more Waco's in this nation (1995, ABC April 24).

> Uncle Sam has killed and incinerated women and children in Waco (1995, NBC April 24).

> Many militias identify with the Davidians who died at the hand of the government simply because they were obeying their right to faith and bear arms (1995, ABC May 3).

> They've (government agents) killed a lot of people in this country, Waco..Ruby Ridge (1996, ABC March 30).

> ...at Waco people were murdered (1997, CBS April 18).

As seen here, time does little to change militia perceptions. If anything, time intensifies militia perceptions because as the Ruby Ridge events unfolded, it became apparent that

with Ruby Ridge the FBI changed the rules of engagement for the use of deadly force and FBI records were destroyed in an effort to cover up what had happened (1995, NBC Sept.6; 1995, ABC Sept. 7; 1995, ABC Sept 14;.1996, NBC Oct.22; 1996, ABC Oct. 30; 1997, ABC Aug. 15; 1997, ABC Aug. 21).

Both of these events and the images they have come to symbolize are used repeatedly as video when interviewing members of various militia groups. However, these same sources of video are used as cover for interviews with law enforcement agents. The problem here lies with the fact that for law enforcement officers, these images represent examples of militia lawlessness. For example, in television coverage of the McVeigh trial, law enforcement officials are first seen putting more restrictive security measures into place at the courthouse in Colorado. Contained in this story is a connection and visuals of Waco.

CBS reports, "For some, the fire at Waco has never gone out; instead it grows." Bob Ricks, an FBI agent who took part in Waco, is interviewed and says, "The dialog has been so dominated by the extreme right wing and the facts have been distorted"(1997, April 18).

With these events, what network newsworkers have in effect done is to create conflict and drama, news imperatives. Using the same video of two conflicting sets of ideologies and attitudes adds controversy and conflict.

In virtually every instance, regardless of the militia group being covered, or its geographic location or fundamental ideology, video of the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing is used visually and almost exclusively to explain a "potential" militia

threat or activity. Thus, it is difficult to think of these groups in any other terms. As a result, the notion of militias as terrorists is not only menacing but effective.

The success of the network news framing the militia as terrorists and extremists is achieved by associating them with the clear act of terrorism, the Oklahoma City bombing. The visuals of the bombed out federal building is now and forever a symbol of "homegrown terror" and using Oklahoma City bombing video repeatedly in covering militia events achieves what a narrative might not.

Visuals create images either positive or negative, in the viewer's mind. Events at Ruby Ridge, Waco, and in Oklahoma City allow network news workers to visually frame the militia as groups of would-be rebels and revolutionaries.

Finally, this analysis has revealed that the terrorist frame and various visuals and symbols associated with it was used most frequently to define the militia movement. In fact, it was used in virtually every story to the almost complete exclusion of any other. When the term itself doesn't appear in the narrative or the video doesn't support this primary premise, then a graphic does.

The most popular graphic (over the anchor's shoulder) is a black silhouette of a military-type person holding a rifle superimposed over the word "militia." Banner graphics are also used at the start of a reporter's story. Banner graphics are used as a title to introduce the concept behind a story and they appear as a banner for three seconds in the bottom lower third of the television screen.

The most frequent graphic or banner is "Terror in the Heartland." Terror in the Heartland appears repeatedly on all three networks. What the content of the story is not

able to achieve in framing the militia as terrorists, then the graphic displays do achieve. Clearly, graphic displays are used to illustrate and maintain the dominant visual frame.

Who Was Shown

For the networks, "Who" make up the militia is unclear. The over-riding visual frame and narrative is "... white males" (1995, CBS April 22; 1995, ABC April 21). Clearly the video supports this idea; however, on many different occasions the news stories provide visuals that include women (1995, CBS April 24; 1996,ABC July 3) and young teenagers participating in military exercises. There are also examples of women being arrested at several news events. For example, one narrative reads "two militia group members arrested in the Viper Militia raid in Phoenix are women" and the video supports the text (1996, CBS July 2). Also, on more than one occasion all three networks interview Linda Thompson the self-proclaimed, leader of the so-called National Militia Movement. Thompson is shown wearing military fatigues and carrying an automatic weapon (1997,CBS, April 18). In fact, the video is so dramatic that her soundbite is repeated in several other unrelated stories.

Additionally, during the 1995 Militia Hearings in Washington D.C., James Johnson, the leader of the Unorganized Militia appearing and testifying before Congress, is an African-American male (1995, ABC June 15), and the primary spokesperson for the Committee of 1776 demonstration in Washington, D.C., is an African-American female. African Americans are also shown taking part in paramilitary

training (1995, NBC April 24). Also, as described earlier, the very first stories to appear in this data involve an African-American militia group in Milwaukee. Furthermore, those arrested in the rash of bombings in California are both white and Asian-Americans working together (1997, CBS May 10) toward a common goal. As a result, the visual frame "...white males" is a narrow approach in answering the question "Who make up the militia?"

What They Were Doing

By repeatedly showing militia members running obstacle courses, participating in military training maneuvers, firing weapons and by referring to them as extremists and terrorists, the networks are ostensibly saying that militias are members of paramilitary organizations operating outside of the law. As stated, however, much of the video also places emphasis on the government's ability to identify and arrest militia members and confiscate weapons.

Whenever an arrest is made, weapons are displayed and shown lying across a table and the public, through the news stories, are invited to see for themselves the magnitude of the weapons confiscated. The purpose of these staged events is to reinsure the public that law enforcement agents are on the job and that the public is safe:

> A familiar story these days, another militia group busted...(1997, CBS May 10).
> The government says it headed off a case of domestic terrorism
> (1996, ABC July 1).

A militia cell was brought to its knees today..."(1997, CBS May 10).

Also, whenever a potential bombing plot is uncovered, here too, the media is invited:

> In Atlanta today, police pounced on a suspicious object they thought might be a bomb, carting it away to a disposal unit (1997, ABC April 19).

> The good news from Phoenix was that the police got there first before any bombs could go off (1996, CBS July 2).

Because law enforcement agents can get there in the nick of time, again the public has little to worry about. In every instance they, government agents, are in control. So much in control, in fact, that one incredible story can almost be used to justify some militia fears. Interestingly, no reporter or network follows up on this story in any way.

CBS's Dan Rather introduces the story:

> The paramilitary activities of the country's federal law enforcement agencies are coming under investigation again; some in Congress say that they are concerned that these agencies are taking on roles that were never intended.

The story begins with close-up visuals of men in black with assault rifles, surrounding a car and screaming for people to get out. Jim Stewart, the reporter says:

> The militia movement maybe paranoid, but it's right about one thing: there are federal agents in black ninja-like uniforms. They do carry automatic weapons and some are trained killers. In fact, there may be far more of them then anyone suspected.

What follows is video of the Waco standoff, with soldiers in full military gear carrying assault weapons. Some personnel are poised on top of tanks. Stewart continues,

> So here's a hostage rescue team member at Waco. It looks like Desert Storm.

Then comes a response from Senator Orin Hatch, who says, "It does, since when do we use this type of activity against American citizens?" More Waco video, Stewart continues:

> It is activity that dates itself to the middle 1970s and the scare of Middle East terrorism. In response several federal agencies formed special operations teams. Today, they now total over a thousand.

As Stewart speaks, a graphic display lists all of the federal agencies with these types of hit squads. They include: the FBI with 361; the ATF with 375 ; U.S. Customs with 250; US Marshall, 66; the U.S. Park Service, 14. Stewart adds, "Even the tiny Capitol Hill Police and the U.S. Secret Service, neither of which would release actual figures." The visuals continue. Men in black are seen hiding with weapons at various unidentified locations. Stewart adds,

> They train mostly at remote military bases using mostly military style maneuvers. The public rarely sees them except in moments of high drama, like this response by Secret Service Assault teams in Panama, or when the U.S. Park Service snipers killed a man who said he had a bomb in front of the Washington monument. But it is their use in cases far fuzzier than those like Waco and Ruby Ridge, that most worry some members of Congress (1995, CBS October 30).

It seems unimaginable that a large number of government agencies outside of the FBI would have highly trained killers working for them. If militia members fear the growth of uncontrolled infringement on people's rights, this is an incredible example of what some of them may be talking about.

While law enforcement agents are shown arresting the bad guys and taking care of the militia problem, political players are shown enacting laws to provide these same agencies with more money and power to protect the public from this encroaching menace. In effect, the government is doing all it can to protect its citizens.

Miscellaneous Categories

This study identified twenty-one different broad categories most, of which have already been discussed in great details. However, one miscellaneous—precipitating event—item and three categories—Constitutional Issues, Media and its Relation to Social Movement, Reporter Social Construction—have not. The additional information that emerged in these categories provide potentially rich insight regarding judgmental, content-based decisions made by newsworkers. These categories also provide a wealth of descriptive information that may also speak to how newsworkers framed the events they covered.

Precipitating Event

Resistance to or promotion of change is what drives a social movement. Neil Smelser (1962) argues that strain is seen as the essential ingredient or component of social action in collective behavior. The author explains that collective behavior consists of disruptions of the social order system caused by structural strain, and "structural strain" is the result of "ambiguities, deprivation, conflicts, and discrepancies" in society (p.16). For the militia movement, that discrepancy is government control and involvement in personal life.

Wittebols (1990) builds on this theory by explaining that certain types of terrorism can move individuals in certain movements to commit acts of violence. Wittebols (1990) maintains that there are two forms of terrorism: institutional terror and grievance terror. "Institutional terror seeks to maintain the status quo and power" while

grievance terror is identified "...as terror that challenges power." Wittebols and Smelser both contend that grievance terror"...usually involves a precipitating incident"(Wittebols, 1990, p.267).

This point is significant because in virtually every case involving the arrest of militia members, the individuals declare that it was the 1993 FBI assault on the David Koresh compound in Waco, Texas, that convinced them to either join a militia group, or to step up their attacks against government agencies. While investigating the Oklahoma City bombing, NBC reports: "Authorities now think the bombing was timed to mark the date of the federal raid two years ago on the Branch Davidian Compound in Waco, Texas" (1995, NBC April 22). A few months later NBC reports: " Before the government raid on Waco, there was the raid on Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Those two events fueled extremist anger at the federal government" (1995, September 6).

ABC's Peggy Wehmeyer reports:

> The apocalyptic vision they (militias) and others preach was fueled by the siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, two years ago. Many militiamen identify with the Davidians, who they say died at the hands of the government (1995, May 3).

Again, it is the government and not necessarily society as a whole against which militia members voice and demonstrate their objections.

Given that this study has argued that the militia movement began well before the 1990s but was not covered by the television networks until Ruby Ridge and Waco, it can also be argued that for the general public the dominant precipitanting event could also include the bombing in Oklahoma City.

As the data for this study indicates, prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, network television news either did not know about or did not cover the militia movement. For all intents and purposes, militias were almost non-existent. After the Oklahoma City bombing, militias began receiving coverage from network news organizations almost on a regular basis. However, for the most part, those groups the public saw were the above mentioned resistance cells.

As a direct result of the Oklahoma City bombing, the militia movement not only became visible and prominent, but it began to be seen as potentially dangerous, violent, and lethal.

Constitutional Issues

"Any act of the U.S. Congress, state constitutional provision, legislative or administrative action that conflicts with the federal constitution is invalid" (Bowles, 1993, p.1). For militias, politicians, the courts and broadcast news, however, at issue is how to interpret that very same United States Constitution.

Contained in the data for this study are a few stories involving the Sixth Amendment (the right to a fair trial). These all involve the Timothy McVeigh trial. There are also a few stories involving ways in which militia members interpret the

Fourth Amendment (the right to privacy) and whether the government has the right to interfere with the manner in which people live their lives. By far the greatest number of stories relate to interpretations of the First and Second Amendments to the United State Constitution.

The Second Amendment states that the people are entitled to form militias and to keep weapons. Most, if not all, of the militia members have interpreted this to mean that gun ownership is a Constitutional right.

This is an important element given that all government officials view any form of the military as part of either the state, or the federal government. And, the Courts have ruled that a "well-regulated militia" refers to the National Guard (Pitcavage, 1996). Given that the militias in question are not part of the government (as discussed in Chapter Two) they therefore, are not necessarily entitled to own guns. Gun ownership is seen as a freedom and the privilege of gun ownership must fall within the limits of existing gun control legislation.

Without question, nearly all militia members in this data fear that the government will confiscate their weapons Samuel Sherwood, head of the U.S. Militia Association in Idaho, states:

> 'When they come around to collect weapons, we'll have the legal and lawful structure to say no to that.' ...Robert Pummer, a leader of the Florida State Militia, says that his group is even '...capable of defending ourselves against chemical and biological agents.' Norman Olson a Baptist minister, gun shop owner, and regional militia commander in Northern Michigan, declares: 'We're

> talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable if the country doesn't turn around' (Armed, 1997).

While all these examples are provided by militia leadership, this analysis of newscasts can also provide evidence that members, in general, agree and that for these individuals the right to own weapons is directly related to the right granted by the U.S. Constitution:

> ...if they do disservice, and they hurt our Constitution any more they are going to have to answer to us (1995, ABC, April 21).

> ...and I promise you we're not going to give up our guns (1995, CBS, April 21).

> The founding father of our great country feels the knife as it stabs in the back. (1997, ABC April 19).

As shown in Chapter Two, this interpretation of the Second Amendment is subjective. However, the debate is highly contested and on-going. Network newsworkers refer to militia members as "gun nuts" (1995, NBC April 26) and contend that Congressional legislation banning assault weapons is the cause of the Oklahoma City bombing (1995, CBS April 22; 1995, NBC April 24). Reporters assert that "What brought these people together is guns and the almost religious belief in the Second Amendment" (1995, ABC June 4). The militias, on the other hand, are shown referring to ATF agents (whose job

it is to arrest those individuals buying and selling illegal weapons) as "tyrannical stormtroopers" and "jack-booted bushwackers"(1995, CBS April 25). Legal scholars and politicians are brought in as experts to explain and support newsworker interpretations.

Again, many of these points have been presented and argued in Chapter Two. Suffice it to say that militias take a narrow and literal interpretation of the Second Amendment and they fear the government's confiscation of their firearms. For them, this concern was reinforced by measures taken by ATF and FBI agents at Ruby Ridge and Waco. For the militia, these two events have come to symbolize that a master plan exists to undermine the people's right to bear arms.

Issues involving the First Amendment moved to center stage in the national consciousness as a direct result of the Oklahoma City bombing. The primary issue is the possible consequence of harmful speech. Here, President Clinton took the lead and argued that "extremists," and "loud and angry voices" were directly responsible for events in Oklahoma (1995, ABC, April 24 1995, CBS April 24; 1995, CBS April 27).

> While not mentioning it by name the president appeared to aim his attack at the talk radio programs that cater to the far right of the political spectrum"(1995, NBC April 24).

Although Clinton wasn't advocating government actions to stop hate speech his remarks echoed those of many scholars and special interest groups (Mattussek, 1995; Stern,

1996; Reed, 1997; Kay, Ziegelmueller and Minch, 1998; Leetes and Bowers, 1999) who argued against First Amendment free speech rights for hate mongers.

Generally, political talk radio is seen as providing negative depictions of the presidency, the court system, the news media, and public schools. At issue are its propagandistic appeals. As Mattussek (1995) noted, "Nothing is better suited to stirring up so much heat in such a short period of time." Adding, "...Radio is a megaphone for anger"(p.26). CBS newsworkers agree!

> Even after Oklahoma City you can turn on your radio in any city and still dial-up hate talk. Extremist, racist, and violent rhetoric from the hosts and those who call in. President Clinton like others says all this talk risks encouraging violent action (1995, April 27).

The most popular of these radio talk shows is Rush Limbaugh. Scholars credit him with the ability to "...clearly tap deep into the American psyche with his visceral language"(Rohrer, Johnson, Adamson, and Lam, 1995, p.1). Some scholars argue that Limbaugh's rhetoric appeals to prejudice and bigotry (Kay, Ziegelmueller and Minch, 1998, Tankel, 1998).

According to this data, by far the most controversial of these programs is the G. Gordon Liddy Show. The following example clearly indicates why. Liddy says:

> Now if the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms comes to disarm you and they are bearing arms, resist them with arms. Go for a headshot: they'll be wearing bulletproof vests.

The reporter in this story adds, "The unrepentant Liddy's reaction today was a warning that a shot to the head might miss"(1995, CBS April 25). Leetes and Bowers (1999) explain that this type of speech is divisive and harmful and "tears at the very fabric of democracy it supposedly protects"(p.11).

Two years later, there are newscast about more anti-government radio rhetoric. Dan Faliman, a member of the Indiana Militia with a nationally syndicated talk show, reacts to the McVeigh guilty verdict on NBC:

> I happen to think that McVeigh is guilty, but I think the government is more guilty....Any fool can see they destroyed the evidence so quickly—they did the same thing in Waco. I think the trial is a transcript, much like a broadway play (1997, NBC May 23).

Some politicians and scholars argue that this type of anti-government rhetoric is negative enough to test the boundaries of the First Amendment.

Complaints about hate speech and extremist political views are often brought before the FCC, and the FCC routinely dismisses them, citing the First Amendment and the provision of the 1934 Communications Act prohibiting censorship (Petrozello,

1995). Courts consistantly rule that speech cannot be repressed simply because society finds an idea offensive or disagreeable.

Contained in this data is one viewpoint that could challenge this American democratic vision. Law Professor and First Amendment expert Burt Newborn explains:

> The Federal government may be able to say to him (Liddy) look you're not doing anything criminal, but you are saying things that are so irresponsible over the radio, and there is such a chance that someone can be harmed by it, that we can urge you to tone down your rhetoric. And, if you don't, we can take steps against your license (1996, CBS April 27).

A radio station's license could be challenged if the broadcast is found to incite illegal behaviors. It would seem that this argument flies in the face of a long historical tradition.

Simply, speech is necessary to energize our political system. Newborn's arguments also seem to undermine precisely the freedom within which our republic flourishes. In view of Hofstetter's (1998) survey results, and in spite of the volatility of some of these programs, talk radio is doing exactly what freedom of speech intended:

> Listening to political talk radio may have become a qualitatively distinct mode of political participation, another adjunct to the American spectator sport of politics similar to barroom arguments, candid exchanges among friends, or

> disagreements between mothers and daughters and between fathers and sons about social and political values (p.285).

This is yet another in the many different opinions offered regarding free speech and talk radio. From another historical perspective, the issue could resolve itself as in the case of KCKC, a radio station in California. NBC 's Anthony Mason spoke with KCKC radio station manager McNulty. McNulty says, "I have my own conscience to live with and if I can in any way prevent violent behavior that's what's most important to me" (1996, CBS April 27). Media have historically always managed to change direction just moments before any legislation forced them too (Dominick, 1994). At KCKC the G. Gordon Liddy show was taken off the air (1996, CBS April 27).

Media and Social Movements

For Wolfsfeld (1991), the media-protest relationship is in a special class of television content. The author asserts that "Protests belong to that special class of events known as news." Protests very often combine many of the major conditions necessary for a story to be included in a for-air broadcast: "political ramifications, "drama (especially when violent)," "human interest," and "novelty"(Wolfsfeld, 1991, p.550).

As Wolfsfeld describes them, and for the industry, social movements are generally seen as having the potential to drive new viewers into a newscast. Audiences watch the news because it provides the news-based entertainment they crave and the attitude of news agencies is to give people what they want. New viewers means an

increase in ratings—higher ratings mean more money. Therefore, "There is simply no way that the media can ignore an event that has been fashioned specifically for their needs"(p.24,25.69).

This, as discussed in Chapter Three, is considered general theory regarding the relationship between television news and social movements. Social movements can no more do without the media than the media can resist movement events. The restriction of one narrows the bounds of the other.

