

THE VOCAL MINORITY: AN ANALYSIS OF MEDIATED PROTEST
DISCOURSES

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Communication

Washington State University
Edward R. Murrow College of Communication

August 2008

To the faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of JARED M.
BISHOP find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Chair

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Before beginning, I would like to recognize that I would never have gotten anywhere near this point without the love, support and encouragement of literally hundreds of individuals. I am going to take the time to acknowledge a few of you with the understanding that my memory is flawed. I am undoubtedly going to leave some very deserving and influential people out of the following. Humbly, I will make the attempt anyway, and hope that you can find the compassion to forgive the omission. If you are reading these words, you have made an indelible contribution to my life. I love you.

This process needs to begin and end by recognizing the profound debt that I owe to my family, and in particular, my beautiful parents. From the beginning of my academic career, while I was struggling with my own identities and interests, changing majors and colleges you stuck by and retained faith in me. You were willing to sit through my surliness and distemper, had patience when I was in academic limbo, and were the first to break out the congratulatory libations during my victories. I know that this process was not easy, and that I was often difficult to work with. I only hope that you will forgive my errors and that, when I am in a similar position, I will have the patience and understanding to others that you demonstrated to me. None of this would have been possible without your love and support. I love you.

I am also indebted to a group of excellent friends who have managed to stick with me through all of my trials and tribulations. From the cadre of Oregonians, Nate Robbins comes to mind – although you can frustrate me to no end, you’ve also embodied what it means to support someone through thick and thin. Nicholas Belgard – although we don’t talk much anymore, you were my first and longest friend. We struggled through being the

only poor folks in Lake Oswego. These years were important in developing my positions on class, race and society, and you were there during those stages. James “Simon” Neitro – you’re a steadying influence, even during my chaos. Let’s keep in touch so we can continue killing aliens. Let’s keep in touch and continue Stu and Sara, I wish you both the very best, and although my road is heading in a decidedly different and uncertain direction I appreciate your presence. You are, after all, the first friends that I’ve married. Josh, I’m proud of what you’re doing and am excited to see your progress. Perhaps more so than any one else, I’m excited to see what path you take next. Keep it up. Dustin Corbett – you were there with me during one of the toughest times in my life, thank you. On some level, I think that we were once on the same path, facing the same uncertainties. Now, it seems that we’ve found our ways. You have a beautiful family, I have a master’s thesis. I think that you got the long end of the stick...

I’ve also been blessed with a cadre of fantastic Washingtonians during my career at Washington State University. First and foremost is Jamie Moorhead – I think that we first met over a ballgame in our undergraduate dorms. You were loud and I was obnoxious; we made a perfect tandem. You also delivered me to Washington State University as a graduate student, shared a tiny apartment with me on Maiden Lane (not to mention countless beers). I could not ask for a better friend, and can think of no one I would rather make the trip to Denver with. Andy Dixon, we picked each other up through all of our own self-imposed and external drama. I appreciate your open ear and willingness to talk no matter what time of night. You saved a lot of gray hairs from prematurely developing. I love you both.

Several young women played a significant role in helping define my place in the world as a person and as a young man. Malea Ismail – you were the definition of faith and support during a period when I truly needed it. I deserve nothing but the best. Rhiannon Wood, more than anyone you helped me overcome my own alienation and reminded me how to love again. I can't express how important this was. I love you. Laurel Dube, you pushed and had faith in my ability as an academic, during a period when I was still wrestling with my place in the machine. Thank you. Finally, Holly Stout – you've been one of the most consistent sources of support, faith and kindness in my life. I don't know how we came across each other, but I am genuinely glad that we did.

I'd been told that most learning happens outside of the classroom. In this case my thesis would be incomplete without recognizing my colleagues within the Murrow program that developed and pushed for my own growth. Myiah Hutchens-Hively, my graduate office mate and friend. Even though you routinely eviscerated my classes with your teaching prowess, you reminded me that I still have a long ways to go in developing my own pedagogy. You've also set a high bar for what it means to be an academic. If I get in to half the things that you have, I will have been pretty successful. Thanks for keeping me humble. Francis Dalisay and Masahiro Yamamoto – my first friends within the department. You were both willing to sit in the back of class with me, even when I had no idea what I was doing at WSU. Now all three of us have completed our master's programs and I'm still not sure what I'm doing – thanks for keeping me focused and grounded throughout. I expect us to keep in touch in the coming years. Jay Hmielowski – although it turned out that we were opposites in nearly every dimension, I learned a lot about myself through our experiences. Even though there were times we wanted to stab

each other, I took a lot from our time together. Thank you. Brion White, perhaps more than any of my friends, you helped me better understand my relationship with the world and obligation to my students. We will never agree about the Bowl Championship Series, but I am very, very glad to have shared time with you in the program. Dana DeSoto – you’ve managed to actually bring your passions and interests into the classroom and (although I hate the term) the “real-world.” You’ve managed to stay focused on students and teaching while also demonstrating a fantastic relationship with your own studies. I hope to follow on your coat tails - you are going to do great things. And finally to Matt Kushin and Kelin Kitchener – you are two of the most lively and beautiful people that I’ve had the opportunity to meet while at Washington State. Somehow you’ve managed to stay in academia without sacrificing your respective souls. I hope to still have your spirit when I’m no longer a student.

I have also had a number of fantastic mentors while at Washington State University. First and foremost is Neal Robison – when I strolled in to Pullman as a bright-eyed undergraduate, you helped put me in the position to succeed. I would not have made it through the program without you. Robert Nofsinger – perhaps the quintessential mentor. I wish that all of our young instructors could have had the experience of working with you. You taught me what it means to be a student-centric teacher. P.L. Senger – although our time on the Palouse was short, you and your crew were a joy to work with. I soaked in a lot about the future of academia over the Seattle Mariners and Mirror Ponds. It is refreshing to see your passion and commitment to students and to learning. All three of you taught me lessons that I’m going to take into my classrooms for the rest of my life. Thank you.

There are also a number of folks who I am grateful for, spiritually. These include the journalists, artists and authors who, through their work, have managed to stir my spirit and speak to my soul. In this late hour, there is a lot of work to be done, and your work serves as the resource I draw upon to remind myself why I teach. Specifically, I am grateful to Amy Goodman, the very definition of journalist – you remind me of why I once wanted to get into journalism and why I now want to teach future journalists and educators. To Pacifica Radio, KZUU, and everyone that works in alternative media – you provide an invaluable service and will likely never get the recognition that you deserve. Thank you Michael Franti and Boots Riley – two artists who, in each of their songs, remind me of the beautiful, necessary and difficult challenges we face. Boots – when we spoke you told me to fight and to love. That is my commitment.

To the authors that truly spoke to my soul and inspired my work within academia, I am grateful for your scholarship. Thanks to Robert W. McChesney, Noam Chomsky, Ben Bagdikian, Edward Herman, Teun A. van Dijk, and Todd Gitlin – your words and thoughts are all over this manuscript. Thank you. I also have to pause to recognize the authors that, although seldom cited within this document, nevertheless influenced my development. This broad list includes Howard Zinn, Jonathan Kozol, Susan Faludi, Naomi Klein, Henry Giroux, Cornel West, James Loewen, Naomi Wolf and Inga Muscio among many, many others. Finally, I would be remiss were I to leave out the late Neil Postman and Paulo Freire – two authors who I would require the world to read. Their spirits returns me to the reason why we became teachers in the first place.

To my committee, we have been through a lot, and I thank you all for your patience, understanding and hard work. I have traveled an unusual road to get here, but I

am in this position because of you. Thank you. Dr. Jolanta Drzweicka for pushing my understanding of discourse, meaning and language. Dr. Michael Salvador for taking up the difficult task of being the new advisor. I appreciate your willingness to step forward spur of the moment - your professionalism and excitement for the project are greatly appreciated. Finally, to my thesis chair, Dr. Elizabeth Blanks-Hindman – oh the road that we have traveled. I recently came across a final paper from your ethics class I took during my first semester at Washington State University. I find it no exaggeration to suggest that my growth has been exponential, and this is due in no small part to your contribution. Your patience has been amazing throughout – going all the way back to the days when I envisioned this as a (*gasp*) quantitative study. You helped me whittle this down to a manageable project, and it’s still almost 260 pages long. Needless to say, I would have been lost without your focus, determination and kindness. Thank you.

To the Communication College staff – thank you for putting up with my incessant questions - you can rest comfortably knowing that I am finally out of your hair!! Specifically, Billie Coleman, Twila Brown, Tami Vik and Lisa Hunter, you were a tremendous asset. I couldn’t have negotiated all of the hurdles that are graduation requirements and the like. Dawna Akin, you deserve a special thank you. It literally was your hard work, patience and perseverance that brought me back to WSU over three years ago. You deserve a significant amount of gratitude for putting me in the position to be able to write this thesis. A well deserved and heartfelt and profound thank you for putting me in the position to teach – without you I may never have met the greatest love of my life. This is undoubtedly the reason why I am here on this Earth, and I found it in part to your effort. Thank you.

And that brings me to my final thank yous, first - to all of my students. There truly are no words to convey the meaning and purpose that each of you has brought into my life through our relationships. I genuinely look at this experience as my spiritual, as opposed to my vocational, calling. These final days mark the conclusion of my career at Washington State, an amazing, chaotic and brilliant couple of years. In that stretch I've had the pleasure to meet literally hundreds of you. You have enriched my experience and developed my goals in academia. I hope that you took as much from 102 and 245 that I've managed to take from our experiences. I began nervous, excited and certainly energetic. In the last three years I've absolutely fallen in love with teaching, a not insignificant contribution to my life and I'm truly indebted to each of you.

In the last three years I've gained experiences and memories I could never possibly repay. I've seen you react with grace when you were accosted with an umbrella. You've managed to survive a spider attack with only the loss of some coffee and a scattering of papers. I've spoken with your mother in class when you forgot to turn your phone off. You've explained the intricacies of beer pong and the distinctions between electronica; what it means to go to the WSU football games and the adventures of dating on the Palouse. To some of you, I became "J-Breezy," "Chief" and "Chandler"; some of you became super-heroes, and movie stars. We've played with play-doh and were nearly arrested for sidewalk chalking the paths outside of Murrow East.

Teaching has brought its own challenges, and you've seen me in a variety of conditions. I've been sick, late, rushed and stressed; lucid, thoughtful, frustrated and overjoyed. You've seen me sprint into class late for an exam when the Communication College ran out of scantrons. I've scared the Bejesus out of you when I've shouted in

class (and perhaps even woke some of you up). We've attended study sessions and office hours, and I was a cheerleader in your successes and tried to rally us during the difficult moments. Each of you have challenged and inspired my teaching, a contribution I will never forget. We've all come a long ways. To each of you, the absolute best – your potential is without limitation, you can accomplish anything and I feel blessed to have played even a small role in this process. Go forth and be brilliant. The world needs you.

And my final thank you goes to Washington State University, Pullman and the Palouse. As a third-generation Coug, I literally owe you my very existence. You are my definition of the university experience. Your late snowfalls, rolling hills, beautiful summers and relative isolation are indelibly linked to my time as an undergraduate and graduate student. I can think of no place where I would have rather spent my formative collegiate years. I will certainly miss you, but let there be no doubt that you are forever imprinted on my soul. No matter where I end up in the fields of academia, I will *always* bleed crimson and gray. Go Cougs!

Peace, love and understanding,

Jared Bishop

“If you see or hear goodness from me, then that goodness is from the creator for all of that – because I am not the creator of that. I'm only the recipient. If you see weakness or shortcoming in me, it's from my own weakness and shortcoming, and I ask the creator and the people to forgive me for that.”

Mos Def - “Champion Requiem”

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DISCOURSES

Abstract

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August 2008

Chair: Elizabeth Blanks-Hindman

Media and political scholarship has directed much of its attention to how political movements and protest are characterized within news media. These studies often focus on how national and international media construct and deconstruct social and political movements and demonstrations. Comparatively, there has been little research into how local, regional and non-national media discuss protest action. This thesis complements protest literature by critically analyzing the coverage of a single 2003 anti-war protest offered by two local, commercial newspapers and two university newspapers. Among the initial findings, there is at least partial evidence for the following: 1) These commercial newspapers utilized many of the same discursive delegitimization tactics as national media; 2) There is some modest variation among the two accounts, possibly explained by their structurally variant communities; 3) The two university newspapers were both much more willing to validate the protest action and the participants themselves. It should also be noted that additional research is required to confirm these findings, particularly as they emerge from only four articles.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my parents who pushed me when I needed to be pushed, listened to me when I needed to be listened to, and, primarily, loved me when I needed their love.

I wouldn't be at this point without you. I love you.

Introduction

Throughout the history of mediated communications First Amendment scholars, politicians and political scientists have argued that communication and existing and emerging technologies play a vital role in the dissemination of social and political knowledge (Kumar & Jones, 2005; Schudson & Tifft, 2005; Starr, 2004). This expectation remains today, despite a media landscape radically different from its early origins. Throughout the 20th century changes in communications technology altered the scope and reach of messages and thereby affected the very expectations of these media and the requirements of the populations using them. After initial uncertainty, many of these changes would be adopted and later heralded as a social and political panacea, with new printing and broadcasting technologies all but eliminating the geographic boundaries of the written and spoken word. These technological developments would increase the potential for individual political involvement, knowledge acquisition and effective democratic governance (Curran, 2005). These technologies would allow citizens the fast, complete and up to the minute information required for their civic and political lives. Yet, as time would tell, a variety of social, economic and political variables would interfere with these democratic possibilities, ensuring that they would rarely be actualized, despite the potential of this new media.

As we will discuss throughout this paper, the abundance of new media and deference to 20th century journalistic tenets would not necessarily lead to a clearer democratic picture or a more competent and effective citizenry. These new technologies coupled with liberal shifts in ownership regulation and the increased profitability of media content provided the framework for a general restructuring of the expectations of

journalists, where reporters were directed away from media partisanship and advocacy and toward the now more familiar notions of “objectivity” (Kumar & Jones, 2005; Patterson & Seib, 2005; Starr, 2005). While some suggested that this shift would permit a greater media contribution to the service of democracy, critical media scholarship has argued that this orientation offers an incomplete picture of the world, advantaging social and political elites and ideological systems at the expense of those without legitimate access or power (Bagdikian, 2000; Bennett, 2003; Herman, 1985; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Marcuse, 1991; van Dijk, 1993). Scholars have repeatedly shown that reportorial biases emerge from complex structural, social and ideological factors (Bagdikian, 1983; Bagdikian, 2000; Bennett, 2003; Breed, 1955; Breed, 1958; Epstein, 1981; Gans, 2004; Gitlin, 2003b). This produces a complicated and cumbersome picture, where, given 20th century shifts in journalist expectations, reporters are trained to “objectively” provide publics with the resources necessary for political involvement, despite these significant structural, ideological and elite obstacles (Kumar & Jones, 2005).

This picture is more complicated given that journalism constitutes much of what audiences know of their immediate social environment, and almost the entirety of the more distant corners of the social realm (van Dijk, 1988; van Dijk, 1998; Wetherell, 2001b). This reporting, for all its strengths and flaws, supplies citizens with the very resources that they require for problem solving and models of appropriate civic behavior (Bennett, 2003; Condor & Antaki, 1997; Cook, 2005; Wetherell, 2001b). Therefore, journalism and news media play an important role in generating insightful and critical discussion of political and social issues, a power that suggests the need for its responsible

exercise. This responsibility is perhaps never greater, and its obstacles more problematic, than in times of war.

If we hold that even one of the central tenets of journalism is its obligation to serve the public, media scholarship would suggest that these tenets all but dissolve during times of national conflict. History, communications and political scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that these democratic service yields to political expediency and nationalism in war. Newspapers demonstrated this propensity before the First World War; since, media have played a central role in the coordination and organization of public consent for all U.S. involvement in international incursions (Bagdikian, 2004; Herman, 1993; McChesney, 2004, p. 74; Prochnau, 2005; Solomon & Erlich, 2003; Starr, 2004; Zinn, 2003b). In order to rationalize the prospects for war, and war itself, elites managed and manipulated media content. This manipulation manifested with the privileging of elite justifications, omission of alternatives, and the vilification and marginalization of existing dissenters (Vidal, 1992; Zinn, 2002). The 2003 buildup to war in Iraq was no exception. Where citizens needed a vibrant and lucid discussion of the pending conflict, they were instead offered homogenous content that failed to challenge elite assumptions and justifications regarding war (Kaufmann, 2004; Kull, Ramsay & Lewis, 2003; Lewis, 2004) and generally limited the grounds of available and viable alternative discourses (Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b; Rendall & Broughel, 2003; Schechter, 2005).

If we hold to the position that language and communication are valuable in that discourse constructs individual and social understandings of the external world, these alternative discourses are valuable for more than their role in the exchange in ideas, but are also pivotal in their capacity to validate potential alternatives, and to build and

maintain (or inhibit and destroy) citizen coalitions and political action. Political protest is one of the most important sources of alternative discourses, particularly as they are often the only means for alternative and powerless groups to access mainstream media channels in order to vocalize their objections to the general public (Eisinger, 1973; Wilson, 1968). It is this general public that is the object of the protest event, where protests serve as direct and indirect appeals to the uninvolved, uncommitted or unaware (Lipsky, 1968; Turner, 1969). In a very real sense, protesters are reliant on journalists to provide the conditions for either the favorable perception of protest or the dissemination of their proposed alternatives; in the absence of coverage, alternatives never see the light of day; unfavorable coverage could negatively influence these third parties and would be counter-productive (Eisinger, 1973).

Therefore, the media construction of political events and the omission of potential alternatives, particularly during times of war, are significant for democratic goals and political action. Yet, and consistent with previous media scholarship, alternative voices were largely absent or ridiculed during the drive to war with Iraq, even while policy and Bush administration advocates flooded this discussion with justifications for the invasion (Moyers, 2007). The national media would instead rely heavily on previously strategies demonstrated during earlier conflict in their coverage of the 2002/2003 antiwar movement (see Gitlin, 2003). Specifically, protests were often ignored or relegated to the back of newspapers (Schechter, 2005). When protests proved to be more newsworthy, analyses often omitted protest goals, vilified and ridiculed protest participants and heavily attended to a violent minority (Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b; Luther & Miller, 2005; Schachter, 2003; Schechter, 2005).

However, in addressing how these alternatives are constructed and deconstructed, these media analyses regularly privilege the national, mainstream media in trying to understand how protest populations are characterized (Moy, McCluskey, McCoy & Spratt, 2004). There have been relatively few examinations into how these populations are constructed by local media, despite some evidence that local news agencies, although subject to national influences, are capable of a measure of independence (Friedland, 2001). This study aims to contribute to the body of existing political and protest research by examining the entirety of the local and regional newspaper coverage of the February 15th, 2003, Moscow, Idaho, Friendship Square peace protest. This analysis is oriented toward uncovering how the antiwar movement is represented within this local media. This analysis will consider the articulation of the movement, emphasizing the construction, characterization and their potential effects on potential identification with or belligerence toward the demonstration.

This paper is broken down into roughly four sections: an introductory chapter on media and democracy, including a brief timeline of the 2003 Iraq war; a methods section; an analytical section; and a discussion and conclusion. The purpose of the introduction is to develop the existing and relevant communication and media research that will serve as the body of this paper and the framework for the sections that follow, and is further broken down into four subsections. The first of these subsections, policy and democracy, will attempt to develop the political and social climate during the build up to the Iraq invasion as well as the normative philosophical assumptions and expectations of journalism in its relationship with democracy. The second, media characteristics, will outline four of the dominant traditions of critical media scholarship: the influence of

commercialism on content; the effects of media consolidation; elite biases in reporting; and the prospects of media as an agent of social control. The third subsection, the ethos of protest, will develop the historical and philosophical justifications for protest as a political resource. Specifically, this section will develop the previous literature as it pertains to the tradition and requirements of protest, early media scholarship on protest events and the existing literature on the media coverage of the 2002/2003 peace protests. The introduction will conclude with a quick discussion of some of the psychographic and demographic data for Moscow, Pullman and Lewiston. This final subsection will attempt to briefly develop a more detailed accounting of the composition of the communities and newspapers involved. This section will also discuss the characteristics of the local print universe for the Palouse and will discuss how these media were selected.

The following section will attempt to develop the research questions and the methodology used within this study. The methods section will begin by offering an admittedly shallow introduction into the history of discourse analysis before moving on to discuss the purpose and goals of discourse and critical discourse analysis. Next will be an applied example of what an analysis of discourse looks like, with specific attention paid to the tools that will be used within the analytical section. A quick discussion into some of the methodological and philosophical problems of critical discourse analysis will follow. The methods section will conclude with a detailed discussion on how this research project was enacted.

The analytical section will begin with a quick synopsis of the newspapers involved and a few caveats before moving on to the final analysis. This section will then proceed chronologically through the newspaper accounts of the Friendship Square

protest, beginning with *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, before discussing the construction offered by *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut*. Where possible, I attempted to follow the same analytical format across these accounts. However, and as I will note at the head of this section, there were some significant differences among these papers that often made it impossible to use the same analytical template for each newspaper.

In the discussion I will attempt to briefly revisit some of the central tenets of this research, including a quick overview of the literature central to the discussion, findings and conclusions in attempt to return to the epistemological and ontological foundations of this work. A discussion of my central findings will follow this rehashing of its operative assumptions and philosophies. The findings section will attempt to highlight what I would consider are the four most significant results of this critical discourse analysis, including brief examples culled from the body of this project. In the following results section, these examples will form the basis for addressing the previous research questions. The discussion portion of this manuscript will conclude by developing the methodological limitations of this work.

The analytical component of this research will conclude developing some practical applications of this research, particularly as it relates previous media and protest scholarship. A number of avenues for future research came to mind while working through this project. This section will also attempt to develop a few of these areas that may yet prove to be fruitful hunting grounds for future work. I will also attempt to incorporate a few methodological twists that, if integrated into other studies, may

contribute toward solving some of the ontological debates within critical and media scholarship.

The following two sections include a bibliography of the articles that fell within the relevant timeline for this study as well as a reference list for the works cited in this project. A quick glance at the former will reveal a number of additional studies that were not actually included in this analysis, an omission I will discuss within the methods section. Simply put, the research parameters required an initial examination to ensure that articles relevant to this topic were included, and those that were irrelevant were discarded. A strict examination of the publications listed would produce all of the articles listed, including the four directly related to this study.

A series of appendices will follow, and will feature copies of the news articles examined, including their visual elements. The physical limitations of the printed page contrasted against the much larger newsprint page required that these initial examples be much smaller than they would have appeared following coverage of the protest. Unfortunately, this reproduction made actually reading the articles difficult. To address this, I have concluded with a verbatim, textual reproduction of the bodies of each of these respective articles.

U.S. Iraq policy – 2002 - 2003

Before moving on to discuss previous scholarship on democratic and media philosophy, and media/protest relations I would like to begin with a partial timeline of the U.S. involvement in Iraq. This timeline is admittedly incomplete; rather than representing a general overview of U.S. involvement in Iraq and beyond, this analysis will attempt to

highlight some of the significant political and social events that precipitated the U.S. invasion. Indeed, a complete analysis of the social and political factors that contribute to the media representation, let alone involvement in Middle Eastern affairs would be an enormous task in itself and is well outside the boundaries of this project. This timeline is offered only as a glimpse into the conflict, beginning with President George W. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address and concluding with the start of the 2003 invasion. The following newspaper timeline draws heavily from the analysis offered by Michael B. Oren's (2007) *Power, Faith and Fantasy*. Oren's text provides a much more historically complete analysis of the complexities of the U.S.'s involvement in Iraq than could possibly be offered here.

As a final caveat, this discussion is merely a timeline of some of the political acts that preceded the Iraq invasion and is *not* an investigation into the reality or validity of any of the following claims. This timeline features a variety of the justifications for the invasion, justifications that scholars and journalists have since demonstrated as externally false. I will make every effort to critically identify these claims in the literature review and analysis that follows. For a complete discussion of administration obfuscation and deception during the drive toward war I would refer the reader to the two separate analyses of Charles Lewis and Mark Reading-Smith of The Center For Public Integrity and media scholar Normon Solomon and journalist Reese Erlich (Lewis & Reading-Smith, 2008; Solomon & Erlich, 2003). Both provide an excellent accounting of the political and mediated discourse of this timeframe.

In his January 29th, 2002, State of the Union address, President Bush outlined the U.S.'s incipient post-9/11 anti-terrorism policy, articulating a U.S. more heavily involved

in the pursuit and apprehension of international and state sanctioned terrorism (Sanger, 2002). Bush made clear that this involvement would entail military action against state and group sponsors of terrorism as well as those intent on developing weapons of mass destruction (hereafter referred to as WMD). This speech also marked his first reference to the Iranian/Iraqi/North Korean “Axis of Evil”. Bush strongly rebuked this axis, and specifically Iraq, by highlighting Iraq’s pursuit of WMD, suggesting that such action would justify a United States response in order to “neutralize the threat,” (Gordon, 2002, p. A1). While the mere presence of WMD would hardly be sufficient grounds for future actions and war, as the U.S. would have to invade dozens of other countries (Zinn, 2003b), Bush managed to cast Iran, Iraq and North Korea as the very “essence of evil,” by describing and, some would later conclude, inflating their capacities to threaten the United States and its interests (Gordon, 2002, p. A1; Mahajan, 2003).

President Bush offered an outline of the future during a June 2002 graduation speech at West Point military academy. In favoring the new policy of “defensive preemption”, Bush suggested that old policies of “containment and deterrence were irrelevant in a world where the only strategy for defeating America’s new enemies was to strike them first” (Bumiller, 2002, p. A1). While his discussion focused on global terrorism, and never explicitly addressed Iraq, his rhetoric clearly targeted Saddam Hussein as the object of this preemptive militarism (Allen & DeYoung, 2002; Orin, 2002). It was this initial talk of preemption that inspired pundits to revel in this new potential, where American foreign policy could inspire “perpetual peace” and develop democracies by following Bush’s policies of “hard-headed realism” (Beichman, p. A 21).

President Bush followed his earlier “hard-headed realism” by urging the United Nations to take a greater role in holding Hussein accountable to the international community. In his September 12th, 2002 address to the United Nations, Bush implored the international body to disarm Hussein, a speech characterized by columnist Nicholas Kristof as “eloquent, forceful and long overdue” (Kristof, 2002, p. A 27). The discussion, however, failed to mention the other members of the “Axis of Evil”, Osama bin Laden or Al Qaeda (Sanger & Bumiller, 2002), preferring to focus instead on Hussein’s WMD stockpiles, his support of international terrorism and his internal repression of Iraqis. The speech was met with surprise and relief in the United Nations (Preston, 2002a) and widely praised in Washington, where the support for the pending invasion was largely contingent on the amount of international support the United States could achieve and not whether war should be considered (Mitchell, 2002).

The U.S. Congress addressed the drive toward disarmament in an October 11th congressional vote that gave President Bush the legal authority for war against Iraq. This decision, widely supported in both the U.S. House and Senate, not only secured the legal grounds for the pending invasion but was also seen as “leverage to push for a tough new United Nations resolution” to force Hussein to disarm (Bumiller & Hulse, 2002, p. A1). Indeed, this vote appeared to have such an effect, prompting a November 8th United Nations resolution that would give Iraq one final opportunity to comply with UN resolutions and weapons inspections or face prospective war (Preston, 2002b). This resolution set the stage for the return of weapons inspectors (Broad, 2002), but was not enough to deter the United States, where Bush administration officials continued planning for the drive to war (Dao & Schmitt, 2002).

A month later President Bush accelerated this drive by giving preliminary approval for the deployment of up to 50,000 troops to the Persian Gulf (Schmitt & Preston, 2002). This escalation continued despite a UN International Atomic Energy Agency report concluding that Iraq had not renewed its nuclear weapons program, had failed to provide evidence as to the presence of WMD inside Iraq, and that Iraq had begun to aid the investigation process (Gordon & Risen, 2003; Preston, 2003). Rather than rescind this escalation, the report forced a recalibration of the Bush administration's justifications for war, shifting its emphasis away from earlier claims of Hussein's possession of WMD and Iraq's nuclear ambitions by highlighting the potential links between Iraq and Al Qaeda and the slaughter of Iraqi civilians over a decade earlier (Hunt, 2003; Johnston & Van Natta, 2003; Pelletiere, 2003).

Despite the absence of a smoking gun, the Bush administration continued pushing toward war by requesting that the United Nations declare Iraq negligent in disarming (Barringer & Sanger, 2003) and lobbying nations to support a potential U.S. invasion (Bumiller, 2003; Weisman & Barringer, 2003). Later the Bush administration expressed a willingness to invade with or without the backing of the United Nations (Sanger & Hoge, 2003a; Sanger & Hoge, 2003b). The process came to a head when President Bush demanded Hussein go into exile or face a potential U.S. invasion (Stevenson, 2003). Although this ultimatum was condemned by world leaders, Bush continued with plans of invasion following Hussein's refusal of exile (Cowell, 2003; Tyler, 2003). On March 16th, Bush issued two final, 24-hour ultimata: Iraqi disarmament and the passage of a UN war resolution. When neither was adopted, "war was essentially declared on both [the UN and Iraq]," (Mahajan, 2003). On March 19th, air-strikes marked the initial stages of

the war despite international concern and worldwide protests opposing the decision (Sanger & Burns, 2003; Tagliabue, 2003).

Media and Democracy

Media and politics have a close and interdependent relationship; one that has spawned countless research papers, theses and critical thought. This previous scholarship rests on a fundamental assumption – that messages, particularly mass-mediated ones, are significant. An examination into the mediated discourse of local anti-war protest requires elaborating on the assumptions and philosophical justifications for media as well as a discussion into the historical evolution of what is meant by ‘media’. This section will attempt to address those requirements by discussing Jurgen Habermas’ notion of the public sphere, and briefly highlighting its role within democracy and its implications for an effective media. Next, this section will examine a quick accounting of the history and development of our modern media with a particular emphasis on how emerging technologies affected democratic function. Finally, this section concludes by developing one of the current controversies within mass media research; media consolidation – tying together the previous discussions of media expectation, the requirements for an effective democracy and the public sphere itself.

Jurgen Habermas (1991) was one of the first authors to develop and highlight the significance of the notion of the public sphere. His groundbreaking *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* served as an attempt to demonstrate and defend the existence of a space that mediates the private and political. Habermas argued that it was in this physical and discursive space where citizens come freely together to discuss

the socially and politically significant, freely sharing their positions while and engaging the commentary of others. In his terms, the public sphere:

comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body... Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions - about matters of general interest. (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1974, p. 49)

Thus, in this conceptual arena citizens are invited, some would argue obligated, to participate in the creation and maintenance of both the political and social through dialogue. In the public sphere citizens engage matters of social significance as a body-public, independent of political, economic and state identities, all in the effort to achieve rational consensus.

Habermas contends that this version of the public sphere as a realm for social action devolved with the 19th century emergence of capitalism and the widespread social stratification, inequality and class awareness that followed (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1974). Where formerly the educated classes would *literally* gather in public spaces to discuss matters of significance, the symptomatic class awareness and stratification resulting from the adoption of capitalism interfered with the prerequisite involvement and access and to political and social thought. As these social and economic revolutions took place, private and public interests became interwoven, and this discourse shifted from an orientation toward the public good to a means of justifying private organizational and group political interests (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1964). Despite this shift, Habermas insisted in contending that a return to an earlier, romantic

view of the public sphere is possible, an admission that generated a fair amount of controversy as many interpreted the statement as an idealization of a public sphere that that disregarded and discouraged the participation of individuals based on class and gender (for a summary, see Fraser, 1990).

Following this 19th century shift, new media began to replace the former physical sphere. Acting as a surrogate for the coffeehouses and salons of an earlier time (Rosen, 1999), media became the place where citizens could take up social and political issues: “Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere,” (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1964, p. 49). Communication historian Paul Starr (2004) agrees in principle with Habermas’ assessment, but instead traces this trend back to the 18th century, where printing diversity and competition, the inclusion of public debate, and political and partisan involvement became more prominent. While this plurality would later be challenged by political and social changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Bagdikian, 2000; Schudson & Tift, 2005; Starr, 2004), developed later within this section, an important relationship emerged between the public and publisher.

Even in the earliest stages of mass communication, the political tenor demonstrated a profound respect for the publisher/public dynamic. This is evident even in their shared morphological and etymological roots, with the Latin *publicus* meaning “of the people” (Starr, 2004). This relationship served as the philosophical and legal justification for both an attentive public and a civically responsible journalism (Kostyu, 2000). Indeed, many of Habermas’ requirements for a bold and vibrant public sphere were recognized even when the United States was in its infancy. These requirements

included recognizing the value of competing ideas, public access to communication channels and widespread political involvement and participation. In fact, many First Amendment defenses operate from the belief that effective democratic governance requires these provisions; defenses of the freedom of speech and press privilege often articulate the position that effective governance requires the popular provision of both political and social information (Mills, 2004/1956) as well as the cultivation of an arena of civic democracy (Curran, 2005).

The public sphere operates off of the philosophy that, given the free trade of knowledge, effective ideas and leadership will overcome falsehoods and inefficiencies (Schmuhl & Picard, 2005). From this perspective, wide and uninhibited debate facilitates public discussion and effective governance; a rational public will be able to distinguish between and ultimately encourage the adoption of truth over falsity, allowing progress to win out. To be effective this perspective requires that journalists take an active role in pursuing truth, scrutinizing public and private elites and reporting on social and political improprieties in order to meet their public service obligations (Bennett & Serrin, 2005). Communication scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that these ideals are difficult if not impossible to achieve, challenging each: the marketplace for failing to account for unequal access to symbolic systems and the external influence of commercial pressures (Baran & Davis, 2000; Bagdikian, 2000; Keane, 2005; McChesney & Nichols, 2002; McChesney, 2004; Moyers, 2007; Schmuhl & Picard, 2005; van Dijk, 1998); the watchdog model of journalism for its naïve reliance on a journalism free of political and social ties with the elites they cover (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Curran, 2005; Donohue, Tichenor & Olien, 1995; Schudson & Tifft, 2005; Snow, 2003, p. 46). Although these

ideals largely oversimplify journalistic processes and its relationship with responsible and effective governance, they do highlight the important contribution, perceived or otherwise, that communicators and the media have in the generation of knowledge and understanding of events (Patterson & Seib, 2005).

As significant as media are for the dissemination of knowledge and democratic function, journalists additionally have a responsibility in the cultivation of social networks and the social world itself. This perspective is informed by research suggesting the significant role that media play in individual and group socialization. Indeed, these suggestions have led some educational scholars to conclude that television, radio and advertising may have overtaken institutionalized education as the primary source of instruction and cultural transmission (Bagdikian, 2000; Giroux & Giroux, 2004; Postman, 1988). In anticipation of and attempting to ward off trends in potentially anti-social media content, thereby finding a balance between government regulation and press autonomy, the Hutchins Commission developed the Social Responsibility Theory of the Press (Baran & Davis, 2000). This perspective argued that “[f]reedom of the press means freedom from and freedom for,” where an effective press must be autonomous from governmental regulation, but also “must be accountable to society for meeting the public need and for maintaining the rights of citizens and the almost forgotten rights of speakers who have no press” (The Hutchins Commission, 1947/2004).

This orientation suggests media balance commercial imperatives with their obligation toward public service. This obligation entails a privileging of civic-mindedness and careful articulation of ideas and the representation of a variety of viewpoints as a means of promoting social cooperation and inclusion. Communication

scholars indicate that this cultivation requires the adherence of a number of social values, including: the civil communication of disagreement; facilitation of group comprehension; access to public communication; the promotion of interconnectedness and shared humanity; an orientation privileging the pursuit of truth; and the toleration of dissent (Curran, 2005, p. 128; Johannesen, 2002, p. 23-24).

It is important to point out that many of these public service goals remain just that – goals. Although these goals are still worthy of aspiration, research and practice indicate that many of these ideals will be difficult to realize (McChesney, 2004). 24-hour broadcast networks and an abundance of internet and print news sources have certainly flooded the public with information. This flood often yields news of questionable quality and uncertain utility (Bagdikian, 2000; Rosen, 1999). Increases in available news channels, and the emergence of quasi and entertainment news programming has diluted traditional and investigative journalism (McChesney, 1999). Further, the resulting super-saturation of information contributes to a news environment where content is often of uncertain reputation, decontextualized and thereby stripped of its potentially critical and transformative meaning (Bagdikian, 2000; Postman, 1992; Postman, 1993; Rosen, 1999; Schechter, 2007; Schmuhl & Picard, 2005). Although it remains to be seen as to whether the media are capable of upholding their democratic ideals, the forecast is unlikely. A shift toward a more democratically oriented media would require overcoming a variety of previously insurmountable, though fundamental, structural and social obstacles to this goal (Nichols & McChesney, 2000). What follows is a discussion of the many barriers to this ideal.

Media Characteristics

For several decades pundits and political operatives have decried the mainstream media for their allegedly liberal bias (Alterman, 2003; Goldberg, 2003; also Bennett, 2003, p. 20). When politicians and radio talk show hosts repeat this accusation, often accompanied by accounts of the voting behavior of journalists or the perceived absence of sufficient symbolic patriotism within news content or by the journalists themselves, they often perpetuate a politically convenient method of discounting unfavorable content, despite difficulties in demonstrating or documenting this elusive bias (Croteau, 1998). Scholars have found that these claims harbor considerable rhetorical and political force, despite their vacuousness and independent of veracity (Alterman, 2003; Domke, Watts, Shah & Fan, 1999). Additional research has identified another possible solution to the perception of the liberal media, arguing that the perception of media bias is often couched in the predispositions of the viewer, where political ideologues and cynics are more likely to *see* a media landscape that is hostile to their own interests (Lee, 2005).

