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American media depiction of terrorism in the U.S after September 11 Attacks

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American media depiction of terrorism in the U.S after September 11 Attacks

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The purpose of this dissertation was to analyze perceptions of terrorism through the analysis of two newspapers' news coverage of terrorism after the September 11 attacks, a popular Kentucky newspaper, the *Courier-Journal* and the *New York Times* (*NYT*). The social construction of terrorism was reflected as a problem through moral panics or something that a society believed as wrong that needed to be eradicated. Previous research had found that newspapers have contributed to moral panics by exaggerating the scope of social problems such as school shootings. I used the theoretical framework of moral panics; Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) two criteria of moral panics, which were (1) concern and (2) volatility; portrayals of heroes, folk devils, and victims in moral panics; and war on terror as sensitizing concepts to find themes. I analyzed 500 the *CJ* newspaper articles and 500 the *NYT* articles from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018 to find the differences between both newspapers, identify portrayals, and determine how terrorism was socially constructed. Overall, I found differences between the two newspapers on how they depicted terrorism and themes on how both newspapers reported and described terrorism. The reporting on terrorism has implications to the overall handling of terrorism such as the Muslim Travel Ban.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my wonderful husband, Zac Lewis, my supportive parents, my brothers, my in-laws, and Jennifer Ling. Without them, I would not have been able to complete my dissertation and begin my academic career.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American newspapers have dramatically increased their coverage of terrorism since the September 11, 2001 attacks upon the United States. News coverage of terrorism remains an important area of study and needs more depth and breadth of analysis in the context of how social problems are constructed in the media. This dissertation sought to make inferences about the social construction of terrorism in news media through an analysis of two influential newspapers. Specifically, I analyzed sample articles from *The New York Times (NYT)* and the *Courier-Journal (CJ)* to determine how newspapers reported and sensationalized terrorism on and after September 11. In addition, I compared how newspapers representing populations with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City/an actual target and Fort Knox, Kentucky/a potential target) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11. Lastly, I will also analyze the portrayal of heroes, victims, and villains (folk devil) in the newspaper coverage of terrorism.

What is terrorism?

One of the objectives of this dissertation is to determine how terrorism was defined in the media. However, terrorism needs to be defined before analyzing the social construction of terrorism in the media. The term terrorism has quite a scope of definitions, depending on who is doing the terrorizing and who is doing the defining. Not even researchers can totally agree on what constitutes a terroristic event (Epstein, 1977; Freedman & Thussu, 2011; Gibbs, 1987;

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Hauptman, 2013; Walsh, 2017; Wilson & Lynxwiler, 1988). Because researchers have not come to a consensus as to what actions or incidents are in fact terrorism, the definition of terrorism remains a subject of debate.

Previous studies have found that the media rely heavily on government and law enforcement officials as their sources for defining terroristic activity (Baer, 1997; Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler, Blumberg, & Potter, 2000; Welch, Fenwick, & Roberts, 1997). According to Farnen (1990), the media "usually accept the official or institutionalized definitions of abstract, foreign or new events" (p. 103). Further, Freedman and Thussu (2011) stated that the "media assist in the naturalization of particular interpretations of terrorism and thus legitimize specific strategies used to confront terrorist actions" (p. 6). Because media heavily rely on institutional sources for definitions and information, then the media are relying, at least implicitly, upon the FBI's most recent definition of terrorism; therefore, I used the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) definition.

According to the FBI, terrorism is generally defined as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objectives" (18 U.S.C. § 2331). The FBI defines domestic terrorism as actions intended (1) "to intimidate or coerce a civilian population"; (2) "to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion"; or (3) "to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping" that occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the U.S. (18 U.S.C. § 2331). As a result of the steady increase and larger death tolls of terroristic attacks during the 1980s, the FBI labeled 219 acts as official acts of terrorism; in the 1990s, the FBI amended the definition to

actions intended to inflict "massive and indiscriminate casualties within civilian populations" (FBI, 2001, p. 20; Hauptman, 2013).