However, as it pertains to the militia movement, this particular idea may need re-examination because as the data for this study clearly indicates, the militia movement not only distrusts traditional media but avoids it.

This data clearly displays that those ideas and theories that argue movements need television news, in order to grow and seek out new members may no longer be viable. One possible explanation is that militias communicate and interact on the Internet. Given that the Internet is a relatively new form of media, little information is available on how the militia uses the Internet. What this data does indicate is that the militia distrusts television newsworkers nearly as much as they do government officials.

In November of 1994, before the Oklahoma City bombing, Stan Solomon, the Commander of the Indiana Militia, says, "We don't trust you guys (to reporter) and we don't trust Washington"(NBC, November 30). This could be an indication of why little to no contact is ever established between network news and the militia.

After the bombing, while the mood changes considerably, the attitudes, beliefs and rhetoric change very little. Regarding the networks' connecting the militia to the bombing, John Simpson of the Michigan militia says, "The media is trying to demonize

us, trying to make us look like something we are not"(1995, CBS, April 22). During the Congressional hearings on domestic terrorism in 1995, an unidentified militiaman states:

> You (the media) do not talk about the truth any more. That's why I say damn you because you're screwing-up America. You see civil war coming, and I don't!"(1995, NBC June 19).

In 1996, ABC reports on militia activity in Montana. One participant says, "We don't expect a fair story from the media"(ABC, March 30). In 1997, while covering a lecture given by John Trochtman, leader of the Montana Freemen, NBC reports Trochtman saying: "This is an educational enterprise trying to educate our fellow Americans where most mainstream media have dropped the ball"(1997, NBC April 18).

This data clearly shows that there is long-lasting virtually universal distrust of the news media by the militia. It could also be argued that this is the primary reason why, following the Oklahoma City bombing, network newsworkers were surprised at the size and extent of the movement—the two had just never connected.

News Construction and Objectivity

As stated in Chapter Two, news is, among other things, a symbolic process by which a vision of reality is constructed for the viewer. Research has emphasized journalism's role in the dissemination of information and has stressed the news media's

contribution to the construction of meaning within a society (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin,1979; Hall, 1982; Carey, 1986). Research also indicates that news, like all public documents, is a constructed reality possessing its own validity. Thus, news is the social construction of reality and how an individual reporter or producer views the world plays a role in the shaping of information.

Some assumptions about the social construction of reality include: We know the world only as we perceive it, our perceptions are based on learned interpretations, we learn from interaction, and reality is situational. This analysis has already cited many examples that could be used to support these ideas.

Look at one more closely: coverage of the events at Ruby Ridge. An obvious example of subjective reporter reality is the lack of consensus regarding what group, if any, Randy Weaver is affiliated with. Depending on who is covering events at Ruby Ridge and when they are covered, Weaver is referred to as either a "white separatist"(1993, ABC July 8), "radical white supremacist" (1993, CBS, July 8), and in one story he is described as both a "separatist" and a "survivalist"(1997,ABC April 19).

Each of these ideologies is different and mutually exclusive. According to the FBI, a white separatist is someone who removes himself from any government involvement. He or she does not pay taxes, register their vehicle or vote and absolutely believe in their right to bare arms. They do believe that whites are the superior race but they do not espouse violence or the overthrow of the government.

Radical white supremacists believe that whites are not only superior but that they have a duty to maintain that superiority. They too believe in their right to bare arms and advocate any kind of violence to achieve their goals.

Separatist, only want to be left alone. They want no part of the government and society in general. Generally, separatists also believe in their right to bare arms but they are not violent. Survivalists are those individuals who believe there will be some kind of confrontation with the government and they are preparing for that inevitability.

If Randy Weaver espouses any ideology, it is that of white separatist. Prior to the incident leading up to Ruby Ridge, Weaver had no police record whatsoever. No evidence has emerged in this data, nor is there in any official government document to indicate conclusively that Weaver belongs to any of the aforementioned types of organizations. Because Weaver lives in Idaho and Idaho has had a long connection to supremacy groups like Aryan Nation, the causal responsibility for the events at Ruby Ridge and the labeling of Weaver is attributed, by reporters, to supremacy issues.

Apparently, Weaver is whatever a reporter chooses to call him. While some may not consider this a fair evaluation of network news reporting, a basic tenet for television news gathering is "Get the facts right!"

What this data also shows is that there is also little doubt that various militia type groups took up Weaver's cause and used his situation as a way to promote their anti-government sentiments.

In reality, the causes of the events at Ruby Ridge are as follows: Weaver sold weapons to an undercover FBI agent who had sought him out for three years. Weaver consistently refused, stating that a sawed-off shotgun was illegal. The undercover agent persisted. Weaver was arrested appeared in court and a trial date was set. The trial judge changed the court date and notified Weaver who assumed the District Attorney was notified. Weaver did not appear in court for the original trial date. The local District

to open fire or that the government had tried for three years to enlist Weaver's help in the sale of illegal weapons. Finally, "fanatics" is a loaded term, and it could be argued that the simple use of this term removes any level of objectivity from the news presentation. Certainly, most Americans would have been offended, some even outraged, by the use of the Nazi salute by the young man in the story, but that event is not in any way related to the Weaver trial. Thus it is concluded that Whitaker's own view of reality and sense of outrage dictated how the story was constructed. After all, television is a human construct, and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures.

While there are many such examples in this data, the following is perhaps the prime example that leaves little doubt that news is constructed, and that individual reporter and producer perceptions and attitudes transcend events and, more importantly reporter objectivity:

On June 15, 1995, all three networks cover the first Congressional Militia Hearing. CBS and NBC place the story in the lead. This means it is the first story to appear in the newscast. Generally, professional journalists will place the most important story of the day in this position. The CBS and NBC stories are virtually identical. ABC, however, chooses to lead with Bosnia; this is followed with an economic summit in Japan. The militia hearings don't appear until after the first commercial break and follow a story about a Senate vote on the telecommunications bill. Despite the fact that it is the first militia hearing, the producer for ABC does not consider the story significant enough to lead the newscast. Barry Sarrafin covers the story for ABC,

(visuals of men marching and chanting in camouflage carrying rifles)

Militia leaders and their members call themselves law-abiding citizens but at today's hearings, local state and federal law enforcement officials were unanimous in their descriptions.

(Robert Bryant of FBI testifies in Congressional hearing room.)

Some part of them are very dangerous.

(James Brown of the ATF testifies in Congressional hearing room.)

Disturbingly and dangerous as well.

(Fred Mills, Missouri State High Patrol, in Congressional hearing room.)

I'd say the same thing.

Some other background information is provided, then the militia representatives speak. It is important to note that all of these speakers are before the same congressional hearing and that they all speak on the same day and within the same time period.

(James Johnson, leader of the Unorganized Militia of Ohio speaks.)

We're not baby killers. We're baby boomers; we're not terrorists we're tax payers, We're not extremists, we're just extremely ticked off.

(Norman Olson, head of the Michigan Militia, in camouflage, speaks.)

We stand against oppression and tyranny in government and we, many of us, are coming to the conclusion that you best represent that corruption and tyranny.

(Senator Arlan Spector of Pennsylvania speaks/confrontationally—leans forward.)

I don't take lightly that I represent corruption. I don't take that lightly at all.

(Sarrafin, bridge, stand-up outside hearing room.)

Despite their claims of non-violence, they hinted at strong reaction to anti-terrorism legislation that would expand government ability to investigate militias.

(Norman Olson, head of the Michigan Militia, in camouflage, speaks to congressional members.)

The only thing standing between some of the current legislation being contemplated and armed conflict is time.

(Sarrafin stand-up close outside hearing room.)

Law enforcement officials urged for the calm and thoughtful response to the militias to avoid creating new sources of anger in an already angry movement.

Here government control is the emphasis and clearly the militias are presented as a potential threat to society. The CBS story, although the lead, casts the militia very, very differently. All of the visuals are the same and those seen on camera are almost the same but the emphasis places the militia in a different light. Jim Stewart reports,

American militia leaders offered up to Congress today their prime suspect in the

Oklahoma City bombing case, It was Japan that did it! said one, as part of an international conspiracy.

(Militias testify first: Olson speaks.)

Later we will find collusion between governments in the involvement of the Oklahoma City bombing.

(Jim Stewart, bridge)

And they claim to know the real identity of bombing suspect number two.

(Robert Fletcher, Michigan Militia, speaks)

We know who he is, where he is, and that he is also of a foreign descent and for some reason the FBI is steering away from this gentleman.

(Jim Stewart, bridge)

It was all part of Congress' first look at the paramilitary organizations since they burst on the national scene following the Oklahoma City attack. Prime suspects Tim McVeigh and Terry Nichols had both attended militia meetings and today law enforcement officials say recruits are growing increasingly dangerous.

(John Dollman, ATF)

We have received other declarations that if we step onto the property of the Freeman it will be a declaration of war. Captain Bobby Harbor was shot and

seriously wounded by a so-called patriot in the Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ.

(Fred Mills for Citizens of the Kingdom of Christ, referring to FBI.)

I've heard more and more people say that 'If one of these black suited, armor wearing, jack-booted terrorists comes kicking down my door, I'm gong to blow someone away.'

(Jim Stewart, bridge)

And in one bizarre exchange, Montana Militia-man Robert Fletcher claimed to have proof Russian tanks would soon land on American shores and that the nation's weather was controlled from Washington.

(Jim Stewart, close)

Congress had hoped by giving the militiamen a platform that their ideas would sound so silly people would reject it. But what they proved just as clearly, however, is that the militias don't take Congress very seriously either.

With this story, what Stewart has done is frame the militia not only as extremists but as irrational. The selection of these particular sound bites, and not others, allows Stewart to show that "he" finds some militia ideas to be silly. He is, in fact, framing them as such. He is also saying, indirectly, that the government is doing everything it can to give

militias a platform to vent their frustrations but they just can't be dealt with in a rational manner.

Because the creation of reality is a process happening constantly and continuously, it is fluid. As coverage of this congressional hearing shows, while different producers laid out the same show and reporters covered exactly the same event, over the same length of time, each of them viewed the event differently. They did, however, agree that militias are extremists. For Stewart, however, they are not only extremists but they are also irrational.

Ostensibly what these newsworkers have done is construct news events based on his own views of the world. These reporters and producers have constructed a reality and then disseminated this reality to the public. Upon receiving the news message, the vast majority of the political actors, law enforcement agents and potentially the audience, agree upon this reality and accept it.

All of these examples and much of what is contained in this data, are samples of what people see and hear as news. How the data is interpreted varies from individual to individual. The question is asked: "Is it possible for journalists to provide information fairly?" The answer is that objectivity, like impartiality, is an operational industry fiction. With Fiske (1987), this study asserts "theories of news which foreground questions of accuracy, bias, or objectivity are based on an empiricist notion of reality"(p.282).

Summary

In summary, according to the data gathered for this study, the research question may be answered as follows: How have the network newscast framed the militia? Answer: Militia groups are sub-cultures made up of individuals who hate the government. Moreover, these groups are made up of paramilitary extremists.

What frame is used to present these stories? Answer: Most often, a terrorism and government-control frame is used to present the militia movement phenomenon. This frame stresses the idea that American society is under attack by a government-hating subculture and that the government is enacting legislation and working to solve and place restrictions on the problem.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions

The objective of this study was to understand and explain how broadcast news frames the militia movement. This study also examined the salient themes, patterns, categories, symbols and visuals contained in network news stories.

Of greater relevance to this study was to find meaning in how news characteristics and functions could influence framing devices, then to understand and clarify how these framing devices could affect viewer perceptions of the movement. Based on the preceding analysis, several implications can be drawn.

First, most network domestic news is about such topics as "government conflicts and disagreements," "government decisions, proposals, and ceremonies," "crimes, scandals, and investigations," and "disasters, actual and averted" (Gans, 1979, pp.15-18). This is not a new finding, and it would seem that militias are no exception to these observations.

Reiterating and amplifying Gitlin's (1979) work, several assumptions about "characteristics of traditional news"(p.28) are immediately apparent in the news coverage analyzed in this study. To begin with, news focuses on events, not on underlying conditions. This is not a surprising conclusion for anyone who has ever watched a newscast. Nor is it for anyone who has ever worked in a newsroom. The single element that distinguishes one newscast from another is whether the audience can be convinced that one newsroom has done a better job in covering the day's events than

another. As a result, events rather than issues are often covered because of their immediacy. Militias are no exception, as these story lead-ins demonstrate:

> Elsewhere in the news today a standoff between a man who is wanted by the FBI and a large number of Federal agents (1992, ABC August 26).

> From Oklahoma City, and on to Minnesota and Iowa, today President Clinton said, 'The way to stop all the violent action is to stop all the violent talk.' (1995, CBC April 24).

> In Arizona today, nine of the twelve members of the Viper Militia arrested yesterday were arraigned on charges of conspiring to blow up certain federal buildings in Phoenix (1996, ABC July 2).

Stories with immediacy such as major fires, plane crashes, earthquakes and police-driven events fulfill the dramatic imperative of news. Stories with immediacy are also fast-paced, exciting, and adrenaline-producing. As these above examples indicate and as the largest category of stories involving the militia found in this data indicates: militia movement stories are police-driven events. Stories with immediacy also have the added benefit of attracting new viewers, thus raising the profit ratio for the news operation.

News works in twenty-four hour cycles and one of its goals is to fulfill viewer expectations of an event. As seen here, immediacy is a primary force in convincing an audience that a news operation has met viewer expectations.

News concerns conflict rather than consensus. This concern is directly related to the importance placed on events because so many events involve conflict. Furthermore, one of the constraints of television news is its visual imperative. A story that concerns conflict tends to be a highly visual story, which is both easier to tell, and more in keeping with another news imperative—entertainment.

Because conflict always has at least two sides, it is easier to construct both visually and in the narrative, thus easier for the viewer to relate to. Although the conflict frame runs constantly throughout the data, the focus of the conflict undergoes little change. As a result, reporting on the militia/ government conflict does little to explain the story. After all, the conflict itself is by no means the cause of the issue.

News is about personalization. The focus is on the individual, not the group. Issues are seen through the eyes of the affected party. This helps explain why so many stories in this data contain video and interviews obviously shot by the local affiliate rather than the by network. Many stand-ups from network reporters are shot in either New York or Washington, yet the video for the rest of the story is shot in a different location.

Obviously it is easier for national newscast personnel to decide to localize a problem by focusing on small communities they have little contact with and whose video can be provided by the local affiliate. In this way, a story of nation-wide concern can be broadcast immediately with little effort or expense on the part of the networks.

However, because network news reporters have little contact with the community or the individuals involved, very often the information they provide is constructed based on that individual reporter's perspective. This concept as well as the news imperative that news stories must allow the audience to see and hear with their own eyes the people affected has little meaning if what the viewer actually sees and hears is the reporter's construction of that event.

News concerns facts that advance the story, not the ones that explain it. The Ruby Ridge story of 1992, the Branch Davidian standoff in Waco 1993, the Freemen hold-up in Montana, and the Republic of Texas standoff of 1996 are all examples. These stories are introduced over and over again by the number of days that the individuals participate in the event rather than by the cause of the events. For example:

> It's entered its sixth day: the man has been holed up in a cabin up in a remote section of Idaho...(1992, ABC August 26).

> After four weeks of keeping their distance, the FBI today moved closer to the Freemen (1996, CBS April 20).

> In one of the toughest adversaries they have ever encountered, one who has held them at bay for a month now...withstanding every weapon of persuasion they've held out...(1997, CBS October 21).

The facts and subjects of these stories are presented as the problem but the cause of the problem cannot be explained. In relation to the Randy Weaver and Ruby Ridge story this becomes significant. The following is essentially how all three networks covered the 1992 events:

> Randy Weaver brought his family to the top of this mountain nine years ago because he wanted to be left alone. Now a force of two hundred police, federal agents, and the National Guard have surrounded the house. Weaver is wanted on a charge of selling two illegal sawed-off shotguns to a federal informer. When authorities went to Weaver's house last week to arrest him, a U.S. marshal and Weaver's thirteen-year-old son were killed in a brief shootout. The FBI says they will not leave until Weaver and a friend, Kevin Harris, who lives with him, are in custody (1992, ABC August 22).

At no point in time do the networks question why a force of two hundred government agents is necessary to arrest two men. Nor is it reported that it was an ATF operative who first approached Weaver to persuade him to sell an illegal sawed-off shotgun. It is the operative who reports to have met Weaver at an Aryan Nations meeting. It is also that same operative who developed a relationship with Weaver over a period of three years in order to make the deal. Once the deal was consummated, Weaver was arrested and appeared in court to set a trial date. The judge in the case re-scheduled the date, Weaver **was** notified. When Weaver did not appear in court on the

originally scheduled date, the district attorney went before the media and accused Weaver of refusing to appear in court. Additionally, it was a U.S. marshall who began the standoff at Ruby Ridge by killing Weaver's dog, and the same agent killed Weaver's son with a 9mm machine gun equipped with a silencer (Weaver, 1995).

It is the conflict and duration of conflict between the two groups that moves the story along, not necessarily the facts. This conflict provides the story with drama. It paints a black and white picture by providing the audience with two parties at odds over a problem.

Thus, it is concluded that characteristics of traditional news coverage are at work in the coverage of the militias and these functions or characteristics influence the framing of issues that involve the militias.

As argued earlier, the frame is the central element of a news story. It is the backdrop through which a news story emerges and through which the facts are presented. It is what drives the story. As has been suggested earlier, the particular set of facts that constitute a news event could be organized and presented in several ways. The frame represents the manner used to present those facts, as decided upon by the news producer or reporter.

Certainly, the networks could use any frame they pleased in their presentation of militia stories. Yet the frames they used frequently emphasize the drama and conflict of the event. If and when issues were presented, the networks pitted one group against another.

While the militia groups and the geographic areas involved varied, the group the militias were pitted against were always government officials. It can be concluded that

the networks have framed militia stories in terms of the government action that is required to solve the problems. Thus, network news sets the stage for dramatic confrontation between the government and militias.

However, this study also identified a dominant frame. This dominant frame is used by the network newsworkers, politicians, law enforcement officials, and special interest groups in painting a very specific picture for understanding the militia phenomenon. This frame not only drives the day-to-day coverage, but also allows for minor frames, labels and themes to emerge and consequently affect viewer perceptions. For the militia movement this dominant frame is terrorism and paramilitary extremism contained within terrorism.

Allowing the audience to see and hear information that places the militia movement within a terrorism frame permits reporters to generalize about militia member attitudes, and ideology and speculate about their behavior or intended behavior.

As Allport (1935), and Oskamp (1991) explain, attitudes are seen as a shorthand term used to summarize many different behaviors. Thus, what viewers saw were mostly the events, the government's reactions to those events, and reporters' assumptions and generalizations about militia behavior. Placing militia in a terrorism frame allows all participants of the television news experience to understand the militia in the same way.

Furthermore, as seen in this data, the first story most reporters at the networks experienced regarding the militia is the Oklahoma City bombing. As a result, their expectation of militia activity and their attitude towards coverage is defined by this single act of terrorism. Therefore, as Epstein(1973) explained, newsworkers agree on what a story is about before even going to the news scene: "Film of an event is thus

defined, to a large extent, by the prior expectation of it" (p.164). Consequently, news routines contribute to the construction and maintenance of the dominant frame.

As a result, viewers likely conclude that the contemporary militia is

> ...any group of three or more persons organized for the stated purpose of defending their rights and property from a tyrannical government. Such a group must also engage in paramilitary training or maneuvers to prepare for 'unlawful' behavior on the part of government agents. Finally, the group must also call itself a 'militia' and consider its legal right to organize and train as a militia to be specified under the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1998,O'Brien & Haider-Markle, p.457).