Debates regarding the political and ideological biases of individual journalists tend to overlook the significant biases embedded within the very structure of contemporary media (Bagdikian, 2000). Early media critics were quick to document a variety of these biases, including: concerns over emerging standardized content (Bent, 1927/2004; Seldes, 1938/2004), the influential and potentially anti-democratic relationship between the ownership classes, operating on commercial imperatives, and the political and civic needs of the public (Bent, 1927/2004; Dewey, 1935/2004; Irwin, 1969/2004; Ross, 1912/2004), and the conservative biases embedded within the hiring and training practices as well as the socialization journalists vis-à-vis media agencies and

journalism schools (Breed, 1955; Reese & Ballinger, 2001). Much of this early scholarship was concerned with trends and the future of US media; recent media scholarship has demonstrated the validity of these concerns. Gaye Tuchman (1978) was one of the first to highlight the overlooked biases present in the very practices of journalism and newsgathering, a finding since corroborated by other media scholars and sociologists (Epstein, 1981; Gans, 2004). Others have argued that financial interests have all but replaced democratic service goals, leading to a news environment where programming is heavily oriented toward commerce. This orientation colors a media picture that consistently presents an uncritical, sanitized and democratically deficient articulation of the social world (Bagdikian, 2000; Gitlin, 2003a; Postman, 1985; McChesney, 2004; Tuchman, 2004). The following sections will develop a variety of the problems associated with routinizing newsgathering and the structural constraints on journalism; but first, it is important to understand how early technological, social and political changes reconstituted journalism.

The US Media's structural conservatism

Before moving on to discuss the obstacles that influence the actual practice of news making, it is important to develop a foundational understanding of the early history and changes within media in order to understand how hyper-commercialism developed into one of the most pervasive and elusive biases within contemporary journalism. This section will begin by discussing how 19th and 20th century political, structural and technological changes dictated the terms of the nascent medium. With this background established, I will present a brief overview of the early and current scholarship directed at

critiquing the developing commercial orientation. This section will conclude by developing how these early changes established the conditions permitting a sweeping and thorough shift toward commercial interests at the expense of public service.

In *The Creation of the Media*, communication historian Paul Starr (2004) argues that political decisions and a variety of “constitutive choices” profoundly affected how US media would distinguish itself from other international media. In his words, these “[c]onstitutive choices are choices about how things are built and how they work – their design and rules of operation” (p. 4). Starr goes on to develop three distinct types of these choices:

First, the general legal and normative rules concerning such issues as free expression, access to information, privacy, and intellectual property; *second*, the specific design of communications media, structure of networks, and organization of industries; and *third*, institutions related to the creation of intangible and human capital – that is, education, research and innovation. (p. 5, emphasis in original)

These “constitutive choices” had an enormous impact on the early development and future outcomes for US media. But it bears repeating that these changes were not random and were also not the natural product of market forces, “These changes did not happen solely through the invisible hand of the market... political decisions played a critical role” (Starr, 2000, p. 84). These changes, which included advances in telegraphy, the development of news agencies and mass production techniques, opened the door for larger audiences and revenue for early newspapers (Keane, 2005; Starr, 2004). This is not to suggest there was a time when media were unconcerned with profits. Indeed,

journalism has always been essentially a commercial product; however, an elevated commercial orientation gained significant traction at the start of the 20th century due in part to technological and organizational innovation (Picard, 2005). This section aims to briefly develop how these early innovations fundamentally changed the course of our media and its potential to meet its public service requirements.

Even during its nascent and developing stages, US journalism was a fairly diverse medium. Starr (2004) goes on to suggest that reductions in printing costs served as a catalyst for the development of a range of political, activist and issue-oriented newspapers. This tendency disrupts a common misconception regarding industrial era media:

A widely held view of the mass media conceives of them as a form of mass production and suggests that, like other innovations of the industrial age, they brought about a more homogenized and standardized culture. But from the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries – that is, before broadcasting and extensive corporate consolidation – this was not the case; the early mass media in America added more to cultural diversity than they subtracted from it. (p. 250-251).

The changes that Starr refers to, including the emergence of telegraphy and the ability to mass-produce news content only served as a precursor to other fundamental, and detrimental, changes within the media landscape. Starr likens these early choices to the management of plant growth, where early external decisions would determine the direction and nature of its development. In this case, these decisions were akin to bending the limbs of a young tree, where, “[f]or better or worse, once the twig was bent, the tree

started to grow in a particular direction – private interests accumulated, ideological defenses developed, and what was once an open question became a hardened institutional reality” (Starr, 2004, p. 165). Here, Starr indicates the consequential nature of these formative changes; technological innovation encouraged centralized ownership while also increasing the potential for profitability. Maximizing profitability required abandoning political partisanship and advocacy in favor of a more politically “neutral” position (Kumar & Jones, 2005; Patterson & Seib, 2005; Starr, 2004; Thorson, 2005). This neutrality would later contribute to the mainstreaming of media content and the dilution of US newsrooms.

These trends inspired a wave of early 20th century media criticism. Early scholars, activists and critics were concerned that consolidated ownership and an orientation predisposed toward commercial goals, as opposed to a democratic and service orientation, would reduce the journalist’s ability to provide the public with the social and political content requisite for a genuine democracy (Bent, 1927/2004; Dewey, 1935/2004; Irwin, 1969/2004; Ross, 1912/2004). This early vein of critical scholarship made the case that the very requirements of commercial entrepreneurship serve as a democratically antagonistic force. These early concerns rested on the assumption that the “marketplace of ideas” requires thoughtful, relevant and civically minded journalism – content that, under a commercial framework was, at best, unlikely, at worst, impossible. Simply treating journalism as one might any other commercial product ignores the obligation that journalists have in providing the public with the resources necessary for their political and civic decision-making.

Furthermore, this critical scholarship challenges the popular mythology that the free market is an essentially neutral force. Robert W. McChesney (2008) points out that orienting journalism toward the market introduces an entirely different set of conservative and status quo biases. In his earlier (1997) words, McChesney addresses these fundamental marketplace mythologies: “The market is assumed to be a neutral and value free regulatory mechanism. In fact... a commercial “marketplace” of ideas has a strong bias toward rewarding ideas supportive of the status-quo and marginalizing socially dissident views” (McChesney, 1997, p. 47). This status-quo bias is due in no small part to the profitability demands that a commercial orientation requires.

Even the very earliest media critics saw the dangers associated with this new paradigm. Bent, Dewey, Irwin and others made the case that increasing readership, and thereby increasing the profitability of newspapers required the sterilization and mainstreaming of journalism. This mainstreaming and depoliticization of content was twofold: 1) Growing both audiences and advertisers requires content that alienates neither, and; 2) Maximizing profits encourages reliance on cheap programming and content, content that titillates and often confuses but does little to encourage political and social understanding.

These requirements encouraged both the professionalization of journalism and the emergence of “objectivity” as a central tenet of the new journalism. McChesney (1999) argues that professionalism and “objectivity” both emerged as “a pragmatic response to the commercial limitations of partisan journalism in the new era... [where] partisanship only antagonized much of the market, upset advertisers, and called into question the entire legitimacy of the news product” (p. 49). By adopting objectivity, editors and

owners expanded their commercial reach to mass and national audiences, predicating a shift away from local and regional media in favor of this larger base (McChesney, 1999; Schudson & Tift, 2005). Later, this shift would set the stage for the standardization of news content at the national level while also demonstrating the production ethos that would serve to encourage the inexpensive, socially and civically dubious, political and entertainment news format (Hamilton, 2005).

This tendency toward politically vague and uncritical journalism continues today, with a variety of communication scholars developing and building upon the concerns of their forbears (Bagdikian, 2004; Gitlin, 2003a; Postman, 1985; McChesney, 2004; Tuchman, 2004). The bulk of this criticism comes from the position that operating strictly off of commercial imperatives serves the interests of social and political elites by perpetuating existing power relations and failing to offer a coherent and politically meaningful picture of the social world. In their 2002 reader, *Our Media Not Theirs: The Democratic Struggle Against Corporate Media*, Robert. W. McChesney and John Nichols argue that US media subordinates public service to “their” interests, and not “ours”, where “their” interests are indicated as those of media conglomerates and their corporate associates:

Who does the media serve? They deliver first and foremost for their stockholders – major media in the United States can be enormously profitable. To maintain that profitability, they serve the major corporate interests that bankroll so much of the media with fat advertising checks... To the extent that those who own major media in America today see themselves as being bound by public service duty,

that duty is toward the affluent consumers who are served by round-the-clock business coverage that speaks to a tiny investor class.

The problem with their media system is that it exists to serve their interests, not ours. Profit trumps civil society every time. (p. 26)

Continuing, McChesney and Nichols develop that these interests infiltrate media content, subordinating audience demands and requirements to commercial aims:

Corporate and commercial pressures greatly undermine the overall quality of the system and skew it in ways that are not at all the result of audience demand. In the world of corporate media, the key is to attract the preferred target audience while spending as little money as possible. (McChesney & Nichols, 2002, p. 57)

This line of criticism is invaluable given media's role in: 1) gatekeeping admission into the public sphere (Donohue, Tichenor & Olien, 1972; Shoemaker, 1991; White, 1950); 2) directing public attention to social phenomena (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs & Shaw, 1993); and, 3) characterizing those social phenomena (McCombs, 2005). These concerns would perhaps be less dire were journalists able and inclined to aggressively pursue news content, challenge contemporary assumptions and misperceptions, and represent diverse opinions within news content. But the battle between commercial interests and public service is hardly equal. Rather than a robust investigative journalism, we have what Robert Schmuhl and Robert G. Picard (2005) describe as a disorienting and inadequate public sphere, where our current marketplace "resembles something akin to the Mall of America, with its 4.2 million square feet of competing commerce, a person is forced to work harder to discover exactly what she or he wants" (p. 147). The following sections aim to develop a variety of the symptoms of

this heightened commercialization for US media, including the relationship between media deregulation and ownership concentration as a threat to the diversity of opinion and the structural and organizational norms that serve to standardize reporting and acclimate journalists to elite values.

Concentrating Media

Democratic and communication scholarship is concerned about the commercial conditions and regulations that govern media. In challenging late 20th century moves toward permitting greater media consolidation, the late Senator Paul Wellstone (2000) argued that the media's capability and obligation to provide diverse access and content as well as challenge those with social, political and economic power is jeopardized by deregulating media ownership rules. From this perspective, ownership issues are important because of the inherent power associated with control over the symbolic environment (McChesney, 2004). This section aims to develop Senator Wellstone's thesis, discussing how increases in media concentration adversely impact media content by jeopardizing the democratic potentiality and public service expectation of journalism. This section begins with a brief discussion of media ownership research and its trends, followed with a glance at current state of media consolidation and summary of the problematic nature of these shifts. Finally, the section will conclude with some implications as to how these processes impact news content and audience perceptions of the social world.

The potential effects of narrow gatekeeping and the agenda-setting hypothesis have significant implications even in a relatively diverse media environment. Absent a

modicum of diversity, these concerns are dire, marking potentially serious consequences for the function of democracy. At the heart of any discussion on media diversity are the concerns of consolidating its ownership. Ben Bagdikian (1983) was among the first to signify this problem among media and political scholars more than 25 years ago. Bagdikian sounded the public alarm about the potential effects of media concentration, particularly as they contributed to losses in diverse content and involvement. Media historian Paul Starr (2004) points out that this had not always been the case. By virtually any comparable dimension, early U.S. media was much healthier in terms of its ownership and content diversity. But political, economic and technological shifts during the late 19th and 20th centuries would challenge this diversity (Schudson & Tifft, 2005), threatening the quality of media content and raising doubts among First Amendment and communication scholars about the relationship between democracy and media (Bagdikian, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; Starr, 2004). These changes included increased startup costs for establishing new media, regulation advancing and privileging established media owners and legal precedents positioning commercial and market interests as preferable to non-commercial and public content (McChesney & Scott, 2004, offer an excellent anthology of this early criticism). This movement helped foster an atmosphere where prohibitive costs and federal policies served to reduce media access to all but the very wealthy, marking a transition from a more accessible to an elite media (Rosten, 1937/2004).

Emerging neo-liberal economic policies of the 20th century exacerbated the shift toward homogenized and exclusive ownership (Bagdikian, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; McChesney, 2004). The neo-liberal position, advanced by members of both the

Republican and Democratic parties, held that government regulations interfered with a vibrant marketplace. By deregulating markets, including media ownership rules, policy makers could remove obstacles to development, thereby increasing competition and generating better media fare. In practice, deregulation yielded neither either (McChesney, 1999; McChesney, 2004). Instead, these changes encouraged ownership uniformity, contributing to a media environment that “five huge media conglomerates, for all realistic purposes, now control what the American public learns – or does not learn – about its own world” (Bagdikian, 2004, p. 136).

These shifts indicate a media landscape more concerned with the status quo and commercial interests than public service demands. According to media scholars John Nichols and Robert McChesney (2000), this trend occurs because:

Not only are media markets dominated by a handful of conglomerates with ‘barriers to entry,’ making it nearly impossible for newcomers to challenge their dominance, but they are also closely linked to each other in a manner that suggests almost a cartel-like arrangement. (p. 30)

This cartel-like arrangement leads to an increasingly sycophantic journalism, a notable shift from its democratic and civic requisites (Bagdikian, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004). But this demonstrates only one dimension of how this policy has failed. Contrary to the arguments of advocates, these regulatory changes have actually *discouraged* competition between existing media groups. In the expensive and risky realm of production, media conglomerates are willing to cooperate with their “competitors”, in order to minimize the risk associated with generating media content (Bagdikian, 2004; McChesney, 1999). This cooperation almost inevitably results in the further homogenization of media content.

Since Bagdikian's (1983; 2000) alarming report, the trends have repeatedly indicated that consolidation taken alongside an elevated commercial orientation has largely deprived journalism of its public service requirements. Greg Ruggiero (1999) summarizes this tendency in reminding that "media corporations are not in business to make democracy possible but, rather, to capture the largest possible audience" (p. 19; see also McChesney, 1999, p. 49-50). This tendency toward profit at the expense of public would be less significant in an environment with powerful and independent public media. Sadly, this is hardly the case. Instead, these concerns are further exacerbated when the increasingly homogenous corporate ownership community is considered alongside a public media outfit that is increasingly emasculated (Bagdikian, 2000). A variety of new and old obstacles interfered with public broadcasting's capacity to act as a truly alternative medium. Structural and organizational inefficiencies interfered with the maintenance and cultivation of both unique and local content and national audiences (Ledbetter, 1997). A highly politicized process would contribute to and impede public broadcasting content and constrain the potential for autonomy for both radio and television. Finally, inadequate and inconsistent funding, the emergence of "enhanced underwriting" and content privileging elite views and voices point to a public broadcasting that, much like its corporate counterpart, no longer meet broad or diverse public service requirements (Barsamian, 2001).

This chapter attempted to highlight how changes in ownership rules, and particularly the concentration of media ownership guidelines and the neglect of a viable non-commercial alternatives, contribute to a media environment that largely reneges on its public service requirements. As Nichols and McChesney (2000) pointed out above, the

line between media groups and elites are being moving ever closer, becoming virtually indistinguishable. But this discussion also hints at another chink in the armor of an objective and fair media. Where these changes have brought media owners and personnel together, these shifts away from diversity and toward an increased profit orientation may have also married journalists to the elites they cover.

Elitism in the news

Although some scholars have advanced the potential benefits of concentrated ownership (Demers; 1998; Entman, 1985), a number of communication scholars make the case that these tendencies have a variety of anti-democratic symptoms, including an ideological marriage between journalists and elites (Curran, 2005; Herman, 1993; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; McChesney, 1999; McChesney, 2004; Nichols & McChesney, 2000; van Dijk, 1998). The above discussion into ownership and elite motives presuppose, at the very least, that media owners indirectly influence journalistic content. This is but one of the biases that is obscured by assurances of journalistic autonomy and myths of objectivity. This section will attempt to develop the origins of an elite bias while also demonstrating why these biases are significant to both contemporary journalism and democratic function. By elaborating on these tendencies, I will suggest a recalibration of US assumptions regarding journalistic obligations by revealing the flaws masked by claims of objectivity. This section begins with a brief argument regarding the societal needs for responsive and thoughtful journalism and follows by developing some of the structural and social impediments to this goal.

As we developed earlier, the relationship between media and the public, and particularly the dissemination of valuable political and social information, is vital to the media's public service. To highlight this prominent position, media scholar W. Lance Bennett (2003) states that it is the news that is responsible for the provision of information that people use in making every day social and political decisions. Meeting these goals and providing citizens with the resources for effective choices requires a disciplined and thoughtful media. But to a great extent, these service goals are oppositional to the above trends, particularly as consolidation contributes to an increasingly agreeable ownership pool. Compounding this problem is a blurring of the social lines that formerly separated political, industry and media elites. As ownership becomes more consolidated and profits more centralized media magnates begin sharing more in common with elite leadership than they share with their audience (Bagdikian, 2000; Nichols & McChesney, 2000). It is this metaphoric blurring of lines that indicates a prospective motive for media and elite cooperation. Attending to the interests of their peers indicates a potential source for a media reluctant for genuinely critical content.

Noam Chomsky (2002) highlights the media/industry/policy complicity in dictating the boundaries of controlled knowledge systems through propaganda, particularly during 20th century "crises of democracy". In Chomsky's terms, these crises emerged when "large segments of the population were becoming organized and active and trying to participate in the political arena" (p. 33). Underclass participation in governance and a modicum of populist legislative success demonstrated a political shift and interrupted elite hegemony. Chomsky goes on to argue that operating from a conventional definition of democracy would require applauding such participation as a

democratic success. Social elites, on the other hand, read the trend as a failure of democracy, a failure that could not continue. Simply, the population needed to return to their appropriate position within democracy –the sidelines. Addressing this crisis would require the maintenance and management of social and political knowledge through the public relations and propaganda industries.

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002) developed the propaganda model as an alternative reading of how media work. Similar to Breed's account (1958), Herman and Chomsky argue that the true purpose of the media is to inculcate audiences with appropriate elite values. Democracies and states with high disparities in class or wealth require more than just "crude intervention" to keep the masses in line (p. xi), rather this orientation requires elaborate systems of propaganda to manage the public mind. This propaganda allows elites to control popular understandings of world and national affairs through their sovereignty over access to and the content of the social, political and cultural resources available for audiences. This dominion is maintained by naturalizing the structural and systematic forces that allow journalists a sensation of power without truly relinquishing elite control. Elites perpetuate these naturalized beliefs by controlling and encouraging illusions of media and journalist autonomy; within the United States, this illusion is maintained through the myths of freedom and notions of journalistic democratic stewardship.

The mythology that Herman and Chomsky refer to is the perpetuation and naturalization of normative journalistic standards, standards that have only a limited basis in reality. By maintaining the illusion of an independent media, elites obscure the channels through which they manufacture the social agenda. Herman and Chomsky

(2002) argue that behind these normative mythologies are a number of filters that ensure elite control over news content. These filters include:

- (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms;
- (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass-media;
- (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business and “experts” funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power;
- (4) “flak” as a means of disciplining the media; and
- (5) “anti-communism” as a national religion and control mechanism. (p. 2)

These filters ultimately allow for a subtle control of the public agenda in at least three ways. First, they act to highlight any events that are socially advantageous: “[i]f the government or corporate community and the media feel that a story is useful as well as dramatic, they focus on it intensively and use it to enlighten the public” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 32). With a proper mythology established, elites are then freed to proscribe specific renditions of the social and political, highlighting preferred readings of social events under the guise of presumably “critical” news coverage. Second, these filters reduce elite opposition by minimizing and discounting (if not outright overlooking) any events injurious to elite goals. Third, these filters will customarily omit any genuinely radical, thematic or fundamental institutional and social critique as well as any coverage of basic inequalities in resource and access allocation (Bagdikian, 2000; Herman, 2000). By deferring to these filters, elites can encourage appropriate understandings of the political and social by highlighting the favorable, omitting the harmful and ridiculing potential opposition (Herman, 1985).

These mythologies obscure the hiring practices, socialized norms and structural factors that serve to maintain elite interests and manage the status quo. Where elites in other political environments can rule through “crude intervention”, democracy requires the selection of “right-thinking personnel and by the editors’ and working journalists’ internalization of priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the institution’s policy” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. xi). Herbert Gans (2004) describes many of the ways that this control is enacted in his study into the practices of print and broadcast newsmaking. One of the most significant contributors to an insipid journalism is the very requirement to produce stories regularly. This requirement all but necessitates the use of habitual journalistic shortcuts, shortcuts that invariably contribute to patterns within the news. These patterns include standardized templates for coverage of social and political events, deference to stereotypical coverage of social groups and the homogenization of differences among group members. Beyond these templates and routines for news making, Gans found that elites are often privileged with media access through journalist adherence to four factors: attendance to those with incentives for making news; reliance on those capable of providing suitable and unique content; the privileging of those with social and political power; and the geographic and social proximity of newsmakers (p. 117-145).

But access is only a portion of the discussion here, particularly as journalists begin to share more in common with those they cover, marking another significant problem for public service. Nancy Snow (2003) argues that any expectation of service is impossible when the press “is of the same mindset and ideology of those with whom it confers about information... [or] if the ignored story is going to upend an otherwise good

relationship between reporter and source” (p. 46). Attending to any of the above considerations increases both the likelihood of favorable elite representation within and access to the public sphere while also allowing journalists to maintain the above illusions of objectivity, protecting against external criticism and reducing production and newsgathering costs (Bagdikian, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1988/2004). These processes reveal the unequal distribution of access and power within the public dialogue; those with elite ties and social resources have the advantage of access and control of the symbolic resources of the social world (Curran, 2005).

Finally, bias emerges through a journalist’s predisposition toward presenting elite accounts of conflict and conflict resolution within news coverage (Curran, 2005; Gans, 2004). According to McChesney (2004), the very tenets of professionalism hold that “legitimate news” is “anything done by official sources – for example, government officials and prominent public figures” (p. 68). Encouraging this tendency is its relative ease and affordability, where reporters need only be positioned around relevant newsmakers and officials. The routinization of reporting often contributes to a variety of standardized news models during story creation, news models that suggest a personalized, dramatized and ritualized narrative where conflicts are represented as individual occurrences rather than themes, where elites are often an integral part of conflict resolution (Bennett, 2003; Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Epstein, 1981; Henry III, 1981; Johnson-Cartee, 2005). This process results in what Marshall Berman (2004) refers to as the “fetishism of order,” where journalists situate political and social elites in positions with significant roles in the restoration of the status quo (p. 282). We see this positioning when journalists defer to the various conflict typologies, typically with external threats managed and overcome by

elites or, with internal challenges, elite leadership, norms and responses are naturalized, maintaining the integrity of the status quo (Gans, 2004). Independent of whether these narrated challenges are ever overcome, this bias serves elite and in-group interests through the validation of existing institutions, often justifying elite responses and values (Gitlin, 2003; van Dijk, 1993).

Adhering to Herman & Chomsky's Propaganda Model and Gans' discussion of the impact of journalist socialization and routinization within reporting requires concluding that news media consistently honor elite renditions of social phenomena. Propaganda systems, the socialization and naturalization of media processes and reliance on authority figures for accounts of the social world demonstrate what Epstein (1981) argues is: "not the inevitable product of chance events; it is the result of decisions made within a news organization" (p. 119). This orientation indicates the prominence of elite perspectives while also highlighting the risk associated with these renditions of the social and political world. From this perspective, alternative positions and readings are sometimes ridiculed, often minimized and routinely omitted from public discussion, correlating public deliberation with the interests of the business class and alienating significant section of the U.S. population (McChesney, 1997). Robert McChesney and John Nichols (2002) illustrate this democratic deficiency and this elite bias in their conclusion that:

[t]he existing media system in the United States operates in a manner that is highly detrimental to the requirements of a democratic and self-governing society. The system works to advance the interests of the wealthy few, rather than the many. (p. 47)

This indictment of the status quo highlights what West (2004) refers to as a deficiency in contemporary U.S. democracy and requires revisiting W. Lance Bennett's earlier assessment. Certainly the news media is largely responsible for providing us with the tools for both daily life and the critical political and social issues of our time. But, as Nancy Snow (2003) points out, popular media are not holding their end of the bargain:

Most people want to be smart about everything and have a need to inform themselves, but what happens is that we get a lot of commercialized information in the service of profit-making, misinformation, and ignorance. It is controlled information, not designed for community empowerment or popular education that aims to further the ability of people to think for themselves. (p. 23)

This picture further complicates our already difficult political, social and civic tasks. At the very best, this process yields a picture that is misleading and potentially problematic, at worst an oppressive one.

Mediated Hegemony

Early media scholars found that economics, egotism and the drive for power all contributed to the reluctance of media owners and journalists to provide critical coverage and challenge the status quo (Breed, 1958; Seldes, 1938/2004; Villard, 1944/2004). But a barrage of shallow or agreeable news programming alongside the absence of critical content does not necessarily translate into social control over the public mind. This section will attempt to develop how elite hegemony over symbolic resources contributes to social control. This discussion first requires a look into the early writing of Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci, one of the first scholars to discuss how discourse and the

media act in service of elite perspectives. Operating from this paradigm, and in an effort to further develop Gramsci's position, this section will then discuss a more recent example of mediated hegemony – an excerpt from Todd Gitlin's *The Whole World is Watching*, a text seminal to both protest and social control research. This section will finally conclude with a discussion on the production and re-production of ideology within media texts and a brief overview of previous protest literature.

In describing the Propaganda Model, Herman and Chomsky (2002) argue that the true purpose of modern communications is not to serve democracy but rather to indoctrinate citizens with the appropriate elite ideologies. As mentioned in the previous section, publishers and owners demonstrate some of this control within their hiring and promotional practices as well as establishing of standards within the newsroom in order to encourage like views among staff (Gans, 2004; Shachter, 2003), and often leading to a newsroom lacking diversity, “not only in ethnic, racial, and gender categories, but perhaps more important, a lack of diversity in upbringing and outlook” (Snow, 2003, p. 47). This power does not manifest itself overtly or treat every issue with uniformity, particularly during times of elite division. But even during times of conflict, the media system will never “challenge fundamental premises or suggest that systemic factors govern the exercise of state power” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988/2004, p. 406), instead preferring only minor deviation from the status quo. Indeed, this is one of the great strengths of using media as a method of social control: “The beauty of the system... is that such dissent and inconvenient information are kept within the bounds and at the margins, so that while their presence shows that the system is not monolithic, they are not large enough to interfere unduly with the domination of the official agenda” (Herman &

Chomsky, 2002, p. xii, see also Bagdikian, 2004). Thus, the very fissures that appear to articulate content critical of institutions actually disguise the media's more fundamental orientation, as an element of ruling class control.

Antonio Gramsci (2005) argues social control is only possible when one group dominates subordinates by manipulating social ideas and content, and thereby managing their minds. This manipulation is not overt, but is instead manifest in ruling class control over the symbolic resources of a community. According to van Dijk (1998), dominant classes can create and tailor the very boundaries of appropriate knowledge and opinions to their own interests by controlling access to the public sphere. The ideological engineering of consent occurs within language and discourse, where elites shape the belief systems that foundationally constitute group understandings of the social world. Once in place, ideologies will naturalize social disparity, encourage citizens to act in the interests of the dominant group and even suggest that this domination is inevitable (Marcuse, 1991; van Dijk, 1998). This domination becomes complete when, absent access to critical knowledge or available alternatives:

Groups and their members accept dominant ideology as a reflection of their own goals, desires or interests, or as a representation of a natural or otherwise legitimate social order, [then] their ideologies may turn into beliefs that are taken for granted or simply common sense. Ideological dominance and hegemony is 'perfect' when dominated groups are unable to distinguish between their own interests and attitudes and those of dominant groups. (van Dijk, 1998, p. 102)

It is through this process that the management of the public mind is developed and maintained. Elites will not have to rely on "crude intervention" to manage the populace –

they can do so by controlling cultural and symbolic knowledge systems. In so doing, elites direct the process of meaning-making, articulating the appropriate range of behavior of thought (Glasser & Gunther, 2005).

Todd Gitlin (2003) demonstrated how this process plays out in his review and analysis of newspaper coverage of the Students For a Democratic Society. His study documented the development of the SDS from a broad, decentralized group of college organizations through the growing pains of widespread national exposure and its ultimate disintegration through identity conflict and media misrepresentation. This misrepresentation reaffirms many of the biases inherent within the US media system and fundamentally challenges the metaphorical media as a mirror:

In short, the media were far from mirrors passively reflecting facts found in the real world. The facts reported were out there in the real world, true: out there *among others*. The media reflection was more the active, patterned remaking performed by mirrors in a fun house. (Gitlin, 2003, p. 29, emphasis in original)

The construction and deconstruction of the SDS shifted as the organization developed from alternative social movement into a genuine threat to the existing order. Where students were initially cast as naïve college idealists, these descriptions gradually shifted into accounts of the group as a dangerous collection of radicals and communists, a shift that coincided with the developing SDS threat. Further, his accounting the construction and reconstruction of the SDS demonstrated a variety of delegitimizing discursive tactics that will be referred to throughout this study, including trivialization, polarization and marginalization. Gitlin insists that this shift was not random, but rather indicted elite power, where control over cultural systems allows for the “production, relaying, and

regearing of hegemonic ideology” (Gitlin, 2004, p. 254). In this case, the SDS’ identity shift from idealistic, though naïve collegians to potential threat to the status quo represented a symbolic reaction to the emerging power of the group. With every SDS gain, elites encouraged negative characterizations of the group as a way to discourage group membership and delegitimize the movement. This capacity to adapt and mature allows elites the ideological capacity to absorb and amend potential challenges to the existing order, an existing order that is in turn produced and reproduced by journalists and others within this dialectic social framework.

As we have discussed throughout the previous sections, and against conventional wisdom, this ideological production and reproduction occurs because, and not in spite, of professional claims of objectivity. At first glance, claims of professionalism and objectivity are potentially threatening to the ruling class, where critical coverage of the economic and social order could bring unwanted attention to elite actions. The potential threat of this critical coverage is managed during socialization, where journalists are oriented toward appropriate elite values (Gans, 2004; Schachter, 2003). This training informs journalists to ignore minor deviations within the system and disparage and vilify genuine threats.

The Ethos of Protest

The democratic purpose of protest

Left underdeveloped in some corners of protest literature is an accounting of the purpose and goals of political protests. This is ironic given that it is to these pragmatic ends, among other incentives, that these protesters ostensibly assemble. Before moving on to develop the body of protest and media studies, post-Gitlin, it is important to discuss these practical considerations and the relationship between participants, powerbrokers and elites, mass publics and communications media. Much of the following discussion stems from four landmark early sociological studies, James Q. Wilson's (1961) *The Strategy of Protest: Problems of Negro Civic Action*, Michael Lipsky's (1968) elaboration and response, *Protest as a Political Resource*, Ralph Turner's (1969) *The Public Perception of Protest*, and Peter Eisinger's (1973) *The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities*.

But first, two quick notes are necessary: first, this requires a discussion on the relevance of these earlier studies to this current research project, and; second, an explanation of the parallels between the 2002-2003 anti-war protests (and the 2003 Friendship Square, specifically) and Wilson and Lipsky's early work is necessary. To begin, the above research attended to the relationships between groups, publics and media as they emerged from the civil rights movement. As a result, their articles discuss protest goals and strategy from the perspective of organizational protest movements, and not necessarily from the perspective of organic, spontaneous or multi-organizational events and movements. Further, their work also focused on protest events (specifically mentioning cafeteria and political sit-ins) that were modest in size and relatively

homogenous, Given these conditions, concerns about the applicability of Wilson, Lipsky, Turner and Eisinger are reasonable; as we will see throughout this study, the anti-war in Iraq protests could hardly be considered homogenous, having consisted of a broad sampling of social, political, religious and civic groups (Breslin, 2003; Bunting, 2003; Busse, 2003; Lomartie, 2003; McFadden, 2003). Further, the 2003 anti-war sentiment could *not* be characterized as modest; many of the national and international events drew in excess of 50,000 participants (Clapman, 2003; Knowlton, 2003; McFadden, 2003; Stapp, 2003; Vidal, 2003). Even though the Moscow-Pullman protests featured *only* an estimated 350 participants, this would still be much larger than many of those conceptualized in any of this earlier work.

But their research has a number of important contributions for protest literature, generally. This contribution is relevant less for its organizational discussion, particularly as it concerns cohesion, involvement and maintenance, but rather for what can be learned from the relationships between protest groups, the environment, citizens and media. Many recent protests, and particularly those of large scale, have had a multi-organizational flavor, and I concede that Lipsky's discussions of a general "protest mind," identity and character are not necessarily relevant to this study. But I also argue that protests share many like themes independent of their diversity or size, with the most significant being a desire for some fashion of social, political, symbolic or economic goal. It is this ostensibly shared orientation toward pragmatic ends as well as their reliance on media as a central means of communicating with the general public and the inter-group considerations that all protests share.

Wilson's (1968) project began as a theoretical attempt to develop the organizational and relational requirements of protests as a means of addressing the "problem of the powerless." His goal was to develop the steps necessary for the socially weak to acquire and wield power, particularly in the framework of the civil rights protests. In his terms, groups achieve power and access to the powerful through their ability to command positive and negative rewards systems. Positive rewards are those incentives that prove to be favorable to another, and are predicated on access to at least some initial power; negative rewards are those that, given environmental changes, will prove to be less disadvantageous than other potential outcomes in this new system, and are the only recourse for the truly powerless.

Where resource-rich groups can bargain as a means of political and social action, the resource poor are often limited to protesting and demonstrating as a method of acquiring the resources to bargain:

Protest is distinguished from bargaining by the exclusive use of negative inducements that rely, for their effect, on sanctions which require mass action or response... The party against which the protest is directed values something which the excluded group can place in jeopardy. (p. 292)

It is the negative inducements that create an environment where the powerful are resigned to accept a less favorable condition at the risk of other, more undesirable outcomes.

Wilson goes on to identify typical negative inducements as threats to either group or individual reputation, finances (as in organized economic movements) or the status quo (p. 292-293).

In addressing Wilson, Lipsky (1968) adds that the truly powerless can also address their needs by activating and bringing third party involvement into the “bargaining situation” (p. 1145). By involving outsiders in the conflict, resource poor groups can gain the power to enter into relations on equal (or more equal) grounds. Protest is but one method of recruiting outside perspectives, an essential component to Lipsky’s vision of protest as a political resource. It was Wilson’s earlier characterization of protest as a strictly negative inducement that served as Lipsky’s primary objection. He contended that protests could also serve as a positive influence, as “protest designed to appeal to groups which oppose suffering and exploitation... might be offering positive inducements in bargaining” (p. 1145). Lipsky instead defines protest on broader terms as “a mode of political action oriented toward objections to one or more policies or conditions, characterized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems, while working within the systems” (p. 1145).

Operating from this broad perspective, Lipsky then moves to offer an alternative vision of protest goals and success. From this new perspective, Lipsky describes protest effectiveness as best measured not strictly by the direct achievement of tangible or intangible social rewards, but rather in the protests’ ability to activate and involve “reference publics” - those with social power to “explicitly or implicitly [react] to protest in such a way that target groups or individuals respond in ways favorable to the protesters” (p. 1146). Ideally, it is the pressure from this public that protest organizers and social movements hope to capitalize on.

It is here that media has its most significant contribution to political function, potential legitimacy and the effectiveness of protests as a democratic event. As he points out, protests are indebted to and reliant on media coverage for access to the non-attendant public:

If protest tactics are not considered significant by the media, or if newspapers and television reporters or editors decide to overlook protest tactics, protest organizations will not succeed. Like the tree falling unheard in the forest, there is no protest unless protest is perceived and projected. (p. 1151)

But, as we will see in the following section, it is not enough to be covered within the media news cycle: “When protest tactics do receive coverage in the communications media, the way in which they are presented will influence all other actors in the system, including the protesters themselves” (p. 1151). It is here that Lipsky concedes the importance of the subjective news selection process, where success can only be achieved with a strategy that considers the political style, newsworthiness, and conformity to ideological convention.

With this conceptual background established, Turner (1969) elaborates on Lipsky’s discussion on the media requirements of a successful protest by highlighting the significance of perception of the protest event. In his terms, “[i]f a disturbance is to be viewed as social protest, it must somehow look and sound like social protest to the people witnessing it” (p. 818). Returning to the language of discourse, any perception of protest success and validity requires the successful negotiation in the symbolic realm of ideas and messages, where the protest and protesters are constructed in symbolically favorable terms. This construction requires considering that reporting which contributes to audience

perceptions of protest size, sympathies and support toward or against protesters, spontaneity, the nature of the movement and the legitimacy of protester grievances (p. 818-820).

By Turner's admission, this construction happens symbolically, where protesters, oppositional and status quo leaders attempt to dictate the terms of the debate and co-construct themselves and the other, paying particular emphasis on establishing the protagonists, antagonists and virtue of the symbolic participants (p. 823). For the protesters, this requires that the "intent to do injury is secondary in importance to the effort to secure redress, and it means acknowledging that there is some basis in the behavior of one's own group for the antagonism displayed by the protester" (p. 824).

The goal of protest, then, is this appeal to the third parties, where protesters, status quo and oppositional groups vie for third party partisanship in the conflict. It is the symbolic strength of these protest appeals that are crucial, for "Only when identities or interests pull him in one direction or the other can the threat of involvement press him to see the disturbance as protest" (p. 826). Third party identification with the demonstration can be had through either identification with common group interests or memberships or upon the realization of "a mutually acceptable coalition for mutual gain seems to be present" (p. 826).