Significance of Media

One of the objectives of this dissertation is to determine how terrorism is reported in media on and after September 11. In this dissertation, I examined two media sources with two different sets of experiences related to terrorism (the *New York Times* and the Louisville, Kentucky *Courier-Journal*) in order to determine how printed media constructed the social problem of terrorism. Previous research has demonstrated that the mass media can influence people's perceptions about crime (Felson, 1996; Keinan, Sadeh, & Rosen, 2003; Slone, 2000). For example, Muzzatti and Featherstone (2007) found that media influence public perceptions of crime when news coverage cultivates a culture of fear and anxiety of crime. Brereton and Culloty (2012) stated that even fictional narratives generate social fears. According to Lazerfeld and Merton (1948), media can be agents of socialization that influence individuals in a given society. For example, Keinan and colleagues (2003) found that exposure to news coverage of terroristic attacks was associated with symptoms of post-traumatic syndrome disorder among a significant portion of their Israeli sample. Slone (2000) found that respondents in an experimental group who were exposed to television news clips of national security threats and terrorism had significantly higher levels of anxiety than their counterparts in the control group. Felson (1996) also stated that exposure to television violence may have a small effect on violent behavior but only for some individuals who might be seeking new ways to be violent, in effect exacerbating violence in people who are already violent. Given these findings, it is important to analyze and determine the effects of mass media on people's perceptions of terrorism.

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Social construction and its influence on perceptions of terrorism

Another objective of the dissertation is to determine how two newspapers with different experiences report and refer to terrorism on and after September 11. The media transmit constructions of social problems. Hegemonic groups, which by definition have the social, cultural, ideological, or economic power to control social institutions, naturally have a heavy influence on the media. Through their authoritative power and restriction or dissemination of information, individuals from hegemonic groups (such as state officials) influence how the news media report social problems. Therefore, moral panics may be present in news coverage on social problems, especially if the moral panics serve the interests of the hegemonic group. A moral panic, by definition, is fear caused by perceptions of an immoral problem in society. Moral panics cause the public to believe a certain problem is an important issue. With encouragement from those who have high standing, the public may demand resolution to the problem.

I sought to explain how each newspaper socially constructed terrorism and how these two papers differed from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11. By comparing the *CJ* to the *NYT,* I aimed to determine whether the news coverage differed and how possible differences correlated with the location's experience with terrorism. I hypothesized that a newspaper (the *CJ*) located in an area that was a potential terrorist target (Fort Knox) that had not experienced terrorism might focus on different aspects of terrorism than a newspaper covering an area that had experienced terrorism (the *NYT*). The newspapers might have reported on different techniques in dealing with terrorism; one might have focused on prevention of terrorism, while the other might have focused on the likelihood of terrorism occurring again, since a terroristic attack has happened there before. As a result, I hypothesized that one

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newspaper may have reported more and different content about terrorism than the other newspaper.

Overview of dissertation

Moral panics reflect the media's social constructions of perceived social problems. Moral panics often define what a society deems as immoral, and they frequently influence societal perceptions about the need to eliminate the problem. This study examined articles from *The New York Times* and *Courier-Journal* in order to examine news coverage of terrorism after the September 11 attacks, specifically from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018.

I chose this period as to include articles from the date of a major terrorism attack on the United States and for a period of nearly two decades after the September 11 terrorist event. On September 11, 2001, 19 men hijacked four American-owned commercial airplanes which resulted in the tragic deaths of 2,977 individuals across three locations: New York City, an area near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. Two of the airplanes hit the World Trade Center towers, one crashed into the Pentagon in the nation's capital, and one crashed in rural Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to stop the hijackers (CNN, 2018).

This dissertation sought to answer the following research questions. (1) How is terrorism socially constructed through newspapers? Specifically, using the *NYT* and the *CJ*, I wanted to examine how newspapers reported terrorism as a threat using the moral panics theoretical framework as developed by Stanley Cohen (1971/2011). (2) How did newspapers report and refer about terrorism after September 11, 2001? (3) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories? (4) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11?