As this study utilized a grounded theory approach, two principle insights regarding theory building need elaboration. The first builds grounded concepts from subjective experience; the second places individual ideology into a cultural and historical context.

Reviewing Chapter Three, first, television news as a cultural tool uses language, symbols and visuals to make arguments about reality. News stories are cultural artifacts that are, among other things, a symbolic process by which a vision of reality is constructed for the viewer.

Within this context, reporter and producer perceptions are, like those of the rest of us, based on learned interpretations, social interaction, cultural myths, structure and

practice of our institutions and rules for congruent action. These vehicles of meaning together construct a world-view of what is valuable, why things are the way they are.

However, the construction of a news story is relegated to individual producers and reporters, whose individual reporter/producer perceptions play a role in the production of the news stories aired. As seen repeatedly in this study, television news is a human construct, and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures. The medium responds to the conditions within which it exists.

Hence, news acts as a socializing agent by constructing reality and then disseminating that reality to the public. When the operation broadcasts its news information on a national basis, as do the television networks, the impact or effect the information has on viewer perceptions can be significant. As a result, the ideal of objectivity is a myth impossible to attain. With Fiske (1987) "theories of news which foreground questions of accuracy, bias, or objectivity are based on an empiricist notion of reality"(p.282) because news can never give a full, accurate, objective picture of reality because all events are conditional on reporter/producer construction.

Of more significance, is the reporter/producer use of the various framing devices to discuss and portray the militia movement. These frames included terrorism, domestic terrorism, war and peace, and government control. This study found that in the news the actions of one militia group or cell became a war between two sides, where ALL militias were equally implicated in the harm done to the nation. This kind of story construction could leave the viewer having to make a moral or ideological choice

between the terrorist actions of the militia and the social control actions of the government.

Given, as discussed in Chapter Two, that American individualism and the right to challenge the government are also part of our cultural and historical experience, it is easy to understand why the militia movement is growing, despite the negative network news portrayal it receives. For some people, ideologically, militias are seen as serving a higher good; that is, serving a moral cause more important than obedience to the law and an end more important to society than order. This ideological perception is due, as seen in this data, to government agents and agencies, in many cases, overstepping the law and infringing upon individual liberties.

Although not part of the research question, yet as a direct result of this study, two other conclusions can be made. First, it is concluded that the militia movement does have its roots, as Diamond(1995) argues, in the 1960s and 1970s, a time when the United States was involved in the Vietnam War. This was a time which for many Americans produced "cultural ambiguity"(Gibson, 1994, p.357).

There is evidence for this line of reasoning. Some scholars believe that that the Vietnam War altered the "American psyche" (Piehlere, 1997), while Luntz and Dermer (1994) conclude that this period reflects a "deepening of cynicism" in the "long-term national mindset"(p.14).

However, prior to 1989 many of those paramilitary groups had a fundamental ideological base in racism, anti-Semitism and Christian fundamentalism. This is evidenced by an eight-minute news story produced by CBS.

On March 24, 1997, Dan Rather interviews Terry Noble a former leader of Covenant the Sword and Arm of the Lord Militia based in Arkansas. Nobel indicates that in 1976 this group had an arsenal of weapons including "rocket launchers." The group was a "Christian identity paramilitary" organization that believed "...all whites are descendants of Adam." In 1983 one of the group's leaders, Gordon Kahl was arrested and shot. According to Nobel, the group saw this as a "...sign from God" and began plotting to blow-up the Murrah Building in Oklahoma. Richard Wayne Snell was the leader and organizer of this "extremist right-wing plot," and the story provides details of how and when the bombing would take place. When the ATF and FBI arrested the group, all the "guns and weapons were confiscated." Richard Wayne Snell, however, escaped. In the process of escaping, Snell shot and killed an Arkansas highway patrolmen. Snell was captured and sentenced to death.

Rather concludes that this is an example of the " many right-wing extremist groups that went to jail in the 1980s" (1997, CBS March 24). Other experts appear on all three networks indicating that large numbers of hate groups of the 70s and 80s were arrested and jailed (1994, NBC, Nov.30; 1995, CBS April 22; 1997, CBC March 24).

The arrest of many hate group members in the 1980s is also evidenced in Mark Hamm's (1997) book, Apocalypse in Oklahoma: Waco and Ruby Ridge Revenged. In the book, Hamm argues that the government's efforts to quash Neo-Nazi terrorist activity in the 1980s, along with Ruby Ridge and Waco, created the atmosphere of revolution that gave McVeigh the grievances he needed to plan and execute the Oklahoma City bombing.

This fundamental ideological base is crucial to understanding when and how the contemporary militia evolved because, as Ladd, Hood, and Van Liere (1983) argue, " the development of a coherent ideological base" is a "crucial component in the emergence of collective protest" (p.252). The ideological base here is hate and anything not White and not American.

The tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Diamond, 1995) and the subsequent fall of Communism cast adrift many disenfranchised staunchly anti-Communist dissidents. This is also a time period in our history when Americans began to pay higher income taxes than at any other time. It is also a time when, with government approval, corporate America sought out laborers outside American boundaries as a way to increase profits. Additionally, this is also a time when the government began passing more restrictive gun-control measures. Public opinion scholars indicate that public attitudes during this time period are of "continuing and certainly deepening cynicism. Adding "...The problems appears to be pervasive, affecting all democratic institutions"(1999, Pfau et al., p.730).

There is evidence for finding the roots of militia appeal in these events. James Fox, a long time FBI agent and consultant for CBS, argues that "Those groups of individuals who formerly protected us from the Soviets are now protecting us from our own government" (1995, CBS April 22). Lifton, (1995) would agree and explains that "The collapse of the Soviet Union has left us adrift" (as cited in Dority, 1995), and Doskoch (1995) concludes, "We may have won the Cold War, but we've lost a purpose." As a result, a sense of frustration and anger pervades the whole society.

Simply stated, those same disenfranchised anti-Communists began to seek out a new target. The target: our government; the results: government hating, armed militias; the basic ideology: hatred of the government. This ideology and all of the rhetoric associated with it began to attract large and more mainstream group of Americans.

The data for this study is full of government-hating militia rhetoric. The following are examples,

> I think the system's got to where it serves the power structure instead of the people (1992, ABC August 26).

> Most of us don't pay taxes, most of us don't have jobs. We live off the land. We don't need the system we can live without it. (1992, NBC August 26).

> The government has been involved in trying to micro manage our lives and that's an uncomfortable feeling (1995, CBS April 24).

> ...who is going to defend the children against the federal terrorism that is occurring within this nation (1995, NBC April 24).

> I think we should thank them (militias). I think we should have militias here

and do everything we can to bring back our sovereign republic. Those within government who break the law and murder and plunder need to answer to it (1996, ABC March 30).

A man's home is his castle. If I have to die protecting my home from the government to prove that, so be it (1996, NBC April 24).

They (FBI/ATF) will trample down your rights as they break inside your home (1997, ABC Feb. 1).

I guarantee there is a government conspiracy (regarding the Oklahoma City Bombing) and we have the documents to prove it (1997, ABC, June 14).

Akins (1998) and some special interest groups have argued that the militia sprang from the October 1992 Rocky Mountain Rendezvous. However, the Rendezvous followed the Ruby Ridge stand-off but came before Waco. The data for this dissertation shows most of those who see themselves as oppressed by the government refer directly to Waco as the call to arms.

The Rendezvous is also the meeting where various movements such as the common law court movement, survivalists, theocrats, white supremacists, apocalyptic millenarianists, and several separatists groups participated. It is hypothesized that from this meeting, came a merging of ideologies.

This is an important concept because, as Dority (1995) and Cooper (1995) explain, getting up and talking publicly about race separation are political methods that "belong to the past" and not likely to be looked upon favorably by either the media or a mass audience. Thus, the growth and strength of the contemporary militia movement is their ability to focus on issues and frame them as "citizen sovereignty" and "citizen control over individual life" because these fundamental American beliefs have a broader appeal.

The result is that while most militia groups are honing a nationalist political rhetoric, some racist organizations such as the Neo-Nazi Aryan Nations groups have coordinated their information and joined forces with the more visual and politically popular militias. That is to say, although many special interest groups would like to believe that all militias are equal, they are not (See Appendix G for special interest groups viewpoints). Yes, militias are a central ingredient in the Radical Right, however, ALL militias are not racist, anti-Semitic, anti-gay, and anti-abortion organizations.

Another conclusion relates to the preponderance of literature, which concludes that in order for a social movement to grow and attract new members it is reliant on television news. However, this data indicates that militia members eschew the television news media. Central to militia philosophy is the idea that they keep a very low profile, and that their members must not be readily identified by anyone. The primary communication method for the militia movement is the Internet.

Hence, it can be argued that the Internet may have changed many of the theories regarding the growth of social movements and their relationship to television news.

As this study clearly indicates, prior to April 19, 1995, the militia was virtually nonexistent on the major television networks. Yet the movement was able to grow and coalesce.

Radical left or right wing-groups have always been part of the American landscape. Because of events like those, which occurred at Ruby Ridge, Idaho; Waco, Texas; and Oklahoma City, the militias have come to the forefront of American attention and concerns. It is easily argued that the militia movement is unlike any of the other radical groups that are part of our historical past.

Future Research

This study offers a preliminary interpretation of the role played by network news broadcasts in determining public perceptions of on-going historic events. Building on the findings set forth in this study, future research may reveal an even more specific relationship between the format of network news broadcasts and the public's perception of the American militia movement.

Also, the method used to gather the data for this study allows conclusions to go only so far. This study cannot make a direct leap ahead, predicting how these messages are received or how they could directly affect public construction of reality. Future research should combine this information with the result of long interviews with television journalists, as well as with studies of focus groups or public opinion surveys. Perhaps then some more solid conclusions about the role of network news and its effect

on viewer perception and construction of reality regarding the militia movement may be made.

Future research might examine news coverage of local television stations rather than the networks to determine whether newsworkers perceptions vary in regions of the country with more publicly active militias.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abanes, R. (1996). American Militias: Rebellion, Racism and Religion. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Adams, J. (1990, April 6). Milwaukee/McGee. CBS Evening News.

Adoni, H. and Cohen, A. A. (1978). Television Economic News and the Social Construction of Economic Reality. Journal of Communication, 28: 61-70.

Aho, J.A.(1990). The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Akins, J. K. (1998). God, Guns, and Guts: Religion and Violence in Florida Militias. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Florida) Dissertation Abstracts_AAG9837346.

Allport, G. (1935). Handbook of Social Psychology. In S. Oskamp (1991) Attitudes and Opinion; (2nd.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentiss Hall.

Altheide, D.L. (1974). Creating reality. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

—(1985). Media Power. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

—(1987). Format and Symbols in TV Coverage of Terrorism in the United States and Great Britain. International Studies Quarterly. 31: 161-176.

—(1996). Qualitative Media Analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Altschull, H. (1984). Agents of Power. NY: Longman.

American Defamation League (1999) New ADL Report Traces Influence on Militia Movement by Willis Carto's hate Mongering Liberty Lobby. Retrieved March 15, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://206.3.178.10/PresRele/Militi_71/2587_71.html.

—(1997) About ADL . Retrieved March 15, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.adl.org/frames/front_about.html.

Anderson, J. A. and Meyer, T. B. (1988). Mediated communication: A social action perspective. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Andrews, W. (Reporter). (1995, May 3). Militia Groups have Allies in Congress; Representative Chenoweth Drafts Bill for Change in Serving Search Warrants. CBS Evening News, New York and Washington. Burrelle's Information Services. Retrieved August 18, 1999 from the World Wide Web. http://web.lexis-nexis.com/university.

Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government (1997). Retrieved July 10, 1997 from the World Wide Web: http: //paul.spu.edu/sinfein/adl.html.

Armstrong, D. (1995, Oct). Cyberhoax. Columbia-Journalism Review. 34: 12-13.

Asamen, J. K. and Berry, G. L. (1998). Research Paradigms Television and Social Behavior. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Avery, R.K. and Eason, D. (Eds.). (1991). Critical Perspectives on Media and Society New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Baltzell, D. and Schneiderman, H.G. (1991, May/June). Rags to Robes: The Horatio Alger Myth and the Supreme Court. Society. 45-54.

Baran, S. J. and Davis, D. K. (1995). Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Barkin, S. M. and Gurevitch, M. (1991). Out of Work and On the Air: Television News of Unemployment. In R. K. Avery and D. Eason (Eds.). Critical Perspectives on Media and Society. 306-328. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Bateson, G. (1972). Steps to the Ecology of the Mind. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.

Bayley, C.C.(1961). War and Society in Renaissance Florence; The *De Militia* of Leonardo Bruni. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Baylor, T. (1996). Media Framing of Movement Protest: The Case of American Indian Protest. Social Science Journal. 33: 241-245.

Becker, H.S.(1973). Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York, NY: Free Press.

Bell, J.B. (1978, May). Terrorist Scripts and Live-Action Spectaculars. Columbia Journalism Review. 17: 47-50.

Bellesiles, M.A.(1996). The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States, 1760-1865. Journal of American History. 83: 425-455.

Benford, R.D. (1997). An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. Sociological Inquiry. 67: 409-430.

Bennett, D.H. (1995). The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History; (2nd.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Bennett, W.L. (1996). News: the politics of illusion; (3rd.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Bereleson, B. (1952). Content Analysis in Communication Research. In G. H. Stempel, and B. Westley (Eds.). (1989). Research Methods in Mass Communication. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Berg, B.I. (1995). Qualitative research methods for the social science (2nd.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Berger, A. A.(1982). Signs in contemporary society. New York, NY: Longman.

Berger, P. L. (1967). The Sacred Canopy. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.

Berger, P. and Luckman, T. (1966). The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.

Berkowitz,D.(1990). Refining the gatekeeping metaphor for local television. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media. 34: 55-68.

Berlet, C. (1995). Armed Militias, Right Wing Populism, and Scapegoating. Retrieved March 7, 1995 from the World Wide Web: http://paul.spu.edu/~sinnfein/berlet.html.

Berlet, C. and Lyons, M.N. (1995). Militia Nation. The Progressive. 59: 22-28.

Berlet, C. and Quigley, M. (1995). Theocracy and White Supremacy. In C. Berlet (Ed.), Eyes Right! Challenging the Right Wing Backlash. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Best, J. (Ed.). (1995). Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems; (2nd.). New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Bickman, L (1974). The social power of a uniform. Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 4: 47-61.

Biondo,F. (1531). Historiarum ab incllinatione Romanorum libri xxxi. In (1961) C.C. Bayley War and Society in Renaissance Florence; The *De Militia* of Leonardo Bruni. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Blumer, H.(1969). Symbolic interactionism: Perspectives and Method. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentiss Hall.

—(1971). Social Problems as Collective Behavior. Social Problems. 18: 298-306.

Bowen,J. (Reporter). (1996, July 2). CBS Evening News, CBS Broadcasting Corp.; NY and Washington.

Bowers, J.W., Ochs, D. J., and Jensen, R. J. (1993). The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control; (2nd.). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press Inc.

Bowles, D.A. (1993). Media Law in Tennessee. Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press Inc.

Brewer, M. and McCombs, M. (1996). Setting the community agenda. Journalism Mass Communication Quarterly. 73: 7-23.

Brosius, H.B. and Eps, P. (1995). Prototyping through key events. News Selection in the case of violence against aliens and asylum seekers in Germany. European Journal of Communication. 10: 391-412.

Brown, J. D., Bybee, C.R., Wearden, S.T., and Straughan, D. M.(1987). Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity. Journalism Quarterly. 64: 45-54.

Bruni, L.(1508). Isagogicon moralis disciplinae. Universityof Chicago,lat. In (1961) C.C. Bayley War and Society in Renaissance Florence. The *De Militia* of Leonardo Bruni. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Buckalew,J.K.(1970). News elements and selection by television news editors. Journal of Broadcasting. 14: 47-54.

Buoninsegni, B. (1410). Storia della citia di Firense 1410-1460. In (1961) C.C. Bayley War and Society in Renaissance Florence. The *De Militia* Of Leonardo Bruni. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Burke K. (1966). Language as symbolic action. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Burkhart, F. (1990). Taking news seriously in the classroom lectures. Journalism Educator. 45: 79-80, 96.

Burlein, A.M. (1997). Lift High the Cross: White Supremacy and Christian Triumphalism in Contemporary Colorado. (Doctoral Dissertation, Duke University) Dissertation Abstracts AAG9805293.

California Agency Hit in Hate Crime Attack. (1993, October 15). New York Times, A9, A24.

Campano, J. W. (1470). Vite de Plutarcho, 2 vols, Rome, 1470. In (1961) C.C. Bayley War and Society in Renaissance Florence; The *De Militia* of Leonardo Bruni. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Carey, J.W. (1986). Why and How? The Dark Continent of American Journalism. 146-196. In R.K. Mannoff and M. Schudson (Eds.). Reading the News. New York, NY: Pantheon.

—(1988). Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society. Boston, MA: Unwin.

Chalmers, D. M. (1981). Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan. New York, NY: Franklin Watts.

Chan, J.M. and Lee, C.C. (1984). The Journalistic Paradigm on Civil Protests. A case study of Hong Kong. In A. Arno and W. Dissanayake (Eds.). The new media in national and international conflict. 183-202. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Charmaz, K. (1990). Discovering' Chronic Illness: Using Grounded Theory. Social Science Medical. 30: 11, 1161-1172.

—(1994). The Grounded Theory Method: An Explication and Interpretation. In B. Glaser (Ed.). More Grounded Theory Methodology: A Reader. Chicago, IL: Undine.

Clancey, M. and Robinson, M. J. (1985). General Election Coverage. In M. J. Robinson and A. Ranney (Eds.). The Mass Media in Campaign. 84: 27-33. Washington, D. C.: American Enterprise for Public Policy Research.

Coalition for Human Dignity. (1999). Retrieved February 12, 1999 from the World Wide Web:http://www.halcyon.com/chd/.

Cockerham, W. (1979). Medical Sociology. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall.

Cohen,A. A., Adoni, H., and Bantz, C.R.(1990). Social conflict and television news. In Paletz, D. L. and Schmid, A. P.(Eds.). Terrorism and the Media. London, England: Sage.

Cohen, A. A. and Wolfsfeld, G. (Eds.). (1993). Framing the Intifada: People and Media. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Cohen, S. (1997, January 5). Banking on Hate: Extremist and tries to finance goals through robberies. The Knoxville News-Sentinel, F7.

Cohen, S. and Young, J. (Eds.). (1981). The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and the mass media. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Collette, L. (1995). Encountering Holocaust Denial. In C. Berlet (Ed.). Eyes Right! Challenging the Right Wing Backlash. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Collins, R. (1980). Erving Goffman and the Development of Modern Social Theory. In J. Ditton (1980) The View from Goffman. London, England: MacMillan Press.

Comprehensive Antiterrorism Act of 1995 (1995, Dec.5). CIS-NO: 95-H523-37. Committee on the Judiciary. House, H. Rpt. 104-383, Federal Information Systems: Federal News Services. Retrieved August 18, 1999 from the World Wide Web:http://web.lexis-nexis.com/university.

Conover, P. J. (1983). The Mobilization of the New Right: A Test of Various Explanations. Western Political Quarterly. 36: 632-640.

Conover, P.J. and Gray, V. (1983). Feminism and the New Right. New York: Praeger.

Cooper, M. (1995, Oct.23). Camouflage Days, E-mail Nights. The Nation. 464.

Creedon, P.J. (1993). Framing feminism—A feminist primer for the mass media. Media Studies Journal. 7: 68-81.