Eisinger (1973) develops the concept of a 'political environment' as the location of this symbolic dispute, where the conditions of this political environment affect opportunities for social change and redress. The viability of this political opportunity is dependent on environmental variables and the political context of a given protest event (p. 11). Specifically, it is the:

Elements in the environment [that] impose certain constraints on political activity or open avenues for it. The manner in which individuals and groups in the political system behave, then, is not simply a function of the resources they command but of the openings, weak spots, barriers and resources of the political system itself. There is, in this sense, interaction or linkage, between the environment, understood in terms of the notion of a structure of political opportunities, and political behavior. (p. 11-12)

Eisinger goes on to develop that it is the *appearance* of power and opportunity that are principal to the acquisition of real power and social change, the appearance of which is established and managed in the realm of symbols. Symbolically, elites, protest leaders and journalists discursively construct these openings, weak spots and barriers,

With that established, I would like to return to Lipsky (1968) for one final, though significant contribution to this research. In his conclusion, he points out six methods through which protest targets (elites, political leaders) can respond to protests and their reference publics (audiences, citizens). While most of these responses appear intuitive and unrelated to this research project, his fifth has definite implications for media scholarship. In his fifth response to protest, and again directed toward the perceptions of the vital reference public, Lipsky suggests that political and social elites can elect to:

use their extensive resources to discredit protest leaders and organizations.

Utilizing their excellent access to the press, public officials may state or imply that leaders are unreliable, ineffective as leaders ('they don't really have the people behind them'), guilty of criminal behavior, potentially guilty of such behavior, or are some shade of 'left-wing'. (p. 1156)

Certainly we can see elements of disaster communications and public relations evident within his response. Lipsky continues by asserting that objective “truth” is not a necessary component to the effectiveness of this tactic; simply alleging some impropriety is often enough to disarm social movements and allay concerned publics. In making this case, Lipsky insinuates elites as being directly involved in the execution of this tactic. As we will develop in the following section, this metaphoric disarmament of protest and protesters need not be done so explicitly.

The language of protest and control

Earlier I discussed Todd Gitlin’s (2003) case that news media were instrumental in the creation and recreation of the Students for a Democratic Society, ultimately playing a role in its downfall. This landmark study was one of the first attempts to understand the role of media in covering social protests. Although the project is over twenty years old, and his subject more than forty years, he insists that many of the same conditions he documented from the 1960s still apply today. In his words, journalists still tend to underestimate or altogether ignore protest involvement, focus on a violent minority, and deprecate and minimize protest involvement (p. xvii-xx). Further, these conditions remain the same despite the various changes in the structural and social climate:

These continuities prevail despite the fact that the media are no longer centralized as they were in the Sixties... The major media are less major than they used to be, but some things don’t change about coverage. When elites form a consensus (be it about Operation Desert Shield in 1990 or the war on terrorism in 2001), the media follow suit. When elites are deeply divided, the media may relay tough questions,

but overall, government news management, especially by the Pentagon, succeeds – and is far more effective than in the Sixties. (p. xix-xx)

Throughout his analysis, Gitlin demonstrated a variety of discursive tactics that served to undermine and marginalize groups. And although his study served as a foundational work, it is only one (prominent) example of a rich vein of U.S. media, political and social protest scholarship. This subsection will develop some of this additional work, taking care to highlight those areas where this literature closely coincides methodologically with this analysis.

One of the significant features resultant from the above is on how protesters are characterized, particularly as these characterizations influence their social standing and political influence (Curran, 2005). And while this is certainly a concern, this also presupposes media coverage at all. McCarthy, McPhail and Smith (1996) addressed both of these concerns by moving protest literature in a direction that considers how the biases inherent in the act of selecting news stories *and* their description can undermine protest aims. This study compared 1982 and 1991 Washington, D.C., officially authorized protest events with media coverage of protest events during that same period. The project included the news content from national newspapers (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) as well as the national television newscasts of ABC, NBC and CBS news. In addition to generating a profoundly large amount of data, the research group also confirmed some intuitive expectations (the size of the protest and its ostentatiousness were both positively correlated with media coverage) while amassing a number of other important conclusions. It would hardly be controversial to suggest that protest size and the flamboyant behavior of protest participants would influence media coverage. And

although this certainly has implications for protest groups, particularly those who cannot pass a certain threshold of involvement, the research team also identified other factors contributing to admission into the news cycle. After taking its size into account, “the next most important correlate of coverage is being in the right place at the right time in a media cycle” (p. 494). Admission, it becomes clear, is about both size and timing; protests coinciding with related, socially salient issues can achieve prominence over protests that are more significant in size or gravity.

Gaining access to the public sphere is only part of the problem for protest organizers, for, as Gitlin (2003) points out, news coverage by itself does not ensure any articulation of protest aims. Operating from the perspective of social constructionism, much of this vein of protest research examines the discursive and rhetorical construction of protest events, attempting to understand how these presentations affect the understanding of and identification with these social forces. The following methodological section will develop this perspective in much greater detail; meanwhile, a quick nod to Gamson, Croteau, Haynes & Sasson’s (1992) study into the relationship between media messages and the social construction of reality may be in order. This perspective places primacy on understanding how meaning is achieved, particularly as everyday messages “act as teachers of values, ideologies, and beliefs and that they can provide images for interpreting the world” (p. 374). It is these messages, mediated and otherwise, that contribute to our understanding of the social world.

Following this line of inquiry, Smith, McCarthy, McPhail and Augustyn (2001) advanced description bias as a source of detrimental or belittling news coverage. This later study began by asking whether news coverage prefers developing the political and

social concerns of demonstrators or, if it instead focuses on the protest event and participants at the expense of their underlying social issues. Following a research agenda mirroring the earlier McCarthy, McPhail and Smith (1996) methodology, this project accorded well with Gitlin's (2003) findings; admission into the news cycle often served to undermine movement goals and ridicule participants than serving any protest ends. While pointing to some significant differences between media, most notably related to format distinctions between print and electronic media, the research team made significant strides regarding the construction of the individual protesters and the event itself.

Foremost, a distinction was made between electronic and print media in whether they discussed emerging and sustained protests and their social/political goals in thematic or episodic terms, an important distinction given that this ideological framework contributes greatly to audience perception of mediated events. In a landmark study in the field, Shanto Iyengar (1991) found that news audiences placed the locus of poverty within societal and structural institutions when journalists provided a contextually rich and thematic context for discussing poverty. However, when journalists discussed poverty in individual, isolated or episodic terms, audiences were more likely to blame individuals for poverty. Returning to this protest coverage, Smith, McCarthy, McPhail and Augustyn (2001) found that television news media, although less likely to cover protests than their print counterpart, were more likely to discuss protests in thematic terms. Although protests were more likely to be included in print accounts, newspapers were more likely to discuss protests as episodic events, isolated from their socio-political context. For the research project at hand, this is significant given Smith et al. finding that

newspapers were less willing to provide thematic coverage of protest events, despite thematic coverage being more favorable to protesters and their aims.

Finally, Smith et al. also found support for Herman and Chomsky's (2002) argument of a structural bias in news. Simply, protests in direct opposition to U.S. foreign policy or elite interests were less likely to occupy space in a news space. When these stories were covered they were more likely to be treated episodically, contain marginalizing content and defer to establishment sources (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail & Augustyn, 2001, p. 1416). Again, this study echoes the powerlessness of individual protesters to determine the direction of demonstration coverage evident in the previous work; again the factors contributing to favorable coverage were again largely out of the hands of the protesters themselves. In their words, the factors protesters have to contend with include: "the type of media (electronic/print), the absence of counterdemonstrators or violence, and whether or not the issue the demonstration targeted could be readily related to an ongoing media issue agenda" (p. 1417).

Another strand of protest literature follows in Iyengar's footsteps, focusing on how media framing impacts the reception and identification with protest movements. McLeod and Detenber (1999) found news framing to have significant effects on audience disapproval in their study of an anarchist protest. Specifically, this study featured three news stories centering around a Minneapolis anarchist protest, a protest that was situated among other, related demonstrations. While propositionally similar, the tone and substance of the different news packages varied in their degree of support for the status quo, primarily hinging on police culpability and bystander response. In the first condition, the most critical of the status quo, the report included suggestions of shared

police/protester responsibility for the conflict and a high level of bystander interest in the event. The neutral condition articulated the police as reacting to the protest and bystander apathy toward the event. The final condition, supporting the status quo, cast the anarchists as a threat to the city, police as protectors of the peace, and a series of disgusted bystanders.

Among their findings was that high levels of status quo support contributed to audience criticism of protesters, increased support of police involvement, as well as reductions in audience identification with the protesters, support for their rights of expression, perceived protest effectiveness, and perceived social support of the protest. Likewise, the oppositional condition contributed to audience identification with the protesters, approval of their expressive rights, as well as the general validation of protests, this protest, and positive assessments of its effectiveness.

This study offered a very brief glance into an otherwise complex procedure, helping to identify how framing conditions social readings of mediated events. Although their study examined audience perception and support of a population who, in many ways, are even more politically and affectively charged than even anti-war protesters, as McLeod and Detenber are quick to point out, that does not reduce the significance of their findings for, although “preexisting cognitive orientations toward protest groups are likely to minimize the effects of news stories... our stimulus stories were able to move participants despite the potential anchor provided by preexisting stereotypes about anarchists” (p. 19). Thus, media representations contribute to the audience understandings of even highly politically and affectively charged populations, indicating at least the potential for similar when the subject is a more politically benign population.

Similar to McCarthy, McPhail and Smith's (1996) findings regarding newsworthiness and timeliness, Shoemaker, Chang and Brendlinger (1987) also advanced deviance as potential predictor of news coverage. Their study, focusing on U.S. media coverage of international events, found news coverage to be positively correlated with conflict, sensationalism, prominence and oddity. This finding is also consonant with Gitlin's (2004) discussion of hegemony; although coverage is necessary for alternative groups to offer competing ideologies, focusing on group deviants will marginalize their accounts. In discussing international issues, the focus on deviance represents, "part of an overall process of identifying, evaluating and controlling threatened changes from other countries," (Shoemaker, Chang and Brendlinger, p. 363). This finding suggests a series of obstacles for protesters who, in order to penetrate the public sphere, need to amass sufficient numbers within an appropriate timeline and somehow manage media description and deviation biases. While this study focused on international issues, U.S. scholars would come to find that deviance is central to much of the coverage of domestic protest movements (Pritchard & Hughes, 1997).

John Giuffo (2001) investigated media coverage of the anti-globalization protests following the 1999 'Battle of Seattle'. His analysis found that U.S. media coverage tended toward monochromatic depictions of the demonstration and participants, often featuring a conflation of participants with a violent minority and only very vague references to protest goals. This coverage is consistent with other research discussing a privileging of conflict in news coverage (Oliver & Myers, 1999), featuring an authority-disorder bias that blamed dissenters for the ensuing chaos while favorably treating police

action, simultaneously serving to vilify demonstrators and justify police actions and maintain the status quo.

The 2002-2003 Peace Protests

The U.S. national media coverage of demonstrations against the 2003 Iraq invasion would serve to support much of this previous critical media scholarship. This coverage of the nascent movement would demonstrate excellent sampling of the various mechanisms through which alternative views are discouraged, including omission, deprecation, delegitimization and ridicule. This section will begin with a brief context of the nascent protest movement, both nationally and internationally, attempting to provide a greater context for the budding national and the predominant global anti-war sentiment. Following this timeline is a discussion into some of the methodological limitations of this exercise, particularly in the protests' incipient stages. Finally, this will conclude by examining the scholarship that specifically relates to the 2003 anti-war protests, with a special emphasis on how national media constructed the event and its' participants.

While U.S. officials discussed the prospects of the then pending Iraq invasion, millions nationally and internationally demonstrated against the emerging U.S. foreign policy and the pending war in Iraq (Agnew, 2002; Clapman, 2003; Hoskinson, 2002; Knowlton, 2003; Stapp, 2003; Vidal, 2003). These protests consisted of a variety of social, political and religious groups, and were an attempt to express collective opposition to the Bush administration policies and war itself.

The general absence of national coverage and many of the same discursive strategies seen during previous antiwar protest is concerning for the future of democratic

function. To demonstrate the general dearth of content, this research project was originally oriented toward a general examination into the local coverage of the initial wave of protests, nationwide, in order to build upon previous protest research and help develop an understanding into how these participants were constructed throughout the current war. Yet these the initial protests were largely overlooked by all but a handful of domestic U.S. media (Bagdikian, 2004). Bill Kovach, of the Project for Excellence in Journalism, explains this phenomenon, commenting that the initial rounds of protests were “abysmally under-covered. The New York Times missed it entirely the first day and had to play catch-up with a story that wasn’t good. It was the same with the Washington Post” (MacGregor, 2003, p. E1). Other demonstrations received scant attention, often being relegated to backstories, if not omitted entirely (Niman, 2002; Schecheter, 2005). This process was distressing for many of the activists, given the important role that media play in allowing for the articulation of policy and advocacy positions (McHale, 2004) and the activation of third parties toward group interests and demands (Lipsky, 1968).

When sustained news coverage did occur, analyses discovered that journalists relied on discursive cues that delegitimize the movement and protest participation (Luther & Miler, 2005), consistent with Gitlin’s (2004) argument that the media serve a largely hegemonic function. Initial comparisons of media and content analyses of domestic and international media coverage have generated some evidence that international journalists presented the antiwar movement with at least a modicum of legitimacy in terms of protest aims and purpose, a legitimacy that U.S. media would not provide (Robertson, 2004; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005).

Moscow, Pullman and Lewiston, defined

Following the suggestions of structural researchers who suggest that local media will reflect and constitute the communities they serve, this research requires a brief explanation of the communities of interest and the newspapers used in this study in order to better understand this dynamic. First, a brief discussion on the protest event itself and its selection is necessary. Next will be a listing of some of the social and economic demographics of the communities involved as well as general circulation, audience characteristics and orientations of the media involved. Following this picture, I will attempt to develop a working definition of local newspapers and their audience.

The data for this research comes from the available newspaper coverage of the February 15th, 2003, Friendship Square anti-war protest in Moscow, Idaho, a small, Inland Pacific Northwest agricultural and university community. This protest, specifically, was selected for a number of reasons. As I discussed above, the February 15th protest was not the first demonstration in the nascent anti-war/pro-peace movement. Rather, the anti-war in Iraq sentiment reached back to 2002 and even earlier. Nor was this series of protests the first to generate broad national participation - many of these early protests occurred throughout the nation. It was, however, the first of a series of coordinated national and international protests. It also proved to be the first of these peace demonstrations to generate significant local, national and international media coverage.

Moscow is separated from neighboring Pullman, Washington, by eight miles, and is located on the Palouse, a region encompassing a large swath of Northern Idaho and Eastern Washington often characterized by its expansive wheat farming (Moscow, Idaho, Pullman, Washington 2008 Visitor's Guide). These two communities are distinguished

by their rural location, close proximity to one another and that both Moscow and Pullman accommodates a mid-sized, four-year university. The town of Moscow holds approximately 22,000 permanent residents and is the home of the University of Idaho, a university with approximately 10,000 undergraduate and graduate students. 2000 census reports indicate that 51% of Moscow residents are under 25 years old, with a community average of 31. In terms of racial demography, 92% of Moscow residents identified themselves as 'White' and 3% as 'Asian'. 'Black or African American', 'American Indian and Alaska Native', 'Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander' and 'Other' represented the remaining 5%. Of the more than 10,000 Moscow residents over 25 years old, roughly 80% have attended at least some college, with 55% having a Bachelor's degree or beyond.

Economically, the median Moscow income is almost \$27,000. Households younger than 25 earn approximately \$11,000, annually. Those households between 25 and 34 years old average \$22,000 annually; 35-44 \$46,000; 45-54 \$51,000; 55-64 almost \$58,000; 65-74 year olds \$51,000 and households 75 and over \$26,000 annually.

Pullman has approximately 27,000 residents and is dominated both economically and socially by Washington State University, which has an annual enrollment of approximately 18,000 students (Moscow, Idaho, Pullman, Washington 2008 Visitor's Guide). Like Moscow, Pullman is a very young community, reflecting its ties with the university. According to 2000 census data, just over 62% of Pullman residents are 24 years-old or younger, with a community average of 28. In terms of racial demography, Pullman is only slightly less diverse than Washington state, with the census reporting that 83% identified as 'White', approximately 8.5% 'Asian', almost 4% 'Hispanic or Latino'

and 2.5% 'Black or African American' and 8.5% Asian. Reflecting its relationship with the university, 90% of its population 25 and older (9,000 + residents) have attended at least some college, and more than 65% have a four year degree.

Economically, Washington State University also dominates the community. Again, according to census data, WSU directly employs at least 5,000, with many of the surrounding local services and industry indirectly tied to the university. Median incomes for Pullman residents correspond with this relationship: households under 25 years old average \$11,000 annually, with this figure rising sharply in the later age brackets. For households 25-34, this income rises to \$19,000 annually; 35-44 almost \$44,000; 45-54 almost \$55,000; 55-64 nearly \$75,000.

Roughly 30 miles to the south of Moscow and Pullman are Lewiston (Idaho) and Clarkston (Washington), two communities that straddle the Idaho and Washington borders. These two largely agrarian communities share feature two of the largest commercial ports serving the inland Northwest and approximately 38,000 residents.

Lewiston, the larger of the two (31,000 residents), is also the home of Lewis-Clark State College, with an annual enrollment of approximately 3,500 students (Clarkston Chamber of Commerce; Lewiston Chamber of Commerce). These two communities more closely mirror national demographic trends, with Lewiston and Clarkston both significantly older than either Moscow or Pullman, in terms of both average age and a higher distribution of older residents; averaging 39 and 38 years old, respectively, and both holding approximately 35% of their population under 25. According to 2000 census data, residents of both communities self reported 'White' approximately 95% of the time (Lewiston 95.1%, Clarkston 94.4%). Of the nearly 5% of

residents remaining, 2% (Lewiston) and 2.5% (Clarkston) identified as either ‘Hispanic or Latino’.

Of the population 25 and older, 55% (Lewiston) and 45% (Clarkston) of residents have attended at least some college, with 20% of Lewiston residents and 13% of Clarkston residents having attained at least a Bachelor’s degree. The annual income of both communities is higher among younger workers than the Moscow and Pullman communities, then tapers off slightly among older residents. The median annual income of Lewiston residents is \$36,000, annually, with residents under 25 making approximately \$17,000 annually, those between 25-34 making \$36,000, 35-44 making \$52,000, 45-54 \$50,000, 55-64 making \$46,000, 65 to 74 year olds making \$30,000 and those 70 and over nearly \$23,000. The median annual income for Clarkston residents is \$25,000, with those 25 and under making \$20,000 annually, 25-34 \$32,000, 35-44 making \$31,000, 45-54 roughly \$32,000, 55-64 more than \$28,000, 65-74 making just over \$23,000 and those 75 and up approximately \$19,000 annually.

Spokane is 80 miles to the north of Moscow and Pullman, and is the largest city in the region with almost 200,000 urban residents and more than a half-million suburban metropolitan residents (Spokane Area Chamber of Commerce). In addition to *The Spokesman Review*, the largest newspaper in the inland Northwest, Spokane is also the home of several other community, specialized and alternative publications, the most prominent being *The Pacific Northwest Inlander*. Spokane is also the home of two four-year universities, Gonzaga University and Whitworth University.

Demographically, 66,000 Spokane residents are younger than 25, with 25-44 year olds comprising almost 54,000 residents, 46,000 residents are between 45-64 and 25,000

residents 64 and older. Spokane averages 37 years old. 171,000 Spokane residents identified themselves as 'White', 3,800 as 'Black or African American', almost 2,900 as American Indian or Alaskan Native', 4,800 as 'Asian', 6,700 as 'Hispanic or Latino' and just over 8,400 as 'Two or more races'.

According to census data, of Spokane's 126,000 urban residents 25 and older, 78,000 residents have attended at least some college, with 31,000 graduating from a four-year college or university. The median income for Spokane residents is \$32,000, annually. Residents under 25 make an average of \$18,000 a year, 25-34 year olds just over \$32,000, 35-44 year olds \$39,000, 45-54 year olds almost \$44,000. Residents 55-64 average \$35,000, annually, 65-74 year olds \$28,000 and residents 75 and over nearly \$23,000 a year.

The newspapers, defined

One of the difficulties of this research project was determining the boundaries of community and media reach, particularly in defining exactly what constitutes community news coverage. Certainly communities may have a city newspaper, but where do regional and university newspapers fit into the dynamic, and where do newspapers that reach beyond their city of origin fit in? Picard and Brody (1997) offer several different methods for recognizing and designating market areas for newspapers (p. 37-39). This project will define a newspaper community based on what they describe as the newspaper designated market area. This distinction is based on the "geographic market area specifically designated by a newspaper that does not correspond to predetermined, standardized measures... The area is the primary commercial and residential region in which the

newspaper operates” (p. 39). Although Picard and Brody both admit that this designation is most often used by large dailies, they also contend that it is also appropriate for those papers with unusual geographic distribution that may not necessarily correspond with traditional markers.

While relatively small in terms of population, by these above standards, the Moscow-Pullman communities are relatively rich in local and regional newspapers. Serving this community are four distinct daily, biweekly and weekly newspapers, and another three regionally distinct newspapers originating from Spokane: *The Lewiston Tribune*; *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*; Washington State University’s *The Daily Evergreen*; The University of Idaho’s *Argonaut*; *The Pacific Northwest Inlander*; *The Spokesman-Review*; *The Idaho Spokesman-Review*; and the *Spokesman-Review Valley Edition*. These newspapers were selected because of their shared regional proximity to the Moscow-Pullman, their stated primary or secondary service relationship with those communities as well as very basic distribution and circulation considerations. Personal communication with circulation directors of those respective papers and city chambers of commerce reporting suggest that each is oriented toward at least one of the Moscow or Pullman communities, generally, with *The Lewiston Tribune*, *The Pacific Northwest Inlander* and *The Spokesman Review* offering content for their respective communities and the broader Inland Northwest. The two above university newspapers also stated a greater orientation toward their respective students and the community secondarily. A discussion of these considerations will precede each of the following newspaper subsections.

Before advancing into discussions on this media, I must first develop what the terms ‘local’ and ‘regional’ newspapers mean. The following definitions borrow from Picard and Brody’s (1997) typology of newspapers. Their typology developed nine different newspaper formats, each with different audience and commercial orientations, distributional patterns and publishing goals. These nine categories of newspaper are:

(1) international and national daily newspapers; (2) metropolitan and/or regional daily newspapers; (3) local daily newspapers; (4) non-daily general audience papers; (5) minority papers; (6) papers published in secondary languages; (7) religious papers; (8) military papers; and (9) other specialty newspapers. (p. 8)

Of the nine, only the first four are directly relevant to this project and the research questions that follow.

By their definition, international and national newspapers are those that we most often consider the ‘agenda-setting’ press, those that feature wide distribution and often are the source of public involvement and awareness of national and international political and social matters. As a point of distinction with the following newspapers, international and national papers are “not as clearly linked to a single location in terms of the news and advertising they carry” as their regional and local counterparts (p. 8). Typically these newspapers will offer several editions, have many headquarters, either nationally or internationally, and emphasize national and international events. In their terms, prominent national and international newspapers include the “*USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*” (p. 8). None of the newspapers directly examined in this study fall into this categorization.

Metropolitan and regional press are those newspapers originating in major cities and privilege their local communities, but are also more inclusive of other regional affairs. These newspapers are typically dailies with large circulations on Sundays. Large metropolitan and regional newspapers will often maintain multiple news bureaus nationally. Both large and modest metropolitan and regional newspapers will typically feature news bureaus in prominent locations statewide, including capitals and other major cities. *The Spokesman Review* meets several of these criteria, and could arguably fit in this category.

Picard and Brody (1997) define local newspapers as those who are “tied to smaller metropolitan areas, specific cities and towns, whose primary purpose is to provide local news coverage and local advertising service” (p. 9). In their terms, local newspapers tend to maintain reporters for only local news, obtaining much of their national and regional coverage from wire services. These newspapers typically publish a single edition, Monday through Friday, with six or seven issues weekly available in larger locales. By their estimation, these newspapers account for 95 percent of the dailies. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* both clearly fall into this category.

The final relevant category for this analysis is the nondaily, general audience newspaper. According to Picard and Brody (1997), these newspapers are typically published fewer than five days a week and “tend to serve counties, small communities, neighborhoods of a larger city, or as a complementary paper to a daily newspaper by providing coverage and advertising services that are not available from the daily” (p. 9). In terms of circulation, these papers range “from a few hundred copies to hundreds of

thousands of copies” (p. 9). Based upon the defined distribution and circulation considerations, as well as their required complementariness, I would put both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* in this category. Although some will object to this classification, particularly challenging *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* ‘s standing as ‘general audience’ newspapers given their apparent niche orientation, I would insist that this designation is fair. Although university papers may fail a ‘general audience’ consideration as they self designate as primarily serving the student bodies of their respective campuses, they also distribute more broadly to their communities and are offered in many of the commercial sites within Moscow and Pullman. Further, and as we will discuss in the following sections, the communities of Moscow and Pullman are both dominated by their respective universities. I would advance that the prominence of both the University of Idaho and Washington State University within these two otherwise rural communities lends at least some validity to claims that they represent significant perspective for a very large residential segment of these two communities. Finally, and perhaps most important, are claims of the newspapers’ complementariness; while *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* both cover state, national and international events, they often do so from the perspective of their college audiences. Further, they both tend to devote more resources to developing those issues that have directly and exclusively concern their university audiences (i.e. university politics and events, deadlines, and announcements).

Research Questions

The above sections were an attempt to establish the tone and color of protest construction by national media. These studies contributed significantly toward a greater understanding of the ways that national, mainstream media constructed and marginalized protest groups, largely serving a hegemonic function and elite interests. This scholarship argues that national and professional journalist accounts of protest events disparage identification with protests and protesters through a variety of discursive and symbolic representations. As I demonstrated above, the 2002 and 2003 peace protests were no exception to this rule, with the national and metropolitan news ignoring and discouraging the emerging anti-war movement (Niman, 2002; MacGregor, 2003; Luther & Miller, 2005; Schecheter, 2005; Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b).

While the national media have an undoubtedly significant role in the process, this research aims to focus on the protest construction of local media, an area often underexplored in this discussion (Moy, McCluskey, McCoy & Spratt, 2004). The unique contribution of local media is due, at least in part, to their ability to “cover a much higher proportion of the events within their catchments than do national media... [and] provide a much more comprehensive documentation of events than any national paper could” (Oliver & Myers, 1999, p. 43). To distinguish between national and local media, I refer to Picard and Brody’s (1997) typology of newspapers. By their definition, local newspapers are those that are “tied to smaller metropolitan areas, specific cities and towns, whose primary purpose is to provide local news coverage and local advertising service” (p. 9). In order to establish this local centeredness, Picard and Brody (1997) argue that a newspaper’s designated market area is often a suitable device for determining a

publication's community. Using this standard to define localism, a newspaper's community will be those communities that fall within the geographic region that the newspaper self-designates as operating within.

One of the central aims of this project is to expand on these earlier studies of national reporting by including the contributions of regional and local media. With local newspapers distinct from their national brethren, this study will then attempt to critically analyze how this protest is reported, particularly in light of the wealth of previous protest and anti-war protest literature. In the previous sections, I developed a portion of earlier protest media scholarship. Embedded within my discussion on this previous work were examples, developed by these authors, of themes, categories and tendencies of national protest coverage. Most commonly, these themes emphasized how the protests and the protesters were presented, re-presented and transformed through language. In light of this previous work, I have attended specifically to how this protest and these protesters are created and managed through discourse.

This project will not, however, directly compare national reports of the February 15th, 2003, peace protest with the coverage of the Friendship Square protest. The national depiction of this movement has already been established, both historically and with respect to the 2003 protests (For the 2003 protests see Clapman, 2003; Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b; Vidal, 2003; Historically, see Agnew, 2002; Giuffo, 2001; Gitlin, 2003; Hockinson, 2002). I will, however, attempt to integrate some of this previous literature by highlighting those instances when local media accounts parrot themes, strategies or other structures documented by this body of work.

If we are to hold to Gans' (2004) and Gitlin's (2003) suggestions that it truly is the professional routines, commercial interests and elite orientation of media that contribute to this deprecation, it seems we should also anticipate that other, smaller commercial accounts of anti-war protest will follow a similar pattern. If this is indeed the case, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* should minimize the potential impact of Friendship Square protest by discouraging claims of protest effectiveness, trivializing protest goals, or marginalizing protest participants, thereby contributing to a false sense of political consensus for the Iraq war itself. However, Gans also concedes that there are some differences between national and regional media, particularly given that national media are oriented toward "mass-producing a product for a humongous audience" (p. xvii). Given that Gans is referring to regional (and not local) media, it would therefore seem intuitive that local media may distinguish themselves even further from their national counterparts in their coverage of the Friendship Square protest.

RQ1: Do these local newspapers mirror previously documented patterns of anti-war protest coverage in reporting on the Friendship Square anti-war protest? If so, how?

While discourse analysis is initially interested in representation, it is also concerned with the potential effects of these representations (Austin, 1975; Fairclough & Wodak, 2003; Searle, 1992; van Dijk, 1998). I will develop this position further in the following section, which will detail the methodology used. In brief, the perspective of social constructionists

holds that communication and mass mediated accounts have a tremendous impact on the perceptions of the social world, perceptions that ultimately contribute to individual and social behavior. Although previous accounts have documented the discursive delegitimization tactics embedded within national and mainstream media, little attention has been paid to the potential effects of these representations. This concern is especially important given protest's role as a political action and recourse for the powerless, and the marginalized (Wilson, 1961; Lipsky, 1968). Operating from this perspective, protests are an opportunity for individuals and groups to share grievances and concerns with a larger public in the hopes of rallying outsiders and third parties to their cause (Lipsky, 1968; Turner, 1969; Eisinger, 1973).

Therefore, it is also important to remember that these newspapers do not *only* impact the ways that audiences view protest. In addition, these representations also affect an audience's willingness to identify with the protest or protest goals, potentially enlisting otherwise neutral parties to the cause of the protest. Conversely, these depictions can also do great harm, potentially obstructing protest understanding, obscuring protest intent or disarming the political aims of the demonstration and thereby interfere with identification and the protest and activation. The following research question is directed toward examining how local media contribute to and position the efficacy and potential democratic legitimacy of protest in general.

RQ2: What are the potential effects of the referential constructions on future and existing protest and peace movements?

Finally, Gans' (2004) and others have argued that the genesis of elite deference and commercial and status quo orientation is embedded in and a bi-product of journalistic routines, reporter socialization and a heightened commercial orientation (also see Glasser, 2005; Hamilton, 2005; Picard, 2005). Often, reportorial autonomy is only an illusion, where "the suggestions of powerful superiors are, in fact, thinly veiled orders" (Gans, 2004, p. 101). But others argue that the direct, top-down control over news construction contributes to only a portion of news reality. It is here that we return to discussions of the hegemonic function of the press, where, in Hamilton's (2005) words, social control occurs "not through a CEO's memoranda, a publisher's editorials, an editor's policies or other forms of rigid or overt control but through a quiet acceptance of the unexamined assumptions that make up 'common sense'" (p. 394). It is here that socialization and training contributes to the privileging of elite sources and readings of political behavior, with obvious consequences for alternative readings of political and social events (Glasser & Gunther, 2005). The contribution of "common sense" plays a part in Picard's (2005) case that "when major commercialized media produce their own information, they tend to do so with similar ideologies of news and information and the same general perspectives, so that the ideas presented and the breadth of coverage offered are limited" (p. 347).

Including university newspaper coverage of the Friendship Square protest allows a potential comparison between professional journalist accounts and those of amateur or emerging journalists¹, where *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* are presumably less

¹ I am hesitant to use the terms 'professional' and 'amateur' to distinguish between the reporting of *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* with that of *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut*. These two designations have clear affective and evaluative implications that I do not intend. As I elaborate in the introduction to the analytical section, there were multiple examples within the university

concerned with profit goals and commercial success as their professional counterparts. Further, these university reporters have, by definition, not achieved the same level of training, education and socialization of their professional counterparts. Indeed, other than the obvious high school graduation or equivalency requirements, these journalists need not share *any* of the same training expected of professional journalists. Although many of the university reporters are journalism students, many also come from other fields within the university.

Therefore, if instruction and education is a significant factor in cultivating a compliant journalism, one could expect that the absence of even only a portion of this training and socialization would suggest a chink in the ideological armor that was a reporter's "common sense". Therefore, it would seem reasonable to suspect that university coverage of the Moscow-Pullman Friendship Square protest will be more favorable or less beholden to elite renditions of the event given the absence or incompleteness of their training and socialization.

RQ3 – What content differences exist between the college reports (*The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut*) and the professional accounts (*The Lewiston Morning Tribune* or *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*) in their reporting on the Friendship Square protest?

accounts that could be characterized as favorable for democratic deliberation and public service, a characterization that I would argue is inconsistent with the varied connotations of amateurism. Further, there were a number of examples within the professional accounts that could only be characterized as divisive or explicitly derogatory, and therefore inconsistent with any professional connotations, at least in terms of public sphere requirements.

Methods

As mentioned previously, the goal of this research is to examine critically newspaper discourse regarding the anti-war movement. This requires an outline of the specifics of this research and a discussion of the philosophy and history of critical discourse analysis. This section aims to address briefly the representative and constitutive nature of language and discourse, the relations and distinctions between language and belief systems and ideology, and some traditional applications of this research.

The development of discourse as an academic focus followed 20th century philosophical shifts in the nature and study of language. These shifts centered largely around divergent orientations toward the nature of language, its study and purpose, distinctions that highlighted philosophical orientations of the critical scholars and linguists. Where linguists aimed to address social concerns by tracing language use, critical scholars preferred a perspective aimed at understanding, “reference, truth, meaning and necessity... concerned only incidentally with particular elements in a particular language” (Searle, 1992). It is this division where scholars of language engaged in a debate encompassing much of the social sciences, a debate involving the nature of language and power as well as the relationship between the researcher and the researched (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Janet Maybin (2001) articulates the differences between early structuralist perspectives, which held that language, “was conceptualized as a decontextualized abstract system of signs, where the meaning of any element in the system is derived from its opposition to other elements” with that of the post-structuralists, who argued that, “the meanings of words are derived not from fixed relationships between abstract signs but

from the accumulated dynamic social use of particular forms in different contexts and for different and sometimes conflicting purposes” (p. 64-65). It is this privileging of meaning as an object of study, a position articulated by Mikhail Bakhtin and Valentin Volosinov, that guides much of the study of critical discourse analysis (Kress, 2001; Maybin, 2001). This perspective holds that the selection and omission of references and other symbolic units of representation is guided by, and reflective of power relations and the value of social elements. This relationship between language and power would later serve as a focal point for critical discourse analysis.

The development of the critical was inspired by societal shifts toward studying language and communication as a means of understanding community, society and culture (Fairclough & Wodak, 2003). Fairclough and Wodak go on to assert this trend originated with Western Marxist thought, where scholars oriented their efforts toward understanding the processes of cultural reproduction and maintenance of the social order. These trends coexisted with shifts in communication technology, and scholars became increasingly concerned with mass mediated message systems (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). It is in this landscape that emerging feminist, critical and cultural scholars began to question the relationship between mass mediated message systems and institutional communication. These scholars would develop discourse as an alternative method of investigating and challenging social practices and institutions.

This area of inquiry owes a philosophical and methodological debt to linguistics, building on existing scholarship regarding symbols and structure. Discourse scholar Stuart Hall (2001) identifies this trend as originating in the work of Michel Foucault. According to Hall, where linguists favored the careful examination of symbols and

syntax, Foucault preferred a shift toward discourse as a unit of study. Foucault argued that the study of discourse grew from studies of language and symbols, but further developed an emphasis on the rules and customs that contribute to and indeed generate a language for the discussion of an external reality. This perspective suggests that, through discourse, individuals and groups develop and maintain meanings for phenomena within the social world, meanings that inform interactions with the social world. Indeed, it is through discourse that we interpret and ultimately participate in the construction of the social, producing and reproducing meaning and knowledge.

The construction of meaning occurs through language use, with communicators selecting specific symbols from other available resources to represent individual meaning. The production and reception of these discourses inform and affect the interpretation of the social and existing social knowledge and reveal socio-cognitive understandings of phenomena. The very selection of one symbol over another presupposes the purposive nature of the behavior with respect to the construction of social meaning. Potter and Wetherell (2001) identify three principles demonstrating the validity of the communication as construction metaphor:

Accounts of events are built out of a variety of pre-existing linguistic resources, almost as a house is constructed from bricks, beams and so on. Second, construction implies active selection: some resources are included, some omitted. Finally, the notion of construction emphasizes the potent, consequential nature of accounts. Much of social interaction is based around dealings with events and people which are experienced *only* in terms of specific linguistic versions. In a profound sense, accounts ‘construct’ reality. (p. 199, emphasis in original)

In this sense, communicators purposefully select specific symbols to represent their intended meanings. These symbols, chosen from pools of other available terms, suggest that the privileging of one symbol over others demonstrates the worthiness and appositeness of its selection. These and other selections of style, form and content participate in the construction of discourses of knowledge that go on to guide and establish the boundaries of individual and social understanding of social phenomena.

This perspective requires adherence to basic notions regarding the complexity of communication as well its socially purposive nature. van Dijk (1997) articulates the perspective that communication is more complex than simple sender/receiver models of communication. He goes on to argue that discourse both reflects and expresses the belief systems of speakers while also allowing ground for individuals to perform a variety social and cultural acts. In his examination of ideology, van Dijk (1998) explains his identification with the constructive role of belief in discourse, arguing that:

Representing the world, even the facts of nature, involves the interpretation and understanding of that world in terms of socially acquired conceptual categories. In that sense beliefs constitute the world-for-us. This obviously does not mean that the natural or social world does not exist independently of our beliefs, but only that the people structure, understand and experience it (directly or through instruments) in terms of their beliefs...