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I hypothesized that newspaper coverage on terrorism after September 11 defined terrorism as a challenge to societal values and caused the public to demand action to get rid of the problem (Cohen, 1972/2011). To partly achieve this, the moral panics of terrorism in news coverage generally define the main portrayals which include: those who are evil and get blamed for causing terrorism (folk devils), those who are saviors and seek retaliatory actions against folk devils (heroes), and those who are virtuous, suffering at the hands of the folk devils (victims). In doing so, moral panics define the boundaries of good and evil and makes future moral panics even more effective (Anker, 2005). I planned to investigate those depicted as the heroes, the victims, and the villains and draw conclusions regarding how newspapers portrayed these portrayals. To do so, I looked for the presence of these portrayals and what newspapers defined them as.

I wanted to examine the level of experience that the newspaper location had with terrorism and see how location correlated with the amount and manner of their reporting. I selected two popular newspapers. The *NYT* is the third-most popular newspaper in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2011, May 9), and the *CJ* is widely read in Kentucky, where it has the largest circulation in the state (American Newspapers Representatives, 2018). Because the *NYT* is headquartered in New York City, an area having direct experience with terrorism, and the *CJ* is in an area with little direct experience with terrorism that could be a potential target, comparing the two could provide insight around how experiences with terrorism relate to the reporting of terrorism.

For the sampling of newspapers, I identified and analyzed 500 articles from the *NYT* and 500 articles from the *CJ* (*N*=1000). I picked 1000 newspaper articles to keep my data manageable. The top 500 relevant articles from each newspaper provide enough of a snapshot of

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how newspapers depicted terrorism. In selecting the articles, I conducted a relevance search of ProQuest's Global Newsstream using the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist" and ranging from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018. The search yielded 21,505 total results for the *NYT* and 1,190 results for the *CJ*. I included all mentions of terrorism in the sample rather than just news coverage on terrorist attacks.

To analyze the newspapers, I used sensitizing concepts and quantitative content analysis of the selected articles. Sensitizing concepts (pre-existing concepts) provide "the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances" (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). Sensitizing concepts were appropriate for this analysis because sensitizing concepts require a constructive paradigm, and my questions addressed the constructive paradigm of the social construction of terrorism in newspapers (Schwandt, 1998, p. 222). I included two types of sensitizing concepts that were necessary for my analysis: conceptual framework and substantive area.

The conceptual framework of sensitizing concepts I used were important individual portrayals (heroes, folk devils, and victims) and concern, while the substantive area of sensitizing concepts was war on terror. I used Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) definition of concern. These sensitizing concepts were used to find themes in the newspaper articles. Concern referred to the increased level of worry of a problem for which people blame folk devils for the problem or worry. Next, within the conceptual framework of moral panics, there were three portrayals: hero, victim, and folk devil. Hero was defined as good, a savior who performed retaliatory actions to redeem victims (Anker, 2005, p. 24). A victim was an individual who is characterized as virtuous, one who suffers due to the villains or folk devils. A folk devil was the epithet of evil whom society blames for causing the problem, in this case terrorism (p. 25). Folk devils

ultimately threaten moral values of a society and thus require action from the heroes (Anker, 2005, p. 26). I used war on terror as the substantive area of sensitizing concepts. War on terror was a strongly connotative term, first used by the G.W. Bush administration in their efforts against global and national terrorism (Lewis & Reese, 2009). Finding the themes in the newspaper analysis required using the sensitizing concepts (war on terror, hero, victim, folk devil, and concern) as guides.

Next, I used quantitative content analysis to analyze Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) criterion of volatility, which is the sudden explosion and quick dispersion of moral panics. In this analysis, I used volatility as the quantitative sensitizing concept. I measured volatility by examining the frequency of all articles that were published within the analyzed time (from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018) from the *CJ* (*N*=1190) and the *NYT* (*N*=21,505) with the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist." I interpreted years that had the highest number of published articles containing the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist" as being those in which moral panic of terrorism occurred. In addition, I performed phi coefficient and chi-square analyses on the sensitizing concepts.