Creswell, J.W.(1994). Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cummins, J. (1994, November 30). Citizen Militias. NBC Evening News.

Curan, J. and Gurevitch, M. (Eds.). (1991). Mass Media and Society. London, England: Edward Arnold.

Dahlgren, P. (1981). TV news and the suppression of reflexivity. In E. Katz and T. Szecsko (Eds.). Mass media and social change. 101-113. London, England: Sage.

Dandeker, C. (1995/96). Taken by Storm. Armed Forces and Society. 22: 297-302.

Dees, M. (1996). Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat. New York, NY: Harper.

DeFleur, M.L., and Ball-Rokeach, S. (1989). Theories of Mass Communication. New York, NY: Longman.

Dempsey, J. (Reporter). (1995, April 24). Oklahoma City Bombing: the Angry Voices. CBS Evening News.

Diamond, D. (1995). Roads to Dominion: Right Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Dijk, T.A. van. (1988). News as Discourse. Hillsdale, NH: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ditton, J. (Ed.). (1980). The View From Goffman. London; MacMillan Press.

Dominick, J. R.(1996). The Dynamics of Mass Communication: (5th Ed.). New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Dominick, J.R., Wurtzel, A., and Lometti, G. (1975). Television vs. Show Business: A Content Analysis of Eyewitness News. Journalism Quarterly. 52: 213-218.

Doob, L.W. (1948). Public Opinion and Propaganda. In V. Price (1992). Public Opinion, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dority, B. (1995, Nov.). Is the Extremist Right Entirely Wrong? The Humanist, 55: 1-5. Retrieved 2/19/1999 from the World Wide Web: http:proquest.umi.com

Doskock, P. (1995). The Mind of the Militia. Psychology Today. 28: 12-17.

Duffy, J. E. and Brantley, A. C.(1997, July) Militias: Initiating Contact. FBI/Law Bulletin. 22-26.

Dunn, A. (1992, August 28). Mountain Standoff rallied Idaho Cradle of the Fringe. Los Angeles Times. A1, 38.

Dutch, S. (1998). The Military. Retrieved January 20, 2000 from the World Wide Web: http://www.uwgb.edu/dutchs/190outln/xmilitar.htm.

Dyer, J. (1997). Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is Only the Beginning. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Eaton, R. (1995). As quoted in U.S. Congress. House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Crime. Washington: GPO, 2 November. Federal Information Systems: Federal News Services. Retrieved August 18, 1999 from the World Wide Web:http://web.lexis-nexis.com/university.

Edelman, M. (1971). Politics as Symbolic Action. Chicago, IL: Markham.

—(1988) Constructing the Political Spectacle. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication. 43.

Epstein, E. J. (1973). News From Nowhere. New York, NY: Vintage.

Fair, H. L. (1998). The Dangerous Individual: Media Coverage of the Unabomber Case 1978-1998 MAPSS Program U Chicago, IL 60637 e-mail: hollyh@gateway.net American Sociological Association (ASA). 1999.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). (1987-1995).Crime in the United States-Uniform Crime Report. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Festinger, L, Schachter, S., and Back, K. (1954). Social Pressures in Informal Groups. New York, NY: Harper.

Fields, E. E. (1984). Preachers, Press, and Politics: The Media Career of a Conservative Social Movement. Dissertation: Department of Sociology in the University of Oregon.

Fink, E. J., and Gantz, W. (1996). A content analysis of three mass communication research traditions. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly. 73: 114-134.

Fiske, J. (1987). Television Culture. New York, NY: Methuen.

Fiske, J. and Hartley, J. (1985). Reading Television. New York, NY: Methuen and Co.

Fishman, M. (1980). Manufacturing News. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Flint, D. J. (1998). Change in customers' desired value: a grounded theory study of its nature and processes based on business customers' lived experiences in the U.S. automobile industry.(Doctoral dissertation, University of Tennessee).

Frank, R. (1973). Message Dimensions of Television News. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Gallaher, C. A. (1998). America's New Patriots: Livelihood and the Politics of Identify (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kentucky). Dissertation Abstracts Internal, AAG9906626.

Gamson, W. (1988). The 1987 Distinguished Lecture: A Constructionist Approach To Mass Media and Public Opinion. Symbolic Interaction. 11: 161-174.

Gamson, W. A. (1989) News as Framing. American Behavioral Scientist. 33: 157-161.

—(1992). Talking Politics. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

—(1997). Constructing Social Protest. In S. Buechler, and F. Kurt Cylke (Eds.). Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues. 228-244. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Gamson, W. A. and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse an the Public Opinion on Nuclear Power. American Journal of Sociology. 95: 1-38.

Gans, H. J. (1979). Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time. New York, NY: Pantheon.

Gerbner, G. (1988). Symbolic Functions of Violence and Terror. Paper presented to the Terrorism and the News Media Research Project. Boston, MA. Sponsored by the Mass Communication and Society Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Ghanem, S. I.(1996). Media coverage of crime and public opinion: an exploration of the Second level of agenda setting. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Gibson, J. W.(1994). Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America. New York, NY: Hill and Wang.

Gilbert, A. (Ed.). (1965). Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gilbert, F. (1986). Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War. In P. Paret (Ed.). Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machaiavelli to the Nuclear Age. 3-33. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gitlin, T. (1978). Media sociology: The dominant paradigm. Theory and Society. 6: 205-253.

—(1979). Prime Time Ideology: The Hegemonic Process in Television Entertainment. Social Problems. 26: 251-266.

—(1980). The Whole World is Watching. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

—(1987). Watching Television. New York, NY: Pantheon.

—(1996). Straight from the Sixties: what conservatives owed the decade they hate. American-Prospect. 26: 54-59.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago, IL: Aldine Press.

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goode, E. (1992). Collective Behavior. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt.

Goodwin, A. (1990). TV News-Striking the Right Balance? In Andrew Goodwin and Garry Whannel (Eds.). Understanding Television. London: Routledge.

Gove, W. R. (1973, July). Sex, Marital Status, and Mortality. American Journal of Sociology. 45-67.

Gozzi, R. (1990). New words and a changing American culture. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Gray, H. (1987). Race relations as news: Content analysis. American Behavioral Scientist. 30: 381-396.

— (1991). Television, Black Americans, and the American Dream. In R. K. Avery and D. Eason. Critical Perspectives on Media and Society. 294-306. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1981). Effective Evaluation. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hacker, F. J. (1976). Crusaders, Criminals, Crazies: Terror and Terrorism in Our Time. New York, NY: Norton.

—(1980). Terror and Terrorism: Modern Growth Industry and Mass Entertainment. Terrorism. 4. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

Hackett, R. (1984). Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and objectivity in news media studies. Critical Studies in Mass Communication. 1: 229-259.

Hall, S. (1975). Introduction. In A.C.H. (Ed.). Paper Voices: The popular press and social change, 1935-1965. London: Chatto and Windus.

—(1977). Culture, the media, and the ideological effect. In J. Curran, M. Guervitch, and J. Woolacott (Eds.). Mass Communication in Society. 315-348. London: Open University Press.

—(1980). On Encoding and Decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis (Eds.). Culture, Media, Language. 128-138. London: Hutchinson.

—(1981). A world at one with itself. In S. Cohen and J. Young (Eds.). The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and the mass media. 147-156. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

—(1982). The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, and Woollacot (Eds.). Culture, Society and the Media. 56-90. New York, NY: Methuen.

Hallin,D. (1990). Sound-bite news. In Gary Orren (Ed.). Blurring the lines. New York, NY: Free Press.

Hamm, M. S. (1997). Apocalypse in Oklahoma: Waco and Ruby Ridge Revenged. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Harris, M., and Baudin, H. (1973). The language of altruism: The effects of language, dress and ethnic group. Journal of Social Psychology. 91: 37-41.

Hartley, J. (1982). Understanding News. London: Methuen

Herberle, R. (1951). Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology. In. A. E. Ladd, T. C. Hood, and K.D. Van-Liere. Ideological Themes in the Antinuclear Movement: Consensus and Diversity. Sociological Inquiry 53: 252-272.

Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing consent: The Political economy of the Mass media. New York, NY: Pantheon.

Herschberg, M.H. (1998). In Service to the Real Simulation. Ideology and the Oklahoma City Bombing. (Doctoral Dissertation, Purdue University) Dissertation Abstracts AAG9900193.

Hess,B. B., Markson, E.W. and Stein, P.J.(1992). Sociology, New York, NY: MacMillan

Hilgartner, S and Bosk, C. (1988). The Rise and Problems of Public Arenas Model, American Journal of Sociology. 94: 53-78.

Himmelstein, H. (1994). Television Myth and the American Mind. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Hofstetter, C. R. (1998). Political Talk Radio, Situational Involvement, and Political Mobilization. Social Science Quarterly. 79: 275-286.

Homans, G.C. (1961). Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms. New York, NY: Harcourt.

Hood, T. (1997). Collective Behavior and Social Movements, Chapter 21. Unpublished manuscript.

Howard, L. (1992). Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses. New York, NY: Prager Inc.

Howard, M. (1976). War in European History. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoynes, W. and Croteau, D. (1989). Are Your on the Nightline Guest List? NewYork, NY: Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting.

Ivengar, S. (1991). Is anyone Responsible? How Television News Frames Political Issues. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Jefferson, T. (1968). Letter to James Madison, January 30, 1787, Paris. The Annals of America, 3, 1784-1796.Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1968. 84.

Jervis, R. (1970). The Logic of Images in International Relations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Johnson, J.J. (1995). As quoted in U.S. Congress. Senate. Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government Information. Militia Hearings. Washington:GPO,15 June. C-Span tapes received from Public Affairs Video Archives. Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN.

Jones, T. (1993,September 7). Hate from America's Heartland. Los Angeles Times. A1.

Junas, D. (1997). The Rise of Citizen Militias: Angry White Guys with Guns. In C. Berlet (Ed.). Eyes Right! Challenging the Right Wing Backlash. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Kahneman, D. and A. Tversky (April, 1984). Choices, values, and frames. American Psychologist.

Kay, J., Ziegelmueller, G.W., and Minch, K.M. (1998). From Coughlin to Contemporary Talk Radio: Fallacies and Propaganda in American Populist Radio. Journal of Radio Studies. 5: 9-20.

Kazin, M. (1997, April). The White Rage. American Prospect. 31: 88-92. Retrived June 15, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://proquest.umi.com.

Kennamer, D.J. (1994). Public Opinion, The Press, and Public Policy. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Kenney, N. (1996, Oct. 25). Klan Power Wanes; hate bigotry edge toward the militias. National Catholic Reporter Retrieved March 19, 1999 from the World Wide Web:http://proquest.umi.com.

Kielbowicz, R. B. and Scherer, C. (1986). The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of in Social Movements. In Louis Kriesberg (Ed.). Research in Social Movement Conflicts and Change. 71-96. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc.

Klaidman, D. and Isikoff, M. (1996,April 22). The Feds Quiet War. Newsweek. 127, 47.

Ladd, A.E., Hood, T. C., and Van-Liere, K.D. (1983). Ideological Themes in the Antinuclear Movement: Consensus and Diversity. Sociological Inquiry. 53: 252-272.

Larson,C.U. (1995). Persuasion: (7th.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Larson, J. (1985). Television's window on the world: International affairs coverage on the U.S. networks. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Larson, J., and Hardy, A. (1977). International Affairs coverage on Network Television News: A study of news flow. Gazette. 23: 241-256.

Lasorasa, D. and Reese, S.D. (1987). News Sources use in the Crash of 1987: Study of Four National Media. Journalism Quarterly. 67: 60-71.

Lauderdale, P and Estep, R. (1980). The Bicentennial Protest: An examination of hegemony in the definition of deviant political activity. In P. Lauderdale (Ed.), A Political analysis of deviance. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

LeCompte, M.D. and Preissle, J. (1993). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research; (2nd.). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Lederer, R. (1991). The miracle of language. New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Leetes, K, and Bowers, P.J. (1999). Loud and angry voices: The insidious Influence. Communication Monographs. 66: 325-340.

Lefkowitz, M., Blake, R., and Mouton, J. (1955). Status factors in pedestrian violation of traffic signals. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 51:704-706.

Leitch, M.(1997). Not McVeigh, it's the Government's fault. American Journal of Criminal Law. Retrieved March 15, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://proquest.umi.com.

Levins, H., and Eberhart, D. (1999). The Hunt for Eric Rudolph. Retrieved February 17, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.apbonline.com/majorcases/rudolph/index.html.

Linsky, M. (1986). Impact: How the press affects federal policymaking. New York, NY: Norton.

Lofland, J. (1980). Early Goffman: Style, Structure, Substance, Soul. In J. Ditton (1980) The View from Goffman. 24-51. London: MacMillan Press.

Luntz, F. and Dermer, R.(1994). A Farewell To The American Dream. The Public Perspective. 12-14.

Mann, B. (1998). Politics on the Net: Surfing the World of Internet Politics. Indianapolis, IN: Que Corporation.

Manning, P.K. (1980). Goffman's Framing Order: Style as Structure. In J. Ditton (1980) The View from Goffman. 252-285. London: MacMillan Press.

Martin, J.(Reporter). (1995, April 19). ABC Evening News, New York and Washington, NY:American Broadcasting Inc.

Martin-Barbero, J. (1993). Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediation. London: Sage.

Martindale, C. (1989). Selected newspaper coverage of causes of black protest. Journalism Quarterly. 66: 920-923.

Marx, G.T. and McAdams, D. (1994). Collective Behavior and Social Movements: Process and Structure. Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Mason, A. (Reporter). (1995, April 19). CBS Evening News, New York and Washington.

Masterman, J. (1985). Teaching the Media. New York, NY: Routledge.

Mattussek, M. (1995). Tuning in hate. World Press Review. 42: 26-27.

Mauro, R. (1984). The Constable's New Clothes: Effects of Uniforms on Perceptions and Problems of Police Officers. Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 14: 42-56.

Maxwell, J.A. (1996). Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McAdam, D. (1982). Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930-1970. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, D. and Snow, D.A. (1997). Social Movements: Readings on their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics. Los Angles, CA: Roxbury Publishing.

McCaffery, T.A. (1998, Jan.24). Skewed View of Safety. Washington Post. [Newspaper, selected stories on line]. Retrieved December 15, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.washingtonpost.com.

McCarthy, J. D, and Zald, M. N. (Eds.). (1987). The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control and Tactics. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

McLeod, D. M. and Detenber, B.J. (1999). Framing Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest. Journal of Communication. 3-23.

McCleod, D. M., and Hertog, J. K. (1992). The Manufacture of Public Opinion by Reporters: Informal Cues for Public Perceptions of Protest Groups. Discourse and Society. 3: 259-275.

McCombs, M. E. and Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. Public Opinion Quarterly. 36: 176-187.

McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L. and Weaver, D. (Eds.). (1997). Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McGuire, W.J. (1969). The nature of attitudes and attitude change. In S.Oskamp (1991) Attitudes and Opinion (2nd.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentiss Hall.

McQuail, D. (1972). Sociology of Mass Communications. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

—(1997). Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction. London: Sage

Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, Self, and Society. Chicago, IL: University Chicago Press.

Meador, C. (1996). Fantasy Theme Chaining in Cyberspace: A Rhetorical Vision of the U.S. Militia Movement on the Internet (Masters Thesis, University of Houston, 1996). Dissertation Abstracts Internal, AAG1382021.

Merkel, P. H. and Weinberg, L. (Eds.). (1993). Encounters with the Contemporary Radical Right. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Metallinos, N. (1996). Television aesthetics: Perceptual, cognitive, and compositional bases. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Militia Watch (1997). Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved April 5, 1997 from the World Wide Web: http://splcenter.org.

Millerson, G. (1999). Television Production; (13th.). Boston, MA: Focal Press.

Molotch, H. and Lester, M. (1975). Accidental News: The Great Oil Spill as Local Occurrence and National Event. American Journal of Sociology. 81: 235-260.

Moore, J. R. (1984). Oregon's Paramilitary Activities Statute: A Sneak Attack on the First Amendment. Willamette Law Review. 20: 335-349.

Morris, A. D. and Mueller, C. (1992). Frontiers in Social Movement Theory. New Haven, CT: Yale.

Mullen, L. J. (1999). Television News and Contentiousness: An Exploratory Study of Visual and Verbal Content in News about the President. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media. 43: 159-174.

National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. Disorders and Terrorism: Report of the Task Force. Washington, DC, 1976. In Dowling, R. E. (1986). Terrorism and the Media: A Rhetorical Genre, Journal of Communication. 3: 11-24.

National Rifleman Association (1994). NRA Militia Statement Retrieved June 15,1999 from the World Wide Webb: http://www.interlog.com/~vabiro/pubs/nra_militia.htm.

—(1998). "What is the NRA" Homepage. Retrieved June 25,1999 from the World Wide Webb:http://www.nra.org.

Neuman, W.R., Just, M.R. and Crigler, A. (1992). Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

New York Times (1996, Nov.22) Standoff Cost $7.5 Million. Retrieved March 12, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://proquest.umi.com.

Newsweek (1996, April 22). The Feds' Quiet War. 47.

Nimmo, D. and Combs, J.E. (1990). Nightly Horrors: Crisis Coverage by Television Network News. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Norris, P. (1995). The Restless Searchlight: Network News Framing of the Post-Cold War World. Political Communication. 12: 357-370.

Obey, D. (Dec 20, 1995). Idaho delegation: Potatoes and wilderness take back seat to fiery anti-government rhetoric. The Hill. Retrieved August 18, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://web.lexis-nexis.com/university.

O'Brien, S.P., and Haider-Markel, D.P. (1998). Fueling the Fire: Social and Political Correlates of Citizen Militia Activity. Social Science Quarterly. 79: 456-464.

Olasky, M. (1988). The Press and Abortion, 1938-1988. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Opp, K.D. and Roehl, W. (1997). Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest 190-206. In Doug McAdam and David A. Snow (Eds.) Social Movements: Readings on the Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing Co.

Osborn, M. (1967). Archetypal metaphors in rhetoric: The light-dark family. Quarterly Journal of Speech. 115-126.

Oskamp, S. (1991). Attitudes and Opinion, (2nd.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentiss Hall.

Pan, Z. and Kosicki, G. M., (1993). Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. Political Communication. 10: 55-75.

Parenti, M. (1993). Inventing Reality; (2nd). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Paret, P. (Ed.). (1986). Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machaiavelli to the Nuclear Age. Princeton, NH: Princeton University Press.

Park, R. E. (1927). Human Nature and Collective Behavior. American Journal of Sociology. 32: 733-41.

—(1972). The Crowd and the Public and other Essays. In. Henry Elsner. Jr,(Ed.) Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods; (2nd). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Petrozello, D. (1995). Oklahoma City backlash hits airwaves. Broadcasting and Cable. 125: 6-15.

PEW Research Center for the People and the Press (1996). Public Apathetic About Nuclear Terrorism. Retrieved February 10, 1997 from the World Wide Web:http:www.people-pres.org/terrep.htm.

—(1998, April 20) Pew Values Update: American Social Beliefs 1997-1987. Retrieved June 15, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.people-press.org/valuetop.htm

Pfau, M., Moy, P., Holbert, R.L., Szabo, A, Lin, W.K. and Zhang, W. (1999). The Influence of Political Talk Radio on Confidence in Democratic Institutions. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly. 75: 730-745.

Picard, R. G. (1994). The Maturation of Communication and Terrorism Studies, Journal of Communication. 44: 122-127.

Piehler, G.K. (1997). Warrior Dreams. The Journal of Military History. Retrieved June 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://proquest.umi.com.

Pitcavage, M. (1993). Ropes of Sand: Territorial Militias, 1801-1812. Journal of the Early Republic. 13: 482-497.