In this sense, then, beliefs may still be described as being about the objects, properties, events, actions or situations of this 'external' world, as long as we realize that such an experience presupposes that such a socio-culturally controlled projection of beliefs. (p. 25)

van Dijk continues by reminding that belief systems (like ideologies) are mental and social constructs that do not necessarily manifest internally, but are often, “acquired, constructed and changed... through social practices and interaction in general, and through discourse and communication in particular” (p. 26). It is this construction that concerns and interests communication students and scholars.

This discussion identifies discourse as a potential vehicle for the dissemination of beliefs and ideology, and also requires a demarcation of these terms. For the purposes of this study, I defer to the discussion provided in van Dijk’s (1998) study on ideology, where he argues in favor of a relationship between beliefs and ideology. van Dijk suggests that beliefs are at the heart of cognition, including both the subjective and unfounded as well as the “objective” or empirically verified. These beliefs incorporate a variety of content and are organized in like groups for later recall. It is in these networks of beliefs where one often finds ideology.

Academics have had a fair amount of difficulty offering a consistent and unambiguous definition of ideology (van Dijk, 1998, p. 2-4). Following in the Marxist and neo-Marxist critical traditions, scholars have often posited an association between ideology and the production and reproduction of dominant class interests. Contemporary scholarship incorporates many of these traditions, although sometimes ambivalently, denoting falsehood, deception or self-service. van Dijk (1998) enters this discussion by offering a more theoretically neutral definition of ideology. He argues that ideology is simply a set of networked beliefs coordinated around a coherent organizational pattern. Ultimately, these belief systems constitute the social representations shared by groups

and adopted by individuals, as well as the principles informing the adoption of other beliefs (p. 8).

This approach diverges from other discussions of ideology that often focus on traditional accounts of power, class interest and false consciousness. By speaking in more generalized terms, van Dijk allows for opportunities to analyze and compare the discourse of groups outside of these traditional power centers as well as more traditional objects of study. This comparative dimension allows for the discussion and comparison of discursive strategies between representatives of groups with established or naturalized power and representatives of alternative and competing social groups. For example, this opens the way for discussion and comparison between the discourse of representatives of oil corporations and environmental groups; the Roman Catholic Church and liberation theologians; male politicians and feminists.

To summarize this perspective, discourse simultaneously constructs individual and group understandings of the social world. Beliefs are organized into systems of beliefs, constructing hierarchies of ideology, with beliefs and underlying ideologies being presented and represented throughout discourse. By analyzing discourse, Potter and Wetherell (2001) argue that one can reveal underlying biases, ideologies and power relations influencing the discursive construction of the social world. Through this process communicators can use language to construct interpretations of the social world, constructions that compete with other interpretations for acceptance and dominance. These accounts go on to influence individual, group and social behaviors, founding the very basis for all social interaction (Condor & Antaki, 1997).

Discourse analysis, purpose

With discussions of the philosophy and origins of discourse behind us, we now move to discuss what discourse analysis actually is. This brief discussion on the philosophy of discourse should equip the reader with a basic understanding of the justifications of discourse; this next stage will attempt to develop what discourse analysis looks like, emphasizing its appearance and execution, and how this analysis will be performed.

The study of discourse is more complex than dictionary definitions may lead one to believe. Attempts to better understand the values, beliefs and ideologies of individuals and institutions embedded within communication require first a distinction in the variance of the term. In his introduction to discourse analysis, van Dijk (1997) highlights some of this ambiguity, identifying at least four alternative uses of the term: communication, generally; a social domain of language; a particular communicative event, often including specific utterances; and the arena of talk, as characterized by shared belief systems and ideologies (p. 3-4). Thus, even at the outset, our understanding of discourse is complicated, as discourse analyses will often include, and indeed investigate, elements of each variation on the term.

So it is with less clarity, and not more, that we begin. An appropriate transition may be in van Dijk's (1997) admission that discourse is more complex than, though inclusive of, the study of symbols and structure. He demonstrates this distinction while highlighting the performative aspect of communication:

discourses do not only consist of (structures of) sounds or graphics, and of abstract sentence forms (syntax) or complex structures of local or global meaning

and schematic forms. They also may be described in terms of the social actions accomplished by *language users* when they communicate with each other in *social situations* and within *society* and *culture* at large. (1997, p. 13-14, emphasis in original).

This discussion, thus, moves the discourse analyst away from the methodological ground they may share with linguists. Where language and symbols are an important contribution, discourse also incorporates discussion of the pragmatic, social function of language as well as the potential effects of style, form and organization on a given text or talk.

In characterizing discourse analysis, van Dijk (1997) identifies a few of the verbal and textual structures of concern for the discourse analyst: sound, sight and body, concerned with observable messages and structure; order and form, concerned with the organization and privileging of the order of communication, syntax and ways that immediate context influence meaning; word, sentence, sentence group and discourse meaning; style and expression; rhetoric, with an emphasis in rhetorical discourse structures; and the schemata in which discourses fit (p. 6-13). With these principles serving as a guide, van Dijk argues for a movement toward recognition of the forms and categories of language use, power and recognition of the performative aspect of communication.

The social actions accomplished through using language are at the heart of the performative aspect of communication and discourse in particular. Searle (1992) acknowledges that analyzing symbols is an insufficient model for discussing the pragmatic, “clearly this is only the beginning of a description, for the speaker in

uttering... is characteristically saying something and not merely mouthing words” (p. 23). Searle goes on to argue that communication has social effects; we communicate in order to address specific contextual and pragmatic needs and, in doing so, perform social actions. These social actions (warning, inviting, discouraging, etc.) are performed through communication. This perspective draws heavily from Austin’s (1975) work arguing that the generation of text and talk (locution) serve some social function or purpose (illocution). These illocutionary behaviors meet social and individual goals, suggesting again the purposive nature of communication, and may have further effects. In producing illocutionary acts (warning, inviting, discouraging) one often affects the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of audience members; these effects are perlocutionary acts. Thus, in warning someone we may startle or cause doubt, to invite may have the perlocutionary effect of making welcome, and to discourage can contribute to despair and failure of resolve.

In returning to the discussion of ideology, these illocutionary and perlocutionary acts are central to any classic or contemporary discussions of power and dominance. Domination presupposes the internalization of power relations and social hierarchies. Internalized, this domination manifests in local behavior, where individuals will act in ways that reflect this imbalance in power and “appropriate” social relations. van Dijk (1998) summarizes the (perlocutionary) effect of dominant ideologies as taking place through the mind, where the control of public discourse will contribute to the privileging of specific readings of social phenomena and social behavior. When these systems are internalized:

The dominated group and its members will tend to act in the interest of the dominant group 'out of their own free will'. The dominated group may lack the knowledge or the education to provide alternatives, or it may accept that the dominance of the dominant group is natural or inevitable, and resistance pointless or even unthinkable. (p. 162).

This is an excellent articulation of the means through which beliefs and ideology affect audiences. By controlling discourse, and thereby controlling mental resources and beliefs, groups impact the range of available options for individuals. Examination and discussion of these phenomena are at the heart of and can be explored and realized through attendance to discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (2003) suggest that in order to investigate for the presence of ideological constructions, it is insufficient to analyze words. Rather, the discourse analyst must, "consider how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have" (p. 275).

Discourse analysis, performed

With an admittedly brief and incomplete exploration of the philosophy and purpose of discourse analysis behind us, it is important to next discuss what a discourse analysis actually looks like. In order to demonstrate the form of discourse, some examples of previous discourse research and discussion will be presented and explored. This section aims to illuminate previous, relevant discourse research as well as to highlight relevant discursive constructions. Finally, this section concludes with a detailed and thorough explanation as to how this research will be performed.

To illustrate the process and form of discourse analysis begins I will begin by referring to two of van Dijk's critical discourse analyses, his 1993 examination of elite discourse and racism and his 1998 exploration of ideology. The study on ideology, informing much of this study, began as a multi-disciplinary exploration into how discourses contribute to and negotiate individual and shared belief systems. *Elite Discourse and Racism* investigated the ways that racism is produced and reproduced discursively in a variety of elite domains, including politics, academia and corporate discourse. The contribution of this work served to uncover some of the means through which elites control, dictate and represent social groups in ways that serve to maintain consensus and dominance. Despite a seemingly tenuous connection with this manuscript, van Dijk articulates a clear relationship between ideology and discourses. Because of its more evident relation to the study at hand, this exploration of this text borrows heavily from the seventh chapter, where the racist ideologies are created and perpetuated within the media.

Within *Elite Discourse and Racism*, van Dijk (1993) begins by highlighting many of the structural, social and political factors that influence media content discussed earlier. Though his analysis of these contributors is valuable (and certainly more lucid than my own), I would like to move to focus on just a few of the semantic and textual features he references: implicature, semantic moves and stylistic variation.

While analysis focused explicitly on text is vital, van Dijk (1993) indicates that implicit messages drawn from texts can be just as valuable. Developing this point, he argues that inferences and mental models can implicate additional meanings and contribute to understanding, often revealing the orientation of reporters and news

organizations. Using his terms, “[i]mplications are meanings (propositions) that are not explicitly expressed in the text but may be inferred from words or sentences in the text, as well as from the mental models constructed during understanding” (p. 256). Implicature develops and highlights suggested interpretations of the world, evaluating and defining the appropriateness and validity of the social and political events. Some of the forms of implicature highlighted by van Dijk include: presupposition, where one assertion requires, and even implies, the validity of the other in order for the former to have meaning; vagueness, where agency and responsibility are often obscured within text; and overcompleteness, where irrelevant information is used to convey appropriate readings of the social.

The overuse of implication can have negative consequences for journalists, resulting in accusations of impropriety or bias. Discursively, similar positioning and social work can also be performed through semantic moves. Journalists can use disclaimers, positive self-presentation and social impression management in order to remedy some of these accusations. Some of the methods van Dijk discussed include: accounts, which serve to demonstrate reluctance, doubt and denial of potential offenses; mitigation, the minimizing, ridiculing of actors, actions and events; and apparent concession, where, by confessing some positive qualities, one can go on to develop a decidedly negative thesis.

Finally, van Dijk also argues that stylistic and rhetorical variation can contribute to favorable or unfavorable interpretations of social phenomena. Through figurative and alliterative devices, journalists can suggest the validity of social actions, emphasize or minimize behaviors capable of eliciting affective responses and maintain in

group/outgroup distinctions. In his discussion on racism, van Dijk analyzes how attendance to specific registers of talk often reveals unspoken, underlying and significant connections within figurative language. Discussions on register often focus on contextual differences in language (Eggins & Martin, 1997); in this sense, speakers can borrow terminology from regions of language that would often be inappropriate, with context contributing to an understanding of prospective comparisons. In doing so, speakers can draw from registers featuring strong affective meaning, often borrowing from discourses of the desirable or undesirable. By using language derived from discourses of crime and argot, a speaker can suggest inappropriate links between the tenor and register. Similar ideological work and positioning can be performed through alliteration and parallelism, often emphasizing the values of dominant groups and the negative features of the “Other”.

Discourse also contributes to self and other presentation and legitimization of the social. In his analysis of ideology, van Dijk (1998) argues that discourse plays a critical role in the social (and elite) articulation of the appropriate boundaries for knowledge and behavior. Populations acquire and learn their values through systems of knowledge and language, with these systems constituting the very basis for group membership and exclusion as well as the norms, beliefs and ideologies of a given society. These rules go on to contribute to individual and group behavior and often serve to justify existing social institutions and discrepancies in power and opportunity. This process of justification is particularly important during times of crisis and conflict, where moral and legal principles influence considerations of the appropriate and inappropriate. Discourse and legitimation is vital during conflict, where local, state and national interests are at stake.

The ability to establish and legitimate the boundaries for the social is a tremendously powerful cultural and social resource, as the public is in many ways reliant on these message systems in their daily lives. Yet, as we've discussed previously, the power to participate in the public sphere is not equally distributed. While recognizing that legitimation can be a fluid process, influencing values from the top-down or the bottom-up, van Dijk reminds us that elites have more power in establishing the terms of public discussion. By controlling media systems, elites can dominate public discourse, thereby dictating the terms of social norms and values. During this process, elites will not openly refer to their interests, but will instead, "engage in arguments that claim that their actions or policies are for the common good or are good for the dominated groups themselves" (van Dijk, 1998, p. 259). These claims often argue in favor of the status-quo, where elite interests can be upheld by deferring to common sense and tradition, potentially dissolving consideration of partisanship and self-service.

The status quo and elite interests can be upheld through language, making its analysis vital. With a natural, though in some places incomplete, hegemony over symbolic resources, elites can control the meanings for social phenomena and therefore the minds of entire populations (Glasser & Gunther, 2005; van Dijk, 1998). The act of legitimation and delegitimation can occur through a number of discursive means: by derogating group members; challenging speaker rights to discourse; inaccurate and decontextualized citations; emphasis on social violations; negative speaker characterization; challenging speaker claims, integrity and veracity (for an excellent application of these techniques see Rinanawi, 2007; van Dijk, 1998, p. 260-262).

Discourse analysis, thoughts and problems

With an admittedly incomplete background of discourse, and critical discourse analysis behind us, one final explanatory task remains. Before discussing the universe of this research and ultimately moving onto analyzing the data, it is necessary to locate my research paradigm among the others, pointing to its potential contribution and recognizing its flaws.

Operating from a critical position gives the scholar a unique contribution to understanding discourse processes. This paradigm allows the researcher to have a socio-political position within their discipline (van Dijk, 2001). It is this position that inspires the critical discourse analyst to reveal relations of power and dominance within language in order to have a socially active role. This line of research is not confined to representing these structures, but is instead oriented toward understanding and indeed, challenging, the production and reproduction of social dominance. However, this critical role comes at some cost. Wetherell (2001a) acknowledges that this perspective can complicate findings. Other scholars have suggested that critical discourse analysis is problematic because of, in Wetherell's terms, "[t]he world is already known and is pre-interpreted in light of the analyst's concerns" (p. 385), contributing to a potential bias influencing the reliability of data.

I would respond to these claims by pointing to Lindlof and Taylor's (2002) suggestion that qualitative research should be less concerned with reliability than its quantitative counterpart. Using their terms, reliability is less relevant because of the:

[I]nterpretivist assumption of multiple, changing realities. If the meanings of the social world are continually changing – and the investigator's own understandings

also change in relation to the scene under study – then replication of results via independent assessments is neither practical nor possible. (p. 239)

Further, Wetherell responds by reminding that the critical analyst is not compromised by their expertise, but instead needs such expertise in order to understand and illuminate the social context (p. 386).

In response to these debates, I humbly admit the internal, subjective biases that inform my perspective and thereby my findings. In the interests of self-disclosure, I participated in the 2003 anti-war protests from my hometown of Portland, Oregon. From my perspective, the protest was a beautiful sight. I was surrounded by Buddhist monks who meditated in hopes of peaceful resolution. Anarchists, demonstrating against the temptations of global imperialism marched alongside veterans of the Vietnam War who opposed U.S. involvement in Middle Eastern affairs. Young students marched against a war that their peers would soon be asked to fight, hand in hand with demonstrators that could very well have been their grandparents and great grandparents. Both demonstrations prior to the U.S. invasion took place on glorious winter and spring days, an unlikely scenario in the Pacific Northwest. I marched next to a group of Catholic protesters who read our fortunate weather as God's endorsement of our action. In short, I felt that this diversity was exactly what democracy is supposed to look like.

At the time these were the largest social demonstrations in Portland's history. They have both since been eclipsed by a John Kerry/John Edwards rally in 2004 and a Barack Obama rally in 2008. I was also opposed to the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions from the earliest stages and participated in a variety of other protest activities. Further, and perhaps more to this study, *The Oregonian's* coverage of the 2003 protests

contributed significantly to my decision to begin graduate school. Frankly speaking, I, like many other Oregonians, was discouraged by *The Oregonian*'s account of the demonstrations. Like many of the other national protests, and despite the record turnout of citizens, *The Oregonian* ignored the initial wave of local and national protests in spite of its "liberal" reputation. Many of the protesters I talked to would later refer to *The Oregonian* as *The War-egonian*. When the demonstrations did break into their coverage, *The Oregonian* and other media outlets, including the local broadcast media, deferred to what I considered to be many of the same protest coverage strategies discussed above. The initial protest media coverage left me feeling that our voices were insignificant; when coverage did emerge I was discouraged that our collective voices and goals were negated by coverage that focused on a few troublemakers and the Starbucks and McDonald's windows they allegedly broke.

Because of these influences, I make no claims of objectivity. Rather, and adopting Wetherell, Lindlof and Taylor's position that this background allows for a greater and unique exploration of the data, particularly as it contributes to the ongoing discussions of ideology, media content and news discourse.

This Research

Operating off of the above assumption that language and communication demonstrates the social world, constructing and constituting the subjectively real (Wetherell, 2001b) requires the additional belief that understanding discourse is vital for uncovering the very foundation of understanding and meaning making. Communication is more complex than simple production and reception models, requiring a greater

understanding of the performance and effects of language use (Searle, 1992), and consideration as to, “how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have” (Fairclough & Wodak, 2003, p. 275). Discourse is valuable in its ability to investigate the social effects of communication, including the behavior of language and its illocutionary and perlocutionary functions (Austin, 1975). This analysis allows scholars to explore the creation and demonstration of ideological boundaries and highlight these performances; as van Dijk (1998) reminds, “[i]f we want to know what ideologies actually look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced, we need to look closely at their discursive manifestations” (p. 6).

With that as a pretext, I intend to perform a critical discourse analysis of the February 15th, 2003, Moscow-Pullman Friendship Square anti-war protest. This investigation intends to probe the discursive construction and deconstruction of this movement and attend, though not limit itself, to many of the discursive tactics identified above for the presence of potentially hegemonic or delegitimizing devices within these accounts. By carefully examining discourse we can begin to illuminate some of the social structures influencing this construction.

In order to do so, I have collected all available newspaper coverage of these protests between February 15th and February 28th. These dates were selected to accommodate Oliver and Myers’ (1999) suggestion that it is important to investigate a broad series of dates so as to include as much of the coverage volume as possible. This two-week period was selected, first to include all immediate and following newspaper coverage within the community to account for possible structural and organizational distinctions that may affect the news routines of small newspapers. These dates allowed

for the inclusion of both daily (*The Lewiston Tribune*, *The Spokesman Review*) and semi-daily (*Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, *The Daily Evergreen*) and bi-weekly (*The Argonaut*) newspapers within the community where staffing, publishing and printing requirements may interfere with immediate publication. Secondly, this timeframe allowed for the inclusion of editorial, commentary and community articulation of the movement as well. While this research was principally interested in the construction of the antiwar movement, this initial reading did allow for potential news coverage of demonstrations favoring the administration position regarding Iraq. Available articles will be featured in the analysis in order to potentially contrast these positions as well as further develop the methods used in articulating the potential boundaries for democratic action.

Informing this research are the principles associated with emergent, qualitative research design, which suggest that this initial coverage must be read prior to making significant decisions regarding the direction of the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This method respects the presence of an interactive researcher, who builds her research from steps previously taken. This perspective suggests that, as meanings are fluid and regularly negotiated, it would be impossible to anticipate every potential construction and reality present within a text. Rather, themes from the discourse must come from the text itself, and not be imposed from without. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that this may require:

At times only simple refinements in procedure or a simple adjustment in questions to be asked may be called for, but at other times an investigator may strike out on a wholly new tack as a result of a single insight. Such matters cannot be

anticipated preordinately, nor can programs be built before the fact that will make the needed adjustments automatically. (p 102-3)

This perspective requires the flexibility to respond to idiosyncrasies within research that may develop or indicate potential distinctions from previous research and expectation.

In order to isolate the representation of the Friendship Square protest, as opposed to the coverage of other regional, state and national protests, I performed a close reading of the articles that this search generated in order to identify coverage of the Friendship Square protest and thereby cull any irrelevant data. This initial, careful reading was necessary in order to ensure that this data did not discount *any* discussion of the Friendship Square protest, particularly as it may be buried late within or behind other articles discussing the national or international protests. Principally, and following the principles of emergent design, this first reading informed all of my future readings and analysis. This first perusal of data was a strict reading, freeing the researcher from any highlighting or note-taking requirements.

The next stage included a rereading of the articles and initial documentation of unusual and prominent discursive constructs. This second reading allowed for preliminary identification of potential themes and overarching democratic and social discourses. Before any detailed and systemic analysis, no fewer than three additional readings were employed. This was an attempt to elaborate on these preliminary themes , eliminating outstanding and unrelated topics. A final series of readings were included to compare content and concluded when discursive saturation was reached. At this stage, additional readings no longer provided substantial or significant new results for

discussion. Finally, these findings were collected, organized and developed within the body of this thesis, arranged according to thematic prominence and import.

Analysis

Introduction

Before moving into the formal analysis a quick discussion of some of the problems that emerged in this research as well as a quick documentation of the categorical findings in this initial coverage is necessary. To begin, there were only four initial, ‘objective’ articles representing the Moscow-Pullman protest, with the *Spokesman Review* offering no coverage of the protest. I qualify the coverage as only producing four “objective” accounts as each newspaper offered a number of editorial commentaries, opinion commentaries and letters to the editor. This is also not to suggest that *The Spokesman* failed to cover any of the anti-war protests; indeed they gave considerable newsprint to Spokane’s protest (Culver, 2003, p. B1; Shors, 2003, p. B1) as well as a pro-administration rally in approximately equidistant Sandpoint, Idaho (Clouse, 2003, p. B1) and a broad article respecting the national and international protests (de Leon, 2003, p. 15); rather, the smaller Moscow-Pullman protest simply failed to register to *The Spokesman Review*.

The Spokesman Review’s response to their regional protest is worthy of note in that it would appear to confirm concerns of selection bias. However, as this omission provided no discourse to examine, it falls outside of the purview of this study. Future research should consider analyzing these events, particularly as this coverage uncovered a variety of interesting discursive elements, particularly the headline characterizing the Sandpoint demonstration as being a “pro-military rally”, with obvious consequences for the peace protests (Clouse, 2003, p. B1) and the oppositional placement of the departing National Guard 1161st Transportation Company with the Spokane demonstration (Shors,

2003, B6). In this sense, a broader examination of the national landscape may be worthwhile.

The Pacific Northwest Inlander offered some coverage of the Spokane area protests and a significant amount of editorial and opinion content regarding the pending invasion but did not offer any substantive coverage of the Friendship Square protest (T. McGregor, T. Rendell, personal correspondence, March 13, 2003). Although a comparative analysis between this newspaper and *The Spokesman* would be an interesting follow-up study, it is also outside of the boundaries of this thesis and will therefore not be considered for analysis.

Three other university newspapers were not considered for this research project, based on circulation and service orientations that, based on personal correspondence, did not include either of the Moscow or Pullman communities. Spokane's two universities, Gonzaga and Whitworth, and Lewiston's Lewis and Clark State College each offer student publications. Gonzaga's *The Bulletin* is roughly bi-monthly and caters to the Gonzaga student body and the immediate Spokane neighborhood (J. Shiosaki, personal correspondence, March 13, 2008). *The Whitworthian* is a weekly oriented toward its student body, the local Spokane community and its regional subscribers (J. Linabary, personal correspondence, March 10, 2008). Lewis Clark State College's *The Pathfinder* is a weekly also oriented toward its student body and its immediate neighborhood (C. Bloosmberg, personal correspondence, March 10, 2008). As each of these publications exclude the communities of Moscow or Pullman, these newspapers were not be included in the analysis. None of these newspapers offered any coverage of the Friendship square protest.

With only four direct accounts of the Moscow-Pullman protest, some may object to claims regarding the potential representativeness of this examination. I address this concern by deferring to Lindlof and Taylor's (2002) justification that qualitative studies be less concerned with issues of sample size than their quantitative counterpart as no claims of statistical power or generalizability are made. Eschewing a positivist, objective ontology in favor of a post-positivist, post-structuralist orientation prefers understanding over prediction (Lincoln & Guba, p. 30). As this study includes the entirety of the local, print universe of the Moscow-Pullman protest, it serves as an excellent source of how the local newspapers contribute to constructions of local meaning for this protest, and protests, generally. Further, this analysis makes not claims of a single, coherent and emergent 'truth'. As I hope is clear in the above methodological section, the meaning-making process is tremendously complex, with a variety of social, psychological, contextual and idiosyncratic factors that all play a part in the construction of meaning. Simply put, media accounts do not systematically program populations. Rather, local and national media serve as one of many additional sources and factors that contribute to generating meaning of world events. The following accounts will be grounded in previous accounts of other discourse and media analysts, and will offer only one source contributing to this process among many others. With that established, I will begin by investigating the individual accounts before moving into a comparative analysis of this coverage.

This study generated a number of interesting points of analysis and comparison. Before beginning, and as a point of clarification, the final discussion and analysis will include references to *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning*

Tribune as the professional media where both papers share emerging thematic tendencies. Likewise, I will refer to *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* as the university media in situations where they share thematic characteristics. I made this decision as both a time-saving device and a method of highlighting and clarifying these potential distinctions and similarities. I would like to emphasize that these terms are *not* an attempt to evaluate the quality or professionalism of these media. The university journalists are paid positions, though perhaps like their professional counterparts not paid well. Many of these students take their positions as university reporters very seriously, often in preparation for careers in journalism following graduation. Finally, in the defense of the university papers, they exhibited a more mature or developed orientation toward service and democratic goals than their professional counterparts. These qualifiers are only an attempt to differentiate between these media when appropriate.

An initial, cursory examination of these media revealed that the two university newspapers are significantly smaller in size and scope than their professional counterparts. The larger formats of *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* will obviously impact the available news space for local events, just as *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* operate with a smaller scope given their format considerations. Both professional newspapers include multiple, separate sections, almost always with inclusive commercial content. The university papers are largely based on a single book, magazine type format and often include additional commercial inserts, though to a lesser extent than the professional newspapers. Also, the university papers regularly include supplementary sections as they relate to local cultural, political and athletic events (i.e. Washington State University football games, the

University of Idaho's Lionel Hampton Jazz Festival and graduation commencement and homecoming subsections).

Reporting idiosyncrasy and clarification

A variety of red flags emerged during early readings of this data, most commonly concerning how individuals and groups were identified and attributed titles, positions and group memberships. I suspect that a significant portion of these idiosyncrasies in coverage developed when many of the same sources were included across each of the newspaper accounts. Often these four different accounts of the same event produced a confusing picture of the reported subjects and groups. This subsection will attempt to clarify some of this confusion.

First, the four articles identify the presence of several different participating groups that, given the size of the protest and similarities in their names lead me to conclude that they are the same. These "different" groups include: the Sleepless Women of the Palouse; the Sleepless Women group; Sleepless Women; and the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration.

Kenton Bird is cited in three of the articles examined (*The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Argonaut*). Within these articles he is attributed a variety of memberships and identities including: emcee/master of ceremonies and assistant professor of communication. Dr. Elizabeth Blanks-Hindman advised me that Bird is also a former editor at *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*. None of the papers referenced his former position.

Much the same can be said for Patricia Hart's inclusion. She is referred to as: a University of Idaho communication professor; a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition; leader of the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration; and a member of the Sleepless Women. None of the papers referred to Kenton Bird or Patricia Hart as Doctors of Philosophy.

The Lewiston Morning Tribune includes commentary from World War II veteran Stan Thomas. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* includes commentary from Stanley Thomas, a Moscow resident and member of the Palouse Peace Coalition and *does not* refer to him as a veteran. *The Argonaut* also incorporates Stanley Thomas and qualifies him as both a Moscow resident and World War II veteran. The similarity in his quoted text leads me to conclude that Stan Thomas and Stanley Thomas are the same person.

Kathy Neary appears as a pastor at the Washington State University campus Methodist Church and a Christian in *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. *The Argonaut* refers to Kathy Neary as a United Methodist campus minister at WSU.

One final note

As much as possible, I developed the analytical sections in roughly the same fashion for each of the newspapers. Each of the following sections will include a description of the positioning and extra-discursive visual and layout considerations (The Semiotics of Protest), discussion into how the protest was positioned among other contextual political events (Positioning the Protests' Day), how the selection and highlighting of the non-political and unusual acts to confuse its political basis (Trivialization and Protest Potpourri), how vague accounting and paraphrasing serves to

dilute protest purpose (Diluting the Opposition), the ways that summarization and semantic characterization serves to cast the movement as partisan, radical or naïve (delegitimizing the movement), and the ways that these local accounts position protest as a democratically valid means of expression while failing to explain the purpose behind the event, itself (Fetishizing Involvement). Where appropriate, additional sections will be included to incorporate discursive events that appear idiosyncratic to their coverage. This analysis will attempt to move chronologically through the protest coverage, beginning with *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, the first regional paper to discuss the local demonstration. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* offered the next account of the event, followed by *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut*.

The Lewiston Morning Tribune

This coverage of Saturday's protest began on page 1C, the lead page of The Lewiston Morning Tribune's Northwest Section of the Sunday edition (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C, 7C). Before beginning the textual analysis of this article, we must first deconstruct the other semiotic systems represented within this message.

The Semiotics of Protest

This discussion contributes to the final analysis by complementing the following textual and semantic accounts of the event by offering a brief semiotic analysis. These discussions are an attempt at addressing Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen's (1997) warning, couched within their discussion on discourse semiotics, suggesting that discourse analysts avoid multi-modal analysis at their own peril. This suggestion follows from their argument that visual representations are as vital to understanding meaning as any textual analysis. They go on to argue that communicators use both graphic images and depictions serve the same purpose as linguistic messages, "[t]he maker of the sign seeks to produce the most apt representation of her or his meaning. The sign-maker's interest is therefore coded directly in the formal means of representation and communication" (p. 259). Perlmutter and Wagner (2004) agree in reminding that visual representations are vitally important for understanding mediated messages, as most viewers are reliant on media agents to "report to us what they allege they saw, show us what they claims to have 'captured' on video, film or digital media and, often, tell us what we should think about what we are being shown" (p. 102). These messages are additionally relevant given their ideological component, where the presence and negation

demonstrate author motivations and potential audience effects (Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 264).

In this analysis, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* article begins just below the fold, but the large picture of the protest, immediately above the article itself, is positioned above the fold. The headline, below the fold and between the photograph and the body text, reads “Peace has its day”. Immediately to the right of the picture is the subscript “[a]bout] 350 people gather in Moscow’s Friendship Square to rally for peace. Saturday’s war protest featured several speakers who condemned the Bush administration’s policy toward Iraq” (p. 1C). Between the picture and subscript, this account occupies the entire horizon of the lower top-half of the newspaper. The picture itself is comparable with the representations in competing newspapers, and therefore not significantly different in terms of the newsprint occupied.

Noteworthy is that the picture was taken from above the protest, with the photographer presumably gazing down on a circle of speakers, flags, and banners. In this depiction the audience is similarly positioned so as to look down on the protest, above the protest below. This semiotic positioning is important because, as Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen (1997) argue, “relations of power are coded by the position of the viewer in vertical relation to the object: if the object is more powerful we look up to it; if we are more powerful, we look down on it” (p. 276). This scene is an excellent example of how symbolic and iconic positioning does ideological work; the editorial selection of this perspective suggests both a social distance between the audience and the actors and the relative powerlessness of the protest congregation, a theme that *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* would repeat.

Also, the positioning of the article itself (1C) further suggests a devaluation of the protests, signifying low levels of perceived editorial importance. Neil Postman's (1992) analysis of television news suggests that the appearance, prominence and positioning of news items indicates perceptions of editorial significance, beliefs and value systems (p. 20). van Dijk (1988) essentially agrees that the same holds for print: "If an event matches the criteria spelled out in the news values, then it attracts more attention and has a higher chance of being selected by the journalist as a potential news event" (p. 111). In this sense, the late, internal positioning (1C, 7C) of the protest suggests both a low general editorial evaluation of the local significance of this protest and serves to indicate the greater news value of earlier articles.

Positioning of the Protest's Day

One of the tendencies emerging throughout these accounts was for journalists to discursively position the protest in ways that create logical and necessary opposition to the protesters and their aims. A routine method of doing so, and well developed in communication research, is the tendency to characterize events in dualistic, 'us/them' terms. In doing so, speakers both draw boundaries of appropriate behavior and identity while also naturalizing conflict and opposition among groups. To demonstrate how this works, this section will analyze the article's headline for the protest event. Certainly, some may object to claims made from a single, isolated utterance. I contend that the following reading is valid given that many of the characteristics of this section will also be found in subsequent sections, and in a variety of ways, and are potentially indicative of other journalistic predilections. Rather, the analysis of this headline serves as the

foundation for the remaining analyses. Further, although headlines are but a single component of any mediated news event, they also carry greater discursive power given their strategic prominence and size relative other newsprint. As van Dijk (1988) argues, headlines and leads provide the major topics and macrostructure for the text itself (p. 53).

Coinciding with the iconic devaluation of the protest, as noted in the above, is its discursive devaluation, beginning with the headline “Peace has its day” (1C). Of particular importance is the selection and placement of the possessive adjective, “its”. I contend that this selection carries significant ideological weight, particularly as it positions protesters from non-protesters and indicates its relative location along a hierarchical system of evaluation. This subsection leans heavily on Potter and Wetherell’s (2001) discussion that the communication of attitudes involves, “taking some idea or object of interest and giving it a position in an evaluative hierarchy” (p. 201). This ranking and positioning is important given that utterances, and particularly attitude-statements, often have additional rhetorical and pragmatic meaning in relation with and as they respond to others (Billig 2001). Billig continues by arguing that the presence of these evaluative attitude-statements often relates to the degree of controversy respecting the evaluated. By their definition, protests are contentious events – the very act of protesting requires some kind of opposition. Because of this contention, the protest will be increasingly subject to evaluative descriptors.

By claiming that peace, and perhaps the movement generally, had “its” day the protest event can be carefully compartmentalized and segregated from other, routine, “days”. This rhetorical effort signals a logical break from the normal, particularly given journalistic conventions. If we adopt Gans’ (2004) suggestion that suitable news stories

highlight issues of novelty and importance, nominating this peace's day suggests a temporary departure from the natural and the normal.

This account makes other suggestions by borrowing on the discourse of gaming, a metaphor that can only have meaning insofar as one can infer a competitor. Turner (1969) suggests this possibility, given that the bargaining stage of political redress often consists of participants symbolically managing the perception of the event, where “[t]he disturbance soon becomes a move in a competitive game, to be met by minimal and calculated concessions” (p. 829). Operating from Billig’s discussion on Bakhtinian dialogic communication, this day of peace is positioned in a way that, in order to remain meaningful, requires opposition. Davies and Harré (2001) describe the act of positioning as “the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants” (p. 264). By positioning the protest against an unidentified, though necessary opposition, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* clearly articulates the players in this event. With the sides chosen, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* can move to ranking those directly and indirectly involved. By discussing this day in opposition to other days, days that peace presumably does not ‘have’, continues the metaphoric and discursive opposition to peace. By acknowledging peace’s turn, and a very short turn given that every other day is allocated to its opposition, peace is cast as the aberration to the normal, if not necessarily pro-war, certainly apolitical status-quo.

The oppositional pairing of peace against an indifferent, and possibly antagonistic norm reflects on the protest participants as well. In the utterance “Peace has its day”, peace is operating as a metonym for the protest participants, substituting the protest goal for the protesters themselves. Figurative language, including metaphor and metonymy,

serve both an aesthetic and ideological function, being designed to, “reinforce – not to challenge – dominant conceptual frames” (Gill & Whedbee, 1997, p. 172-179). Further, I contend that Chilton and Schäffner’s (2003) discussion on the role of metaphor in allowing for potential speakers to avoid *directly* face-threatening audiences also apply to discussions of metonymy. By using figurative language, speakers can proscribe appropriate readings of social behaviors with less risk of being identified as advocating a partisan or activist position.

Discursively positioning the protester’s day against a status quo serves to entrench dominant ideologies, where activism, and peace activism specifically, is regarded as a potential threat to these elite positions. Reese and Buckalew (1995) describe journalist utilization of a similar strategy during protests of the first Persian Gulf War. In their discussion they found that the oppositional positioning of peace activists and peace protests against the pro-administration or status quo perspective allowed for little discursive space for the anti-war movement. Despite activist objections and attempts to dictate the terms of their emerging identity, this often put protesters in the unenviable, and rhetorically condemned, position of being against a presumably pro-troop or pro-American position.

Trivialization and Protest Potpourri

In the body of the article, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* adopts a variety of well-documented methods of discouraging identification with movements and trivializing the protest and protest participants. This section will address how discursive backgrounding and overcomplete characterizations direct readers away from substantive concerns,

highlight the unusual and the irrelevant, and generally encourages a reading that marginalizes protest participants.

Throughout its coverage, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* discursively associates protest significance with a variety of individual, idiosyncratic or unusual behaviors of some of the participants. This tendency renders the protest as a seemingly random collection of individual acts or suggests a falsely political movement with only a shallow understanding of underlying complexities and thereby denying a greater democratic purpose for the demonstrators. As much is suggested in the subscript associated with the protest picture, “[r]ally draws crowd to Friendship Square to hear speeches, anti-war slogans” (Gannon, p. C1). This description, most notably, has *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* attributing the purpose of the protest to citizens gathering to, “hear speeches [and] anti-war slogans” and *not* to directly oppose the war, provide potential alternatives to the escalating conflict or to appeal to their elected representatives to permit the U.N. investigations to continue. This continues until the third paragraph, where speakers at the event are ambiguously described as “talk[ing] of peaceful solutions to the conflict in Iraq and urg[ing] the crowd to become involved” (p. C1). Yet, and as we will discuss later, at no point are these solutions or opportunities for involvement ever outlined.

A focus on crowd oddities coincided with the above articulations of an uncertain protest purpose. These accounts often highlighted the idiosyncrasies of the event, including discussions of protester clothing and age, as well as the pets and objects brought to the demonstration at the expense of directly incorporating the voice of protesters, their aims, purpose or prospective resolutions to the conflict. This tendency first emerges in the second paragraph: “[t]he dyed flags with the word “peace” in more

than 50 languages surrounded Moscow's Friendship Square" (p. C1). Later, the exposition would move to the composition of the audience, "[t]he crowd was a mix of all ages and colors. Even dogs were protesting, wearing signs that said 'Bombs kill animals, too' and 'Don't unleash the dogs of war'" (p. C1).