My results and conclusions suggest that studying the reporting of terrorism is still important in America. The quantitative analysis revealed several important findings. First, both newspapers portrayed these moral panics of terrorism as mostly Islamic based, as measured by the most frequently mentioned terrorists and terroristic attacks. Second, there were distinct differences between the newspapers. The *CJ* was less likely to focus on terrorism than the *NYT*; for example, the *NYT* was more likely to have the news articles with the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist" on the front page than the *CJ*. In addition, the *NYT* was more likely to have terrorism as a primary subject in their newspaper articles than the *CJ*. This was also indicated in

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word count of the analyzed articles, as the analyzed *NYT* articles had a higher word count than the *CJ* articles. The *CJ* was also less likely to vocalize concerns and war on terror and innocuously allude to terrorism compared to the *NYT*. Lastly, the *CJ* was more focused on its readers in general, as indicated by the number of readers' forums compared to the *NYT*. For example, the *CJ* was more likely to discuss victims than the *NYT*.

For the qualitative analysis, there were three themes associated with war on terror: (1) tactics and policies for preventing terrorism, (2) military and aggressive action and (3) politics. Terrorism was such an important issue that policies and tactics were needed to solve terrorism. In addition, the (best) solution to solve terrorism was to use military action. Terrorism was so important that politicians needed to discuss how to resolve terrorism.

There were four themes associated with the sensitizing concept of concern. First, terrorism is dangerous, making terrorism an ongoing problem. Next, the newspapers reported on the concerns related to safety and security of the U.S. The subtheme associated with that theme is that terrorism went against American and western values. Another theme associated with concern is terrorism types and how terrorism after September 11 was different than terrorism before September 11. The subthemes associated with this theme include homegrown terrorism (terrorism forming within a country, and in this case, in America and other western countries) and material or financial terrorism (providing material or financial support for terrorists). Lastly, the newspapers were concerned about ineffective policies and tactics. The subtheme associated with this theme is that these ineffective policies and tactics impeded on Americans' freedom. Both newspapers acknowledged that the then current policies were not effective against more modern methods of terrorism, such as that which damaged technology or the Internet.

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In the newspaper coverage, terrorism was constructed as a threat for America and other western countries; therefore, it was necessary to investigate the main portrayals of moral panics. To determine how newspapers portrayed the main individuals involved in terrorism after September 11, I analyzed the heroes, victims, and folk devils within the articles as sensitizing concepts. The themes associated with heroes were (1) institutional officials of America and the other western countries, including law enforcement, government officials, military, and September 11 rescue workers and (2) Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals against Islamic terrorism. The themes associated with victims were (1) Individuals and their families or terror attacks, (2) innocent citizens in American, western, and Middle Eastern countries in general, (3) those wrongly accused of or feared of terrorism, and (4) guiltless Arab- and Muslim-Americans. The themes associated with folk devils were (1) terror groups and terrorists, (2) Muslims and Middle Easterners, and (3) Middle Eastern and Muslim countries. Terrorism became newsworthy partly due to the newspapers framing terrorism through the moral fight of good and evil, with defined victims, villains, and heroes that matched these archetypes (Chermak and Gruenewald, 2006).

Essentially, these elements of terrorism described by the newspapers shaped how terrorism was viewed, causing some serious implications in the American society, such as the Muslim Travel Ban[1] and policies such the PATRIOT Act. In the following sections, I will present existing literature relevant to this dissertation, my methodology, findings, discussion, conclusion, and implications for further research.

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[1] The Trump Travel Ban are executive orders that restricted entry to the United States to citizens from Muslim-majority countries (Almasy & Simon, 2017, Mar. 30).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE

Why newspapers?