—(1995). Militia History and Law Retrieved January 12, 1999 from the World Wide Wed: http://www.militia-watchdog.org/faq3.htm.

—(1996). The Security of Free States: The Second Amendment and State Militias. Retrieved January 12, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.sff.net/people/pitman/2ndamend.htm.

Potok, M. (1997, March 5a). Officials bolster action vs. Far Right. USA Today. 4A

— (1997, March 5b). FBI turns aggressive on terror. USA Today.1A.

Price, V. (1992). Public Opinion. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Price, V. and Tewksbury, D.(1997). News values and Public opinion: A theoretical account of media priming and framing. In G. Barnett and F.J. Boster (Eds.). Progress in Communication Sciences, 173-212. Greenwich, CT: Ablex.

Prisco, R. M. (1995). Television and the Functions of Framing: A Content Analysis of Water Pollution Stories on Network News. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Tennessee.)

Public Report of the Vice President's Task Force on Combating Terrorism. (1986). Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Rable, G. C. (1984). But, There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

Ramm, F. (1999). The Fall of the Berlin Wall 1989. Retrieved February 17, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.remote.org/frederik/culture/berlin/index.html.en.

Rapoport, D. C. and Alexander, Y. (1982). The Mind of the Political Terrorist. Willmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc.

Reed, O. L. (1997). A free speech matavalue for the next millennium: Autonomy of consciousness in First Amendment theory and practice. American Business Law Journal. Retrieved June 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://proquest.umi.com.

Reese, S. D. and Buckalew, B. (1995). The Militarism of Local Television: The Routine Framing of the Persian Gulf War. Critical Studies in Communication. 40-59.

Reynolds,G.H. (1995a, Jan.30).Up in Arms About a Revolting Movement. Chicago Tribune.

—(1995b). A Critical Guide to the Second Amendment. Tennessee Law Review. 63: 461-512.

Rogers, E.M., Dearing, J. W. and Bregman, D. (1993). The Anatomy of Agenda-Setting Research. Journal of Communication. 43: 68-84.

Rohrer, T., Johnson, G., Adamson, T. and Lam, H.(1995). Metaphors we ought not to live by: Rush Limbaugh in the age of cognitive science. Retrieved January 28, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rohre/rush.htm.

Ross, B. (Reporter). (1995, April 24). ABC Evening News, American Broadcasting Corp; New York and Washington.

Rothenberg, G. (1986). Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Raimondo Montecuccoli, and the "Military Revolution' of the Seventeenth Century. In P. Paret (Ed.) Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machaiavelli to the Nuclear Age, 32-63. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Roy, A. (1996). Marion Barry's Road to Redemption: A Textual Analysis of ABC's News Story Aired on 14 September 1994. Howard Journal of Communication. 7: 315-327.

Rybacki, K. and Rybacki, D. (1991). Communication Criticism: Approaches and Genres. Belmont, CA: Wodsworth, Inc.

Ryan, C. (1991). Prime Time Activism. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Scheff, T. (1966) Being Mentally *Ill*: A Sociological Theory. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. Journal of Communication. 103-122.

Schieffer, D. (Anchor). (1995, May 21). Face the Nation, CBs News, New York. Burrelle's Information Services. Retrieved August 18, 1999 from the World Wide Web:http://web.lexis-nexis.com/university.

Schudson, M. (1991). The Sociology of News Production Revisited. In J. Curran and M. Gurevitch (Eds.). Mass Media and Society. London: Edward Arnold.

Seul, T.M. (1997). Militia Minds: Inside America's Contemporary Militia Movement. (Doctoral Dissertation, Purdue University) Dissertation Abstracts International AAG9808519.

Shepherd, R.G. (1981). Selectivity of Sources: Reporting the Marijuana Controversy. Journal of Communication. 31: 129-137.

Shields, S. and Dunwooody, S. (1986). The social world of the statehouse Pressroom. Newspaper Research Journal. 8: 43-61.

Shoemaker, P. (1982). The Perceived legitimacy of deviant political groups. Communication Research. 9: 249-286.

Shoemaker, P. J. (1984). Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups. Journalism Quarterly. 60: 66-75, 82.

Shoemaker, P.J., Chang, T. and Brendlinger, N. (1987). Deviance as predictor of newsworthiness: Coverage of international events in the U.S. media. In M. McLaughlin (Ed.). Communication Yearbook. 10: 348-365. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Shoemaker, P.J., and Mayfield, E.K. (1987). Building a theory of news content: a synthesis of current approaches. Journalism Monographs. 103-122.

Shoemaker, P.J., and Reese, S. D. (1996). Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content; (2nd.). New York, NY: Longman.

Simmons, B.K. and Lowry, D. N. (1990). Terrorists in the News, as Reflected in Three News Magazines, 1980-1988. Journalism-Quarterly. 67: 692-696.

Slaughter, T. (1986). The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution. New York, NY: Oxford.

Smelser, N. J. (1962). Theory of Collective Behavior. New York, NY: Free press.

Snow, D. A. and Benford, R.D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. International Social Movement Research. 1: 197-217.

Snow,D. A. and Davis, P.W. (1995). The Chicago Approach to Collective behavior. In Alan Fine, (Ed.). A Second Chicago School: the development of a Postwar American Sociology. 188-220. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Snow, D. A., Rochford, E.B., Worden, S. K. and Benford, R. D. (1986).Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation. American Sociological Review. 51: 464-481.

Snyder, R. C. (1997). Citizens' Militias and Armed Masculinity: The Citizen-Soldier Ideal and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition. (Doctoral Dissertation, Rutgers University). Dissertation Abstracts Internal.

Stacks, I. W., and Hocking, J. E. (1992). Essentials of Communication Research. New York, NY: Harper Collins.

Stamp, G. H. (1999). A qualitatively constructed interpersonal communication model: A grounded theory analysis. Human Communication Research. 25: 531-547.

Stanton, S. (1995). On Guard Citizen Militias Grow in Popularity, The Sacramento Bee, p.A1 [Newspaper, selected stories online]. Retrieved March 14, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.apa.org/journals/webref.html.

Stein, M.L. (1974). Shaping the news: How media function in today's world. New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Stempel, G.H. and Westley, B. H. (1989). Research Methods in Mass Communication Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Stern, K.S.(1996). A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Stentiford, B.M. (1998). The State Militia in the Twentieth Century (National Guard, Military) (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alabama). Dissertation Abstracts International.

Stewart, J. (Reporter). (1996, July 2). Eye on America: U.S. Militia Movement. CBS Evening News. NY and Washington.

Stock, C. (1996). Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Strauss, A. (1987). Qualitative analysis for Social Scientists. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss A. and Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

—(1994). Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). Handbook of Qualitative Research, 273-285. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Sullivan,J. L., Fried, A., and Dietz, M.G.(1992). Patriotism, Politics, and the Presidential Election of 1988. American Journal of Political Science. 36: 200-234.

Swomley, J. M. (1995). Armed and dangerous: The threat of the "patriot militias." The Humanist. 55: 8-16.

Szatmary, D. (1980). Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Tankard, J.W. Jr., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K. and Ghanem, S. (1992). Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement. Paper presented to Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Tankel, J. D. (1998). Reconceptualizing Call-In Talk Radio as Listening. Journal of Radio Studies. 5: 36-48.

Tilly, C. (1978). From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Times Mirror (1996). The Times Mirror News Interest Index: 1989-1995, Retrieved Feb.10, 1997 from the World Wide Web:http://www.people-press.org/nidata.htm.

Trumbo, C. (1995). The Life Course of an Environmental Issue: Claims, Frames, and Global Warming. Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. August 1995, Washington, D.C.

Tuchman, G. (1978). Making News:A Study in the construction of reality. New York, NY: Free Press.

Tunstall, J. (1991). A Media Industry Perspective. Communication Yearbook. 14: 163-86.

Turner, R. H. (1962). Role-Taking: Process Versus Conformity. In A. Rose (Ed.). Human Behavior and Social Process, 22-40. Boston, MA: Houghton.

Turner, R., and Killian, L. M. (1987). The Field of Collective Behavior. Toward a Theory of Social Movements; (3rd.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Simon and Schuster.

—(1987). Toward a Theory of Social Movement.119-134. In S. Buechler, and F. Kurt Cylke (Eds.). Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Turow, J. (1984). Media Industries: The production of news and entertainment. New York, NY: Longman.

—(1999). Media Today: an Introduction to Mass Communication. Boston, MA: Haughton Mifflin.

Vande Berg, L.R. and Wenner, L.A. (1991). Television Criticism: Approaches and Applications. New York, NY: Longman.

Vanderbilt Television News Archive (1991, August). Television News Index and Abstracts. Nashville: Vanderbilt Television News Archive.

Violence Policy Center. (1998). Firearm Facts. Retrieved March 20, 1998 from the World Wide Web:http:www.vpc.org/fact_sht/firearm.htm.

Voland, H. (1992). The Framing of an Issue: A Case Study of Gay and Lesbian News Coverage. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Qualitative Studies Division. Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Watson, J., and Hill, A. (1997). A Dictionary of Communication and Media Studies (4th) New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Weaver, R. (1995, Sept. 6). As quoted in U.S. Congress. Senate Judiciary Committee Terrorism. Technology, and Government Information Subcommittee subject: Federal Raid in Idaho. Federal Information Systems. Retrieved September 20, 1999 from the World Wide Web:/http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp.

Weigley, R.F. (1986). American Strategy from Its Beginnings through the First World War. In P. Paret (Ed.). Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machaiavelli to the Nuclear Age. 408-443. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Weimann,G. (1983). The Theater of Terror: Effects of Press Coverage. Journal of Communication. 33: 38-45.

Weinberg, L. (1993). The American Radical Right: Exist, Voice and Violence. In P.H. Merkel and L. Weinberg (Eds.). Encounters with the Contemporary Radical Right. 185-203. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Weir, W. (1997). A Well Regulated Militia: The Battle for Gun-Control. North Haven, CT: Archon Books.

Whitney, D. C., and Becker, L. B.(1982). Keeping the gates; for gatekeepers: The effect of wire news. Journalism Quarterly. 59: 60-65.

Wilkinson, P. (1977). Terrorism and the Liberal State. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.

—(1979). Terrorist Movements. In Alexander, Y. Carlton, D. and Wilkinson, P.(Eds.). Terrorism: Theory and Practice. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc.

William, B. (1995, April 19a). Oklahoma Bombing. NBC Evening News, New York and Washington.

—(1995, April 24b). Oklahoma City, OK Bombing: The Angry Voices. NBC Evening News. New York and Washington.

Williams, R. Jr. (1970). American Society: A Sociological Interpretation; (3rd). New York, NY: Afred A Knopf.

Williams, W. Jr., Shapiro, M., and Cutbirth, C. (1983). The impact of campaign agendas on perception of Issues. Journalism Quarterly. 60: 226-232.

Winston, B. (1983). On Counting the Wrong Things. In V. Mosco and J. Wasko (Eds.) The critical communications review: Labor, the Working Class, and the media. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Wittebols, J.H. (1990). Media and the Institutional Perspective: U. S. and Canadian Coverage of Terrorism. Political Communication. 9: 267-278.

—(1991). The Politics and Coverage of Terrorism: From Media Images to Public Consciousness. Communication Theory. 1: 253-266.

Wolfsfeld, G. (1991). Media Protest, and Political Violence: A Transactional Analysis. Journalism Monograph. 127: 1-61.

Wright, P. (1996). Here Come the Tanks. Granta. 53: 123-39.

Wulfemeyer, K.T. (1992). A Content Analysis of Local Television Newscasts: Answering the Critics. Journal of Broadcasting. 26: 481-486.

Zald, M.N., and McCarthy, J. D.(Eds.). (1987). The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control and Tactics. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Zettl, H. (1999). Sight sound motion: Applied media aesthetics; (3rd.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Zoonen, L van (1988). Rethinking Women and the News. European Journal of Communication. 3: 35-52.

—(1992). The Women's Movement and the Media: Constructing a Public Identity. European Journal of Communication. 7: 453-76.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Chronological Order of Stories in Analysis

APPENDIX A

Chronological Order of Stories in Analysis
By
Date, Network,Time-in and out, Length, Story Slug, and Search Term

November 9,1989-February 28, 1999

STORY	DATE	NET	TIME IN	TIME OUT	LGH.	STORY SLUG	SEARCH TERM
001	4/6/90	CBS	5:51:30	5:53:40	2:10	Milwaukee. WI /McGee	Militia
002	8/6/92	ABC	5:53:40	5:55:40	2:00	Idaho Standoff	Randy Weaver
003	8/22/92	ABC	5:44:30	5:44:50	:20	Naples ID/Fugitive Standoff	Supremacist
004	8/26/92	ABC	5:53:40	5:55:40	2:00	Idaho Standoff	Randy Weaver
005	8/31/92	CBS	5:45:00	5:45:30	:30	Idaho Siege Ends	Supremacist
006	8/31/92	NCB	5:41:00	5:42:40	1:40	Idaho Standoff	Randy Weaver
007	2/28/93	CBS	5:00:20	5:02:30	2:10	Waco, TX/ Religious Cult Shootout	Davidians
008	3/2/93	CBS	5:30:50	5:32:50	2:00	Waco,TX/Cult Standoff	Davidians
009	3/8/93	ABC	5:30:10	5:32:20	2:10	Waco, TX/ Cult Standoff/ Day 9	Waco
010	6/26/93	NBC	5:39:50	5:41:50	2:00	Boise,ID/White Supremacist Trial	Supremacist
011	7/8/93	ABC	5:43:40	5:45:40	2:00	Idaho/White Separatist Trial	Randy Weaver
012	7/8/93	CBS	5:49:20	5:51:00	1:40	Idaho/White Separatist Trial	Supremacist
013	8/18/93	NBC	5:55:40	5:58:20	2:40	White Separatist Weaver Raid	Separatist
014	11/25/93	NBC	5:32:40	5:33:20	:40	FBI/ Standoff Investigation	Weaver
015	11/30/94	NBC	5:50:00	5:53:30	3:30	Citizen Militias	Militias

016	12/13/94	ABC	5:33:10	5:35:20	2:10	FBI/White Separatist Case	Separatist
017	1/6/95	ABC	5:44:10	5:46:00	1:50	FBI/ Armed confrontation	Randy Weaver
018	4/5/95	ABC	5:41:50	5:42:30	:40	FBI/Censure	Weaver
019	4/21/95	ABC	5:30:30	5:33:40*	3:10	1.Oklahoma City, OK/The Bombing/Suspect	Militias
020	4/21/95	ABC	5:33:10	5:34:40	1:30	2.The Bombing	Militias
021	4/21/95	ABC	5:34:40	5:37:20	2:40	3.Michigan Militia Profile	Militias
022	4/21/95	ABC	5:37:20	5:38:10	:50	4.Clinton Reaction	Militias
023	4/21/95	CBS	5:39:10	5:40:40*	1:30	1.Oklahoma City, OK/The Suspects(militia connection)	Militias
024	4/21/95	CBS	5:40:40	5:42:30	1:50	2. OK/The Bombing/ Militia Profile	Militias
025	4/21/95	NBC	5:35:10	5:36:40	1:30	1.Oklahoma City, OK/The Bombing/ Suspect	Militias
026	4/21/95	NBC	5:39:40	5:40:50	1:10	2.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/ Clinton Reax	Militias
027	4/22/95	ABC	5:30:50	5:34:10	3:20	Oklahoma City, OK/Investigation	Militia/Patriot
028	4/22/95	ABC	5:39:30	5:41:30	2:00	OKC Bombing/ The Militia	Militia
029	4/22/95	CBS	5:30:30	5:34:00*	3:30	1.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/ The Investigation	Militia
030	4/22/95	CBS	5:34:50	5:37:30	2:40	2.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/ The suspects	Militia
031	4/22/95	CBS	5:37:30	5:39:40	2:10	3.Oklahoma City, OK/ Bombing/ The Militia Movement	Militia
032	4/22/95	CBS	5:42:00	5:43:50	1:50	4. Oklahoma City, OK/ Bombing/ Clinton	Militia

033	4/22/95	NBC	5:31:20	5:33:50*	2:20	1. Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/The Investigation/ Search	Militia
034	4/22/95	NBC	5:34:10	5:36:30	2:30	2.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/The Investigation/ Search	Militia
035	4/24/95	ABC	5:31:00	5:33:50*	2:50	1. Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/ Investigation	Militia
036	4/24/95	ABC	5:34:00	5:36:50	2:50	2.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/ Investigation	Militia
037	4/24/95	ABC	5:41:00	5:44:00	3:00	3.OKC Bombing/Angry voices	Liddy
038	4/24/95	ABC	5:46:30	5:48:50	2:20	4.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/ Anti-terrorism	Militia/ Terrorism
039	4/24/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:32:40*	2:30	1.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/Investigation	Militia
040	4/24/95	CBS	5:33:00	5:34:50	1:50	2.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/Investigation	Militia
041	4/24/95	CBS	5:35:00	5:36:50	1:50	3.Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/Investigation	Militia
042	4/24/95	CBS	5:38:40	5:40:40	2:00	4.OKC Bombing/Angry Voices	Talk radio
043	4/24/95	CBS	5:45:30	5:47:40	2:10	5. Eye on America/ Faces of Anger	Militia
044	4/24/95	CBS	5:47:40	5:49:50	2:10	6.Eye on America/ Faces of Anger	Militia
045	4/24/95	NBC	5:33:30	5:35:50*	2:20	1. Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing/ The Angry Voices	Militia
046	4/24/95	NBC	5:36:50	5:38:00	1:10	2.OKC Bombing/Talk Radio	Talk Radio

047	4/24/95	NBC	5:39:50	5:40:40	:50	3. Oklahoma City, OK Investigation (Stockman soundbite)	Militia
048	4/24/95	NBC	5:40:40	5:42:50	2:10	4. Oklahoma City, OK /Bombing suspect / Investigation	Militia
049	4/24/95	NBC	5:42:50	5:45:10	2:20	5. Decker, Michigan Distrust of Govt.	Militia
050	4/24/95	NBC	5:47:10	5:49:10	2:00	6. Militia/Gun Control	Militia
051	4/25/95	ABC	5:30:30	5:33:50*	3:20	1.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing Arrest	Militia
052	4/25/95	ABC	5:33:50	5:36:00	2:10	2.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing Arrest	Militia/Koernke
053	4/25/95	ABC	5:36:00	5:37:50	1:50	3.Oklahoma City, OK Bombing Arrest	Militia
054	4/25/95	CBS	5:40:40	5:42:20	1:40	/Iowa/ Clinton Violent Talk	Militia
055	4/25/95	NBC	5:38:30	5:40:50	2:20	Iowa/Clinton Violent Talk	Militia
056	4/26/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:32:40*	2:30	1.OKC Bombing/ The Investigation	OKC Bombing McVeigh
057	4/26/95	CBS	5:32:40	5:33:40	1:00	2.OKC Bombing/ The Investigation	OKC Bombing McVeigh
058	4/26/95	CBS	5:35:40	5:37:20	1:40	3. Clinton Congress/Terrorist Legislation	Domestic Terrorism
059	4/26/95	CBS	5:37:20	5:37:40	:20	4.OKC Bombing/ Poll	Terrorism
060	4/26/95	NBC	5:38:10	5:40:40	2:30	Clinton/Poll/Terrorism	Terrorism
061	4/26/95	NBC	5:40:40	5:42:50*	2:10	1.Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms Targets	NRA