This tendency is consonant with Todd Gitlin's (2003b, p. 27) description of the deprecatory framing device of 'trivialization' and Dov Shinar's (2000) discussion on the discourse of trivialization. These perspectives hold that the media will tend to focus on trivial events and activities within the broader peace movement, including protester actions, language, dress, age, and style as a means of delegitimizing the interests and purpose of the movement. These tendencies closely mirror van Dijk's (1998) discussion on how detail can be used to indicate additional ideological meaning within an account. This detail includes the "relatively incomplete", where an account is insufficiently descriptive or vague, and the "overcomplete", where accounts, "express propositions that are in fact contextually irrelevant for the comprehension of an event... but are nevertheless included in the semantic representation of a description" (p. 268). By attending to actions, events and exposition irrelevant to the aims of the protest event journalists dilute potential audience interest and sympathy. In focusing on alternative messages and indirect accounts newspapers can appeal to the ideology of objectivity while minimizing concerted, thoughtful and critical discussion within its pages.

The ultimate treatment and representation of sources is a concern for media activists, protest participants and the public generally. Direct representation is a concern because, in van Dijk's terms (1988), the use of direct participant quotations makes for livelier and 'truer' content, conveying, "both the human and the dramatic dimension of

news events. News actors are represented as real actors in that case, playing or replaying their own role” (p. 87). As van Dijk suggests, active participation within news accounts can contribute to audience identification with and understanding of speaker aims, yet both *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and, as will be developed in the following section, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, diminished the effectiveness of the movement by reducing the opportunities for protesters to directly articulate their aims, giving substantial news space to the secondary, and often shallow, oppositional peace messages manifest in protest signs, banners and other symbols. Another example follows the protesting dogs from above:

Many people held signs challenging President Bush. “Preemptive impeachment,” “Drop Bush, not bombs,” and “More trees, less Bush,” were popular displays as well as words against fighting a war for oil such as “11th Commandment, ‘thou shall not covet thy neighbors oil,” and “How’d my oil get under your sand?”

Jo Bahna held a large white fabric banner that simply said “Peace” in red letters. She asked people to sign the banner, which she would like to make into a quilt. (p. 1C)

By backgrounding and omitting direct protester accounts, justifications and rationale in favor the colorful, though often polemic, accounts of movement signs, the two papers incorporate an element of protest discourse, but do so in a way that suggests the primacy of a partisan and ideological opposition to President Bush over a general opposition to the war or prospective possibilities for peace. This tendency is maintained within the initial three protest signs, only one of which features any content directly respecting the pending war. The “Drop Bush, not bombs” sign does resemble a peace message but only after

preferring President Bush as a subject. The signs that follow articulate an opposition to a war for oil, but not war, generally. These accounts fail to effectively articulate peace aims within the context of the broader peace movement by highlighting a vitriolic or vague opposition to administration claims at the expense of the potential admission of the active deliberations of its participants.

The Lewiston Morning Tribune's coverage rendered a depiction of a protest with only ambiguous purpose. The article consistently emphasized a number of vague opportunities for individuals to 'become involved', although absent were suggestions as to why people should become involved. While the protest did present, "a chance for participants to join peace organizations," almost no print was devoted to developing what these groups stand for (1C). The accounting of the genesis of the 'Sleepless Women' demonstrates this tendency:

UI communication professor Patricia Hart said the Sleepless Women group has been a long time in the making, although the group didn't get together formally until Monday.

For the last year and a half, Hart said she's been taking long walks to think about her concerns with the country.

Other women would see her, invite her in for tea and talk about their concerns, too.

As a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition she was wondering how to connect all these women. She invited about 20 to her home Monday, and the group came to the rally carrying signs and wearing stickers that said 'Code Pink', which was to stand for peace.

These four paragraphs develop this emergent group, yet provide no details about the group other than vacuous references to their political and social “concerns”. Also notable are references to the recency and impermanence of the group, serving to indicate its transient nature. Calling attention to the recent formation of the group, particularly given the provisional nature of the single “day” of protests, encourages suggestions of a fickle, insubstantial or insincere movement. The articulation of this group mirrors the movement as a whole, with both constructed as only vaguely political.

At no point does a clear articulation of the peace protest purpose emerge. Rather, the voices incorporated within *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*'s coverage discouraged protest understanding by preferring attacks on the Bush administration and reassurances of protests validity, despite pleading for involvement. Finally, absent in these quotations was any direct opposition to the war or justifications for such opposition. Rather, the paper offered vague, indirect opposition by paraphrasing original utterances such that these messages fail to provide any clear vision for the movement.

Delegitimization of the Movement

As discussed earlier, news media demonstrate a reluctance to discuss matters of social and political significance, particularly when these positions challenge elite policy or privileged readings of social matters (Bagdikian, 2000; Chomsky, 2002; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Gans, 2004; Berman, 2004; van Dijk, 1993). Rather than potentially alienating elite and corporate interests, controversial topics can be discussed in ways that discourage alternatives and reduce opposition to elite policy and convention. This section will continue to develop the methods that newspapers can use to inhibit sympathy for

oppositional social events by omitting and summarization, both principle to the dilution of the movement, as well as semantic characterizations to cast the peace protesters as ideologically partisan, childishly naïve, or in the company of radical “others”.

To build this case, this section considers the text that surrounds the above discursive strategies of omission and summary. For this discussion it is this adjacent text that plays a significant role in defining protest and protester identity. These two techniques are similar both textually and pragmatically, so before beginning I would like to clarify my meaning. This tendency is most evident in those situations where speaker accounts create an anticipated justification or discussion, neither of which will follow. It is the text adjacent to discursive omission and summary that create an unfulfilled expectation for later elaboration. This summary and omission creates a rhetorical vacancy, where a fundamental premise, justification or explanation is absent, leaving a rhetorically feeble discussion. Often these vacancies are filled with qualitatively different, unrelated or only tangentially related assertions. I will attempt to make the case that, by creating and then failing to meet these expectations, journalists implicate the protest movement as uncertain, with the protesters themselves being unreliable, unwilling or unable to explain their positions.

Following from the previous section, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* tactically maintained an image of the protest being a partisan, ideologically radical social action by granting prominence to attacks on the Bush administration and the pending war policy without ever substantiating protester claims or offering proposed alternatives. As we have already discussed (and will continue to discuss in a following section), *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* both provided little indication as

to the nature of the protest or the prospective solutions. Because of this tendency, speakers were often depicted as naïve proponents of vacuous rhetoric and, ironically because of the reactionary nature of this protest, positioned as instigators of the conflict. The most vivid example comes from Kajsa Stromberg, “[t]he hostile rhetoric of the Bush administration is not making us safer. Instead, under this leadership, the United States is making ourselves the most serious threat to world peace and security,’ she said, garnering applause from the crowd” (1C).

Stromberg’s statements establish an illusion of critical content while also, by generating and ultimately reneging on expectations of support or elaboration, thereby positioning the protest as politically vacuous and its participants as partisan demagogues. In her speech she makes two distinct claims: that administration rhetoric is not making us safer; and that the United States is threatening world peace. Ultimately *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* supports or develops neither claim. In so doing, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* omits the grounds necessary for understanding protest aims, leaving the audience to fill in the gaps. Absent a full discussion, Stromberg (and the other protesters, as evident in their support) is allowed very little ground for her claims, and encourages readings of her performance as an act of the politically naïve or an ideological provocateur.

Perhaps Stromberg articulated the justification for her opposition to the war elsewhere during the protest. In either case, the reader is left with little recourse given that this selection offers nothing to establish her claims. Further, this sets the boundaries for an us/them binary, encouraging distinctions between “their” irrational ideological positions, against an unstated, though implicit reasoned position. By highlighting this

selection and consistently omitting any potential basis for her (*or any!*) rational or logical opposition to Bush administration claims, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* constructs the protesters as the illogical advocates of unfounded ideologies. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* extends this ideological boundary around the whole of the protest by highlighting the crowd's identification with and approval of her position through their applause. This process demonstrates an important component of ideological reproduction, van Dijk's (1998) "ideological square", where communication advantages the positive presentation of self and negative characterization of 'them' (p. 267). This ideological work is performed by emphasizing information that is positive about "us" and deemphasizing positive information about "them", or minimizing "our" negatives and highlighting "theirs".

Before continuing, I need to add that I essentially agree with van Dijk's (1998) assessment that all groups have ideologies and that these two terms are often mutually defining, with ideology presupposing group membership and membership presupposing shared social and belief systems (p. 142). It is with consideration of this tendency that I recognize that in the "us/them" dyad, certainly "we" have ideologies as well. However, socio-cognitively, and largely because of the negative connotations of the term "ideology", we often only treat "them" as having ideologies, ignoring our ideological beliefs and regarding our group memberships as natural or normal (van Dijk, 1998, p. 100-101). The construction of Kajsa Stromberg and this protest indicates a discursive example of this latter feature; "they" have naïve, unsubstantiated and radical ideologies, the omitted "we" do not.

This is consistent with Todd Gitlin's (2003b) accounting of the tendency of journalism to associate protest with ideological or social deviance. This emerges through the deprecation of, "collective motivations in favor of personal, idiosyncratic reasons" where reporters are looking for, "singular reasons, not political logic" of protest motivation (p. 53). These singular reasons provide an incomplete picture of the diversity of the protest itself while often making simplistic counterarguments and bases for opposition. In another example of this tendency, immediately prior to Stromberg's account, is Washington State University campus Methodist pastor Kathy Neary's contribution, "Neary spoke as a Christian and questioned how other Christians could justify war. 'I think I missed a class in seminary about acceptable reasons for killing foreigners,' Neary joked" (1C). This quotation marks two themes significant to this research: Neary's attempt to offer a moral and ethical grounding for a reasoned opposition to the war is left underdeveloped; further, the potentially consequential purpose of her objection is characterized as a joke, serving to semantically distinguish her commentary from other, serious accounts.

Although she likely intended the comment to be ironic, classifying Neary's comment as a joke borrows from a register of comedy, associating her comment with other events in which comedy plays a central role. It is also noteworthy that the paraphrasing of Neary's position immediately prior fails to articulate her opposition to the war on Christian grounds, but rather questions how existing Christians can support the war. Where others have made similar denunciations of war based on religious and Christian principles (for an excellent example see West, 2004), similar reasoning is

absent in this selection; this provides little commentary on the ethic of killing, generally, or the Christian tradition of opposition to militarism or imperialism.

It is also noteworthy that three accounts of this protest privileged the positions of the religious community within their coverage. I aim to discuss this occurrence as they emerge in each of the following sections, but it is entirely consistent with literature discussing the privileging of elite accounts (Gans, 2004). In this sense, the saturation of news accounts coming from pastors, clergy and other members of the religious community can be attributed to their elite social position and may also indicate a latent validation of protest on theological grounds.

In a final example of the delegitimization of the movement, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* revisits both the ideological square and overcompleteness as a means of discouraging identification with the movement. van Dijk (1998) explains that overcompleteness often occurs when group membership (in his argument, ethnic) is included in discourse that is contextually immaterial for potential understanding (p. 268). *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* takes a similar tack by highlighting Melynda Huskey's association with Washington State University's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual association (which has since evolved into the Gender Identity/Expression and Sexual Orientation Resource Center), "[d]irector of WSU's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual association, Melynda Huskey, asked the crowd to become involved. 'Women, are you sleepless lately?' she asked, and the groups female voices answered back with a resounding 'Yes'" (1C, 7C).

Although the protest featured a wide body of politically and socially diverse groups, as I intend to develop later this section, the selection and integration of her

professional position indicates some level of journalistically perceived news relevance. By highlighting her contextually irrelevant membership, which of course would be pertinent were this a different protest (i.e. marriage equality, sexual politics etc.), *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* makes stark group and cultural difference.

While media representations of the queer community have certainly improved over the last 50 years (Swartz, 2004), others argue that these the representations have simply shifted into a more implicit realm, where personalization and individuation (Dow, 2001), and association and implication have replaced classic, explicit derogatory images invoking deviance, promiscuity and perversion (Battles & Hilton-Morrow, 2002; Bennett, 1998; Russell & Kelly, 2003). A study by the American Society of Newspaper Editors suggests that we should not be surprised by this tendency; a ten-year review of trends within newspaper newsrooms along a variety of content and environmental indices indicate only moderate progress has been made with respect to the coverage of queer issues and anti-gay ideology within the media (Ghiglione, 2000). By continuing the “us’/’them” dualism and insinuating, and indeed insisting upon a relationship between the peace movement and the queer community, a newspaper can further alienate identification by highlighting “their” deviance against “our” moral grounding.

These trends demonstrate the grounds for departing any serious consideration of an objective media, oriented toward democratic service. Through summary, paraphrase and omission, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* largely ignored the objections of the Moscow-Pullman residents, demonstrating at best a tacit support for the status quo and social maintenance; at worst, a democratically contemptuous one.

Diluting the Opposition

In disproving the emerging myth of an oppositional media during the Vietnam war, Daniel Hallin (1984) found that anti-war protest coverage failed to give dissenters opportunities to challenge administration policy claims or to develop alternative positions, instead choosing to focus on “the issues of domestic dissent itself” (p. 14). Similarly, in his investigation into the creation of the news, Herbert Gans (2004) describes that, “systemic restraints prevent journalists from dealing with what radicals – and I use the term loosely – consider to be the fundamental questions about, and the inherent contradictions of, America” (p. 277). *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* coverage corroborate with these findings, with the opposition occurring only through the vaguest of protester accounts or politically and socially anemic paraphrasing, largely diluting the positions of the protesters and their goals. This subsection aims to complement Gans’ and Hallin’s studies by detailing how the practice of summarizing and paraphrasing contribute to a qualitatively incomplete and indeterminate picture of the protest aims.

In building this claim, this section draws heavily on van Dijk’s (1988) analysis of news discourse. At the heart of van Dijk’s discussion on summarization is its essential subjectivity, where summarization, “presupposes personal and professional decisions about what information is most relevant or important and which overall categories, which need not be expressed in source texts themselves, are chosen” (p. 116). This selective highlighting and omitting occurs through four distinct methods of journalistic paraphrase: deletion, addition, permutation, and substitution. Specifically, this subsection is interested in van Dijk’s notion of paraphrasing through deletion:

Whereas summarization involves the transformation of microstructures into macrostructures, news production also may require local transformations of various sorts. Deletion also operates here as a first strategically efficient move. Its conditions may be internal or external. Internal criteria involve decisions or details that are not consistent with the models, scripts, or attitudes of journalists or those (assumed by the journalist) of the readers. External conditions are space limitations or the impossibility to verify an important but controversial detail on the basis of other sources. (p. 117)

Of note, though not particularly surprising given van Dijk's critical orientation, is how closely these internal and external mechanisms coincide with other critical media scholarship. The summarization of information, in its various forms, can either be justified through active attendance to the external commercial imperatives and news demands (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978) or through the internalization of ideology and socialization (Gitlin, 2003b; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Tuchman, 2004). Regardless of origins, the subjective omission of information from the public sphere can effectively impede public understanding of protest movements and democratic deliberation (Bagdikian, 2000).

This section and the following rely heavily on participant accounts of protest participants and speakers. But, simple inclusion of direct or paraphrased protester accounts does not equate to depth of reporting. In this theme I will make the case that, when protesters are used as sources, their comments are often left vague and insubstantial, providing the reader with few resources to understand the protest aims or the logic of the protester opposition. But, and in the interests of being absolutely clear, I

do not mean to imply that these authors do lack a complete or thorough understanding of the social and political realities of the situation. To this point, their involvement in a variety of advocacy, academic and political organizations would, at the very least, provide grounds for suspecting a heightened understanding of these complexities. Likewise, this by no means is intended to suggest that these comments accurately, or even remotely, represent the realm of protester discourse. Rather, this section only deals with those statements as they are *selected* by journalists, and makes no claims of their objectivity or the presence or absence of any comprehensive understanding of the political situation. For, as van Dijk (1988) points out, the very selection of these quotes from among other, possible quotes, as well as editorial decisions to foreground, background, paraphrase and omit content presuppose an editorial and reportorial decision-making that belies any possible claim of objective positivism. These depictions, independent of their authenticity, signal a journalistic choice; a journalistic choice that, in this case, indicates the victory of ambiguity over both lucidity and any potential for meaningful understanding.

In a method consistent with Herman and Chomsky's findings in their argument for the propaganda model, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* uses van Dijk's summarization technique of deletion as a means of eliminating potentially critical content and justifications for elite opposition. These accounts, and those present in the other papers as well, typically involve characterizing the protest in broad strokes, using strategically ambiguous terms, generalized references and vague, largely vacant language. In an account typical of this strategy, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* described the purpose of the protest, in the third paragraph, as, "[a]bout 10 speakers [who] talked of peaceful

solutions to conflict in Iraq and urged the crowd to become involved” (1C). Although the approximately 10 speakers discussed potential alternative courses, remarkably, at no point are the “peaceful solutions” offered. Rather, the paper moves on to Kathy Neary’s statement regarding the importance of political involvement and her objection to Christian support of the conflict. While these descriptions may be “objectively” accurate, they leave the audience empty handed, with only limited resources to infer those prospective solutions.

Before proceeding, an alternative case can be made that this content is vague because the speakers themselves were vague, and therefore no fault of the journalist or her routines. But, as I will attempt to demonstrate throughout, this vague paraphrasing regularly presupposes actual lucid and meaningful content. In practice this acts as such: in order for a journalist to be able to describe the Friendship Square protest as: “About 10 speakers [who] talked of peaceful solutions to conflict in Iraq” requires that solutions and possibly alternatives were actually discussed on stage, solutions that, through the use of paraphrase, are omitted. The above example holds true to all of the following examples of dilution via paraphrase.

The next account introduces the potential for opposition without ever articulating as much. Neary’s statement is followed by Stromberg’s denunciation of the Bush administration, “University of Idaho graduate student Kajsa Stromberg also questioned the logic of going to war. ‘The hostile rhetoric and unilateralism of the Bush administration is not making us safer’” (C1). While introducing a potential fissure within administration claims, the newspaper fails to elaborate any such claims. Instead, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* follows Stromberg’s doubts respecting the logic of war with

her attack directed at the Bush administration's "hostile rhetoric". While obviously leaving out potential justifications for her opposition to the war, the article also uses Holly's (1989) example of the "running-board technique" of implicature, where an unrelated concept is associated with an original, intended meaning, suggesting a relationship between the two (p. 127). Introducing Stromberg's vague opposition to the war creates an expectation that such opposition is pending (Gastil, 1992). Yet, this expectation is never met; instead, by creating the expectation of a justification and instead substituting an attack on the Bush administration, this strategy implicates the rhetorical attack *as* being the justification. In doing so, this strategy suggests either: that there are no justifications for the opposition; or that Stromberg, and the protesters generally, confuse opposition to the war with opposition to the president, and that such resistance is based on vitriolic and ideological hostility.

Again, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* establishes an expectation for thoughtful and reasoned deliberation with University of Idaho communication professor Patricia Hart's discussion of the rich tradition of women in opposition to war. This presents another opportunity for a clear vision of the peace movement, or peace movements generally, in either an historical or contemporary sense. However, the resistance is again minimized so as to be vague and ahistorical: "Hart said women have a historic relationship with peace movements. 'This is nothing new,' she said, adding that anyone can join Sleepless Women" (7C). Without any indication as to what "this" is, Hart's "this is nothing new," is missing even a modicum of social context. Absent an appropriate referent, Hart's dissent and explanation is meaningless.

In a final example of this theme, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* employs a slightly different tactic in overlooking the motivation for the political involvement of a Washington State University student:

Tony Zaragoza, a WSU American studies major, said he's involved in a few groups against the war, such as the Campus Action Network. He's opposed to the war for various reasons and thinks the money spent on a war would be wasted.

He'd rather see money spent to fight poverty, homelessness and disease. (C7)

The Lewiston Morning Tribune again offers a potential objection to the emerging policy, but reduces those objections to "reasons". Semantically there are two points to highlight for further discussion. The trivializing term "various", modifies Zaragoza's "reasons" for opposing the war, suggesting that his justifications, although unidentified, are disparate and unorganized. Announcing that Zaragoza "thinks" that the money allocated for war would be misused permits journalistic distancing and signals a distinction in modality allowing for discursive space in challenging Zaragoza's beliefs on grounds of validity. The discursively fragile "thinks" is semantically weaker than other, more definitive, characterizations of utterances.

Fetishizing Involvement

Perhaps contradictorily, as it was unwilling to justify the purpose for the protest event, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* spent significant amounts of news space discussing the democratic worthiness and efficacy of protesting. Typically this included the protest leadership's excited (and sometimes surprised) response to high local and international turnout and their general appeals for future involvement. This tendency often manifest in

the attribution of sources and summarized accountings of events and unattributed text. Before advancing, a bit of warning; I would be loath to conclude that this coverage was in any way sympathetic to this protest or protests, generally. Expressing favor for the viability of protest, coupled with privileging of only the most vague renditions of what this service means, either personally or socially, and offering no hints as to the greater purpose of the protest decontextualizes any potential understanding of its democratic purpose. By allowing this favorable position for protests without grounding that position in even broad socio-political terms reinforces interpretations of protest as an asinine, absurd and ultimately senseless exercise. Also of note is that the two university papers were similarly prone to this theme. However, as we will discuss later, they were much more likely to develop protester inspiration, and therefore ground these actions with a functional sense. This section will elaborate on this trend by highlighting several examples from *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*.

We've previously discussed how discourse serves as an important resource for the ideological production and reproduction of group identity (van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman & Troutman, 2003). Just as language can establish boundaries for "us" and "them", discourse also influences attitudes toward these respective groups, with news discourse playing a prominent role in this process. The first accounting of this production and articulation of the movement begins in the third and fourth paragraph's cursory articulation of the national and international protest and Kathy Neary's challenge for future involvement:

Sponsored by the Palouse Peace Coalition, the community joined rallies happening all over the world. About 10 speakers talked of peaceful solutions to conflict in Iraq and urged the crowd to become involved.

“It’s not enough to attend one rally,” said Kathy Neary, pastor at the Washington State University campus Methodist Church. “We must change our priorities and work for peace on a continuous basis, each day, every day, until peace is a reality. (1C)

First, grounding the protest in a worldwide context invokes a broad sense of fellowship among the peace community. Unusual, however, is the removal of a protest provocateur; The Moscow-Pullman protest and others around the world are seemingly random, just “happening.” Eliminating the cause of the protest also eliminates an opportunity for understanding protest motivation.

This summary and Neary’s account exemplify the problematic relationship between summary and omission and the seemingly complimentary treatment of demonstrations. Both the unattributed text and Neary’s utterance encapsulate *The Lewiston Morning Tribune’s* inarticulate protest. In the event, speakers “talked of peaceful solutions” and plead with the population to “change our priorities” (1C). These vague references make the following appeals for involvement all the more curious. Prefacing the activists’ cries for involvement with the indefinite objectives of the protest proper suggests an essentially absurd movement. The protest is celebrated, though it is unclear as to why. Rather than being represented as a means of social change, activism or empowerment, protests become worthwhile on their own, an end in itself. In this sense,

and generally speaking, protests can be celebrated as social events like fairs and sporting events, sanitizing or confusing their political genesis.

In the second example of the fetishism of involvement we revisit Melynda Huskey's plea for local activism:

Director of WSU's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual association, Melynda Huskey, asked the crowd to become involved. "Women, are you sleepless lately?" she asked, and the groups female voices answered back with a resounding "Yes".

Huskey invited the women, and men, to do something with their sleepless hours and to organize. (1C, 7C)

As above we discussed above, this example disarms potential understanding of the movement, with Huskey's requests for involvement and pronounced group goals being absent from the discussion. As an example of this fetishism, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* inverts its earlier example by following these requests for involvement with the problem of sleeplessness, omitting the causes of this insomnia. Readers are left on their own to identify the origins of this sleeplessness, despite the emphatic approval that followed. Huskey's response, presented as a solution to their insomnia, confounds comprehension. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* obscures her discussion by failing to clearly link their sleeplessness and anxiety to their political concerns. This obfuscates available justifications and contributes to inferences of the protest as a potentially haphazard collective.

A final example concludes with Stan Thomas' discussion of the historic purpose of protest. To the credit of *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, this series offers some detail

into the diversity of the protest movement as well as outlining a broad understanding for basis of protest:

Other speakers included veterans, lawyers and professors. Stan Thomas, a World War II veteran, commended the people for coming.

“In an ordinary democracy people get together for two reasons – to celebrate and to protest. And in this country, we have a long history of both,” he said, standing between the flags of the United States and the United Nations. He said while politicians usually do the celebrating, they don’t always see the protesting. (7C)

This sequence suggests that Thomas commends attendance at *this* protest because of its equation with historical custom, an appeal to tradition, a logical fallacy where worthiness is argued on the basis of its historical convention and is bereft any local ties.

Also notable is Thomas’ literal positioning between the flags of the United Nations and United States, potentially obscuring his allegiance. Despite protester pronouncements of the United Nations flag as symbolic of an alternative to imperialism and nationalism (Rosen, 2003), many political elites and proponents of the war criticized its use as politically partisan and representative of an ideological fringe (Barringer, 2003). As if to allay potential suggestions of disloyalty, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* continues, “Thomas said the crowd was not there to be anti-American, but was there for two reasons. ‘Because we love our country and we are patriotic’” (7C). Nevertheless, in doing so *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* acknowledges and gives credence to these potential accusations.

While *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* did identify a diverse presence at the protest and incorporated a variety of direct and indirect sources, something that will be discussed in the following section, this accounting consistently avoided any potentially legitimating challenges. At the heart of these vague assertions and appeals are genuine and thoughtful objections to the pending war (for an excellent summary of 2003 anti-war justifications see Chomsky, 2003; Zinn, 2003a). By not explaining these objections the audience is consistently left without the resources to understand the movement.

In terms of its overall semantic and thematic contribution, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune's* coverage diverts significantly from previous protest scholarship. This previous work often pointed to a variety of explicitly derogatory protest themes, something that is predominantly avoided in this coverage. Despite these differences, the pragmatic function of this text is, to a great extent, unchanged. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune's* coverage of the Moscow-Pullman peace protest may avoid direct attacks and denigration of the movement, but it does consistently avoid directly vocalizing the aims of the movement. By selective summarizing and omitting, this coverage dilutes the rhetorical and discursive force of the protest, constructing a politically uncertain movement. When this uncertain behavior is coupled with citizen appeals for involvement suggests a confused and purposeless movement, confounding participation and denigrating political assembly.

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News

Moving chronologically, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* offered the next account of the local protest in its Monday edition (Hamm, 2003, p. 1A, 3A). I would like to emphasize that this delay was not a conscious decision by the editorial staff or a result of newsgathering technique; *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* publishes daily, Monday through Friday, but only offers a single weekend edition. Thus, Monday's coverage was their first publication following the protest. As will be discussed, this coverage included a variety of the methodological and ideological mechanisms of delegitimation, including the above propensity to summarize the protest purpose and omit the various justifications for the protest movement. This reporting was not limited to the above, but also featured more traditional elements of protest coverage including more explicit forms of denigration. The following section will elaborate on *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' treatment of the local demonstrations.

The Semiotics of Protest

In the interest of brevity, this section will defer to the above discussion on semiotic analysis located in the analysis of *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. Recalling that the selection of visual imagery, much like semantic selection, indicate an active choice among other available choices, and therefore potential ideology (Kress, Leite-Garcia & van Leeuwen, 1997), and illustrate what a communicator wishes to be seen (Perlmutter & Wagner, 2004), clearly visual images are legitimate concern for a multi-modal critical discourse analysis.

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News coverage of the protest was prominently featured on page 1A, situated in its upper left corner and occupying approximately one-third of its front page. The words “Peace process” are positioned directly above a large, though narrowly focused picture of a few of the protest participants shot down through the slots of an elevated peace sign. The headline “Speaking Up” is located directly below the scene, with the subscript, “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible American war with Iraq” immediately beneath. Below this script, and surrounded by the article text, is another, smaller picture of a wide shot of the protest itself, apparently taken from above the protest stage. Between the larger picture and the primary headline is the following description of the two scenes:

(Above) Kenton Bird, of Moscow, is seen through a peace sign while speaking at a rally in Moscow’s Friendship Square on Saturday. (Below) The rally was organized by the Palouse Peace Coalition to show opposition to U.S. plans to invade Iraq. (1A)

Both pictures are oriented from a top-down perspective, indicating many of the same attitudinal and social dispositions present in *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* coverage. Here, both pictures were taken from a space above the protest, with the photographer literally looking down to a semi-circle of speakers, flags, and banners. In this depiction the reader is similarly positioned so as to look down on the protest below. This semiotic positioning is important because, as Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen (1997) argue, “relations of power are coded by the position of the viewer in vertical relation to the object: if the object is more powerful we look up to it; if we are more powerful, we look down on it” (p. 276). This scene is an excellent example of the ideological work

accomplished through the alternative symbol systems referred to above; the editorial selection of this perspective suggests both a social distance between the audience and the actors and the relative powerlessness of the protest congregation, a theme that *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* would repeat.

Positioning of the Protest's Day

Essential to this position is the philosophy that language has a significant role in generating and modifying subjective realities. But not all language is afforded the same weight and value. There are a number of methods that language users employ in order to grant prominence and encourage specific and local meanings. On one level of analysis, journalist training and socialization plays a part in the selection of news stories and their organization (Gans, 20004; Tuchman, 1978; Tuchman 2004). Other structural limitations can influence the positioning of news content, particularly available physical news space, formats that constrain the potential for complexity and advertising considerations (Postman, 1985; Postman 1992). In recognizing those research traditions, this work emphasizes the local, micro-level management of content, at the expense of these larger systems.

In media terms, journalists can encourage appropriate readings of social phenomena, and discourage the unfavorable, by foregrounding, backgrounding and outright omitting of news content. At an early stage, journalists are trained to operate using the “inverted pyramid” format of writing (Barley, 1981). Using this model, journalists evaluate and order news content, where initial content is treated as having more value than later content. This thematic meaning has significant implications for

discourse analysis, particularly as selection and organization can reveal ideological tendencies of newsagents.

In its initial coverage of the movement, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* takes a tactic similar to *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, temporally positioning the protest against other ‘normal’ days, and thereby implicating a political turn-taking process. In a tactic very like that used by *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, and situated under the headline “Speaking Up”, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* conveys a conclusion to the protester’s political turn by announcing that the “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible American war with Iraq” (1A). Again, this statement operates from a gaming metaphor, and serves two pragmatic functions: first, by suggesting the conclusion of the protester’s turn, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* limits the potential for future deliberation, discussion or elaboration of protester demands. Following conversational and turn-taking conventions, communicators indicate the completion of a conversational move through vocal inflection, conversational pausing and a variety of other meta-linguistic indicators. By stating the conclusion of the protesters’ turn, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* discourages any potential continuance of peace discourse within the emerging public agenda - to pursue their agenda outside of their metaphoric turn would indicate a communicative belligerence and contempt for the deliberative turn-taking process.

Next, this construction involves the audience as well. Reporting that the Palouse Peace Coalition “has its say” indirectly concludes that the prospective audience to the protest indeed heard their claims and that their purpose was at least partially met. In returning to the “us/they” dynamic, “we” have listened to “their” claims, reinforcing

readings that suggest the conclusion of this alternative, peace discourse in favor of the “normal” or status quo discourse. “We” have rationally listened to “their” grievances and are empowered to decide a future course of action.

Delegitimization of the Movement

Pragmatically, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* used similar techniques to discourage identification and understanding of the protest movement. These similar techniques include depictions of the protest group as an incoherent, uncoordinated mass, ideologically radical and politically inexperienced. Yet the two accounts were also qualitatively distinct, something that I cannot emphasize strongly enough. First, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* demonstrated none of the overt trivialization of the Lewiston paper. And, while *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* preferred vagueness when discussing the protest, they also included some protester concerns and justifications. However, these tendencies were often followed with what, in an illocutionary sense, operated as a disclaimer, distancing the newspaper from the protester accounts. The following section will use the format of the preceding by first offering a brief overview of the presentation semiotics and then moving into the text proper with a discussion into how this image was managed, with a particular emphasis on the use of vagueness to discourage understanding and the fetishism of involvement.

The following discussion relies heavily on the earlier exploration of a variety of discourse mechanisms, as well as the argument that ideological partisanship and discursive isolation impact textual interpretation and potential identification with protest mediated actors. In the interest of timeliness and as an effort to discourage redundancy, I

will refer to authors and previous work as necessary, but will intentionally avoid discussions on the theoretical location of previously discussed material. In doing so I will attempt to paraphrase the previous while consistently indicating my position in relation to previous scholarship. But before beginning, I need to refer back to my earlier claims that associating the movement with political radicals and ideologues can interfere with message reception and adaptation. In taking this position, I argue that by discursively minimizing diversity and highlighting the presence of individual groups, journalists advocate renditions of a politically and socially homogenous collection, a collective that is unrepresentative of a wider population and “us”.

Our first example returns to the subtext immediately below the headline, “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible war with Iraq” (p. 1A). This example defers to the second of the above techniques, discounting the potential diversity of the movement by linking the whole with an individual attendant group. One technique of making these associations is by using possessive adjectives to establish ownership of actions and activities. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* grants the Palouse Peace Coalition possession of the event by describing the opposition as “its”; further, if the protest is “its”, and “theirs,” it is discursively demarcated as not “ours.” This also has implications for othering, as scholars have identified propensity for group members to overlook the diversity of the “other” in recognizing their own. In this sense, “they” are alike, where “we” are different. The tendency to clearly demarcate the boundaries between protesters and resident continue at the very lead of the article, with the tragic parable of demonstrator Michelle Hazen. Before moving into this analysis, a brief discussion on narrative is necessary.

Discourse scholars have argued that narratives are a primary resource for the dissemination, adoption and ultimate retention of constructed histories, persons and relationships (Ochs, 1997). Authors can code the socially significant through a narrative's organization and structure, plot construction, and the selection and emphasis on details demarcating significant events (Gergen, 2001). Social critic and media commentator Neil Postman (1988) made the case that the critical analysis of media content, television advertisements in his case, represents a form of social hermeneutics, where analysis is required to explain and understand the messages therein: "As in all parables, behind the apparent simplicity there are some profound ideas to ponder. Among the most subtle and important is the notion of where and how problems originate," (p. 68). Postman maintains the religious symbolism of media content where, in his words, these parables will "put forward a concept of sin, intimations of the way to redemption, and a vision of Heaven. They also suggest what are the roots of evil and what are the obligations of the holy," (p. 67). The following parable leads *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' coverage of the Friendship Square protest:

Michelle Hazen grew up learning to trust the president, respect his decisions and never second-guess authority.

When she began to travel and do community service, she met groups of people who didn't think the president was always right.

Hazen adopted their ideals and now, in the shadow of war, believes wrong decisions have been made by President George W. Bush. (1A)

Heeding Postman's advice, there are clearly a number of only very thinly veiled social and moral lessons articulated through this fable. To begin, the organization of the

parable is an important clue for understanding Michelle Hazen and, through her association with the demonstration, the protest as a whole. This example actually inverts Postman's three-step organization of advertising parables; where Postman's formula progressed from problem to its resolution (or from the introduction of sin and the progressive move toward Heavenliness), Michelle Hazen's story is a tragedy. Here, Hazen's parable turns Postman's three step model on its head and thereby signals her political and social transformation from Heaven to disgrace: 1) Hazen begins as one of "us", being raised to share "our" beliefs and perspectives; 2) Later, while traveling and doing service, Hazen meets others who disagree with "our" beliefs; 3) When she returns home, and even "in the shadow of war," she has adopted "their ideals" and believes that "wrong decisions have been made by President George W. Bush".

This tragedy of Hazen's corruption begins by identifying her with "us" and "our traditions." A portion of this is accomplished semantically when *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* signals that Hazen "grew up *learning* to trust the president," (1A, emphasis mine). In this case, learning is natural, something we would encourage in all of our young women and men. But the selection of the word learning also colors the rest of the proposition: it would seem unusual to suggest that one would "learn" something that was inaccurate. To demonstrate, we would not say that Hazen grew up "learning" that $2 + 2 = 5$, or "learning" that the Earth was flat. By identifying what a society "learns" we also identify their truths. It would be unusual to suggest that someone could "learn" something that was culturally inappropriate. If this were the case, we would be more apt to semantically designate the cultural falsehood and signal the uncertainty. If that were the case, Hazen would grow up "believing," "thinking that," or "being told" that the

president should be trusted. Here, Michelle Hazen is crafted with the culturally significant “learning” to trust authority and the president. In doing so she aligned herself with “us” and naturalized a deference toward authority. These learned positions distinguish the boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate civic behavior and belief, yet also constructs an odd vision of democracy, where trust, respect for elites and powerlessness are advantaged over involvement or critical thinking.

Later, when Michelle Hazen left to serve the community, outsiders (literally the other) challenged what she had learned. Though it bears repeating that this challenge did not happen until she literally and physically left “us”. This transition signals Postman’s introduction of sin and her process of ideological transition and indoctrination. Having left us, she met outsiders who persuaded her to “adopt *their* ideals,” and thereby invalidating her membership with “us” (1A, emphasis mine). As above, the semantic selection of “adoption” is telling in itself, connoting the external acquisition of something otherwise foreign. This characterization also depicts outsiders as interfering demagogues, challenging and indoctrinating “our” young men and women with their propaganda for, as I discussed above, they certainly could not have “learned” otherwise. Through her association with “their ideals”, she becomes one of “them”. Tragically, Hazen’s corruption is complete when she now, even while we are, “in the shadows of war, believes wrong decisions have been made by President George W. Bush” (1A).