062	4/26/95	NBC	5:42:50	5:45:30	2:40	2.Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms Targets (vo-sot LaPierre of NRA)	NRA
063	4/27/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:33:30*	3:20	1.OKC Bombing Investigation	McVeigh
064	4/27/95	CBS	5:33:30	5:35:20	1:50	2. OKC Bombing Investigation	McVeigh
065	4/27/95	CBS	5:37:00	5:38:30	1:30	3.Anti-terrorism laws	Terrorism
066	4/27/95	CBS	5:43:20	5:46:50	3:30	5. Hate talk radio	Liddy
067	4/27/95	NBC	5:39:20	5:42:00	2:40	Oklahoma City, OK/ bombing/Congress	Terrorism
068	4/28/95	NBC	5:47:50	5:50:20	2:30	Militias	Militias
069	4/29/95	ABC	5:33:30	5:35:50	2:20	Militias/Michigan/Montana	Militias
070	5/2/95	CBS	5:55:30	5:58:20	2:50	Trilateral Commission/ Conspiracy Theory	Militia
071	5/3/95	ABC	5:50:30	5:54:40	4:10	American Agenda/ Paramilitary Groups	Militia
072	5/3/95	CBS	5:35:30	5:38:10	2:40	Oklahoma City Bombing/ Congressional Connection	Militia
073	5/4/95	CBS	5:35:40	5:39:20	3:40	Anti-Government Violence	Patriot
074	5/4/95	NBC	5:30:20	5:32:20*	2:00	1.Ok City Bombing/ Investigation	Michigan Militia
075	5/4/95	NBC	5:32:20	5:35:10	2:50	2.Ok City Bombing/ Investigation	Michigan Militia
076	5/5/95	ABC	5:30:40	5:33:00	2:20	Clinton/Anti Violence Speech	Militia
077	5/5/95	CBS	5:33:40	5:34:10	:30	Clinton/Michigan Commencement	Militia
078	5/5/95	NBC	5:33:00	5:35:30	2:30	Clinton/ Michigan Commencement/ Gingrich	Militia

079	5/7/95	ABC	5:43:00	5:45:10	2:10	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/The Far Right	Militia
080	5/12/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:35:00	4:50	Eye on America, OKC Bombing/NRA, Militias	Militia
081	5/17/95	CBS	5:53:50	5:58:20	4:30	Eye on America, Greenup Standoff	Militia
082	5/20/95	CBS	5:35:40	5:38:10	2:30	NRA Convention	Domestic Terrorism
083	5/22/95	NBC	5:43:30	5:47:40	4:10	Militia/Religious White Supremacy Connection	Militia
084	5/23/95	CBS	5:43:50	5:47:00	3:10	McVeigh/White Supremacist	Supremacist
085	5/26/95	CBS	5:43:50	5:48:00	4:10	Eye on America/ terrorism Biological	Domestic Terrorism
086	5/27/95	CBS	5:35:00	5:35:20	:20	Clinton/Anti-Terrorism	Domestic Terrorism
087	6/4/95	ABC	5:37:00	5:38:50	1:50	Washington, DC/ Gun Rally	Militia/Liddy
088	6/15/95	ABC	5:40:20	5:42:20	2:00	Congress/Citizen Militia/ Hearings	Militia
089	6/15/95	ABC	5:50:30	5:51:20	:50	Radio Talk/Liddy	Liddy
090	6/15/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:32:50	2:40	Congress/Citizen Militia /Hearings	Militia
091	6/15/95	NBC	5:30:20	5:35:00	4:40	Congress/Citizen's Militia / Hearings	Militia
092	6/19/95	NBC	5:34:00	5:36:20*	2:20	1.Oklahoma City, OK/ Bombing Investigation	Militia
093	6/19/95	NBC	5:36:20	5:38:20	2:00	2.Oklahoma City, OK/ Bombing Investigation	Militia
094	6/23/95	CBS	5:56:00	5:58:20	2:20	Liddy Controversy	Liddy
095	6/24/95	ABC	5:50:30	5:51:20	:50	Radio Talk Shows/Liddy	Liddy

096	7/12/95	NBC	5:43:30	5:45:40	2:10	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms/Racism	Militia
097	7/12/95	NBC	5:45:40	5:45:50	:10	FBI Conduct Investigation	Supremacy/ Weaver
098	7/13/95	CBS	5:46:20	5:48:40	2:20	Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco & Firearms/Racism/ FBI Investigation	Supremacist
099	7/14/95	CBS	5:44:50	5:47:20	2:30	Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco & Firearms/Racism/ FBI Investigation	Supremacist
100	7/14/95	NBC	5:30:20	5:32:30	2:10	FBI Conduct Investigation/Potts	Weaver
101	7/18/95	ABC	5:31:00	5:35:20	4:20	Waco,TX/Branch Davidians/ Cult/ Compound Raid	Supremacist
102	7/21/95	ABC	5:54:30	5:58:10	3:40	Person of the Week/Martha Bethel	Militia
103	8/4/95	CBS	5:38:10	5:40:00	1:50	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms Racism Investigation	Militia
104	8/11/95	NBC	5:35:00	5:35:20	:20	Idaho Siege/FBI siege Cover-up	Weaver
105	8/15/95	ABC	5:37:30	5:37:50	:20	FBI Weaver/ siege	Randy Weaver
106	8/15/95	CBS	5:40:10	5:40:30	:20	FBI Weaver/ siege	Weaver
107	8/15/95	NBC	5:40:50	5:41:10	:20	FBI Weaver/ siege	Weaver
108	9/6/95	NBC	5:37:40	5:40:20	2:40	Senate/Ruby Ridge Investigation Weaver Testimony	Weaver
109	9/7/95	ABC	5:51:50	5:52:20	:30	Senate/Ruby Ridge Investigation	Weaver

110	9/12/95	ABC	5:46:20	5:46:40	:20	Texas/Bomb Suspect	Texas Bomb
111	9/12/95	CBS	5:34:50	5:35:20	:30	Texas/Bomb Suspect	Texas Bomb
112	9/12/95	CBS	5:33:00	5:34:50	1:50	Ruby Ridge Investigation /Sharpshooter	Weaver
113	9/12/95	CBS	5:34:50	5:35:20	:30	Texas/IRS Bombing plot	Texas Bomb
114	9/12/95	NBC	5:30:20	5:32:40	2:20	Texas/Bomb Suspect	Texas Bomb
115	9/13/95	CBS	5:49:10	5:49:20	:10	Texas/IRS Bombing plot	Texas Bomb
116	9/13/95	NBC	5:41:40	5:44:50*	3:10	1.Bombs/ Texas/IRS Bombing Plot	Militia
117	9/13/95	NBC	5:44:50	5:47:30	2:40	2.Bombs/ Texas/IRS Bombing Plot	Militia
118	9/14/95	ABC	5:42:50	5:44:50	2:00	Congress/ Ruby Ridge Siege Investigation	Weaver
119	9/15/95	ABC	5:39:20	5:39:50	:30	Congress/ Ruby Ridge Siege Investigation	Weaver
120	9/19/95	CBS	5:43:10	5:43:40	:30	Ruby Ridge, ID/ Senate Hearings	Weaver
121	9/21/95	ABC	5:44:20	5:46:20	2:00	Senate/ Ruby Ridge, ID/ Hearings	Weaver
122	10/9/95	CBS	5:30:10	5:32:40*	2:30	1. Arizona/Train Sabotage	Domestic Terrorism
123	10/9/95	CBS	5:32:40	5:34:20	2:10	2. Arizona/Train Sabotage	Domestic Terrorism
124	10/9/95	NBC	5:30:10	5:33:40*	3:30	1. Arizona/Train Sabotage	Domestic Terrorism
125	10/9/95	NBC	5:33:30	5:35:40	2:10	2. Arizona/Train Sabotage	Domestic Terrorism

126	10/18/95	ABC	5:40:40	5:41:00	:20	Deadly Force	Weaver
127	10/30/95	CBS	5:38:20	5:40:40	2:20	US Paramilitary Groups	Paramilitary
128	11/2/95	ABC	5:36:50	5:38:30	1:40	Militias /Terrorism Hearings	Militias
129	12/21/95	ABC	5:39:40	5:41:30	1:50	Ruby Ridge Siege Senate Investigation	Supremacist
130	12/23/95	NBC	5:44:40	5:48:40	4:00	Focus: Terrorism Oklahoma City Bombing	Domestic Terrorism
131	3/25/96	ABC	5:44:40	5:46:50	2:10	Montana/Anti Gov. Org	Anti-Government
132	3/25/96	CBS	5:30:40	5:32:40	2:00	Montana/Anti Gov. Freemen arrest	Anti-Government
133	3/28/96	ABC	5:30:30	5:32:40*	2:10	1.Montana/Anti Gov. Org/ Fraud	Montana Freemen
134	3/28/96	ABC	5:32:40	5:35:20	2:40	2.Montana/Anti Gov. Org/ Fraud	Montana Freemen
135	3/28/96	CBS	5:30:40	5:33:10*	2:30	1.Montana Freeman Standoff/FBI	Militias
136	3/28/96	CBS	5:33:10	5:35:10	2:00	2.Montana Freeman Standoff/FBI	Militias
137	3/28/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:33:10	2:50	Montana Freeman Standoff/FBI	Militias
138	3/29/96	ABC	5:30:30	5:33:00*	2:30	1.Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Militias
139	3/29/96	ABC	5:33:00	5:35:50	2:50	2.Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Militias
140	3/29/96	CBS	5:39:50	5:42:10	2:20	Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Anti-Government

141	3/29/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:33:30*	3:10	1.Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Montana Freemen
142	3/29/96	NBC	5:33:30	5:35:20	1:50	2.Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Montana Freemen
143	3/30/96	ABC	5:30:40	5:33:20*	2:40	1.Montana/ Anti Government Group Standoff	Militias
144	3/30/96	ABC	5:33:20	5:35:30	2:10	2.Montana/ Anti Government Group Standoff	Militias
145	3/30/96	NBC	5:30:30	5:33:40	3:10	Montana/ Anti Government Group Standoff	Montana Freemen
146	3/31/96	CBS*	5:00:30	5:02:30*	2:00	1.Montana / Anti-Government Group Standoff	Militias
147	3/31/96	CBS*	5:02:30	5:04:30	2:00	2.Montana / Anti-Government Group Standoff	Militias
148	3/31/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:32:50*	2:30	1.Montana/Anti-Government Group Standoff	Militias
149	3/31/96	NBC	5:32:50	5:35:00	2:10	2. Montana/Anti-Government Group Standoff	Militias
150	4/1/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:33:00	2:40	Montana/Anti-Government Group/ Standoff	Militias
151	4/2/96	ABC	5:38:50	5:39:30	:40	Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Montana Freeman
152	4/2/96	NBC	5:51:00	5:53:00	2:00	Montana Freemen Standoff	Montana Freemen
153	4/5/96	ABC	5:36:10	5:36:30	:20	Montana/Anti-Government Org. Freeman	Montana Freeman
154	4/5/96	NBC	5:51:40	5:51:50	:10	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
155	4/6/96	ABC	5:41:50	5:42:10	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
156	4/8/96	CBS	5:41:10	5:43:10	2:00	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman

157	4/11/96	ABC	5:56:40	5:57:00	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
158	4/11/96	CBS	5:55:40	5:56:00	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
159	4/12/96	CBS	5:36:20	5:36:40	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
160	4/13/96	CBS	5:37:30	5:37:50	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
161	4/16/96	NBC	5:41:30	5:44:40	3:30	In Depth/Fight Against Terrorism	Terrorism
162	4/18/96	ABC	5:52:40	5:56:10	3:30	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing Anniversary/ The Lessons	Militias
163	4/18/96	CBS	5:40:50	5:43:30	2:40	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing /Militias	Militias
164	4/20/96	CBS	5:35:50	5:37:40	1:50	Montana/ Freeman Standoff	Militias
165	4/21/96	NBC	5:44:10	5:44:40	:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
166	4/25/96	CBS	5:39:20	5:41:30	2:10	Montana/Freemen Standoff	Gritz
167	4/26/96	ABC	5:43:00	5:44:10	1:50	Georgia/ Bomb Making	Militias
168	4/26/96	CBS	5:30:30	5:34:30	4:00	Georgia/ Bomb Making	Militias
169	4/26/96	NBC	5:32:50	5:34:40	1:40	Georgia/ Bomb Making	Militias
170	4/27/96	ABC	5:35:50	5:36:20	:30	Montana Freeman Standoff/Gritz	Gritz
171	4/27/96	CBS	5:30:30	5:32:40	2:10	Montana Freeman Standoff/Gritz	Gritz
172	4/27/96	CBS	5:32:40	5:35:30	2:50	Georgia/ Pipe bomb/ Militia	Militia
173	4/27/96	NBC	5:37:10	5:39:30	2:20	Montana Freeman Standoff/Gritz	Militias
174	4/28/96	ABC	5:43:20	5:45:10*	1:50	1.Montana Freeman Standoff/Gritz	Gritz
175	4/28/96	ABC	5:45:10	5:47:30	2:20	2.Montana Freeman Standoff/Gritz	Gritz
176	4/28/96	CBS	5:08:40	5:08:50	:10	Georgia/ Bomb making	Militias
177	4/29/96	CBS	5:43:50	5:45:20	1:30	Georgia/ Bomb Plot Militias	Militias

178	5/1/96	ABC	5:45:20	5:45:40	:20	Montana/ Freemen Standoff	Patriot
179	5/1/96	CBS	5:38:20	5:40:00	1:40	Montana/ Freemen Standoff	Patriot
180	5/3/96	CBS	5:32:30	5:32:50	:20	Montana/ Freeman Standoff	Militias/ Domestic Terrorism
181	5/10/96	CBS	5:38:20	5:40:30	2:10	Montana/ Freemen Standoff	Gritz
182	5/16/96	ABC	5:37:20	5:37:30	:10	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
183	5/16/96	CBS	5:51:10	5:51:40	:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
184	5/16/96	NBC	5:51:20	5:51:50	:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
185	5/18/96	ABC	5:39:40	5:40:10	:30	Montana/ Freemen Standoff	Gritz
186	5/19/96	CBS	5:09:30	5:10:00	:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
187	5/21/96	CBS	5:47:40	5:48:00	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
188	5/21/96	NBC	5:37:20	5:37:40	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
189	5/24/96	ABC	5:39:40	5:40:00	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
190	5/31/96	CBS	5:33:30	5:35:10	1:40	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
191	5/31/96	NBC	5:38:00	5:38:40	:40	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
192	6/2/96	NBC	5:50:30	5:50:50	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
193	6/3/96	CBS	5:36:50	5:37:10	:20	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
194	6/3/96	NBC	5:37:30	5:38:00	:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Montana Freeman
195	5/25/96	ABC	5:36:50	5:38:50	2:00	Montana/ Freemen Standoff	Gritz
196	6/6/96	CBS	5:30:40	5:34:10	3:30	Montana /Freeman Standoff	Militias
197	7/1/96	ABC	5:30:20	5:32:20*	2:00	1.Arizona/Militia Plot	Militias
198	7/1/96	ABC	5:32:20	5:33:50	1:30	2.Arizona/Militia Plot	Militias
199	7/1/96	CBS	5:30:40	5:32:30	2:10	Phoenix, AZ/ Viper Militia Bust	Militias

200	7/1/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:33:40	3:20	Phoenix, AZ/ Viper Militia Bust	Militias
201	7/2/96	ABC	5:39:10	5:41:00	1:50	Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militias
202	7/2/96	CBS	5:31:00	5:33:30*	2:30	1.Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militia
203	7/2/96	CBS	5:48:20	5:52:50	4:30	2. Eye On America US Militia Movement	Militia
204	7/2/96	NBC	5:43:10	5:45:50*	2:40	1. In Depth/ Viper Militia	Viper
205	7/2/96	NBC	5:45:50	5:48:30	2:40	2. In Depth/ Viper Militia	Viper
206	7/3/96	ABC	5:38:10	5:40:20	2:10	Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militia
207	7/10/96	ABC	5:46:50	5:47:20	:30	Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militia
208	7/11/96	ABC	5:37:30	5:37:50	:20	Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militia
209	7/11/96	CBS	5:52:20	5:52:40	:20	Arizona/ Viper Militia	Militia
210	7/29/96	ABC	5:38:40	5:40:40	2:00	Terrorism Conference	Domestic Terrorism
211	7/29/96	CBS	5:41:10	5:41:40	:30	Washington/ Militia, FBI	Militia
212	7/29/96	NBC	5:44:50	5:47:30	2:40	In Depth/Terrorism	Terrorism
213	10/9/96	CBS	5:30:40	5:35:10	4:30	FBI/ Arrest/ Counter-terrorism	Supremacist
214	10/11/96	ABC	5:30:40	5:33:00	2:20	West Virginia/ Militia FBI Plot	Militia
215	10/11/96	CBS	5:30:50	5:33:20	2:30	West Virginia/ Militia FBI Plot	Militia
216	10/11/96	NBC	5:30:20	5:32:50	2:30	West Virginia/ Militia FBI Plot	Militia
217	10/22/96	CBS	5:35:10	5:37:00	1:50	Ruby Ridge, Idaho	Ruby Ridge
218	10/22/96	NBC	5:39:00	5:39:30	:30	FBI/ Ruby Ridge Case	Ruby Ridge
219	10/30/96	ABC	5:30:40	5:32:40	2:00	FBI/ Ruby Ridge Case	Supremacist

220	10/30/96	CBS	5:41:20	5:41:40	:20	Ruby Ridge Case	Supremacist
221	10/30/96	NBC	5:38:00	5:40:00	2:00	FBI/ Ruby Ridge Case	Supremacist
222	11/6/96	CBS	5:44:30	5:44:50	:20	Georgia Militia	Militia
223	1/25/97	ABC	5:45:20	5:48:20	3:00	Trials/Anti-Government Republic of Texas	Supremacy
224	1/30/97	NBC	5:30:40	5:33:10	2:30	Midwest Bank Robbery Bust	Supremacist
225	2/1/97	ABC	5:32:20	5:34:40	2:20	California Bombings	Militia
226	2/1/97	ABC	5:34:40	5:36:30	1:50	Spokane, WA/ Bombing/ Patriot Movement Convention	Militia
227	2/19/97	NBC	5:47:00	5:49:50	2:50	In Depth/Police Shootout	Supremacist
228	2/20/97	CBS	5:43:20	5:43:30	:10	Georgia/Macon Militia	Militia
229	2/23/97	ABC	5:30:40	5:32:40	2:00	Atlanta, GA /Bombing	Militia
230	2/24/97	NBC	5:46:50	5:47:10	:20	Terrorism Threat/bombing truck	Domestic Terrorism
231	3/19/97	CBS	5:35:30	5:38:10	2:40	1. OKC Bombing Investigation	Paramilitary
232	3/19/97	CBS	5:38:10	5:39:40	1:30	2. OKC Bombing Investigation	Paramilitary
233	3/24/97	CBS	5:42:50	5:50:40	7:50	Terror On Trial/ OKC Bombing Pt. I	Paramilitary
234	4/18/97	CBS	5:30:40	5:34:00	3:20	The Weekend/ Security	Militia
235	4/18/97	NBC	5:38:00	5:38:20*	:20	1.Weekend/ Security Militia	Militias
236	4/18/97	NBC	5:38:20	5:41:20	3:00	2.Weekend/ Security Militia	Militias
237	4/19/97	ABC	5:33:20	5:35:10*	1:40	1.Oklahoma City Bombing Anniversary	Oklahoma City Bombing
238	4/19/97	ABC	5:36:50	5:39:20	2:30	2.Militias	Militia
239	4/19/97	ABC	5:39:20	5:41:30	2:10	3.Militias	Militia
240	4/27/97	ABC	5:38:00	5:40:00	2:00	Texas/ Standoff/ Republic of Texas	Militia

241	4/29/97	NBC	5:36:00	5:36:10	:10	Republic of Texas Standoff	Republic of Texas
242	5/1/97	CBS	5:40:10	5:40:30	:20	Texas Standoff	Republic of Texas
243	5/2/97	CBS	5:34:50	5:36:40	1:50	FBI Raid/OKC Bombing/McVeigh Trial	Militia
244	5/2/97	NBC	5:39:50	5:42:10	2:20	FBI Raid/OKC Bombing/McVeigh Trial	Militia
245	5/2/97	NBC	5:42:10	5:42:40	:30	Texas Standoff	Republic of Texas
246	5/3/97	ABC	5:04:10	5:07:10	3:00	Texas/Republic of Texas	Republic of Texas
247	5/3/97	ABC	5:07:10	5:08:50	1:40	Violent Militia Groups	Militia
248	5/3/97	NBC	5:53:10	5:53:50	:40	Texas/ Republic of Texas	Republic of Texas
249	5/4/97	CBS	5:10:10	5:11:40	1:30	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/ McVeigh Trial	Militia
250	5/5/97	ABC	5:41:20	5:41:50	:30	Texas/ Republic of Texas	Separatist
251	5/5/97	CBS	5:36:00	5:36:30	:30	Texas/Republic of Texas Shootout	Separatist
252	5/5/97	NBC	5:37:20	5:38:40	1:20	Texas/Republic of Texas Shootout	Republic of Texas
253	5/10/97	ABC	5:40:00	5:40:20	:20	Los Angeles, CA Militia arrest	Militia
254	5/10/97	CBS	5:41:10	5:43:00	1:50	Los Angeles, CA Militia arrest	Militia
255	5/10/97	NBC	5:56:00	5:56:20	:20	Los Angeles, CA Militia arrest	Militia
256	5/23/97	NBC	5:30:30	5:36:00	5:30	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/ McVeigh Trial	Militia

257	6/10/97	ABC	5:30:30	5:34:20	3:50	Oklahoma City, OK Bombing/McVeigh Trial	Militia
258	6/12/97	CBS	5:50:20	5:54:00	3:40	OKC Bombing/ McVeigh Trial/ US Terrorist	Militia
259	6/13/97	ABC	5:39:00	5:43:00	4:00	OKC Bombing/ McVeigh Trial Militia Movement	Militia/ Domestic Terrorism
260	6/13/97	CBS	5:47:10	5:51:40	4:30	Eye on America Homegrown Terror	Militia
261	6/14/97	ABC	5:36:40	5:38:40	2:00	Oklahoma City, OK/ Bombing/ Militia	Militia
262	8/15/97	ABC	5:46:30	5:47:10	:40	Ruby Ridge Siege/ FBI	Separatist
263	8/15/97	CBS	5:46:30	5:47:10	:40	Ruby Ridge Siege/ FBI	Randy Weaver
264	8/15/97	NBC	5:49:40	5:50:10	:30	Ruby Ridge Siege/ FBI	Ruby Ridge
265	8/21/97	ABC	5:37:20	5:39:30	2:10	Idaho/Ruby Ridge/Murder Indictments	Weaver
266	8/21/97	CBS	5:39:00	5:41:10	2:10	Idaho/Ruby Ridge/Murder Indictments	Weaver
267	8/21/97	NBC	5:33:00	5:35:10	2:10	Idaho/Ruby Ridge/Murder Indictments	Weaver
268	9/18/97	ABC	5:40:30	5:42:30	2:00	Terrorism High Tech Defense	Domestic Terrorism
269	10/21/97	CBS	5:44:50	5:47:40	2:50	Roby, IL/ Police Standoff	Militia
270	1/7/98	ABC	5:36:20	5:36:40	:20	Idaho/ FBI Sniper	Ruby Ridge

271	2/9/98	ABC	5:38:30	5:40:40	2:10	Birmingham, AL/ Clinic bombing	Eric Rudolph
272	2/4/98	CBS	5:36:10	5:37:40	1:30	Birmingham, AL/ Clinic bombing	Eric Rudolph
273	2/27/98	NBC	5:33:00	5:35:20	2:20	Birmingham, AL/ Clinic Bombing/Evidence	Far Right
274	2/28/98	NBC	5:39:20	5:41:20	2:00	Bombings Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
275	3/7/98	ABC	5:30:30	5:32:30	2:00	White Supremacist Conspiracy	Supremacist
276	5/5/98	ABC	5:36:50	5:37:30	:40	Rudolph/FBI list	Eric Rudolph
277	6/3/98	CBS	5:41:50	5:43:50	2:00	Colorado/Manhunt	Militia
278	6/5/98	ABC	5:30:50	5:33:10	2:20	Southwest Manhunt/ Militia	Survivalist
279	6/5/98	CBS	5:33:30	5:35:30	2:00	Colorado/Manhunt	Militia
280	6/7/98	ABC	5:30:40	5:33:20	2:40	West Manhunt	Survivalist
281	6/7/98	NBC	5:33:50	5:36:30	2:40	West Manhunt	Survivalist
282	6/8/98	NBC	5:50:20	5:52:30	2:10	West Manhunt/ Militia	Militia
283	7/14/98	ABC	5:30:40	5:32:40	2:00	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
284	7/14/98	CBS	5:32:00	5:34:00	2:00	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
285	7/14/98	NBC	5:30:50	5:33:20	2:30	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
286	7/15/98	CBS	5:35:30	5:37:30	2:00	North Carolina Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
287	7/16/98	ABC	5:38:10	5:40:00	1:50	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
288	7/17/98	ABC	5:39:30	5:39:50	:20	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
289	7/18/98	ABC	5:39:50	5:41:30	1:40	Coeur D'Alene, ID/Aryan March	Supremacist

290	7/18/98	ABC	5:41:30	5:41:50	:20	North Carolina Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
291	7/18/98	NBC	5:43:30	5:45:50	2:20	Coeur D'Alene, ID/Aryan Nation March	Supremacist
292	7/19/98	ABC	5:50:40	5:53:00	2:20	North Carolina Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
293	7/21/98	CBS	5:43:00	5:43:20	:20	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
294	7/21/98	NBC	5:55:00	5:57:50	2:50	Survivalist Rudolph Manhunt	Survivalist
295	7/23/98	NBC	5:50:40	5:52:50	2:10	Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
296	8/1/98	ABC	5:47:30	5:47:50	:20	North Carolina Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
297	8/3/98	NBC	5:50:10	5:50:30	:20	Indiana Truck Crash/Possible Terrorism	Domestic Terrorism
298	8/15/98	ABC	5:47:10	5:49:20	2:10	North Carolina/ Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
299	8/15/98	NBC	5:51:20	5:53:40	2:20	North Carolina/ Rudolph Manhunt	Eric Rudolph
300	11/30/98	CBS	5:54:00	5:58:10	4:10	Eye on America Y2K/Survivalists	Survivalists
301	12/10/98	ABC	5:52:30	5:52:40	:10	St Louis, MO/Radio Advertisement KKK	Far Right
302	12/30/98	NBC	5:44:50	5:48:20	3:30	In Depth/ Y2K Millennium Fears	Militia
303	1/17/99	NBC	5:41:10	5:43:10	2:00	North Carolina Rudolph	Eric Rudolph

304	1/29/99	CBS	5:40:10	5:42:10	2:00	Birmingham Alabama/ Abortion Facility bombing anniversary	Eric Rudolph
305	1/29/99	NBC	5:44:20	5:47:20	3:00	In Depth Eric Rudolph Bombing	Rudolph
306	2/21/99	ABC	5:45:20	5:48:50	3:30	Straight Talk (Two Conservatives)	Far Right
307	2/22/99	ABC	5:43:00	5:43:20	:20	Computer/Y2K	Far Right

*Indicates those stories that were retrieved using a single search term, appear in a single program and are filed as a single story. However, on tape the stories were broadcast as two, three, or more distinct and individual pieces.

APPENDIX B

Examples of Transcribed Newscripts

CBS AUGUST 31, 1992
IDAHO/SIEGE ENDS
5:45:00 (:30)

Connie Chung An eleven-day siege in Idaho has ended quietly {vo/ Bo Gritz-former green beret with two men both in **fatigues**} after a former Green Beret was brought in to act as a go between at the mountain top cabin {long shot/ mountain with log cabin home on top} where white supremacist Randy Weaver was hold-up.

Weaver finally surrendered today with his three surviving children { still shot of Weaver family}. Weaver's wife, son, and a U.S. deputy marshal were killed in a shootout ten days ago. Federal authorities have been afer Weaver for months on gunrunning charges [**incorrect** information/ one gun sold by FBI informant].

CBS MAY 12, 1995
EYE ON AMERICA/OKLAHOMA BOMBING/ NRA
5:30:10 (4:40)

Dan Rather (On camera) Good evening. New details are still emerging tonight in the governments chain of evidence in the Oklahoma City bombing, but the **shockwaves of the blast** now go beyond the investigation and are shaking the foundations of one of the country's most powerful interest groups...the gun lobby. Jim Stewart has been scoping out the NRA and its militia connection. For this Eye on America investigation.

{man looking through riffle scope...says pull}

Stewart — By his own definition Ernest Lessivet is a gun nut, he owns them, shoots them, defends the right to have them. And, it is men and women like Lessivet, 3 ½ million of them who have make the NRA the most powerful lobby in America. {man continues to aim shotgun and shoot skeet, nat sots of gun fire}.[6] {file video of **Murrah aftermath**...smoke billows} Oklahoma City, may change all that.

? — (unidentified talking man in late 40s) It has been 20 years now with the anti-federalist...you cannot promote that kind of rhetoric for 20 years and not expect to have some people take you at face value.

(head) — Yes, I do think some people take you (NRA) at face value...Yes, yes I do think they bear some responsibility.

Stewart Stand-up — {In front of NRA Headquarters} The NRA, of course didn't light any fuses in OKC and it has soundly condemned the attack. But make no mistake about it...**OKC has caused a crisis** here and that's because in the months leading up to the bombing, the NRA by word and by deed moved closer and closer to the militia movement.

Nat-sot — {men in army combat uniforms, with guns singing and marching/ **paramilitary activity**}

Stewart — Militia members tell CBS, there has been meetings between the highest leaders at the NRA and the Michigan Militia. The same militia accused bombers Tim McVeigh and Terry Nichols met with in 1993.

Ken Adams — {Adams a leader of Michigan Militia, file tape/in **military uniform**...speaking to audience that is not seen}

---

[6] Nat-sot refers to natural sound or sound not added to the presentation in the post-production process.

...Then lets take the guns away from the BATF.

Stewart	Ken Adams a spokesman for the Michigan Militia says the NRA sought them out in February.
Ken Adams Michigan Militia	(head and shoulder shot, talking head) We were unaware of what the meeting was about, but we agreed to come and the meeting was to be with Tonya and possibly someone else.
Stewart	(split screen, Adams/Tonya) Tonya is Tonya Latoxa, the NRA's chief lobbyist. She came, the militia men say, to urge them to keep their membership in the (NRA Logo) NRA. And to apologize for the NRA's own(PBS video of Washington) President, Tom Washington's statements suggesting the militias might be dangerous.
Washington head shot	I can't help but recognize the potential for some bad things to happen.
Stewart	Washington's comments shouldn't be taken seriously, militia say they were told. {Militia men in **uniforms/ paramilitary activity**} The message they say was simple. There's still room in the NRA for you.
Adams	I think that we're on the same track together and I think at some point, you will see us much closer than we are presently.
Stewart	{head shot of LaPierre} Wayne LaPierre is executive vice president of the NRA.
LaPierre NRA	Tonya tells me they called her! They say she called them. But the bottom line out of the whole meting is...there was no money , no support. The NRA does not get involved with those types of groups and it never has!
Stewart	{militiamen in **uniform, on the ground, firing rifles**—nats} But if there is disagreement of relationships, there's no mistaking the shared rhetoric. In a recent NBA fundraising letter {video of letter, to still of LaPierre} written by La Pierre himself...federal agents are described as {full screen) "Jack-Booted Government thugs...Wearing Black...Armed to the Teeth....(who) breakdown a door (and) kill or maim law abiding citizens.}
Adams	{on stage, file, same as before} If they come to your door to take your guns away...I'll be there!
Stewart	{militia poster, black on white...only eyes showing, military helmet} Militia Wanted posters look and read just like this full page NRA ad depicting ATF agents dressed like Nazis.

{poster 2 NRA poster...army people with guns.."Tell the Clinton White House to stay out of your house.} Where did that picture come from?

LaPierre — It was a staged picture.

Stewart — Staged? Who staged it?

LaPierrre — Yeah! For the ad.

Stewart — But when you use words like that and you put pictures like that....what's to distinguish you and the militia?

LaPierre — We do not have any of the same aims as the militia.

John McGall Head ATF — They are involved, they do support the militias.

Stewart — John McGall is the director of the ATF. {NRA poster...the BATF has not only lost public trust, but deserves public contempt} He says official NRA advertisements like this only **aspire fanatics** to come up with their own, which read like wanted posters.

McGall — {looking at posters} Almost makes it seem like its open season. We've had 25 or 26 cases in the last year of { poster reads...$10,000 reward for each dead federal agent} people following our personnel around trying to determine where they live.

Stewart — {standing in McGall's office...memorabilia} He's guarded the President and has been a lawman or 35 years...{wanted poster again} being compared to a Nazi is tough.

McGall — Though as hard as I try, it will take me awhile to get over how upset I am.

Stewart — {video of for Pres. George Bush in front of **American flag**} George Bush says he'll never get over it and this week resigned a lifetime membership with the NRA.

{Luzabeth on shooting range...firing guns, nats} Ernest Luzabeth was upset too. He and 500 their NRA members recently quit and set up their own gun owners lobby.

(voice of) Luzzabeth — {close up of gun muzzle, target bulls eye sheet} They aren't catering to the mainstream anymore, and for those of us who are {to head shot}more politically moderate its become very uncomfortable.

Stewart {leaving court or jail/ **McVeigh** in orange jail suit in handcuffs} Timothy McVeigh stopped paying his NRA dues as well, but since then in a letter to his congressmen, he railed against gun control and affixed this sticker (NRA sticker…I am the NRA) to the envelope. In Washington, this is Jim Stewart for Eye on America.

CBS MAY 17, 1995
EYE ON AMERICA/GREENUP STANDOFF
5:53:50 (4:30)

Dan Rather On camera — It's a battle of wills in Western Montana. On one side...Calvin Greenup who at this moment lives outside and above the law. The man has come to symbolize the militant anti-government militia movement and is wanted on criminal charges. On the other side the government which wants to take him, but without starting a shootout. Peter Van Sand reports on the potentially explosive showdown in tonight's Eye on America.

VanSant — {police officer-Larry Rose-- in uniform firing a riffle at skeet...nats of gun going off} Guns are a way of life in Darby Montana a frontier {woman on horse}town where gun racks {video of guns in trucks} and heads of the hunted {video of mounted moose heads, stuffed animals, skins in barn} are proudly displayed **[social construction** on hunting]{long shot mountains}. Today there is fear among many in this beautiful territory that townspeople may soon be firing at each other.

Man 1 — {unidentified man carving wood with saw} We're talking about neighbors shooting neighbors. I firmly believe there's going to be a bloodbath.

Man 2 — {unidentified man sot-head shot} When they start firing the first round, Yeah...the lead's gonna fly.

VanSant — {LS of Farmhouse, zoom-in, Greenup and son working farm have rifles} If the shooting starts it could happen at this ranchhouse. In Bitter Root Valley self-proclaimed **"Patriot"** Calvin Greenup and at least one of his sons are here refusing to surrender to authorities. {Elk round-up video-local station ID} Greenup who used to raise elk is wanted on a range of charges including threatening to execute a number of government officials. {Greenup on tractor w/dog} Heavily armed, Greenup told CBS news 2 weeks ago, that he's ready to die.

Greenup — I still see that I have no way out and nothing more to live for in this world.

VanSant — {Stand-up..main street in town} Greenup's defiance created a kind of high noon atmosphere here in Darby. His bold challenge has made him a here to some a menace to others. Everybody knows he's calling out the law...but so far no one wants to go get him.

VanSant — {Rose on firing range shooting rifle} Have these guys intimidated you?

Larry Rose — {still on firing range} They do when they come out with their guns.

VanSant {Rose on range with rifle} Larry Rose is the Marshall of Darby. The town's only full-time lawman. At times he's been confronted by **gun-totting supporters** [social construction] of Calvin Greenup.

Rose {sot/Rose} One them fired a gun in the air and yelled at me. He's gonna kill me.

Van Sant {car with sign in rear window...We don't support our crooked County officials}. The Marshall chased this unlicensed car until he was suddenly faced with 7 or 8 armed men who fired at him to retreat.
(two shot/ Rose-Van Sant) If they succeed in intimidating you what have they succeeded in doing?

Rose (head) Well, ...basically they've taken over.

Blackburn (Larry Blackburn resident of the town with family) Trying to take back our government...the government is trying to take away from us.

VanSant Darby militiaman (Larry Blackburn with family) Larry Blackburn and his allies believe Calvin Greenup's one-man rebellion will light a fire.

Blackburn OK, I believe it could be an uprising throughout the United States. It could be the start.

VanSant {with Bob Steele another town resident and militiaman} Are you a threat to anyone?

Steele Yes!

VanSant (with Bob Steele) To whom?

Steele (font...Greenup supporter) All the government officials especially the judiciary who are violating their oaths of office.

Bethel (head shot Marty Bethel-local judge) I've had anonymous calls warning me that they were going to firebomb my house.

VanSant {Bethel in her car, showing her handgun} Marty Bethel is a local judge who's been called a traitor and warned that she'll be hanged. She now carries pepper mace, a stun gun and pistol. Her crime? Enforcing traffic tickets against militia members.

Bethel (head shot in her office) I received a phone call from an anonymous person who said don't go to Darby tonight. If you do, you won't be leaving.

VanSant {Sheriff, Jay Prince with papers in hand} Sheriff Jay Prince has also been threatened with hanging.

Police Officer (unknown....nat sot in town reading) This property's been sold—at Sheriff's sale. This sale is concluded.

Van Sant {Greenup property, long shot} This afternoon with Mrs. Greenup {on tape} and a crowd of townspeople watching the law struck back. Greenup's ranch was auctioned off to pay his bank debts. {video of Prince} But Sheriff Prince has been criticized for not moving quickly to arrest Greenup.

Prince I'm not going to be one of those people that give in and makes martyr out of somebody if I can handle it a different way.

VanSant {video of Stricker in orange prison garb appears in court} A fugitive friend of Greenup, Dennis Wayne Stricker, yesterday surrendered to a local judge.

Judge (nats in court) How do you plead...guilty or not guilty?

Stricker Not guilty your honor.

VanSant {on gun range with Larry Rose again} Sources tell CBS news that Greenup is trying to negotiate a similar deal to be freed on bond while he awaits trial.For now law enforcement is showing restraint. But there's a risk there too. A risk that **extremists in the militia movement** will believe the government will back down when forced with enough guns. In Darby, Montana, I'm Peter Van Sant for Eye on America.