This narrative clearly delineates the boundaries for appropriate civic behavior; again ‘they’ are cast as having ideologies, whereas “we” do not. Further, we can witness their ideology in the actions of the protest itself, where the protesters are in opposition to “our” lessons. Where “we” trust and respect the president, and do not second-guess his

authority, ‘they’ are suspicious of “his” decisions, contemptuous of his office and critical of elites – even as war casts its shadow. Thankfully, this narrative gives us the resources to identify those contemptuous and distrustful outsiders; “they” are those who believe that, “wrong decisions have been made by President George W. Bush” (1A). In this case, and in contrast to Postman’s parables, this narrative serves to signal not how *to get to* Heaven but rather how one falls from Heaven.

Finally, a disclaimer: as the purpose of this study is not in examining sexist discourses, I will afford only limited attention to a construction that would certainly attract discourse analysts coming from a feminist or gendered paradigm. There are certainly sexist assumptions in presenting Hazen as growing up learning to “trust the president,” and, “respect *his* decisions.” particularly as she turns away from “us,” and adopts “*their ideals*.” While this certainly would be a worthy object of analysis, as it is beyond the purview of this study.

Few of the examples and discussions would make this process so stark, however. The Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration managed to break into the spotlight again, with *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* one-upping *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*’s account by referring to the novelty of the group twice:

[Patricia] Hart, a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition and a leader of *the newly formed* Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, said protests could make all the difference...

Sleepless women, *formed last week*, connects women who lie awake at night with worries of the war and concerns for their families, community and humanity as a whole, she said. (3A, emphasis mine)

Rhetorically, repetition serves to emphasize strategic points, but this tactic is extremely rare in news coverage for the various constraining elements previously discussed. This repetition would be less significant were the repeated qualification to yield positive connotations. Novelty can be advantageous, or at least not costly, in other realms of discourse; this claim cannot be easily made in the political realm, where experience often connotes political competence and steadfastness, and the inexperienced are often discounted as politically inept or indecisive. By twice qualifying the Sleepless Women as johnny-come-latelies, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* reinforces negative perceptions of their experience and conviction, an unfavorable characterization that, by virtue of association, is cast on the larger protest itself.

Hedging their bets

As suggested before detailing this analysis, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* did represent some of the protest justifications and logic surrounding the opposition. Yet, in the two reports that follow, those moves that could validate the protest, and potentially challenge elite renditions of the political world, were effectively disarmed. Following both justifications were critical, invalidating qualifications of either the protester arguments or challenges to claims of diversity by suggesting internal division. In the most vivid example, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* describes Palouse Peace Coalition Patricia Hart's lengthy opposition:

“There is a greater knowledge that we need our allies, and we need to communicate with those that aren't (allies) for building peace in a just world,” she said. “War still isn't the answer.”

Sleepless women, formed last week, connects women who lie awake at night with worries of the war and concerns for their families, community and humanity as a whole, she said.

“[The Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration] are concerned with everyone involved in this conflict,” Hart said. “We see we’re (the United States) headed in a direction we don’t want to go. We want to speak out before we make an irretrievable error.”

Embedded in this account is relatively complex argument. To begin, Hart takes issue with Bush administration policy, arguing that, by implication, communication and fellowship are two potential, and yet untested, resolutions for world conflict. Her second account, partitioned from the first by the description of the Sleepless Women and their infancy, develops the organization’s kinship with the world community, concerns for the future and fears regarding the finality of war.

This objection to the war provides a kernel for opposition that was wholly absent in *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. However, this resistance would be dashed in the two succeeding paragraphs. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* follows Hart’s example with a pair of justifications for the war, both spoken by protest participants:

Hart said war could be avoided if United Nations weapons inspectors remained in Iraq to monitor Saddam Hussein. “Disarmament is needed. It needs to be a thoughtful, careful and worldwide effort,” she said.

[Co-leader of the University of Idaho Alliance For Justice] Hazen agreed, but said the United States needs to be careful not to apply pressure to Saddam for fear he will retaliate. (3A)

Where some will suggest that the inclusion of these alternatives represent an attempt at “objectivity” and represents a widening of the public debate, I will argue that this incorporation serves a different goal. Hazen’s apparent hedging appears to be inclusive of diversity and opinion, but by highlighting protester uncertainty, and adopting one of the central, pro-war claims, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* elaborates a rhetorical weakness in their position that is never, later rebutted. Hart’s less tangible appeals to fellowship and communication is completely diffused by her later admission of the more palpable, and more immediate, threats of Saddam Hussein’s armament. When Hazen supports and later develops her own uncertainty within this context, she confirms Hart’s earlier doubts. These two Bush administration justifications remain unchallenged throughout the remaining text.

Most significant, however, is that this accounting perpetuates two central Bush administration ‘realities’ essential to the justification of the war itself – presupposing both Hussein’s armament and his capacity to strike the United States. As indicated more articulately by both Austin (1975) and van Dijk (1998), presupposition involves an utterance that, in order to be meaningful and valid, requires the tacit acceptance of other, unstated principles. In other words, in order for a presupposition to have any meaningful coherence, it must be accompanied by other associated beliefs. Here, Hart’s contention that Hussein needs to be disarmed requires also adhering to the position that Hussein is, in fact, armed. The same is true for Hazen’s endorsement; the necessary care that the United States use, because of potential retaliation, requires a Hussein that is capable of attack or counterattack. To illustrate this point, consider reading these utterances while attempting to oppose their unstated premises. Political concerns about disarming a party

known to be unarmed is ridiculous, as would be fears of attack (or counterattack) from a state known to be incapable of doing so. Making these positions meaningful requires a commitment to a Hussein who is both armed and capable of reciprocation. More importantly, this also requires a Hussein that provides the justification for the Iraq invasion, a central tenet of the Bush administration and a reality that has since proven false.

The second example of the tendency to adjacently place potentially encouraging cues with disparaging content occurs in an earlier account of the movement diversity. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* begins by highlighting the tremendous diversity within the demonstration, where Moscow and Pullman were “combined with more than 600 cities worldwide” (p. 1A). Later, this diversity moved to the internal composition of the local protest, “[s]enior citizens, college students, human rights activists, children and religious representatives were present at the rally. [Palouse Peace Coalition member] Bird said the threat of war in Iraq has created opposition from diverse groups never seen in previous wars” (p. 1A).

This paragraph is replete with examples of a diverse movement, depicting a citizenry that is unified, *in Kenton Bird’s terms*, in opposition to the threat of war. This image brings to mind a demonstration qualitatively different from earlier movements, creating an alternative possibility, where protests can be cast in validating terms. Where previous scholarship has suggested that protesters were either: 1) a uniformly negative, and often violent collective, or 2) an individuated and incoherent assortment of ideologically motivated individuals, as in *The Lewiston Morning Tribune’s* coverage, this implicates a discursive world where protesters can be treated differently.

This construction would not last, however. This diversification is immediately followed by a return to themes of incoherence and individuation: “College students gather with concerns of the threat of a draft, women worry about the safety of their families, human rights activists disagree with the killing of innocent people, and religious leaders consider the contrary to religious teachings” (p. 1A). Contrary to Bird’s example, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* provides a very different image of the protest. Rather than unity, this account depicts a divided, partisan and, in all likelihood given their varied interests, temporary collective, consistent with the themes of incoherency.

Pragmatically, these tactics make overt delegitimization unnecessary. Coupling the opposition to Bush administration policy with internal division among the protesters, justifications for the pending war and presupposing otherwise contentious realities do more to discourage identification and sympathy with the anti-war cause than disparagement and protester ridicule could accomplish. At this stage, and with these few accounts, the ideological deconstruction of the demonstration is largely complete, with the movement seemingly cannibalizing itself from within.

Diluting the Opposition

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News also employed the same practice of dilution that was demonstrated in *The Lewiston Tribune*’s discussion. As discussed earlier, dilution is characterized by textual accounts that otherwise act and appear as potentially challenging the status quo, opposing emerging policies or an elucidation of potential justifications for the protest, and most often occurring in protester accounts and through editorial paraphrasing. However, absent in these discussions is any substantiation of these

explicitly empty renditions. Rather, the protesters' aims and objectives are left strategically vague, offering little rhetorical ammunition for their adoption or understanding, rendering them politically impotent.

In *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* reporting of this protest, this emerged most often in protester renditions of the existing problem or potential solutions. Note that these proposed solutions and problems offer little substance for the anti-war position or clear alternative positions to the Bush administration. In one example, Michelle Hazen disagrees with war as a resource to resolve conflict: “‘I don’t think combat and war is the way to go,’ she said of the Iraq crisis. ‘I hope we don’t make the decision to kill... and we can diplomatically resolve this’” (p. 1A). Here, Hazen clearly comes out in opposition to killing and the war, generally entailed in anti-war protest attendance, but only offers that the referentially vague “this” should be resolved politically. And while others would offer a number of potential political solutions to the pending invasion, the reader is left to her own devices to determine just what those political resolutions may be.

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News would have Hart do no better, with the rhetorically vacuous, “‘there’s a greater knowledge that we need our allies, and we need to communicate with those that aren’t (allies) for building peace in a just world,’ [Hart] said. ‘War still isn’t the answer’” (p. 3A). This indefinite portrayal is almost completely devoid of meaning; certainly no one is suggesting that the United States does not need allies, or that international communication should be abandoned. Often these indefinite depictions only scratch the surface of a more complete and sound critique. In all likelihood, this may be the beginning of a much more complex and complete vision of potential foreign policy. Perhaps Hart is intimating at the danger inherent in an invasion

without the help of a broad sampling of the world community or that international communication can alleviate the need for war in the first place. Incorporating and then failing to later develop these overbroad arguments leave readers with little hope of a complex or critical understanding of the protest or the potential grounds for opposition to the Bush administration.

Interestingly, and unlike *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* qualifies Hart as member of the Palouse Peace Coalition and as a leader in the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, but not as a University of Idaho communication professor – a cue that could serve to add additional credence to her claims.

In light of the above indeterminate development of the anti-war position, any attempt to elaborate on the future of the movement or protester concerns are confounded at their inception. Nevertheless, both are equally obscured, as evident in Palouse Peace Coalition member Kenton Bird's description of the direction of the peace movement, "This is the beginning to a broad peace movement that will produce *more* thoughtful, considerate alternatives to war" (p. 1A, emphasis mine). Ironically, Bird's pronouncement of "more alternatives" entails existing alternatives, alternatives that, outside of the uncertain accounts above, remain unexpressed.

Before concluding, a final example within *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* cites the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, who "[connect] women who lie awake at night with worries of the war and concerns for their families, community and humanity as a whole" (p. 3A). Again, any explanation of these concerns could help distinguish the group and encourage a thoughtful debate about the war prospects or an addressing of

their concerns. This discussion is neglected, having been paraphrased and replaced by uncertain and largely meaningless accounts.

Fetishizing Involvement

In a pragmatically confusing move, particularly given their reticence in justifying the protest, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* also presented demonstrations as a politically valid act. But the newspaper's inclusion of these potentially affirming statements were always coupled with other cues that either diluted the political message of protesters or indicated their unfavorable position. This presents a democratically ambivalent message, with *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* simultaneously supporting two seemingly contradictory positions: that protest is an invaluable tool for democratic function; and that (these) protesters are without any serious, concrete or viable political message. This picture contributed to an otherwise ambivalent position regarding social movements and their validity.

The first example of this fetishization follows a (vague) designation of the protest with a protracted explanation and response from the University of Idaho's Alliance For Justice's Michelle Hazen and the Palouse Peace Coalition's Kenton Bird:

The Moscow rally was designed to provide an outlet for open conversation and expression about the possibility of war.

"I wanted to support this," Hazen said. "I wanted to be one more voice.

We need to talk and continue to make progressive change." (p. 1A)

The first sentence in this account again renders only the most vague of protest pictures, alluding to, but ultimately failing to produce any of the potentially justifying expression

or conversation. In this utterance, the protest is an opportunity to speak and converse about the war, and not necessarily to oppose it. Strangely, this otherwise unadorned purpose founds the background for Hazen's advocacy. While she emerges as a proponent for the essential nature of protest, and this protest specifically, her position is confounded by its vague propositions. Hazen supports the protest and its democratic function, as evidenced in her representation, but again the reader is left only with the semantically vague "this" and the referentially uncertain "progressive change" (p. 1A). Protest is positioned as appropriate, and even a potentially valid democratic act, but is articulated in a way that evokes no provocative or evaluative imagery or content.

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News continues this puzzling celebration of protest, with Bird praising the event: "Kenton Bird, a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition, said Saturday's rally was a resounding success. 'We were overwhelmed locally by the turnout,' he said. 'It really represented a broad cross section of the population'" (p. 1A). As above, there is a measure of favorable, discursive space allowed the protest, particularly as it is announced as a "resounding success" that featured a large, diverse attendance. This approval continues in the article's final two paragraphs:

Bird said if enough people speak in opposition to the war, eventually, their voices will be heard.

"The highest duty of a citizen... is to speak out when they think the country is going in the wrong direction," he said. "The best possible outcome is to prevent war before it starts." (p. 3A)

Bird's final discussion offers an excellent example of the purpose of political protest, though very broadly defined. By collectively communicating their concerns, even when

these concerns may stray from elite or popular opinion, citizens have an opportunity to make their positions understood and affect political outcomes. Yet, in this account, Bird's democratic philosophy is presented in a way that renders it insubstantial, as this report never actually represents the positions or concerns. The reader is left to assume Bird's belief that the country is going the wrong direction and his support for an outcome preventing the war. Omitted is any discussion into why or how the country is headed in the wrong direction or any potential alternative, both crucial to understanding the protest, protest goals or achieving a working understanding of why protest is a viable political act. We are left with a picture that celebrates protest, but only as an abstract social event, and only insofar as it remains sanitized of any actual political content.

As a theme complementary to vagueness and dilution, the fetishism of protest raises concerns regarding the potential to generate understanding of these social events. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* evaluates protest based on its size and diversity, to defer to Bird's assessment, and not on the basis of its charges. Defining protest actions in such a way that allows room for potentially favorable coverage, where the movement could be developed against the backdrop of its classic democratic roots. Yet this coverage does not live up to this potential, primarily because of the ambiguous presentation of the actions. Covering the protest without representing its individual and collective meaning interfere with potentially validating coverage. Associating an uncertain purpose with suggestions of its political worth implicate protest as an insubstantial and asinine political behavior.

The University Newspapers

The two remaining analytical sections focus on the university papers serving Moscow and Pullman, The Washington State University *Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* of the University of Idaho. These sections will compare and discuss their few differences and the multiple similarities that they shared. When appropriate, this section will also attempt to contrast the university papers with their unaffiliated counterparts. Methodologically, this requires the potential alleviation of reader concerns regarding the applicability and merit of regional versus university media comparisons.

First, I recognize that there are substantial differences between these media. In an earlier review of literature I recognized that socialization, hiring and promotion processes all encourage appropriate ideological conditions. Further, format considerations are also significantly different among this media, with the university papers being substantially smaller media. Finally, although both university papers describe their circulation as the Moscow and Pullman area they also admit a primary audience of their respective student bodies. Because of this orientation, the student papers will be more likely than the other local media to cover news that directly and specifically affect their school populations (i.e. student government, campus affairs).

Despite these audience and print considerations, which are admittedly significant, I believe that there is enough of a likeness to grant some room for comparative analysis. Both of the university newspapers are under inexact, though similar, commercial considerations, with virtually all of their operating costs provided through advertising. Also, both media will face similar content pressures due to the reportorial performance and time guidelines. Finally, although their training is clearly incomplete given that most

college reporters are undergraduates, these journalists will also have at least a portion of the educational training and socialization behind them, sharing at least a portion of the academic training with “professional” journalists.

Finally, and perhaps most compelling, is the presence of shared similarities between the university newspapers that appeared opposed to similarities among the professional media. Later I will argue that these similarities further implicate training, socialization, and circulation as an explanation for the trends among of the intra-university content and the regional content. Of this also holds for the other side of the coin, where potential inter-media differences can be explained similarly.

Before beginning this analysis, two points are worth mentioning. Again, the coverage of the Moscow-Pullman protest in the university papers generated less total news content than their professional counterparts. This is not to suggest that *The Daily Evergreen* or *The Argonaut* dismissed coverage or dedicated fewer material resources to the coverage than the professional media. As I noted earlier, both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* have significantly less news space available for potential content and circulate less frequently than *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* or *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. Despite these shortcomings, I found that the university coverage was proportionally as large or larger than the coverage offered by the professional journalists, with both university papers generating a large picture and article on their front pages.

Organization of the University Sections

I will attempt to follow the format outlined above, with each section leading with an initial introduction and then working through the various subsections. This section will

include a discussion on protest semiotics, a variety of trivialization techniques, and the fetishism of involvement. This analysis will attempt to conflate the delegitimization and dilution themes for two reasons. First, and significantly, both university papers were substantially less likely to defer to either dilution or delegitimization techniques.

Consistently, and particularly in *The Argonaut*, these papers were much more likely to include elaborate justifications for the protest and protester positions. Secondly, although these papers were both substantially smaller in terms of total news space, *The Argonaut* (10 attributions) and *The Daily Evergreen* (8) offered nearly as many direct accounts of the protests as the leading *Moscow-Pullman Daily News* (11). More telling, however, is that these direct protester accounts were qualitatively different than in the previous section. Both university papers, though especially *The Argonaut*, were much more likely to directly, clearly and thoroughly account for the protest, its actions and the thoughts of the protesters in their own terms.

As often as possible these sections will attempt to clarify the distinctions and similarities among and between the university papers and their professional counterparts.

Washington State University's *The Daily Evergreen*

The Daily Evergreen coverage of the Moscow-Pullman area protest was featured prominently during their Monday morning printing. According to *The Evergreen's* circulation and advertising data (Daily Evergreen Rate Card, 2008). I am highlighting these numbers as approximate given that they reflect the current circulation and readership data, and are not necessarily those of 2003. While attendance and college admissions at Washington State University and the University of Idaho have fluctuated since 2003 (Patrick, 2002; Bruffey, 2007), circulation of *The Daily Evergreen* has maintained at approximately 12,000 papers (Daily Evergreen Rate Card, 2008).

The Semiotics of Protest

Chronologically, *The Daily Evergreen* offered the next account of the protest on the following Tuesday. The article occupies approximately half of the front page and is positioned in its upper right corner (Swanson, 2003, p. 1). Below and to the right of the headline, "Local protesters fight war" is a large picture of the event taken from the perspective of protesters on the street level, oriented next to a stage where the protest speaking took place, with the reader gazing up, and from the side, of the protest. To the right of this image is this description of the event, "[p]rotesters of all ages filled Moscow's Friendship Square on Saturday to oppose a possible war in Iraq" (p. 1). Directly below the headline, and to the left of the picture, is the article's subtext that crowns the article's text, "[r]ally coincides with other events around the world" (p. 1).

Where both previous protest accounts highlighted the protest from an elevated and top-down perch, *The Daily Evergreen* and, as we'll discuss, *The Argonaut*, both

positioned the viewer at eye level with the protesters, and looking either up or up and to the side of the protest stage. This distinction in positioning between the university and professional newspapers is important as, and again in deference to Kress, Leite-Gracia and van Leeuwen's (1997) discussion of discourse semiotics, power differential is often coded in a subject's vertical relationship with the audience, and thus marking a significant difference between these two sets of renditions. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* both visually discourage potential identification with the protest by representing the event from the antagonistic, and subject-weaker, top down perspective. In contrast, both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* both selected images that afford the protest an air of power and a kernel of legitimacy by inverting the previous relationship and positioning the newspaper alongside the protest audience, thereby planting the first seeds of potential identification between these groups.

This is not to say that *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' visual iconography was without its discouraging elements. This perspective, though looking up at the protesters, also examined the movement from the side of the stage, positioning the subject to the side of the object and thereby indicating an alternative or marginal position of the object (Kress, Leite-Gracia & van Leeuwen, 1997).

Trivialization and Protest Potpourri

Classically, scholars have identified trivialization as a resource that journalists and editors can use to delegitimize and discourage identification with their subjects (Gitlin, 2003; Gitlin, 2004; Shinar, 2000). Within this study, both the university and professional newspapers shared in the tendency to highlight the unusual, irrelevant and

idiosyncratic in their reporting by backgrounding relevant content and offering overcomplete and characterizations that are largely irrelevant in terms of newsworthiness. These methods contributed to an image of this protest being an incoherent series of political acts, undermining potential understanding and identification.

The Daily Evergreen's boldest example of trivialization occurred in its leading paragraph. This story begins by highlighting the attendance of an unusual protagonist, a black Labrador, and then associating this subject to the protest whole: “[a] black Labrador *wandered aimlessly*, wearing a sandwich board that read, ‘Let go the dogs of diplomacy.’ The dog *joined* more than 400 people in Moscow’s Friendship Square on Saturday to protest a possible war in Iraq” (p. 1, emphasis mine). Highlighting the presence of a wandering canine turned political billboard does make for an interesting lead, but does little or nothing to develop the protest event itself. But this Lab and this lead would both be instrumental in the denigration of the movement.

Consistent with our earlier findings, this idiosyncratic representation of the aimless, though apparently political, Lab figuratively evokes images of the protest as a purposeless and wandering herd. The Labrador as a protest participant is not *joining* the protest, which might demarcate a chronological point where membership was attained, and thereby potentially escape direct associations with the protesters. Rather, the Lab *joined* the protest in the sense that it took part in the unfolding events. Problematic to this characterization, however, is that by marking the Lab as an existing, and not emerging, participant the coverage associates the Lab’s aimlessness with the other, “more than 400 people,” who can also be presumed to be “wander[ing] aimlessly” (p. 1).

Outside of this bold example, *The Daily Evergreen* proved more reluctant to trivialize the protest and protest participants than either *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* or *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. While some may insist that this is part and parcel of the brevity of the university accounts, which are admittedly shorter than their professional counterparts, there is also a tenor among these accounts that is qualitatively different. While, as we will see, both university papers employed this delegitimizing technique, I would attempt to make the case that *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* were also more willing to develop protester justifications and more inclusive of direct and revealing protester accounts. Because of this, these trivializing moves are often discursively positioned within or adjacent to other, potentially legitimizing cues, and thereby reducing the rhetorical and discursive force of these potential attacks.

As an attempt to exemplify this tendency, I point to an example within *The Daily Evergreen* that defers to some of the same tactics used by the professional media. The following account includes the strategies of dilution, broad trivialization and the signaling of appropriate social action, but also goes on to develop a variety of the individual protester actions:

Organizers handed out buttons, fliers and pamphlets to support their cause.

Jo Bohanna, a Moscow resident, asked people to sign a large anti-war banner. As people signed, she gave her views.

“Any thinking person has too much intelligence to want war,” she said.

“It’s hard to be against peace, isn’t it?” she said to a passerby who seemed reluctant to put his name on the banner. “That’s an easy thing to support.” (p. 1)

This report, which is located approximately halfway through the article, begins with a vague characterization of the protest organizers distributing a variety of presumably political material, though the content of this material is unclear. Although this vague summarization and omission continues through Bohnna's recruiting of potential war objectors, this ambiguity would be remedied later in the article.

Of note, however, is the projected hesitation of Bohnna's potential recruit. This report specifically and semantically classifies her recruit as a "passerby" and not a participant. The potential hesitation of this bystander can be read as another example of a textual narrative coding of appropriate civic behavior. By situating this bystander as a politically neutral "person on the street", and not a pro-peace or anti-war advocate, it contributes to the ideological and discursive maintenance of the status quo, where his reluctance, and therefore the reluctance of other non-partisan residents, can be read as "normal".

Further, this rendition actively vacillates between a suggested anti-war position and Bohnna's ambivalent anti-war and later pro-peace position, denoting a point of confusion as to the larger mission of the political movement. The varying semantic portrayal of the demonstration as a peace protest and an anti-war protest was consistent across both university accounts. In this example Bohnna is twice referenced as an anti-war demonstrator, then later repositioned as a pro-peace advocate.

I contend that there is a qualitative difference between advocating one position and opposing its (apparent) opposite. The former is a more complex position that requires adherence to a specific, though in this case left vague, set of political or social beliefs. In contrast, the latter *requires* nothing more than objecting to the precise stated proposition.

In this case, advocating a pro-peace position entails adherence to at least one of a number of specific and related positions including, though not limited to pacifism, isolationism, humanism, interconnectedness or international lawfulness, only to name a few.

Semantically, being anti-war *only* entails an opposition to the execution of direct and congressionally sponsored military involvement and does not *necessarily* include opposition on other grounds, including other military involvement or imperialism generally. Further, employing an oppositional characterization, which thereby entails fewer necessary political or social premises, allows a greater potential for discounting by cultivating a discursive space for the discouragement of the movement on supposed ideological grounds, where “they” are only in opposition because of their hostility toward the status quo or the Bush administration.

While potentially condemning, the next section will discuss how adjacent and surrounding accounts allow *The Daily Evergreen* and, as will be discussed in the following chapter, *The Argonaut* minimize the potential discursive harm of both the dilutive, delegitimizing and trivializing depictions.

Fetishizing the context

As noted above, both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* were less willing, or, as some may argue because of space considerations, less able to resort to either outright or implicit disparagement in their renditions. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* obscured and obstructed identification with protest goals by offering only vague renditions of the protest worth and efficacy while giving no indication as to specific and manifest intent of the protest. This tactic often featured

accounts of the historical application of protest, broad references to democratic theory, or vague notions of the worthiness of protest without representing the direct or pragmatic function of this movement. I argued earlier that by positioning unclear, though favorable, discussion of the protest broadly within a text that later fails to elaborate on these positions creates an environment where protest seems an unjustified and ostensibly random political and social act.

Both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* proved to be more willing to accompany potentially vague and delegitimizing allusions with clarifying contextualization of the protest, granting it a greater sense of social significance and purpose. This is not to suggest that there were no delegitimizing or diluting cues in the university coverage, but instead that this tendency was offset by a more inclusive and contextually deliberate university media. Where both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* positioned meaningless accounts next to appeals for involvement and other, unrelated or vague accounts, and thereby obscuring opportunities for understanding and identification, the university papers surrounded these uncertain renditions with textually proximate clarifying cues, establishing a political and social grounding that is absent in the professional reporting.

This section will go on to argue that this tendency exhibited by the university newspapers contribute to a more discursively favorable environment. This tendency operates in a fashion opposite *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' disarming of potentially validating descriptions with later deprecatory cues. Where *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* would disarm or challenge protester claims, *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* often couched indeterminate or potentially deprecatory content against

clear justifications and political appeals. This more sympathetic coverage allowed for a challenging of earlier classic portrayals of protests as well as the local depictions of the movement as an uncoordinated and ideological mob. Rather than reinforcing an indeterminate movement, this grounding serves to encourage a greater understanding of the protest event and grant the movement a more legitimate discursive space.

In the above analysis of *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* I felt there was a clear distinction between the thematic tactic of delegitimization and dilution of the protest movement, particularly as these two tactics contributed together to create a sense of purposelessness, and thus the aimless fetishization of protests. This would not be the case for the two university papers. While both featured potentially disparaging and diluting depictions of the movement and its meaning, an allotted support and elaboration of the movement contributed to a discursive environment where protest would be vindicated as a valid social and political act. Because of this tendency, I conflated two sections (Dilution and Delegitimization, and the Fetishism of Involvement) rather than attempting to create an arbitrary boundary between them.

In the first example of how this textual positioning can overcome the problems of this vague accounting, *The Daily Evergreen* offers an ill-defined reading of the protest sandwiched between two potentially legitimating accounts; one of the protest's national and international context, and the second a more direct connection between the social action of protest and the political aims of the movement:

The Palouse Peace Coalition organized the rally to coincide with similar demonstrations of millions of people in major U.S. cities and internationally.

Protesters in Rome held a simultaneous rally that drew 1 million people. A Seattle rally brought 20,000 to a march that began at Seattle Center. Roughly 150,000 organizers rallied in San Francisco on Sunday.

The Palouse protesters said they were unconcerned that their rally was thousands of miles from the ears of policy makers in the nation's capital.

"It may not get too far beyond the Palouse, but I think that if we all get together on one day we can have an effect," Troy resident Joe Riley said. "If enough people are against it, the politicians will follow." (p. 1)

This example begins with a broad discussion of the location of the Moscow-Pullman protest within a national and international context, contributing to readings of a coherent, purposeful and broad opposition to U.S. policy. Where the regional papers described an event that "joined protests *happening* all over the world" (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C, emphasis mine) in a "combined effort with more than 600 communities worldwide" (Hamm, 2003, 1A), *The Daily Evergreen* evokes a more purposive, effectual and diversified coalition that "[coincided] with similar demonstrations of millions of people in major U.S. cities and internationally" (Swanson, 2003, p. 1). Later this reading would offer a more specific sense of the size of the national and international uproar, something that both professional papers would allude to, but ultimately fail to mark explicitly.

Before moving into Riley's account of the protest, I would point out that *The Daily Evergreen* has still yet to clearly develop the purpose of this opposition, momentarily evincing some of the tactics used by the two regional papers. Further, by describing the protesters as "unconcerned" as to the distance from the state and national seats of government, *The Daily Evergreen* presupposes a realm where this distance is a

viable condition affecting the efficacy and legitimacy of regionally distinct and isolated protests. Riley's following statement would later admit to the problematic nature of this democratically remote action, but contextualizes the protest alongside the other national demonstrations, thereby abolishing proximity considerations. Further, and unlike the professional depictions of the movement, Riley directly develops an aim central to the protest, itself. In a move that all but pragmatically paraphrases Lipsky's (1968) discussion on "reference publics" and protest, Riley argues that the protest is designed to spur involvement by motivating opposition to the war and *thereby* pressuring their congressional representatives "to follow" (1A).

In a lengthy example near the conclusion of the article, *The Daily Evergreen* further developed the purpose of the protest. In a fashion similar to the above, a justifying account will follow the discouraging description of the organizer actions and Bohanna's vague contact with the reluctant passerby. This report best exemplifies how greater contextualization and grounding can disarm potentially vacuous renditions of the protest activity:

Moscow resident Jennifer Watts stood across the street from the protest, watching her two toddlers mirror the cries of the assembly by chanting, "We want peace."

Watts voiced concern about the reasons for war. "I feel like the Bush administration is much too aggressive," she said. "I feel there is not enough evidence."

Despite concerns, most of the protesters were not against war unequivocally. Rather, they opposed war right now.

The protesters also were aware that while people fought against the Vietnam War as early as the mid-1960s, the war did not stop until 1975. □□

“But it didn’t end up as a 100-years war,” Bohanna said. “You wouldn’t believe the tenacity of warriors. They will go on and on and on if you let them.”

She added that the Vietnam War would have lasted much longer without the protests.

“I still believe in the republican ideal,” she said. “The United States of America listens to the will of the people if they hear our voice.”

“I worry about that as well,” Watts said, with some distance between her and the crowd. “(This protest) is certainly not hurting anything.” (p. 1)

This reading begins with a protracted discussion of Watts and her children in attendance, evoking a theme similar to the inclusion of other present, though potentially irrelevant details. As I argued earlier, the inclusion of expository reporting can develop a sense of the tone and feeling of the event, but accomplishes little understanding of the protest purpose. Because of the general limitations on news space, the descriptive reports often come at the expense of greater discussion and illumination.

Where this report differs from both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* is that this otherwise irrelevant content is followed by a central rationalization for the protest and two primary objections to the emerging U.S. policy. In a fashion that is directly opposed to *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*’ reporting, which followed protester claims with uncertainty and Bush administration justifications, *The Daily Evergreen* accompanies Watts’ vague desire for peace with her claim of governmental aggression and a general challenge to one of the central and

essential arguments for the invasion. Doing so allows for a much more complete picture of the movement proper, and welcomes critical discussion of U.S. policy into the public realm.

The account continues by disconnecting the protest from its potentially ideological foundation. Constructing the protesters as “not against war unequivocally” but rather “opposed to war right now” discourages discounting of the protest on its potentially partisan grounds. Where the regional papers both offered renditions of the protest as an ideologically driven social movement, and thereby encouraging its rejection and its uncertain purpose, *The Daily Evergreen* contextualizes the opposition and constructs a protest that is much more inclusive and thoughtful. In doing so, it allows a more constructive context for its later discussion of the democratic purpose of protest.

This contextual grounding is central to any discussion of newspaper reporting on the democratic mission of protest. Both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* developed and validated the general democratic worth of protest, but did so in a way that failed to offer a sense of purpose or justification for the demonstration. In doing so, these papers described a social act that was somehow politically valid but, because of its vague foundation, was also essentially meaningless. By planting the protest movement in a space that is both justified and thoughtful, the university papers anchor later discussions of the democratic goals of general protest in a way that is much more lucid and purposive.

This reporting admitted the difficult process of war protesting, historically, but did so in a way that explained both its specific goal and the successes of earlier protest movements. *The Daily Evergreen* follows the potentially discouraging confession of the

protracted history of Vietnam war protest against its much later conclusion with Bohanna's assertion of its contribution, "it didn't end up as a 100-years war," and later victory, "[adding] that the Vietnam war would have lasted much longer without the protests" (p. 1). By allowing a specific purpose, historical context and recognition of its earlier success this discussion grounds the protest in much more fertile territory. When Bohanna and Watts offer their democratic philosophy, "I still believe in the republican ideal... The United States of America listens to the will of the people," and their concerns, "if they hear our voice," *The Daily Evergreen* grounds these discussions in a greater overarching purpose and sense.

University of Idaho's *The Argonaut*

The University of Idaho *Argonaut's* protest coverage began the Tuesday following the Saturday event. As indicated above, *The Argonaut* publishes twice weekly, typically Tuesdays and Fridays, with a 2003 circulation size of roughly 6,000 distributed throughout the University of Idaho campus and commercial Moscow (D. Tobar, personal correspondence, May 9, 2007), weekly reaching an estimated 70% of the University of Idaho's 10,000 students (D. Tobar, personal correspondence, February 27, 2008).

The semiotics of protest

Just like *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, though unlike *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, *The Argonaut* ran its protest coverage on the cover of its first edition (Tuesday) following the protest. The article, positioned below an article regarding a fatal car crash involving two University of Idaho students that took place the night before (and therefore after the coverage offered by the other newspapers), still dominated much of the front page (Lostrom, 2003; McCoy & Passey, 2003). The article was positioned underneath a very large picture taken from eye level and behind the protest, gazing toward the protest stage. Many of the protest participants are visible from this vantage point, though they also have their backs to the camera and the reader's eye, gazing toward the protest stage. Speckled throughout the crowd are a variety of signs, a glimpse of Friendship Square and a table covered with peace literature. Immediately below the picture is the following caption:

Demonstrators crowd into Friendship Square Saturday protesting the war in Iraq. More than 350 people gathered for speeches, poems and songs. Demonstrations

also took place around the world in major cities such as London, Los Angeles, New York and Rome. (p. 1)

The article itself is situated below the wide picture of the event and caption, with the headline reading “Citizens rally against war in Iraq.”

As we argued in the previous sections, the positioning of the audience relative to their subject is important for determining evaluative meaning of visual content. In much the same way that selection of linguistic content presupposes reportorial subjectivity, so does the selection of any included visual representation (Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen, 1997, p. 264). In this case, the audience is situated among, though behind the protest attendees, looking forward to the protest stage at approximately eye-level. The audience is positioned in such a way that few of the protesters’ faces come in to view. This perspective, more so than any of the earlier articles positions the subject *as* a participant in the event, looking forward toward the demonstration. As Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen (1997) argued, one of the most important component of discourse semiotics is the relationship between the subject and the object, the perceiver and the perceived. If relations of power and social distance are at the heart of discourse semiotics, positioning the subject within the demonstration as a participant, though admittedly at its periphery, incorporates a much more favorable position for the protest event.

Trivialization and protest potpourri

This section is concerned with how the newspaper presentation of the protest acted in ways that discouraged identification and understanding of the movement by

highlighting the bizarre and the colorful, often at the expense of related political and social commentary. This section featured the extensive use of what van Dijk (1993; 1998) referred to as the act of overcomplete accounting to highlight those social acts that advantage elites. It is worth noting, however, that neither university paper deferred to the more denigrating and explicitly derogatory accounts of the professional papers entailed in the *Delegitimizing the Movement* sections (recall Hazen's narrative that served to define the 'other' and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune's* overcomplete identification of Melynda Huskey). The university newspaper accounts proved to be decidedly more inclusive and inviting in tone than either of the professional papers, with *The Argonaut* even more so than *The Daily Evergreen*.

This is not to suggest that *The Argonaut* did not use some of the cues of trivialization in its coverage, but rather that its depiction was a momentary, rather than sustained effort. As an example, *The Argonaut* led began its coverage by describing the colorful scene: "Brightly tie-dyed scarves decorated with messages of peace fluttered about the perimeter of Friendship Square Saturday, as Moscow and Pullman residents and students protested the war in Iraq" (p. 1A). In apparent opposition to the preferred anti-war depiction of the professional papers, *The Argonaut* emphasized the peace orientation of the demonstration, something that will be highlighted in the following section. But it also highlighted the fluttering "brightly tie-dyed scarves", the second newspaper to highlight the presence of the tie-dye to the protest (*The Lewiston Morning Tribune* characterized them with the potentially legitimating "flags"). These references to tie-dye in two of the four accounts is interesting, particularly as tie-dye seems to serve as a cultural code for the unusual, particularly in its connotative associations with hippies,

outsiders and weirdos. But this initial and potentially discouraging association is grounded in a context that none of the professional papers would match.