ABC JUNE 4, 1995
WASHINGTON, DC/ GUN RALLY
5:37:00 (1:50)

Carol Simpson [on camera] Graphic/Militias in box.	Here in Washington today, a loosely knit coalition of pro gun, anti-govern ment groups, The Committee of 1776, rallied on the mall. ABC's Deborah Amos reports—they're rhetoric was harsh.
Amos	{2/300 people on mall, nats "they are murders", **flags, rifles, African American** people and Caucasians} The crowds were small but the talk was of big ideas. Freedom, Constitutional Rights, and a government that's betrayed the people.
Fulan	{Lenora Fulan **African American woman**, font Former Presidential Candidate/party unknown-nats} The American people are under attack!
Amos [stand-up}	{on mall, protestors behind her) What brought these people together is **guns** and the almost religious belief in the Second Amendment. The Right to keep and bear arms. The are different than hunters and target shooters, they claim to have a more important mission.
Trochman	{Caroline Trochman, daughter of Militia of Montana leader on podium, **flag** behind her.} We need to educate the American people of what their rights are. Most of you that are here already know.
Amos	Talk show host G. Gordon Liddy {G. Gordon **Liddy**...radio talk show host on podium} warned these rights are already at risk.
Liddy	{On podium speaking to crowd agitated pounding fist} Unfortunately what we have to say now to all Americans is...They are coming for your rights...virtually all of them.
Amos	Curt Lyons (on podium with others) with connections to supremacy groups agreed.
Lyons	I call it the Popeye syndrome. I have all I can stand I can't stand no more.
Amos	{crowd shots, **flags, military uniforms** on many participants} While the speakers stressed education rather than revolution the critics charged they still spread hate.

Levitas {head/sot with with *Dan Levitas,-font, Center for Democratic Renewal*} In many instances ideas are must as dangerous if not more dangerous than guns. And, the ideas that many people in the militia movement espouse: ideas of anti-Semetics and racism are ideas that are dangerous to democracy {no sound bites or posters or activity to support}.

Amos (crowd shot, man with poster...We are the Militia) In the 6 weeks since the **Oklahoma City bombing**, the militia movement has gained National attention. Today members downplay their usual talk of conspiracies and plots. They focused instead on long range plans to **oust** (man dressed as Uncle Sam...Red, white, blue) **the government they hate** at the ballot box. Deborah Amos, Washington.

APPENDIX C

Categories and Codes

APPENDIX C

Categories and Codes
Network Television News Stories about Militias

1. Militia Groups
   - Name
   - Gender of individuals on camera
   - Geographic Location of group
   - Leader
   - Race/Age of individual militia members on camera
   - Spokesperson
   - Time Lapse
   - Total membership numbers

2. Militia Activity (non criminal)
   - Attending Seminars where militia leaders are speaking.
   - Appearing at various Militia activities/standoffs to lend support.
   - Carrying Weapons
   - Marksmanship Training
   - Paramilitary Training
   - Participating at Preparedness Expo
   - Participating in Anti Government rallies
   - Saluting Flag
   - Selling Books and Tapes/propaganda
   - Survival Skills
   - Wearing Uniform

3. Militia Ideology
   - Abortion Threat
   - Anti-Tax
   - Christian Identity
   - Fundamentalist
   - Hatred of the Government
   - Millenialist
   - Protectors of Constitution
   - Racist
   - Separatists
   - Sovereign Citizenship
   - Supremacist
   - Survivalist

4. Primary Militia Issues
   - Fear of the Government
   - Hatred of the Government (ATF/IRS/FBI)
   - Loss of Individual Rights
   - Mainstream Media Bias
   - Necessity of Military Training
   - Protectors of the Constitution
   - Right to Bare Arms

5. Arena Where Militia Group Most Involved
   - Domestic Terrorism (cells)
   - Expos
   - Gun Legislation
   - Internet Communication
   - Law enforcement (arrests, standoffs)
   - Legislature (Congressional hearings)
   - Marksmanship (rifles, guns)
   - Military Training
   - Paramilitary Activity
   - Political (paper terrorism)
   - Recruitment
   - Survival Skills
   - Talks/Seminars
   - Terrorism

6. Militia Constitutional Liberties
   - First Amendment (local newspaper-letter publications)
   - Freedom of Speech (Talk Radio)
   - Right to Bare Arms

7. Primary Group Tactics
   - Demonstrations
   - Domestic Terrorism
   - Extremism (bombings/sabotage, bank robberies, police murder)
   - Internet Communication
   - Paper Terrorism
   - Propaganda (group newspapers, seminars, talk radio participants)
   - Protest (standoffs)
   - Rhetoric
   - Terrorism

8. Frames
   - Conflict
   - David and Goliath
   - Domestic Terrorism
   - Good and Evil

Frames (continued)
Government Control
Heroes and Villains
Protector/Enforcer
Terrorism
War and Peace

9. Themes
[By Networks]

Against the Grain
Anti Government Agenda
Armed and violent
Armed Organized Soldiers
Armed to the Teeth
At War with America
Campaign of terror
Deadly Force
Extremist fringe
Guerrilla War (against their government)
Gun Totting
Hell Bent on Destroying the Government
Hotbed of Extremist Activity
Network of Conspirators
Pedlers of Paranoia
Plans to cause civil disorder.
Promoters of paranoia
Ready for war
Self proclaimed fighting force of ordinary citizens
Shadowy World of Extremists
Terror in the Heartland
Ugly festering disease infecting our country
Respond Quickly and Violently
War Games
Weekend Warriors playing army.

Themes
[By Militias]

Government Tyranny
Big brother tyranny
Out of control government
Second American Revolution

10. Labels
[By Networks]

Anarchists
Armed and Dangerous
Armed soldiers
Cowards
Criminals
Deviant law breakers
Domestic Terrorists
Extremists
Fanatics
Hate Mongers
Homegrown Terrorists
Lunatics
Lunatic fringe
Militia Menace
Private Armies
Rabid Activists
Rebels
Revolutionaries
Veterans
Vigilantes
Violent vigilantes
Terrorists
Weekend Warriors

Labels
[by militia for government]

murderers

11. Symbols
Cross Burning
Flag
Guns/Weapons
Oklahoma City Bombing aftermath
Rifles
Ruby Ridge Standoff
Swastika
Tanks
Uniforms
Waco

12. Visuals
    - Arrests
    - Crime/bank robberies
    - Explosion of seized Bombs/Weapons
    - Flag
    - Freemen Standoff
    - Guns/Weapons
    - Oklahoma City Bombing aftermath
    - Paramilitary Training
    - Ruby Ridge Standoff
    - Sabotage (train derail/bombing plots)
    - FBI/ATF Staged Events
    - Tanks
    - Uniforms
    - Waco

13. Institutional Action
    - President
    - Legislature (Congressional Hearings, Passage of Counterterrorism Legislation)
    - Law Enforcement (ATF/FBI/ State and Local Police)
        - Arrests
        - Undercover investigations
        - Busts
        - News conference
        - Protecting the Public
        - Issuing announcements, and studies,
        - Always on the job
        - Anti-terrorism training
        - Sophisticated new electronic Equipment
        - Staged Events

14. Sources
    - Government Officials (President, Congress)
    - Law Enforcement Officials (current FBI/ATF)
    - Experts-all retired ATF/FBI on network payroll
    - Special Interest Groups (Southern Poverty Law Center, ADL, NRA)

15. Presidential Involvement
    - Anti terrorism Proposal
    - Calls for stronger gun laws
    - News conferences/Rallies
    - Speeches (antiterrorism)
    - Polls
    - Government in Control

16. News Reporter Objectivity/Balance
    - Social Construction
    - Events seen as conflict/good vs. evil
    - Ties Militia to Oklahoma City Bombing
    - Tie Militia to Hate Groups
    - No differentiating of Groups
    - No knowledge of size of militia
    - No knowledge of history of militia
    - No clear understanding of various ideologies
    - Erroneous Reporting of facts for various events
    - Often not at the scene
    - Often use pejoratives to refer to militia
    - Reliance on Special Interest and Government Officials
    - Reliance on "Paid" experts (retired FBI/ATF)

17. Issues in Network News Stories
    - Domestic Terrorism
    - Event Driven
    - Gun Control
    - Overburdened Law Enforcement Agents
    - Passage of Antiterrorism Legislation
    - Public Safety
    - Racism
    - Terrorism
    - Security at Federal Buildings

18. Treatment of Militia Group by Network Reporters.
    - Reporter Name
    - Social Construction
    - Generally see militia members as terrorists
    - Reporter World view affects content
    - Reporter at Scene of story or not
    - Pejorative labels

19. Treatment of Militia by Other Militia Members.
    - Rhetoric (Patriots)
    - Law Abiding
    - Protectors of the Constitution
    - No part in Oklahoma City Bombing
    - Former Militia Members discuss extremism/why they left.

20. Special Interest Groups Agenda
    - Anti Semitic
    - Racist
    - (see Appendix G for full list)

21. Miscellaneous
    - New Words
        - Domestic Terrorism
        - Electronic Paranoia
        - End Time
        - Teotwawki
    - Precipitating Event
    - Movements and the Media

APPENDIX D

Total Stories by Network and Year

APPENDIX D

Total Network News Stories by Year

November 9,1989-February 28, 1999

	ABC	CBS	NBC	TOTAL
1989	0			0
1990		1		1
1991	0			0
1992	3	1	1	5
1993	2	3	3	8
1994	1		1	2
1995	34	45	35	114
1996	30	37	25	92
1997	18	15	14	47
1998	15	7	11	33
1999	2	1	2	5
TOTAL	105	110	92	307

APPENDIX E

Militia Group Identified by Name and by Geographic Location

APPENDIX E

Militia Group Identified by Group Name and Geographic Location

November 9,1989-February 28, 1999

Arizona	Sons of Liberty	(CBS 10/9/95)
	Citizens for Constitutional Law	(ABC 3/30/96)
	Viper Militia	(ABC 7/1/96)
	Arizona Republic	(ABC 7/3/96)
	Four Corners Militia[7]	(CBS 6/3/98)
Arkansas	Covenant the Sword and Arm of the Lord	(CBS 6/15/95
Colorado	Four Corners Militia	(CBS 6/3/98)
D.C.	Committee of 1776	(ABC 6/4/95)
Florida	Police Against the New World Order	(ABC 6/14/97)
	Florida Militia	(ABC 4/25/95)
Georgia	112th Militia	(CBS 11/6/96)
Idaho	Aryan Nation	(NBC 7/2/96)
	Neo-Nazi	(ABC 8/26/92)
Iowa	Aryan Republican Army	(CBS 7/2/96)
Michigan	Indiana Militia	(NBC 11/30/94)
	Michigan Militia	(NBC 11/30/94)
	Army of the Lord	(ABC 5/3/95)
Montana	Montana Patriots	(CBS 5/17/95)
	Citizens for the Kingdom of Christ	(ABC 6/15/95)
	Freemen	(NBC 3/28/96)
New Mexico	Four Corners Militia	(CBS 6/3/98)
North Carolina	Americans for Preservation of Constitutional Law	(ABC 3/30/96)

[7] The Four Corners Militia is a single militia operating in four different states. Authorities do not know for certain where they are based. I have listed them in each state but consider them as a single militia.

Ohio	Ohio Unorganized Militia	(ABC 6/15/95)
Oklahoma	Tulsa Militia	(ABC 4/19/97)
Oregon	Oregon Militia	(NBC 6/19/95)
Texas	God's Marines	(CBS 2/29/93)
	Texas Constitutional Militia	(ABC 5/3/95)
	Republic of Texas	(ABC 4/27/97)
Utah	Four Corners Militia	(CBS 6/3/98)
Washington	Washington State Militia	(NBC 3/31/96)
	Shercotte Ministries	(ABC 2/1/97)
West Virginia	West Virginia Mountaineer Militia	(ABC 10/11/96)
Wisconsin	Black Panther Community Militia	(CBS 4/6/90)
	Anti-Crime Brigade	(CBS 4/6/90)

APPENDIX F

Militia Leaders and Spokespersons Appearing on Tapes

APPENDIX F

Militia Leaders and Spokespersons Appearing on Tapes

November 9,1989-February 28, 1999

1. Adams, Ken	Michigan Militia	NBC 4/28/95
2. Adams, Ken	Oregon Militia	NBC 6/19/95
3. Bean, Art	Tuscola Michigan Militia	CBS 4/24/95
4. Boettcher, Phillip (Rev.)	Topeka Christian Church	NBC 4/18/97
5. Butler, Richard (pastor)	Idaho Militia	NBC 5/22/95
6. Fletcher, Robert	Montana Militia	CBS 6/15/95
7. Fulon, Lenora	Committee 1776	ABC 6/4/95
8. Greenhoe, Ken	Michigan 4th	ABC 5/5/95
9. Grits, Bo	Populist Party	NBC 8/31/92
10. Harris, Larry	Aryan Nation	CBS 5/26/95
11. Johnson, James	Ohio Unorganized Militia	ABC 6/15/95
12. Kellogg, James	Shercote Ministries	ABC 2/1/97
13. Kirkland, Ken	Florida Militia	ABC 4/24/95
14. Koernke, Mark	Extremist Michigan Militia	ABC 4/24/95
15. Looker, Floyd Raymond	West Virginia Mountaineer	ABC 10/11/97
16. Lyons, Curt	Supremacy group (unnamed)	ABC 6/4/95
17. McClaren, Rick	Republic of Texas	ABC 4/19/97
18. McLamb, Jack (Ed.)	Police Against New World Order	ABC 5/7/95
19. Millar, Robert	White Supremacy (unnamed)	CBS 5/23/95
20. Mock, Richard	Constitutional Law Convention	ABC 3/30/96
21. Muska, Jim	Michigan Militia	CBS 5/2/95
22. Nobel, Terry	Sword and Arm of the Lord	CBS 3/24/97
23. Olson, Norman	Michigan Militia	NBC 11/30/94
24. Peterson, Daniel	Montana Freemen	CBS 3/28/95
25. Price, Mark Col	Michigan Millitia	NBC 11/30/94
26. Purvis, Jim	Oregon Militia	NBC 6/19/95
27. Regis, Joseph	Citizens for Constitutional Law	ABC 3/30/96
28. Solomon, Stan	Indiana Militia	NBC 11/30/94
29. Southwell, Ray	Michigan Militia	ABC 4/29/95
30. Schwietzer, Leroy	Montana Militia	ABC 3/28/95
31. Thompson, Linda	Self-proclaimed national leader	ABC 4/23/95
32. Turner, Ralph	Texas Constitutional Militia	ABC 5/3/95
33.Trochtman, John	Montana Militia	ABC 4/29/95

APPENDIX G

Special Interest Group Sources and Viewpoints

APPENDIX G

Special Interest Group Sources and Viewpoints

November 9,1989-February 28, 1999

GROUP NAME	SPOKES PERSON	NETWORK & DATE	VIEWPOINT (How spokesperson views militia movement.)	DESCRIBE MILITIAS AS:
Anti Defamation League	Tom Halpern	ABC 4/22/95	Anti Semitic & Racist	Whole government as the enemy. Dangerous
	Tom Halpern	CBS 4/24/95	Anti Semitic & Racist	Conspiracy obsessed, hate the govt. and they are armed.
	Tom Halpern	NBC 3/29/96	Unstated	Re:Freeman, militia members "snookered by the ideologues at the head of the movement."
	Joel Breshin	ABC 7/2/96	Unstated	This group is interested in causing destruction (i.e.Vipers)
American Jewish Committee	Keith Stern	CBS 4/22/95	Anti Semitic	Ideology where Waco stand for Govt. attacking Civilians
Arms Control Institute	Kyle Olsen	CBS 5/26/95	Unstated	Worry that terrorist groups can obtain biological weapons
Center for Democratic	Dan Levitas	ABC 6/4/95	Racist & Anti-Semetic	Dangerous

Renewal				
Center for Democratic Renewal	Maryann Mauney	NBC 7/2/96	Unstated	Militias are growing and dangerous.
Center on Hate and Extremism	Brian Levin	ABC 6/13/97	Unstated	"large body of disenfranchised people who believe violence is appropriate to achieve political goals."
Center for National Securities Studies	James Dempsey	CBS 4/24/95	Unstated	Chilling effect on popular Causes.re:lelgislation
Handgun Control In.	Dennis Henigan	NBC 4/26/95	Unstated	Says to NRA, the ATF is the embodiment of govt. tyranny
Institute for the Study of American Religion	Gordon Melton	ABC 5/3/95	Unstated	Links the groups to biblical fundamentalism
Montana Anti-Extremist Coalition	Evan Barrett	NBC 4/27/96	Unstated	Wants action against the extremists
Montana Human Rights Network	Ken Toole	NBC 5/22/95	Anti Semitism & Racism	There is good and evil nothing in between. The evil are Jews, Satan's spawn.
Southern Poverty Law Center	Morris Dees	CBS 4/22/95	Unstated	Their message is to attract zealots with an array of Hatreds.
Southern Poverty Law Center	Morris Dees	ABC 4/23/95	Unstated	Dangerous and violent
	Morris Dees	NBC 4/24/95	Unstated	Claims Alabama Militia blame OKC bomb on govt. Says militias are "sick, sick, sick" people.

Southern Poverty Law Center	Joe Roy	CBS 7/2/96	Racist & Anti-Semitic	Re: militia cells. "commit aggressive acts" don't answer to anyone.
Southern Poverty Law Center	Morris Dees	NBC 7/2/96	Unstated, however, Reporter sells Dees new book.	Domestic terrorism that is unannounced and unplanned is to terrorize the public.
	Mark Potok	NBC 12/30/98	Racist	Concern that racist groups will take action in 2000. (Re:Y2K)
Wiesenthal Center	Rabbi Marvin Hier	NBC 4/24/95	Unstated	Re:Internet. They now have a pulpit to the world.
	Undercover agent	NBC 7/2/96	Unstated	Details of arsenal of Viper militia.

VITA

VITA

Marie Curkan-Flanagan is the eldest of three children of Michael Curkan of Kiev, Ukraine, and Denise Charlier of Liege, Belgium. Marie Curkan was born in Cheratte, Belgium, on September 20, 1949, and she was educated in New Haven, Connecticut. She was a 1967 graduate of St. Mary's High School, and attended the University of New Haven, then the University of Strasbourg in France where she earned a degree in French literature in 1969. In 1994 she completed her undergraduate education with a Bachelor of Science degree from Oklahoma City University in Oklahoma. She earned a master's degree in communication from the University of Las Vegas in Nevada in 1996.

Before earning a doctorate, Flanagan worked as a broadcast journalist for twenty-five years, in Strasbourg (France), New Haven, Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and Oklahoma City. Her experience includes positions as: news director, assistant news director and managing editor for Gannett Broadcast; bureau chief, assignments manager, producer, assignment editor, and reporter for Capital Cities Communication: and assistant promotion manager, sales coordinator, accounts payable clerk and traffic clerk for Triangle Publications.

Flanagan has won numerous awards for her work in television news. Most notably, she has received two gold medal (First Place) awards in the New York International Film Festival, for writing and producing documentaries. She has also won first place awards for documentary or news productions in the Houston International Film Festival, the San Francisco Film Festival, from the Associated Press, and United Press

International, Women in Communications, Sigma Delta Chi, and American Women in Television and Radio.

In 1987, Flanagan was honored by the Commission of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution for her six-and-a-half hour documentary on the making of the United States Constitution. Former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Justice Warren Burger, called her project the "best of its kind" and the documentary is installed in the National Archives.

In 1985, KARE television news was named the best news operation in the Gannett Communication Company. As the managing editor for the KARE television news operation, Flanagan was named best managing editor in the company. That same year the news department received the National Edward R. Murrow award for best television news operation in the country. And, the following year the station also received the NPPA (National Press Photographers Association) award for best news operation in the country.

In April of 1988 Flanagan was named news director for KOCO television in Oklahoma City. With this appointment, Flanagan became the first female news director for the Gannett Corporation. Under her management the news department received the Edward R. Murrow Award for best Television Newscast in the Region for three consecutive years. In 1993 she was appointed, then elected to the Board of Directors for the RTNDA (Radio-Television News Directors Association).

Flanagan is an active member of the Radio and Television News Directors Association, The American Women and Radio and Television Association, Broadcast

Education Association, American Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Association and the Society of Professional Journalists.