Fetishizing the context

Perhaps the most significant difference between the two university papers and their professional counterparts was in the willingness of the former to elaborate the political and social purpose of the demonstration, with *The University of Idaho Argonaut* making this tendency most stark. Where the professional accounts served to dilute and confuse the political and social goals of the movement, the university papers drew them out, offering much more expansive discussion of the concerns of its participants. This is not to suggest that elements of vagueness did not emerge within university coverage. The difference is that when the professional papers offered vague accounting and uncertain summary, they also isolated these accounts from any information that would serve to elaborate or contextualize protester claims. The university papers deferred to vague accounts periodically, but routinely hedged them within surrounding text that clarified the protester positions and claims.

Both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* wasted no time in developing a decidedly different tone than the two professional newspapers. *The Argonaut's* headline, characterizing the protest participants as “citizens” is the most democratically affirming portrayal of any of these articles. The more socially powerful and favorable “citizen” evokes a political connotation that the professional accounts either miss or dismiss. This, in conjunction with its characterization of the protest behavior with the active verb “rally” further indicates this trend. Of particular note, and a point that I will develop in

the following discussion, is that the two university papers both preferred active and explicitly political titles and actions for their protests – recall *The Evergreen*'s evocative “Local protesters fight war.” This compared with the passive, third person accounts of the professional media - *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*'s “Peace has its day” and the meek and confusing “Rally draws crowd,” where rally now operates as a noun (Gannon, 2003, p. C1), and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say” (Hamm, 2003, p. A1) and there appears a kernel of evidence suggesting that the professional papers adulterated the protest through the use of passive and indirect verbal cues.

Later, *The Argonaut* followed used a tactic similar to *The Evergreen*'s discussion, where vague assessments are positioned near other cues that serve to develop the protester arguments. Following references to the “the tie-dyed scarves” and discussion of the world-wide nature of the phenomena (to be discussed later) is this uncertain example: “The rally began with a series of short speeches promoting peace. During the open-mic session that followed, participants gave their own speeches, recited poetry and sang to further advocate peace” (p. A1). Notable, particularly given the tendency among professional accounts to characterize the event as “anti-war”, is *The Argonaut*'s preferred peace orientation. At this stage, *The Argonaut* appears to behave similarly to *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*; here the reader is abandoned without the resources to identify a single protest aim or claim.

In these circumstances the university papers, and *The Argonaut* specifically, return to develop and clarify ambiguity. The vague description of the events’ “peace-ness” is followed by an indirect, though pragmatically clear, reference to a central

justification for the event: “Postcards were also available so people could write to their congressional representatives demanding peace” (p. A1). Though apparently secondary to the speeches and poetry, the postcards clearly indicate a greater, thematic purpose of this demonstration and, given its proximity to a discussion of the breadth of worldwide demonstration, the movement more generally. It is also notable, and consistent with the above discussion on active versus passive semantic qualification, that *The Argonaut* selected “demanding” against other available terms (ask, request, seek) to describe the purpose of the postcards. Though demands have potentially negative associations with the adamant and aggressive, this description also indicates a potential purpose for the event.

Following the above is another quotation from UI assistant professor Kenton Bird, a vague discussion that is again sandwiched between the above, indirect discussion of a potential protest purpose and a later comment that would serve to be the most lucid justification for the movement and the peace position. “Bird, an assistant professor of communication, began by saying, ‘We stand today in unity with people around the world... We come today for one reason: to express our concern over the impending conflict in Iraq’” (p. A1). Depicting the movement as unified and broad has certain validating elements, but, and not to belabor this position, we are again left with the referentially uncertain “concern over the impending conflict in Iraq”.

It is also worthwhile to note that both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* included accounts from Bird, but neither attributed to him his position at the University of Idaho, a potentially validating move. Rather, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* referred to Bird as “emcee” and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*

preferred 'member of the Palouse Peace Coalition'. *The Daily Evergreen* did not cite Bird.

Concluding this example is the university papers' tendency to bookend incomplete accounts of the protest with additional detail. Following Bird's indefinite description is another account from Kajsa Stromberg: "'War is certain to be destructive and deadly,' said UI graduate student Kajsa Stromberg. 'We run the risk of destabilizing the entire Middle East region... War increases the likelihood for civil unrest in Iraq'" (p. 1A). At this stage Stromberg's statement may prove to be the strongest, most complete and most lucid description of the opposition to date. This brief accounting, which would prove to be an excellent example of the foresight offered by the movement, included several of the central tenets of this opposition: the high cost of war; the potential cost for regional stability; and its potential contribution to either insurgency or civil war. These concerns concluded by contesting the Bush administration's argument, "[s]he added, 'The evidence does not support the government's premise for going into Iraq'" (1A).

Although it can certainly be argued that Stromberg's final case is less than definitive, particularly are readers are left to their own devices as to which evidence is being challenged and why, the account covers ground that none of the other newspapers even approach. This example also demonstrates how paraphrase can be used to minimize comprehension, and thereby diluting the messages. Consider the description of Stromberg from *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*:

University of Idaho graduate student Kajsa Stromberg also questioned the logic of going to war. 'The hostile rhetoric and unilateralism of the Bush administration is not making us safer. Instead, under this leadership, the United States is making

ourselves the most serious threat to world peace and security,” she said, garnering applause from the crowd. (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C)

The Lewiston Morning Tribune sets the stage for Stromberg to “question the logic of going to war,” without ever having her actually do so. Instead, they offer her attack on Bush administration rhetoric and US foreign policy, broadly and ambiguously defined. Only *The Argonaut* definitively spells out the details of Stromberg’s opposition.

Stromberg’s tripartite discussion of the risks of invasion coupled with her challenge to Bush administration claims for the invasion are unprecedented among any of the newspapers included in this study. But *The Argonaut* goes a step further by following Stromberg with UI history faculty Dale Graden’s third-party examination of the invasion from the perspective of the invaded:

Dale Graden, an academic faculty member of the UI history department, agreed.

“Other motives for going after [sic] Saddam include the destabilization in the region, yet people in the region don’t want an invasion,” he said. “What becomes increasingly difficult in the melee is to hear the outside world.” (p. A1)

First, a bit of clarification is necessary before moving on. I can only surmise that the above contains a reportorial mistake or a simple slip of the tongue, given Graden’s contradictory support of Stromberg and his later justification for an act that Stromberg clearly codes as a negative. Here, Graden is positioned as agreeing with Stromberg’s earlier position that war entails the “*risk* of destabilizing the entire Middle East region,” and, as such, marks risk as necessarily negative and thereby incompatible with any justification *for* invasion (p. 1A, emphasis mine). Agreeing with Stromberg’s

characterization of an unstable Middle East as a ‘risk’ also requires believing that this is an undesirable outcome, and therefore incompatible with any motivation *for* invasion.

More important than this confusing juxtaposition, however, is that Graden goes on to develop the concerns of the Iraqis and their regional partners. It should stand out as alarming, though perhaps not inconsistent with previous U.S. media literature, that this is the *only* reference to Iraqis within *any* of the coverage of the Friendship Square protest. Graden continues by intimating two central peace movement concerns with the escalation: a heightened U.S. isolationism and a myopic approach to world affairs. In this brief utterance, Graden has done more to develop the platform of the peace demonstration than either of the two professional newspaper accounts admitted.

While *The Argonaut*’s final two examples may come closer to the vague image presented by both of the professional newspapers, neither is nearly as vacuous. Each of the following two examples offers, at the very least, fragments of a thoughtful opposition. More to the point, however, is that these unclear, though certainly not empty, statements *follow* the above examples that demonstrate a conscious and contemplative movement. In the first, *The Argonaut* offers UI faculty Nicholas Gier’s opposition: “[o]thers criticized United States foreign policy. Nicholas Gier, an academic faculty member of the UI philosophy department, referred to ‘a new foreign policy which is illegal, immoral, incoherent, inconsistent and irresponsible’” (p. 1A). If we consider this utterance, isolated from its surrounding context, *The Argonaut* appears to mirror its professional counterparts by failing to elaborate on these positions. The reader is left without any understanding of U.S. foreign policy or the failings that contribute to its illegality, incoherence or irresponsibility. Where this differs from the professional accounts is that

here, at the very least, Gier is making a charge – albeit one that remains unfounded. But more important is that this unclear account follows Stromberg’s earlier three-part denunciation of the pending conflict. Operating from this context, Gier’s position is clearly founded in more fertile grounds.

The next, and final example immediately follows Gier’s charges: “Carl Mickelsen, an attorney and philosophy lecturer at UI, referred to the war as going ‘against the norms of international policy’” (p. 1A). This rendition is almost identical to the examples of dilution above. Nowhere is there any explanation into just how or why the war is against international policy, elaborations that would go much further in mounting a defensible drive against the war. Again, taken in isolation, this utterance contributes nothing to understanding the movement or its opposition. Located against other validating and complex utterances situates this vague description against a more substantial, earlier, argument.

Mickelsen and UI economics professor “Ghazi” Ghazanfar would later develop a colorful though extreme picture of the indirectly related topic of civil liberties, post 9/11. The inclusion of the following indicates a potential, though late emerging picture of a fickle, wandering or politically heterogeneous collective:

Mickelsen also criticized recent laws restricting citizens’ rights. “We have a war against civil liberties; it started the day John Ashcroft became Attorney General,” he said. S. M. “Ghazi” Ghazanfar, an emeritus retiree in the UI Economics Department, told how his grandson is afraid the government might send him to a concentration camp because he is of Middle Eastern descent. (p. 1A)

Although I would be the first to concede that this is a discussion worth having, and indeed one that other academics and politicians have attempted to address (see Chang, 2002 for a summary), this discussion is not a requisite for understanding the peace movement or a central component to the demonstration in itself. In this sense, it is important to concede that, insofar as this position does little to advance the aims of the movement or its purpose, it acts in a fashion similar to the professional accounts, potentially interfering with protest understanding. Again, however, I would remind that this example followed the postcard demands for peace, Stromberg's denunciation and Graden's discussion, setting any wandering or uncertain claims against a qualitatively different background.

I would also like to recognize that Kajsa Stromberg provided the most effective and thoughtful counterargument for the conflict. More importantly, however, is that she is qualified as a graduate student. By qualifying the most vocal opponent to the war, and one of the few to deliver a thorough denunciation of the policies and its potential effects, as a graduate student, this may have the additional effect of permitting challenges to Stromberg's claims on grounds of her inexperience. The positioning of her strong denunciation amongst the less energetic contributions of experts (particularly UI faculty, lecturers and professors) allows ground for potentially challenging her assertions. Her student status, by definition, disqualifies her from having expertise.

Highlighting involvement

A central feature of the professional newspaper accounts was the close proximity between vague protester explanations of the event and its purpose (diluting the

movement) to text that, on its face, suggests protest as a valid political and social act. I argued in the above sections that this tendency contributes to an environment where protests are treated like sporting events and the county fair, where they become a social ‘end’ and not a ‘means’ to any pragmatic goals (Fetishizing involvement). This is a tendency that, because of its greater contextualization, did not occur within the university newspapers. By elaborating on and developing a more contextually and pragmatically rich account of protest specifics, *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* deny the foundation on which this fetishism occurs. This greater contextual grounding allows later celebrations of protest an air of legitimacy and validity that the professional accounts do not. Simply put, this greater background grants the conditions necessary for any meaningful understanding and appreciation of the political and social act of protest.

The first example of this theme follows Mickelsen and Ghazanfar’s concerns on restoring and maintaining civil rights following 9/11 and any prospective invasion of Iraq. Although hardly the most compelling or lucid account of the specific position of the protest within *The Argonaut*’s coverage, the seeds for this greater understanding are scattered throughout this earlier coverage in Bird, Stromberg and Gier’s earlier positions. This backgrounding allows for the serious consideration of Neary and Stromberg’s later appeals for additional activism, appeals that would also prove to be qualitatively different than earlier examples:

Many encouraged further activism. Minister Kathy Neary, a United Methodist campus minister at WSU, said, “We must change our priorities and work for peace on a daily basis. It is not enough to want peace; we must make peace.”

Stromberg added, “We need to be here now, we needed to be here two years ago, and we need to be here two years from now.” (p. 1A)

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* both developed protester appeals for involvement in a vacuum, absent any fundamental discussion as to what the protest was to accomplish. *The Argonaut*, on the other hand, develops the intent and function of the event among its earlier accounts. Now Neary’s proscription for change and peace is situated behind the more concrete concerns regarding the destructive and destabilizing effects of an arrogant foreign policy. When Stromberg appeals to the present and future of activism, she does so from a position where inaction is seen costly, having contributed to both the loss of civil rights and a general disdain for international law.

By discussing protest in largely meaningless and insubstantial terms, the professional newspapers made any celebration of political protest appear absurd. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* discussed a protest designed to “voice opposition to war in Iraq” but not oppose the war, a protest that would “provide an outlet for open conversation and expression,” expression that it would never actually express (Hamm, 2003, p. 1A). *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* did no better, speaking of a protest that talked of “peaceful solutions to the war in Iraq” by participants who are “opposed to the war for various reasons,” solutions and reasons of which, are curiously absent (Gamson, 2003, p. 1C). In this background, their inclusion of World War II veteran Stanley Thomas’ comments explaining the democratic value of protest ring as laughable. Without any substantiation of the protest grounds, any intimations of protest validity are ridiculous.

But, when contextually grounded, these same statements adopt a significance that positions protest as a significant political event rather than an abstract political ideal. When *The Argonaut* discusses a protest that advocates, and even “[demands] peace” of its representatives, a protest that is concerned with how an “incoherent, inconsistent and irresponsible” foreign policy has contributed to a war that could prove to be potentially “destructive and deadly,” it also sets the stage for Thomas’ genuine justification of protest in historical terms:

World War II veteran Stanley Thomas, of Moscow, said, “In a democracy, ordinary people get out in the street for two reasons, usually. One reason is to celebrate; the other is to protest.” He added, “This is the second time in my lifetime that I’ve been in the street for a Texas president.” (p. 1A)

In an account that is almost exactly the same as that offered by *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*, Thomas’ involvement in the current peace movement is positioned in a fashion that allows for an efficacy and tradition of protest. By situating Thomas behind earlier arguments against the invasion and discussions on the potential local and regional effects of the war *The Argonaut* grants the background necessary for any coherent valuation of protest action and involvement.

The final example I would like to point to from *The Argonaut* constructs the demonstration in terms that suggest the protest’s diversity and heterogeneity. While not conclusive, this example appears to challenge what I argued were characterizations of uniformity and homogeneity of the protesters within the earlier accounts. These examples typically cast the protest as an act spearheaded by a single organization (in this case, the Palouse Peace Coalition) and was attended by only a few others. *The Moscow-Pullman*

Daily News offered the most vivid illustration of this example immediately under its headline “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible American war with Iraq” (Hamm, 2003, p. 1A). Although *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* would go on to include both the University of Idaho Alliance for Justice and the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration as participating groups, this initial construction suggests a protest with the Palouse Peace Coalition as the single, primary sponsor.

This final example comes in *The Argonaut*’s final paragraph, and gives what will serve to be the most comprehensive listing of the participating groups, potentially putting to rest earlier notions that this protest was an isolated action:

Organizers included the Palouse Peace Coalition and students from UI and Washington State University. Other participating organizations included the Unitarian Church, No Terror For Nobody, Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, the Campus Action Network and the UI Alliance for Justice. (p. 1A)

This concluding paragraph gives a much more diverse image of the protest than either *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* or *The Daily Evergreen* (to its credit, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* identified all but the University of Idaho Alliance for Justice within its coverage). After the Palouse Peace Coalition, local residents and students *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* only introduces the University of Idaho Alliance for Justice and the Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration. *The Daily Evergreen* discussed only the Palouse Peace Coalition and local residents and did not include the involvement of local students or faculty.

Discussion

If we can recall back to the beginning of this project, the purpose of this research was to begin to investigate the local newspaper coverage and construction of a local community protest. This project was designed with the greater goal of complementing previous protest scholarship by integrating local media into this discussion. As I demonstrated earlier, most of this earlier protest literature focused on how national and international media represented political demonstrations, leaving smaller local and regional media out of this debate. Other scholars have argued that media scholars ignore local media accounts at their own peril, leaving out a potentially rich resource for further inquiry while also omitting an enormous body of work for potential comparative analysis between these larger media systems and smaller news outlets (Moy, McCluskey, McCoy & Spratt, 2004).

A central concern for this research was an attempt to understand how local newspaper accounts of community protest compare with earlier studies on national protest and, more specifically, the 2002/2003 anti-war protests. As I developed earlier, the bulk of this protest literature identified and shared many of the same deprecatory themes. Often, these protests were left uncovered by national media, reflecting Lipsky's (1968) concerns that, "[l]ike the tree falling unheard in the forest, there is no protest unless protest is perceived and projected" (p. 1151). By ignoring these social and political demonstrations, journalists prevent alternative perspectives and contribute to an increasingly monochromatic public sphere. When protests did gain newsprint, they were often characterized in terms that either challenged the legitimacy of their actions or were otherwise ridiculed or cast as deviants within this coverage. These scholars have made

the case that these kinds of depictions discourage identification and third-party involvement with political movement and obscure protest goals and aims.

In addressing this project, there were at least two strands of media scholarship that could theoretically contribute to this analysis. Structural theorists have argued that media content largely reflects their communities. From this perspective, differences between national coverage and that offered by *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* could be attributed to structural differences in their respective communities. Critical theorists, on the other hand, would argue that these community differences will be less significant than the overarching factors that all commercial media share – a profit orientation (Bagdikian, 2000), journalistic routines (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978; Tuchman, 2004) , and a broad deference to elite interests and designs (Bagdikian, 2000; Chomsky, 2002; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Nichols & McChesney, 2000; van Dijk, 1998). From this perspective, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* will have more common characteristics between each other and with national media than any differences that may emerge.

In terms of this debate, this research has yielded largely inconclusive results. Each of the newspapers within this study shared a number of similarities with the national construction, particularly as they all emphasized the deviant and odd within the demonstration. But there were also notable differences among the accounts, with *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* expressing a greater willingness to use overt negative characterizations and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* preferring the more subtle move of hedging potentially validating characterizations with contradictory or discouraging imagery. Further, both university newspapers, and *The Argonaut* in particular, presented

a much more favorable depiction of the protest than either of the professional accounts or the national trends.

In either reading, this study fails to land anything but inconclusive blows in the contest between these two paradigms. But this project did yield a few nuggets for consideration for future protest research studies.

Findings

Among other potentially validating findings, there are four that stand out as being particularly interesting and revealing, particularly for future protest research. The first of these themes is the shared tendency of *all* of these accounts to discuss the Friendship Square protest in terms that trivialize the participants and the demonstration itself. Second, and novel to *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, was the hedging of validating depictions of the demonstration and its aims among contradictions, uncertainty and oppositional discourse. Third, the two commercial accounts both utilized elements of the game metaphor in developing the protest, used a variety of direct and indirect denigrating cues, and discussed protest goals in vague and uncertain terms while later celebrating the validity of the protest. Finally, the two university newspapers presented a visual, textual and contextual discussion of the protest that granted legitimacy for the protest and the protest goals while more favorably positioning the protest as a valid political action. This section will attempt to briefly develop these four central findings.

First, each of the four newspapers analyzed in this study demonstrated at least some of the elements of a discourse of trivialization. Scholars discuss the discourse of trivialization as a resource that journalists utilize in order to discourage identification

with their subjects (Gitlin, 2003; Shinar, 2000). Within this analysis I made the case that this trivialization operated via van Dijk's (1998) backgrounding of relevant content and overcomplete synopses of the event. In conjunction, these two features privileged a protest reading that demonstrated the event as an incoherent and often falsely political series of seemingly random acts. I made the case that these depictions likened the protest to a parade or a circus more than any political act. Equally important is that every reference to the unusual, idiosyncratic and odd takes newsprint away from the substantive concerns of the protest. Within this coverage this tendency often emerged within descriptions of the tie-dyed clothing of protest participants, the "participation" of animals and toddlers, and references to protesters quilting for peace.

One of the most interesting findings of this research was *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*' tendency to envelop contextually, potentially affirming and validating cues within accounts that either directly challenge or invalidate these renditions. If we hold that context is an important component in the meaning-making process, this tendency will confuse and potentially disarm the central aims of the protest. More importantly, this type of hedging will diminish the protest's potential effectiveness. If, as Lipsky (1968) and others have insisted, the pragmatic goal of the protest is truly to activate and educate outsiders, any move that obscures or contradicts the protest claims will interfere with this goal. The most prominent example of this tendency occurs when, after an accounting of how the war can potentially be avoided, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* offers two separate protester accounts that presuppose two of the central Bush justifications for the invasion – Hussein's possession of WMD and his capability to first strike the mainland United States. Pragmatically, this discussion would serve to make any overt

delegitimization of the movement redundant. At best, positioning the goals of the protest adjacent to an account necessary for enabling war demoralizes the overarching goals of the movement; at worst, this thematic organization provides the grounds for supporting Bush administration policy and renders the protest rhetorically impotent.

The two articles published by the professional newspapers shared four similarities in their coverage of the Friendship Square protest: a visual construction of the demonstration that indicates an appropriate social distance between the object and subject; the activation of a turn-taking, game metaphor that served to finalize the protest; the use of paraphrase and summary to dilute the protest message; and the contextually deprived fetishization of political protest.

Both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* visually represented the protest from a distance, using top-down camera angles that position the audience above, and looking down on the protest. Discourse semioticians argue that power and social distance are often coded within visual imagery, with top-down perspectives articulating an inferiority and powerlessness of the represented, with respect to its audience (Kress, Leite-Garcia & van Leeuwen, 1997).

Both commercial newspapers granted the protest ownership of the day's events, evident in their headlines "Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible war with Iraq" (Hamm, 2003, p. 1A) and "Peace has its day" (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C). Here the selection of the possessive "its" indicates and contrasts the standing of their voice and their day against other, "normal" voices and days. Simply, in order to be meaningful any recognition of peace's day and the protest's voice requires a standard, normal position that peace presumably does not "have" and is not "heard." Further, both accounts

recognize the momentary departure from the status quo by recognizing the conclusion to the protesters' (or, metonymically, peace's) turn. Operating from this representation, the conclusion of this turn signifies a return to the normal, apolitical status quo.

In a more traditional tack, the two commercial papers demonstrated a few instances of outright delegitimization in their coverage of the Friendship Square protest. Critical media scholars have long pointed to overt and even subtle cues embedded within reporting that indicate appropriate readings of news content (Bagdikian, 2000; Chomsky, 2002; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Berman, 2004; van Dijk, 1993). Typically, this occurs by discursively positioning the protest as either wandering and aimless mass or a collection of political radicals who do not share "our" values. The most glaring example involves the overcomplete discussion of Melynda Huskey's protest involvement: "Director of WSU's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual association, Melynda Huskey, asked the crowd to become involved. 'Women, are you sleepless lately?' she asked, and the groups female voices answered back with a resounding 'Yes'" (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C, 7C). By including Huskey's involvement with the GLBA, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* admits some kernel of perceived relevance to the peace protest and thus associates the two, while also contrasting 'their' cultural difference and potential deviance with "our" unstated, though implicit, norms and decency.

Another common thread to both professional reports was their use of paraphrase and summarization in a fashion that served to dilute the political message of the protest. van Dijk (1998) makes the case that summarization and paraphrase are the height of subjectivity, where authors can highlight and omit content based on any internal or external criteria. In this study, both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston*

Morning Tribune used these strategies in ways that demonstrate only the most vacuous vision of the protest movement and purpose, often discussing the wispy protest goal of “questioning the war” and where protesters are opposed to the war “for various reasons” (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C, 7C). The most vivid example of this technique, if it can even be called such, offers a flimsy understanding of the movement and its purpose:

The Moscow rally was designed to provide an outlet for open conversation and expression about the possibility of war.

“I wanted to support this,” Hazen said. “I wanted to be one more voice.

We need to talk and continue to make progressive change.” (Hamm, 2003, p. 1A) This very brief account provides several examples of this theme: a rally that provided “an outlet for conversation and expression about the possibility of war” that never actually communicates those concerns; Hazen’s desire to support the referentially vague and underdeveloped “this”; and her continued desire to “make progressive change,” changes that are never actually articulated. These depictions seem to indicate a preference among these accounts that privilege ambiguity and vagueness over clarity.

Finally, and operating in close conjunction with dilution, is that these papers tended to validate the historical protests without offering the necessary grounds for a meaningful understanding of why people protest. These potentially favorable validations of the political act would follow the vague examples from above with some appeal to future involvement, historical protest victories or uncertain democratic traditions. In doing so, these papers failed to develop any understanding as to *why* protests are a viable political act. This behavior celebrates protest as it might celebrate a state fair or circus – as an end in itself and not as a means toward addressing social or political goals. Both

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* made World War II veteran Stanley Thomas the object of this fetishization within their reporting. The most striking example of this fetishization follows earlier examples of protesters “question[ing] the logic of going to war” (Gannon, 2003, p. 1C) for “various reasons” (p. 7C) with Thomas’ explanation of the historic aims of the protest:

Stan Thomas, a World War II veteran, commended the people for coming.

“In an ordinary democracy people get together for two reasons – to celebrate and to protest. And in this country, we have a long history of both,” he said, standing between the flags of the United States and the United Nations. He said while politicians usually do the celebrating, they don’t always see the protesting. (7C)

Thomas’ inclusion gives the impression of depth to the reporting, seemingly indicating the historic tradition of protest as a political action. Indeed, in another context Thomas’ historical reference would be quite favorable to the demonstration, particularly given his advocacy and standing as a former armed service member. But, without a contextual grounding in the specific positions and goals of the movement, such a reading only reaffirms and resumes the vague pronouncements uttered earlier. As such, we are left without any meaningful understanding of *why* protests occur or *what this* protest aims to accomplish. Therefore, any celebration of this tradition, independent of its richness, diversity or previous successes misses the requisite grounds for understanding its political performance. Simply speaking, such discussion relegates protest to (at best) a socially meaningful, though politically impotent set of behaviors.

Finally, the university papers featured two themes that diverged from the accounts offered by their professional counterparts. While sharing some of the same features of discussed earlier, particularly as both engaged in elements of trivialization through the use of “overcomplete” references, both *The Argonaut* and *The Daily Evergreen* developed and discussed the protest discussion in terms that afforded a much more favorable position to the event. Both professional accounts used pictures taken from overhead and to the side of protesters, indicating social distance between the audience and the protest itself. *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* both positioned the audience as a participant, either within (*The Daily Evergreen*) or on the perimeter (*The Argonaut*) of the event.

The Argonaut established a political context that denied the grounds for the conditions of dilution and fetishization that both professional papers deferred to. Above I discussed how vague and uncertain references watered down protester claims and purpose; here *The Argonaut* developed the necessary purpose for a meaningful understanding of the movement. This reading has the protesters discussing war’s “destructive and deadly” capabilities that could “destabiliz[e] the entire Middle East” in a conflict that the “people in the region don’t want” (Lostrom, 2003, p. 1A).

Further, this context grounds the following celebration of the movement in politically fertile lands. When *The Argonaut* calls upon Thomas to discuss this tradition it does so in way that positions the demonstration as consequential and worthwhile:

World War II veteran Stanley Thomas, of Moscow, said, “In a democracy, ordinary people get out in the street for two reasons, usually. One reason is to

celebrate; the other is to protest.” He added, “This is the second time in my lifetime that I’ve been in the street for a Texas president.” (p. 1A)

By positioning Thomas’ discussion within and around explicit justifications for the event, protests are recognized as viable political actions, each with discernable goals and consequences.

Results

This study was an attempt to compare and contrast the local professional and college newspaper coverage of the Friendship Square anti-war protest, particularly in light of previous media protest scholarship (Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b), with that of local and non-corporate media. This study attempted to develop the color and tone of this local characterization by analyzing the coverage of one local protest event by its regional media. This project aimed to complement previous literature by examining the degree to which local news coverage of the February 15th, 2003, Friendship Square protest used techniques evidenced by previous protest literature (Gitlin, 2004; Niman, 2002; Schechter, 2005) and by scholarship specifically directed toward the 2003 peace protests (Dardis, 2006a; Dardis, 2006b; Luther & Miller, 2005; MacGregor, 2003). The critical paradigm, oft cited within this project, suggests that corporate media, regardless of their size or composition, will demonstrate more similarities than differences within their coverage. Operating from the critical paradigm, it was anticipated that non-national, regional accounts should construct the protest in terms that closely mirror their national brethren.

RQ1: Do these local newspapers mirror previously documented patterns of anti-war protest coverage in reporting on the Friendship Square anti-war protest? If so, how?

At least tentatively speaking, and in recognition of the limitations of this project, which will be discussed shortly, there was evidence of shared themes and perspectives between earlier, national media accounts and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*. Specifically, both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* developed the protest in terms that discussed protesters in trivializing terms, offered only the most vacuous discussions of protest aims and thereby fetishized the political act of protesting.

As important, however, are potential differences among local media. A separate branch of media studies suggests that community structural, political and demographic variables will affect media content. Where critical scholars often paint studies of media with a broad brush, this branch of scholarship seeks to develop potential differences among pluralistically variant media. Therefore, I included the following research question:

As important as the tenor of these discussions are the implications for future action, particularly as discourse analysis is as concerned with representation as the effects of these representations. Secondly, this project is concerned with the potential effects of protest construction on the audience, particularly as it contains the resources to influence identification with the demonstration and provide the grounds for understanding the political action of protest:

RQ2: What are the potential effects of the referential constructions on future and existing protest and peace movements?

I suggest more definitively than the above, both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* provided little grounds for identification with the protest. At their best, both professional newspapers, and *The Daily Evergreen* to a lesser extent, rendered the demonstration as either vague or silly. Through paraphrase, omission and summarization, each of the above demonstrated a tendency to develop the protest in uncertain or apolitical terms. At their worst, both professional newspapers utilized explicitly derogatory themes in constructing the protest participants as naïve, dangerous or deviant outsiders. I would argue that there is sufficient evidence to conclude that both *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* developed a picture of the movement that discourages identification with and sympathy for protest action and efforts, thereby inhibiting demonstration goals.

A number of critical scholars have advanced commercial interests, routinization, socialization and training as the source for a status-quo media landscape (Breed, 1955; Gans, 2004; Glasser, 2005; Hamilton, 2005; Picard, 2005). Existing political and social relations are maintained when journalists internalize the lessons, commercial mandates and practices of contemporary journalism. Operating from this assumption requires at least partial support for the idea that journalists with a minimal amount of training, socialization and experience within the media superstructure will be more likely than their professional counterparts to challenge elite and status quo positions. Simply put, the ideological conditioning of the untrained journalist is incomplete; therefore, there will be fewer internal and external factors to contribute to content that privileges the status quo.

Previous protest literature has made the case that national and mainstream media do not treat political protest (and particularly anti-war protest) favorably. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* offered little to challenge this assumption on the grounds of their non-national and regional orientation, with both largely mirroring the national image of protest. But, if we are to hold to the above assumption that untrained collegiate journalists will have had: 1) less instruction and training on ‘appropriate’ reporting; 2) will have passed through fewer institutional and commercial gatekeepers that could otherwise deter the ideologically noncompliant; and 3) will have had less time to develop, the “common sense” of reporting (Glasser & Gunther, 2005; Hamilton, 2005; van Dijk, 1998), then we should expect a qualitative difference between the reporting within professional newspapers and their collegiate counterparts.

It was not, however, anticipated that this difference would diverge randomly from this norm, ranging from outright and explicit hostility to undivided allegiance. Given that the national, regional and local picture consistently demonstrated a picture that was unfavorable to the protest and its participants, it was hypothesized that:

RQ3 – What content differences exist between the college reports (*The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut*) and the professional accounts (*The Lewiston Morning Tribune* or *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News*) in their reporting on the Friendship Square protest?

Indeed, this comparison found at least partial support for the above hypothesis. Both Washington State University’s *Daily Evergreen* and the University of Idaho’s *Argonaut* offered much more sympathetic coverage of the Friendship Square protest.

This is not meant to suggest that *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* challenged the national, regional and local picture on all grounds. *The Daily Evergreen* offered some of the vague renditions evident in the two professional papers. Both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* deferred the discourse of trivialization so common within national protest coverage. Despite these similarities with the national and commercial coverage, both *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* offered qualitatively enhanced context and a greater concentration of protest goals and protester claims. Absent this background, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* and *The Lewiston Morning Tribune*'s exhortations were misplaced or inappropriate, with the protests rendered as a politically vacant action. The additional background provided by *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* would set the stage for a meaningful understanding of the historical contribution of the political protest.

Limitations

In the above I hope I indicated my hesitancy to make definitive claims in a number of my results. At the forefront of this problem is that this project considered only four newspaper accounts of the demonstration, two professional and two collegiate. This obviously influences any potential for prediction or generalizability within non-national, regional or collegiate media. Generalizability is rarely the strength of qualitative research. Therefore, it would be unwise to conclude that this represents the landscape of community newspapers and their coverage of protest generally. Similarly, it would be foolish to claim that the newspapers of the University of Idaho or Washington State University represent the tenor or tone of all college papers. If there are indeed enough

political, demographic and social differences among regional media to make such speculation an overreach among professional local and regional media, there is *greater* reason to suspect diversity within college media.

I do, however, feel that any limitations of breadth within this study are more than made up for in the depth of its analysis. This study considered every newspaper account available within the Inland Northwest with service to the Moscow/Pullman communities. In doing so, this study examined the entirety of the ‘objective’ print discourse available for the Friendship Square protest. This included a multi-modal analysis of the placement of the article, analyzed the subject/object positioning and social distance entailed within the graphic representation of the event and offered a fairly exhaustive critical discourse analysis of the newspaper text for each of the four newspapers involved.

Conclusion

With respect to the above, I concede that additional research is necessary to achieve a better understanding of how demonstrations are constructed throughout the national picture. That said, this study does lend at least some validity to claims that local and national media share many tendencies when reporting on protest movements. *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* each demonstrated a number of the same discursive themes evident within the national coverage of the 2002 and 2003 anti-war protests (for examples see Dardis, 2006a; Dardis 2006b). Each of the professional accounts, and to a lesser extent *The Daily Evergreen*, trivialized and ridiculed the protest participants, diluted any potential meaning for the event and otherwise discouraged potential identification with the protesters and their aims.

There was also some evidence of differences *between* the two commercial papers. While each adopted several of the same delegitimization themes, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* used tactics that more directly served to discourage identification with the movement – recall that this was the only newspaper not reporting the demonstration on its front page and also included the overcomplete discussion of Melynda Huskey’s identification with Washington State University’s Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual Association. Later, *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* was perhaps more subtle in its denunciation, relying on Michelle Hazen’s narrative to indicate the protest’s deviation from ‘our’ actions and norms and hedging potentially validating cues between expressions of uncertainty and central Bush administration justifications *for* the invasion.

While the above should add to the corpus of protest literature, perhaps the biggest contribution of this study may be in the significant qualitative difference found between

professional and collegiate newspaper coverage of the protest event. Among the various differences, perhaps the most striking are embedded within their respective headlines. The university newspapers characterized the protest in active and explicitly political terms: *The Daily Evergreen* had “[l]ocal protesters fight war”; *The Argonaut* simply stated “[c]itizens rally against war.” Despite omitting the grounds for opposition, which each later provided at least in part, both articulated an active protest group. But *The Argonaut* would take this a step further, using the semantically advantageous ‘citizens’ in characterizing the parties involved.

This tendency continued within the body of the reporting as well. *The Daily Evergreen* and *The Argonaut* depicted the protest in terms that were more complete and with greater detail into the purpose of the protest than either professional account. Specifically, both newspapers incorporated more direct and overt expressions of protester opposition to the conflict and provided the additional justifications for their position that both professional accounts ignore. *The Argonaut* provides the most vivid example of this tendency in providing Kajsa Stromberg’s opposition, “‘War is certain to be destructive and deadly,’ said UI graduate student Kajsa Stromberg. ‘We run the risk of destabilizing the entire Middle East region... War increases the likelihood for civil unrest in Iraq’” (Lostrom, 2003,p. 1A).

In contrast, passivity and vagueness took center stage within the commercial newspaper characterizations, a tendency consonant with the theme of dilution. *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* announced that participating groups were “[s]peaking up.” It would elaborate with the indefinite “Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible American war with Iraq.” *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* preferred the

indeterminate “Peace has its day” and described the event as such: “Rally draws crowd to Friendship Square to hear speeches, anti-war slogans.” Neither account would do much to develop “[their] say” or the content of the “speeches” or “anti-war slogans.”

Again, this tendency was also apparent within the professional reporting. Within their reporting, neither *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* nor *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* offered any discursive ground for the protesters to stand on, appearing to prefer insubstantial justifications for the protest and an ambiguous opposition. In preferring such airy and immaterial opposition, *The Lewiston Morning Tribune* and *The Moscow-Pullman Daily News* failed to demonstrate any clear rationale for supporting this specific protest or the general act of protesting, generally.

Moving to the future, this project implicates a variety of prospective avenues for fruitful future research. Perhaps foremost, this analysis identified a qualitatively different picture of the Friendship Square protest between the regional and local professional accounts and the two university newspapers. Obviously, this first requires additional research, particularly as this study found difference between these accounts while including *only* two commercial and two college newspapers. I would recommend incorporating college and “amateur” accounts within future comparative media analyses to address this deficiency. This comparative dimension would not have to be restricted to protest activity, however. Instead, these analyses could operate along any number of lines to further develop whether and where there are genuine differences between professional and collegiate newspaper reporting.

I suggest that this avenue could be worthwhile given that qualitatively similar coverage *within* professional or college accounts, or qualitative differences *between*

professional and college accounts would seem to give additional credence to claims that training, socialization and hiring processes, among other factors, may be at play in explaining these differences. Obviously similarities between professional, amateur and college reporting would render the impact of routinization, socialization and training less significant.

Second, it may also be worthwhile to determine whether similar trends exist between college and professional *media*, more generally. I have argued above that there is at least tentative support for claims of difference between college and professional newspaper reporting; certainly the same should be investigated between professional and college television and radio reporting.

Finally, if we open this analysis to include all professional and college media, it could also prove worthwhile to incorporate truly non-professional accounts in comparative analyses. This would require incorporating those media requiring little or no formal educational or professional training, opportunities for in-group interaction or socialization, and those that entail few impediments to access or agency. Operating broadly, such analysis could examine tendencies or trends among and between any professional and amateur accounts, and further develop whether genuine differences between professional, university and amateur reporting exist. Specifically, this could open room to include public access broadcasting, personal internet blogs and internet reporting and a variety of other, alternative media. Operating from this broad perspective should go a long ways toward increasing our understanding of how professional, college and amateur media reporters operate.

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Appendix 1

The Lewiston Morning Tribune

Peace has its day

Rally draws crowd to Friendship Square to hear speeches, anti-war slogans

By ANN R. GANNON

Of the Tribune

Moscow - Shalom, paz, sula, pace, shanty, irini. No matter the language, the word of the day was "peace."

Tie-dyed flags with the word "peace" in more than 50 languages surrounded Moscow's Friendship Square, which swelled with about 350 people Saturday for a peace rally.

Sponsored by the Palouse Peace Coalition, the community joined rallies happening all over the world. About 10 speakers talked of peaceful solutions to conflict in Iraq and urged the crowd to become involved.

"It's not enough to attend one rally," said Kathy Neary, pastor at the Washington State University campus Methodist Church. "We must change our priorities and work for peace on a continuous basis, each day, every day, until peace is a reality."

Neary spoke as a Christian and questioned how other Christians could justify war.

"I think I missed a class in seminary about acceptable reasons for killing foreigners," she joked.

University of Idaho graduate student Kajsa Stromberg also questioned the logic of going to war. ‘The hostile rhetoric and unilateralism of the Bush administration is not making us safer. Instead, under this leadership, the United States is making ourselves the most serious threat to world peace and security,’ she said, garnering applause from the crowd.

Most speakers said they were amazed by the growing size of the crowd, and the PA system proved to be inadequate. But local business Guitar’s Friend lent a new amplifier and microphone during the rally so the group could hear the speeches, poems and songs.

“We had no idea there’d be this many people,” said emcee Kenton Bird as the organizers switched the PA system.

The Unitarian Universalist Church was holding a regional conference in Moscow and sent a busload of about 50 people to the rally. The crowd was a mix of all ages and colors. Even dogs were protesting, wearing signs that said “Bombs kill animals too” and “Don’t unleash the dogs of war.”

Many people held signs challenging President Bush. “Preemptive impeachment,” “Drop Bush, not bombs” and “More trees, less Bush” were popular displays as well as words against fighting a war for oil, such as “11th Commandment, thou shalt not covet thy neighbors oil” and “How’d my oil get under your sand?”

Jo Bahna held a large white fabric banner that simply read “Peace” in red letters. She asked people to sign the banner, which she would like to make into a quilt.

The rally was also a chance for participants to join peace organizations like the Palouse Peace Coalition, No Terror for Nobody and Sleepless Women of the Palouse.

UI communication professor Patricia Hart said the Sleepless Women group has been a long time in the making, although the group didn't get together formally until Monday.

For the last year and a half, Hart said, she's been taking long walks to think about her concerns with the country.

Other women would see her, invited her in for tea and talk about their concerns, too.

As a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition she was wondering how to connect all these women. She invited about 20 to her home Monday, and the group came to the rally carrying signs and wearing stickers that said "Code Pink," which was to stand for peace.

Director of WSU's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual association, Melynda Huskey, asked the crowd to become involved. "Women, are you sleepless lately?" she asked, and the groups female voices answered back with a resounding "Yes".

Huskey invited the women, and men, to do something with their sleepless hours and to organize.

Hart said women have a historic relationship with peace movements. "This is nothing new," she said, adding that anyone can join Sleepless Women.

Tony Zaragoza, a WSU American studies major, said he's involved in a few groups against the war, such as the Campus Action Network. He's opposed to the war for various reasons and thinks the money spent on a war would be wasted. He'd rather see money spent to fight poverty, homelessness and disease.

Other speakers included veterans, lawyers and professors. Stan Thomas, a World War II veteran, commended the people for coming.

“In an ordinary democracy people get together for two reasons – to celebrate and to protest. And in this country, we have a long history of both,” he said, standing between the flags of the United States and the United Nations. He said while politicians usually do the celebrating, they don’t always see the protesting.

Thomas said the crowd was not there to be anti-American, but was there for two reasons.

“Because we love our country and we are patriotic.”

Somebody has to do it

■ School superintendent is a tough job — maybe that's why a lot of rural districts can't fill empty positions

By KATHY HEDBERG
OF THE TRIBUNE

Don Armstrong, part-time superintendent of the Kamiah School District, jokes he will gradually shave back his hours in the office until the school board realizes he is no longer there, but they can get along just fine without him.

Armstrong, 58, who took the reins at Kamiah after retiring in May from the Polatch School District, where he had been superintendent for 18 years, is a likable, light-hearted kind of guy who can make the best of a gloomy situation.

The truth is, there is a serious shortage across the country of qualified education administrators, especially in rural areas such

as Kamiah. And more and more school districts, both because of the shortage and lack of money, are being forced to turn toward part-time administrators or combine superintendent positions with other districts.

"There aren't a lot of experienced people out there," says Armstrong, "so boards are looking for people who have teaching and administrative experience and they're not finding a big pool of people."

"It's a tough job, and I think a lot of the younger people are looking at that saying, 'I could make a living, but I wouldn't have a life.'"

The Kamiah School Board has decided to advertise for a part-time superintendent and qualified elementary school principal for

next year. Armstrong says he doesn't intend for his job to be permanent, but would not rule out staying on another year if the board fails to locate a suitable candidate to replace him.

"They are really good to me here. They even thank me for driving down from Polatch, where he continues to live once a week."

"This would be an ideal situation for somebody with a few years' experience looking to come to a rural area. But we just don't know if there's anybody out there."

The looming shortage of teachers in the next few years as the current crop retires, and fewer young people go into the profession, has been well publicized.

But the potential loss of administrators, which is equally critical, is less well known, and forcing school districts like Kamiah to figure out alternatives to keeping their districts well managed during times of financial crisis.

There is an anticipation that over the next several years we will need to increase the pool of individuals available in leadership positions in school districts, both principals and superintendents," says Jeanne Christiansen, dean of the College of Education at the University of Idaho.

"The challenges have to do with budgets, with pay in Idaho, the complexity of the job and the type of support communities provide for their schools, because it is a

See **Somebody**, Page 7C



Don Armstrong is part-time school superintendent at Kamiah.



About 350 people gather in Moscow's Friendship Square to rally for peace. Saturday's war protest featured several speakers who condemned the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq.

Peace has its day

■ Rally draws crowd to Friendship Square to hear speeches, anti-war slogans

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University of Idaho graduate student Kasey Stromberg also questioned the costs of going to war. "The horrific, horrific and unilateralism of

the Bush administration is not making us safer. Instead, under this leadership, the United States is making ourselves the most serious threat to world peace and security," she said, garnering applause from the crowd.

Most speakers said they were amazed by the growing size of the crowd, and the PA system proved inadequate. But local business Guitar's Friend lent a new amplifier and microphone during the rally so the group could hear the speeches, poems and songs.

"We had no idea there'd be this many people," said emcee Kanton Bird as the organizers switched the PA system.

The Unitarian Universalist Church was holding a regional conference in Moscow and sent a busload of about 50 people to the rally. The crowd was a mix of ages and colors. Even dogs were protesting, wearing signs that said "Abolish all wars" and "Down with the dogs of war."

Many people held signs challenging President Bush, "Preemptive Invasions," "Drop — Bush — Bomb" and "More Trees, Less Bombs" were popular displays, as well as words against fighting a war (or, such as "11th Commandment: No chains and cover thy dog's ears and

"How'd my oil get under your sand? Joe Jobs held a large white, fabric banner that simply said "Peace" in red letters. She asked people to sign the banner, which she would like to make into a quilt.

The rally was also a chance for participants to join peace organizations like the Palouse Peace Coalition, No Terror for Nobody and Sleepless Women of the Palouse.

UI communication professor Patricia Hart said the Sleepless Women group has been a long time in the making, although the group didn't get together formally until Monday.

For the last year and a half, Hart said, she's been taking long walks to think about her concerns with the country.

Other women would see her, invite her in for tea and talk about their concerns, too.

As a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition she was wondering how to connect all these women. She invited about 20 to her home Monday, and the group came to the rally carrying signs and wearing stickers that said "Kode Pink," which was to stand for peace.

Director of WSU's Gay, Lesbian and Bi-sexual Association, Melynda

Forrest Church delivers message for Americans

■ Late Idaho senator's son speaks at Moscow

By ANN R. GANNON
OF THE TRIBUNE

MOSCOW — After 9-11, the whole world saw their tears in our eyes. Now, it's time the people of the United States look around for our tears in our neighbors' eyes, said Rev. Forrest Church Saturday morning to the Pacific Northwest District of the Unitarian Universalist Association.

About 200 people listened to Church's message at the group's annual conference at the University Best Western. Church is pastor at the Unitarian Universalist Church of All Souls in New York City, the largest Unitarian church in the country.

Having recently written "America's Creed: A Spiritual and Patriotic Primer," which he calls a biography of the U.S. Constitution, Church took the chance to tell the crowd about patriotism and what it means to be American.

The country had an amazing opportunity after 9-11, and didn't do anything with it. "When (terrorism) hit us ... we suddenly became part of a world we had before been apart from," Church said. "That was a tremendous opportunity in

that moment of tragedy." But Americans stayed exactly as they were and set out on vengeance.

Church, whose father is the late U.S. Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, explained the history of the nation, saying that while our deeds didn't always live up to our creeds, we need to keep working toward that.

He said it's unique that this country was founded on intrinsic freedoms — life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. While they haven't always been freedom for all, the United States has made strides toward equality.

Yet at the same time, America has been moving toward nationalism, rather than patriotism. Nationalism is based on self-protection, he said. It's a "We are more important than everybody else" mentality.

And the United States has displayed this with "remarkable arrogance and remarkable injustice," he said.

However, patriotism is different. It's being able to disagree with the country's leaders or ac-

See **Church**, Page 7C

Lumber mill owner takes his case right to the top

■ John Bennett explains his situation to Idaho's Congressional delegation

By JODI WALKER
OF THE TRIBUNE

GRANDEVILLE — John Bennett said Saturday that he is taking his case to the U.S. Congress. Bennett's refusal to give permission for sales on the forest have directly resulted in him contemplating moving his mills to Lewiston or Clarkston.

Bennett is the president of Bennett Forest Industries, which has mill locations at Grandeville and

been fighting since. Dead and dying trees, due mostly to bark beetle infestations, have seceded from Elk City and Red River areas residents. Dick Willhite, manager of the Elk City mill, said the Nez Perce National Forest is the largest yellowstone had ever seen in 2001.

The residents were told by officials of the Nez Perce Forest that there is no fire plan in place for Elk City and that the fire threatened according to Susie Borovick, principal of the Elk City



Somebody

From 1C

challenging time in which that kind of support communities can provide is important.

School superintendents in this part of Idaho make between \$67,000 a year in districts like Nezperce to \$97,000 a year at Lewiston. It's a tough job that requires an average of 60 to 70 hours a week and is fraught with politics, increasing expenses, staff salaries and shrinking revenues due to declining student enrollment.

"Trying to raise money—I think that is by far the toughest thing," Armstrong says. "But so much of that's out of our hands. I didn't lie awake at night saying 'Where can I get the money?' because I can't do a lot about that."

"But sometimes you have to make some really tough decisions, like cutting back on personnel, and that's by far the worst thing a superintendent has to do."

Al A. Arznen, 62, spent 16 years as superintendent of the Grangeville-based District 241 before retiring, and then went to work as a part-time superintendent for Orofino-based District 171. He says the time superintendents and principals put in on the job is one of the biggest deterrents.

"Time is the big thing. I'll bet you they spend three to four nights a week away from home, with all the activities they've got going on and the meetings they have to go to. It's tough on an individual and it's tough on a family."

Arznen says when he was in the Grangeville district there were a number of teachers who he thought would make excellent administrators. He encouraged them to go back to school to get their graduate degrees and apply for the jobs.

But while the teachers did go back for masters' work, they refused to apply for superintendent jobs because of the stress and other challenges.

"You have to make decisions when you're a superintendent, and when you make decisions, you know that some people aren't going to be happy," Arznen says.

"And it's tough, because you live in these small communities and you know these people and you make decisions that affect their children and you lose some friends over that. That's not easy to deal with."

Arznen recently signed a contract for his fourth year as part-time superintendent at Orofino. He says the school board tried to find a full-time candidate, but was not satisfied with the pool of applicants.

And in a district where severe cuts have been made to compensate for a significant loss of students, Arznen says what the board saves on his part-time salary allows it to keep one or two additional teachers.

"This is not a permanent



Al Arznen

thing. I'm sure," he says. "But I think right now they feel like the job is getting done."

"What you do is, you can't move ahead and do other things. It takes a full-time superintendent. I wouldn't be able to do this if I didn't have pretty good administrators (principals) in the schools."

Mike Friend, executive director of the Idaho Association of School Superintendents, says many districts in the state are looking at hiring part-time superintendents or combining the job with other districts or principal positions.

The money was part of the labor, health and human services appropriation in the huge bill which will fund federal agencies for the last two-thirds of the budget year.

The hospital's financial request fit in with Crapo's desire to help fledgling Clearwater County, which has been plagued by an economic downturn since the closure of Potlatch Corp.'s Jaygate mill. He has been working with the leadership in the Orofino area to find ways to revitalize the town.

"We need to make sure the infrastructure is here for economic development," Crapo said.

The groundbreaking for the project was six weeks ago. "It's just not too soon, either," said Maurice Masar, a physician at Clearwater Valley Hospital. With the Lewis

Walker may be contacted at jodi@lewiston.com

Crapo has good news for Orofino hospital

By JODI WALKER OF THE TRIBUNE

OROFINO — Sen. Mike Crapo finally saw Saturday the tiny Clearwater Valley Hospital he has been a champion for the last year.

He brought with him the good word that \$500,000 has been secured in the nearly \$4 billion spending bill Congress passed Thursday. The money will go toward the hospital's \$1.3 million emergency room renovation.

"This was my highest priority," he told a half-dozen people gathered at the emergency room door where a new cement slab stands as proof that the project is about to become a reality.

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Peace

From 1C

Huskey, asked the crowd to become involved. "Women, are you sleepless lately?" she asked, and the group's female voices answered back with a resounding "Yes."

Huskey invited the women, and men, to do something with their sleepless hours and to organize.

Hart said women have a historic relationship with peace movements. "This is nothing new," she said, adding that anyone can join Sleepless Women.

Tony Zaragoza, a WSU American studies major, said he's involved in a few groups against the war, such as the Campus Action Network. He's opposed to the war for various reasons and thinks the money spent on war would be wasted. He'd rather see money

leasant and disease. Other speakers included veterans, lawyers and professors. Stan Thomas, a World War II veteran, commended the people for coming.

"In an ordinary democracy people get in the streets for two reasons — to celebrate and to protest. And in this country, we have a long history of both," he said, standing between the flags of the United States and the United Nations. He said while politicians usually do the celebrating, they don't always see the protesting.

Thomas said the crowd was not there to be anti-American. But was there for two reasons. "Because we love our country and we are patriotic."

Gannon may be contacted at agannon@tribune.com

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SPINACH Jumbo Bunches 2 \$1.00	RED DELICIOUS APPLES Washington Extra Early 10¢ per Bag
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Church

From 1C

tions, and it's making sure America lives up to its credo.

Church talked about wearing the American flag or putting it in car windows. One woman in the audience said she worried that by wearing the flag, she would be perceived as a nationalist or be different type of patriot.

Church said there are symbols that have been taken over by the religious right.

Forrest

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Appendix 2

The Moscow-Pullman Daily News

Speaking up

Palouse Peace Coalition has its say against possible American war with Iraq

BY HILLARY HAMM

Michelle Hazen grew up learning to trust the president, respect his decisions and never second-guess authority.

When she began to travel and do community service, she met groups of people who didn't think the president was always right.

Hazen adopted their ideals and now, in the shadow of war, believes wrong decisions have been made by President George W. Bush.

"I don't think combat and war is the way to go," she said of the Iraq crisis. "I hope we don't make the decision to kill... and we can diplomatically resolve this."

Hazen, co-leader of the University of Idaho Alliance for Justice, joined about 350 Palouse residents at a peace rally Saturday afternoon in Moscow's Friendship Square. The rally, sponsored by the Palouse Peace Coalition, was a combined effort with more than 600 cities worldwide to voice opposition to war in Iraq.

The Moscow rally was designed to provide an outlet for open conversation and expressions of concern about the possibility of war.

"I wanted to support this," Hazen said. "I wanted to be one more voice. We need to talk and continue to make progressive change."

Kenton Bird, a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition, said Saturday's rally was a resounding success.

"We were overwhelmed locally by the turnout," he said. "It really represented a broad cross section of the population."

Senior citizens, college students, human rights activists, children and religious representatives were present at the rally. Bird said the threat of war in Iraq has created opposition from diverse groups never seen in previous wars.

College students gather with concerns of the threat of a draft, women worry about the safety of their families, human rights activists disagree with the killing of innocent people, and religious leaders consider the contrary to religious teachings.

"This is the beginning to a broad peace movement that will produce more thoughtful, considerate alternatives to war," Bird said.

Stanley Thomas of Moscow has protested war before. Active in anti-war movements for both the Korean and Vietnam wars, and now a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition, Thomas said he hopes efforts by Palouse region residents and the anti-war voices worldwide will be heard.

"We have a very willful president," he said. "It depends on if he will respond to this or not."

Patricia Hart hopes Bush is listening.

Hart, a member of the Palouse Peace Coalition and a leader of the newly formed Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, said protests could make all the difference.

“There is a greater knowledge that we need our allies, and we need to communicate with those that aren’t (allies) for building peace in a just world,” she said. “War still isn’t the answer.”

Sleepless women, formed last week, connects women who lie awake at night with worries of the war and concerns for their families, community and humanity as a whole, she said.

“They are concerned with everyone involved in this conflict,” Hart said. “We see we’re (the United States) headed in a direction we don’t want to go. We want to speak out before we make an irretrievable error.”

Hart said war could be avoided if United Nations weapons inspectors remained in Iraq to monitor Saddam Hussein.

“Disarmament is needed. It needs to be a thoughtful, careful and worldwide effort,” she said.

Hazen agreed, but said the United States needs to be careful not to apply pressure to Saddam for fear he will retaliate.

“Hopefully with all these people standing (together), we can make the Bush administration rethink the war,” Hazen said.

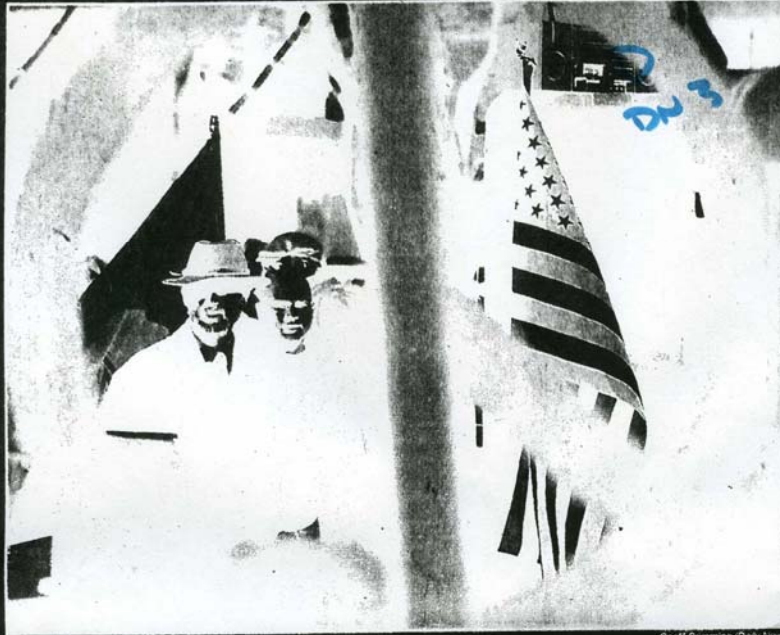
So far, Hazen said, Bush isn’t paying attention to protests. She noted his continuous comments that war is the only solution to overcome Saddam.

“I haven’t seen them make other alternatives to war,” she said. “They haven’t exhausted all alternatives.”

Bird said that if enough people speak in opposition to the war, eventually, their voices will be heard.

“The highest duty of a citizen... is to speak out when they think the country is going in the wrong direction,” he said. “The best possible outcome is to prevent war before it starts.”

Peace process



(Above) Kenton Bird, of Moscow, is seen through a peace sign while speaking at a rally in Moscow's Friendship Square on Saturday. (Below) The rally was organized by the Palouse Peace Coalition to show opposition to U.S. plans to invade Iraq.



Geoff Chinnick, Liz Paul and Laura Ryan, left, among PHS students working with WSU researchers.

PHS ag students get dirty

BY EMILY WAGNITZ

Three Palouse High School students will get their hands dirty regularly as part of an agriculture research project at Washington State University.

When PHS teacher Tina DeVay announced to her natural resources class that there was an opportunity for seven students to work with WSU researchers on a three-semester agriculture project, Liz Paul and Laura Ryan jumped at the chance.

"I like working hands-on," Schmitt said. "I understand better when I can do it." Over the next three years, the student will work with a team of WSU researchers on a project funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The team hopes to better understand how local crops and soils react during the transition from conventional organic agriculture practices. The aim is to find ways to help farmers keep their crops healthy and productive as possible during the transition period. That way, converting to organic agriculture could be possible for more growers who want to get away from using chemicals.

Farmers must grow crops for three years without chemicals for them to be certified organic. During the transition, crops can be especially vulnerable to weeds, pests and disease, said Bob Gallagher, a WSU professor specializing in wheat ecology. At the same time, growers can't get the additional income that comes with the certified organic label. The switch can be financially risky.

"It's a tenuous time for farmers," Gallagher said.

There isn't much organic farming on the Palouse, said Brady Carter, a wheat quality specialist also working on the project. Many farmers who are raising organic crops are making good money.

In addition to looking at the crops, the project will examine the potential market and uses for organic grains, such as gourmet baked goods, he said.

The students will help the researchers a variety of ways, from laying out test plots for different crops at a farm near the

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 Daily News staff writer

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Party leaders push agendas in Moscow

INSIDE

Cancer survivor offers hope

this time of year," said Smokey Johnson, a dispatcher for the Eastern Idaho Intergovernmental Fire Center in Idaho Falls. "It was a laid-off crew person. I would be in Belize by now. When you're not working, you're doing other things. You're not expecting this kind of call."

Still, Johnson and others in the dispatch center were able to put together a crew from the Caribou-Targhee National Forest and the Bureau of Land Management.

"Everyone we were able to contact was excited to go," Johnson said. "There were no dissenters."

Johnson also found a crew from the St. Anthony Work Camp to help.

The minimum-security state prisoners fight wildland fires. Shawn Cookson is a fire-crew supervisor for the Salmon Bureau of Land Management office.

He usually fights fires for about six months and is a skilled mason in the off-season. He said when he saw the Columbia crash on Feb. 1, it occurred to him that federal crews would be called to assist in the recovery effort.

Peace

from page 1A

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established net as a companion to the "Moment in Time" theme pageant.

The night also was a bench mark moment in time for Emily Beacham, a former Utah pageant participant. Beacham knows she would be losing the popularity of the Washington State Junior Miss program when she founded the Pullman pageant.

But she said support for the Miss America-affiliated Pullman pageant is growing.

The first pageant last year drew five participants.

This year, the number of contestants more than doubled and the crowd grew to more than 450.

"I knew how the Miss America system helped me," said Beacham, the reigning



Dianna Carlson, center, was crowned Miss Pullman 2001. Her reign as Miss Pullman will continue on in the coming days with various events.

Miss America organization notes, the experience is priceless.

There also was no shortage of good photographs when all 11 contestants opened the program with a "Stand by" dance performance.

Onstage interviews, the swimsuit competition and evening gown walk brought

hundreds of spectators to the event.

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"We've really been limited with what we had," McGrath said.

Other funding for the project is coming from a \$360,000 economic development block grant from the Benardine Health System, which oversees Clearwater Valley Hospital.

Federal dollars tagged for rural hospital

OROFINO — The Clearwater Valley Hospital will be getting a big boost from the federal government.

The small rural hospital is in line to get \$500,000 toward a \$1.3 million emergency room renovation.

Clearwater County has been plagued by an economic downturn since the closure of Palpatch Corp's Jaypee mill. Idaho Sen. Mike Crapo, D-Pullman, has been instrumental in the leadership in the Orofino area.

"We need to make sure the infrastructure is here for economic development," Crapo said.

The groundbreaking for the project was six weeks ago.

"It's just not too soon, either," said Maurice Masar, a physician at Clearwater Valley Hospital.

With the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration now under way, the number of people traveling U.S. Highway 12 is already swelling, he said.

The Clearwater Valley Hospital has the only emergency room on Highway 12 between Missoula, Mont., and Lewiston.

Kelly McGrath, another physician at the hospital, said emergency room visits are steadily increasing, and many of the people are from out of the

area. The bicentennial as well as fishing season could help play into that increase, he said.

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Police arrest Pullman man after ruckus

A 21-year-old Pullman man allegedly drove his head through the rear window of a Pullman police car early this morning, while officers were trying to subdue him.

The man was charged with malicious mischief after he shattered the window with the top of his skull, said Sgt. Van Barnes.

A woman in the 1800 block of Northeast Monroe Street called police shortly after midnight to report that a man was pounding on her front door, claiming he lived there.

Police found the man, still

standing on the door of the Pullman, but he drove and took off immediately.

He was taken to the Pullman Police Department for booking when he reportedly took a bite.

Police caught up with him after a short chase and tried to force the handcuffed man back into a squad car that's when he head-butted the window.

The man refused medical help but was taken to Pullman Memorial Hospital for treatment. He was treated for small cuts to the head.

The man later picked up from the station for a trial.

Police said the man was highly intoxicated.

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Appendix 3

The Daily Evergreen

Local protesters fight war

By Brandon Swanson

The Daily Evergreen

A black Labrador wandered aimlessly, wearing a sandwich board that read, “Let go the dogs of diplomacy.” □ □

The dog joined more than 400 people in Moscow’s Friendship Square on Saturday to protest a possible war against Iraq. □ □ The Palouse Peace Coalition organized the rally to coincide with similar demonstrations of millions of people in major U.S. cities and internationally. □ □

Protesters in Rome held a simultaneous rally that drew 1 million people. A Seattle rally brought 20,000 to a march that began at Seattle Center. Roughly 150,000 organizers rallied in San Francisco on Sunday. □ □

The Palouse protesters said they were unconcerned that their rally was thousands of miles from the ears of policy-makers in the nation’s capital. □ □

“It may not get too far beyond the Palouse, but I think that if we all get together on one day, we can have an effect,” Troy resident Joe Riley said. “If enough people are against it, the politicians will follow.” □ □

Organizers handed out buttons, fliers and pamphlets supporting their cause. □

Jo Bohanna, a Moscow resident, asked protesters to sign a large anti-war banner. As people signed, she gave her views. □

“Any thinking person has too much intelligence to want war,” she said. □ □

“It’s hard to be against peace, isn’t it?” she said to a passer-by who seemed reluctant to put his name on the banner. “That’s an easy thing to support.” □ □

Moscow resident Jennifer Watts stood across the street from the protest, watching her two toddlers mirror the cries of the assembly by chanting, “We want peace.” □ □

Watts voiced concern about the reasons for war. □ □

“I feel like the Bush administration is much too aggressive,” she said. “I feel there is not enough evidence.” □ □

Despite concerns, most of the protesters were not against war unequivocally. Rather, they opposed war right now. □ □

The protesters also were aware that while people fought against the Vietnam War as early as the mid-1960s, the war did not stop until 1975. □ □

“But it didn’t end up as a 100-years war,” Bohnna said. “You wouldn’t believe the tenacity of warriors. They will go on and on and on if you let them.” □ □

She added that the Vietnam War would have lasted much longer without the protests. □ □

“I still believe in the republican ideal,” she said. “The United States of America listens to the will of the people if they hear our voice.” □ □

“I worry about that as well,” Watts said, with some distance between her and the crowd. “(This protest) is certainly not hurting anything.”

TUESDAY

February 18, 2003



Snow showers

High: 44 | Low: 30

More weather Page 7

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THE DAILY Evergreen



Pullman royalty

New Miss Pullman crowned Saturday News | 7

A student publication of Washington State University | Pullman, Washington

Columnist answers student questions

Matthew R. Weaver
Daily Evergreen staff

Nobody thinks anymore. So said Miami Herald columnist Leonard Pitts when he spoke before more than 100 people in C.B. Cascade Room 123 Friday.

"People find it painful, I don't know, it hurts their heads or whatever," he said.

"Most people do not think any deeper than their bumper stickers. That really troubles me, because we have serious issues to confront in this country. We have issues of race, crime, environment, religion, abortion, education, war with Iraq. It just troubles me that when you try to engage in a conversation with so many people about why they believe this, why they believe that, they cannot give you anything deeper than a slogan that they saw somewhere."

Pitts said he began his award-winning column in 1994 because he was burned out after years of covering pop music. Pitts said the column fulfilled a need to talk about the things that angered him.

"I used to always have this feeling as I watched the world turn and as I watched things go to heck in a handbasket that if I could not scream about it in a place where people could hear me, my head was going to explode," Pitts said. "It allows me to vent the pressure in my head. The other thing I like about my columns, I like to think I can encourage people to think."

Pitts opened his speech with a brief introduction, but primarily used his time for an open forum, taking questions from the people in attendance.

Audience members asked Pitts for his thoughts on a wide variety of issues, including the reasons people like him



Pitts SHOULD NOT BE.

Local protesters fight war

Rally coincides with other events around the world

Brandon Swanson
Daily Evergreen staff

A black Labrador wandered aimlessly wearing a sandwich board that read, "Let go the dogs of diplomacy."

The dog joined more than 400 people in Moscow's Friendship Square on Saturday to protest a possible war against Iraq.

The Palouse Peace Coalition organized the rally to coincide with similar demonstrations of millions of people in major U.S. cities and internationally.

Protesters in Rome held a simultaneous rally that drew 1 million people. A Seattle rally brought 20,000 to a march that began at Seattle Center. Roughly 150,000 organizers rallied in San Francisco on Sunday.

The Palouse protesters said they were unconcerned that their rally was thousands of miles from the ears of policy-makers in the nation's capital.

"It may not get too far beyond the Palouse, but I think that if we all get together on one day, we can have an effect," Troy resident Joe Riley said. "If enough people are against it, the politicians will follow."

Organizers handed out buttons, fliers and pamphlets supporting their cause.

Jo Bohanna, a Moscow resident, asked protesters to sign a large anti-war banner. As people signed, she gave her views.

"Any thinking person has too much intelligence to want war," she said.

"It's hard to be against peace, isn't it?" she said to a passer-by who seemed reluctant to put his name on the banner. "That's an easy thing to support."

Moscow resident Jennifer Watts stood across the street from the protest, watching her two toddlers mirror the cries of the assembly by chanting "We want peace."

Watts voiced concern about the reasons for war.

"I feel like the Bush administration is much too aggressive," she said. "I feel there is not enough evidence."

Despite concerns, most of the protesters were not against war unequivocally. Rather, they opposed war right now.

The protesters also were aware that while people fought against the Vietnam War as early as the mid-1960s, the war



Protesters of all ages filled Moscow's Friendship Square on Saturday to oppose a possible war in Iraq.

Like 4/20/03 Daily Evergreen

did not stop until 1975.

"But it didn't end up as a 100-year war," Bohanna said. "You wouldn't believe the tenacity of warriors. They will go on and on and on if you let them."

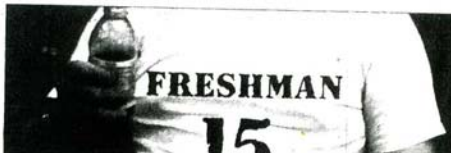
She added that the Vietnam War would have lasted much longer without the protests.

"I still believe in the republican ideal," she said. "The United States of America listens to the will of the people if they hear our voice."

"I worry about that as well," Watts said, with some distance between her and the crowd. "This protest is certainly not hurting anything."

CONTRADICTION SP, DN

Students exercise less, gain more



Nutrition key in weight balance

Bethany Lee
Daily Evergreen staff

Is the Freshman 15 a myth or sure thing? Dining

the price of \$115 per semester. Sharae Randall, marketing coordinator at the Rec Center, said about 3,300 students visit the Rec Center every day.

Dining center dietitian Hsui-Pow Hsiang believes that exercising is not the only

Appendix 4

The Argonaut

Citizens rally against war in Iraq

By Abbey Lostrom

Brightly tie-dyed scarves decorated with messages of peace fluttered about the perimeter of Friendship Square Saturday as Moscow and Pullman residents and students protested the war in Iraq.

The demonstration, which began at noon, coincided with others across the nation and around the world. A cheer went up from the crowd of about 350 when master of ceremonies Kenton Bird announced, "I have just been told that in London, where it is now 8:15 in the evening, there are a million people protesting."

The rally began with a series of short speeches promoting peace. During the open-mic session that followed, participants gave their own speeches, recited poetry and sang to further advocate peace. Postcards were also available so people could write to their congressional representatives demanding peace.

Bird, an assistant professor of communication, began by saying, "We stand today in unity with people around the world... We come today for one reason: to express our concern over the impending conflict in Iraq."

"War is certain to be destructive and deadly," said UI graduate student Kajsa Stromberg. "We run the risk of destabilizing the entire Middle East region... War increases the likelihood for civil unrest in Iraq." She added, "The evidence does not support the government's premises for going into Iraq."

Dale Graden, an academic faculty member of the UI history department, agreed. “Other motives for going after Saddam include the destabilization in the region, yet people in the region don’t want an invasion,” he said. “What becomes increasingly difficult in the melee is to hear the outside world.”

Others criticized United States foreign policy. Nicholas Gier, an academic faculty member of the UI philosophy department, referred to “a new foreign policy which is illegal, immoral, incoherent, inconsistent and irresponsible.”

Carl Mickelsen, an attorney and philosophy lecturer at UI, referred to the war as going “against the norms of international policy.”

Mickelsen also criticized recent laws restricting citizens’ rights. “We have a war against civil liberties; it started the day John Ashcroft became Attorney General,” he said. S. M. “Ghazi” Ghazanfar, an emeritus retiree in the UI Economics Department, told how his grandson is afraid the government might send him to a concentration camp because he is of Middle Eastern descent.

Many encouraged further activism. Minister Kathy Neary, a United Methodist campus minister at WSU, said, “We must change our priorities and work for peace on a daily basis. It is not enough to want peace; we must make peace.” Stromberg added, “We need to be here now, we needed to be here two years ago, and we need to be here two years from now.”

World War II veteran Stanley Thomas, of Moscow, said, “In a democracy, ordinary people get out in the street for two reasons, usually. One reason is to celebrate; the other is to protest.” He added, “This is the second time in my lifetime that I’ve been in the street for a Texas president.”

During a pause between speakers, the crowd spontaneously chanted, “No war (clap, clap).” People waved signs reading, “Where was Dubya during Vietnam? AWOL,” “11th Commandment: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s oil,” and “Another family for peace.”

Organizers included the Palouse Peace Coalition and students from UI and Washington State University. Other participating organizations included the Unitarian Church, No Terror for Nobody, Sleepless Women in the Bush Administration, the Campus Action Network and the UI Alliance for Justice.

Two UI students killed in auto accident Monday

BY MATTHEW MCCOY AND
BRIAN PASKA
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF AND NEWS EDITOR

UI seniors Jennifer Hess and Tracy Egan were killed in an automobile accident Monday evening. Egan was driving southbound on U.S. Highway 95 south of Plummer when she lost control of her Hyundai and crossed the center line, colliding head-on with Jennifer Jones, 21, of Coeur d'Alene. Jones' injuries were not released to the Argonaut, but she is listed in good condition at Kootenai Medical Center in Coeur d'Alene.

Egan and Hess were returning to Moscow from a snowboarding trip to Kellogg.

Egan was 25 and a family and consumer sciences major. She was a member of Kappa Alpha Theta and the sorority's vice president for education.

Hess, 25, was a resident



EGAN



HESS

assistant at Theophilus Tower and a biological sciences major.

Both Egan and Hess were candidates for UI Homecoming Queen in October. The church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at 2293 West Hanley Ave. in Coeur d'Alene will hold a funeral service for Egan 10 a.m. Saturday.

The LDS Church at 100 North 100 West in Holbrook will hold a service for Hess 11 a.m. Saturday.

The LDS Church at 1657 South Blaine St. in Moscow has scheduled a memorial service for both women at 4 p.m. Monday.

Bruce Pitman, dean of students, and Joan Palakos, interim director of the counseling and testing center, met with students Tuesday evening to talk about the grieving process and how students can find help dealing with grief. Pitman also announced the times for the memorial service.

Pitman also offered to collect cards to be delivered to the parents of the women during the services Saturday.

More than 150 students attended two sessions, one for friends of Egan and one for friends of Hess. Periods of intense silence punctuated students' reflections on their experiences with Egan and Hess.

Egan is the daughter of James and Terri Egan of Coeur d'Alene and Hess is the daughter of Steven and Mitzi Hess of Holbrook. Hess' brother, Patrick Hess, is a UI senior majoring in mechanical engineering.



Demonstrators crowd into Friendship Square Saturday protesting the war in Iraq. More than 350 people gathered for speeches, poems and songs. Demonstrations also took place around the world in major cities such as in London, Los Angeles, New York and Rome.

Citizens rally against war in Iraq

BY ABBEY LOSTROM
ARGONAUT STAFF

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Greek community examines its image

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