This dissertation will be dedicated to comparing how terrorism is described after September 11 in two newspapers: the *New York Times* (the *NYT*) and the Louisville, Kentucky *Courier-Journal* (the *CJ*). Due to the advancement of technology, people increasingly rely on electronic access to news instead of print newspapers, with 38 percent of American adults who often get news online compared to 20 percent of American adults who got news from print in 2016 (Mitchell, Gottfried, Barthel, & Shearer, 2016, July 7). Even so, analyzing print news is appropriate for this study because print news is still a dependable source of information that remains constant over time, even if both newspapers may put the same articles online and in print (Pew Research Center, 2011, Sept. 26). In addition, in the days and weeks immediately following the September 11 attacks, the Internet was not the main resource for news coverage for many Americans, with only three percent of Internet users stating they got information about those terror attacks and the aftermath from the Internet (Rainie, 2001, Sept. 15). In 2002, 61 percent of the American public still relied on newspapers as their sources of news (Pew Research Center, 2007, Oct. 4). The most prevalent media during the September 11 attacks was thus print media not electronic news and analyzing print media is therefore appropriate for this study. Though I obtained the analyzed articles electronically, these were archived newspaper articles that were print newspaper.

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Researchers often analyze the *NYT* because it is one of the most widely read papers in the U.S., with 571,500 copies circulated on each weekday and 1,085,700 copies on Sundays according to the American Newspapers Representatives (2018; Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Chyi & McCombs, 2004; Dickson, 1994; Hauptman, 2013; Kelly & Mitchell, 1981; Lule, 2002; *NYT Company*, 2017; Orcutt & Turner, 1993; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Woods, 2007). The *CJ* is the most read newspaper in Kentucky, with 125,629 Sunday circulations, compared to the second largest the *Lexington Herald-Ledger,* with 66,734 Sunday circulations (American Newspapers Representatives, 2018).

Analyzing and comparing the *NYT* and the *CJ* coverage is important because, as Farnen (1990) stated, the media, especially the news media, capture the attention of the public. Furthermore, previous research has shown that people rely on news media for information and sense of control (Keinan et al., 2003; Liebes & Kampf, 2007; Stempel & Hargrove, 2002). For example, Stempel and Hargrove (2002) stated that their national sample of American respondents used news sources for information on terrorism after September 11. Keinan and colleagues (2003) stated that respondents pursued detailed information on terrorist acts to gain a sense of personal control over terrorist attacks. This dissertation adds to the existing literature by comparing the post-September 11 news coverage on terrorism of two newspapers with different perspectives (based on level of experience with terrorism). This chapter will begin discussing literature on media, discussing in detail on crime media, and moral panics, which goes into more detail about previous literature on moral panics of terrorism.

<center>**Media**</center>

Types of media and media platforms

Before discussing more about media, I will discuss the different types of media and media platforms. The three types of media are news, infotainment, and entertainment. News media provide information on major current events, problems, trends and issues in a given society that is usually seen as objective (Demers, 2005). Examples include newspapers such as *The New York Times* and the *Courier Journal*. Infotainment contains information that mixes entertainment to boost popularity and is situated between entertainment and news media (Demers, 2005; Doyle, 2019; Thussu, 2015). Examples include talk shows like *The Daily Show, Last Week Tonight, The O'Reilly Factor*, *Oprah, and The Dr. Oz Show*. Entertainment is the type of media that brings the audience pleasure or give individuals an enjoyable narrative that does not have to provide information or be objective. Examples include fictional movies and shows such as *Law and Order: SVU, N.C.I.S, Stranger Things* and *Frozen* (Bates & Ferri, 2010).

There are three types of media platforms: print, broadcast, and internet (Herbert, 2016). Print is a platform that uses visual elements in order to communicate information. Examples include paper newspapers and magazines. Broadcast is a platform that uses visual and audio elements to disseminate information. Examples include television news. Lastly, the internet is a platform that uses online communication to distribute media. Examples of using Internet as a platform include social media websites such as Facebook and Twitter and YouTube (Herbert, 2016).

Media effects

Previous studies have found that media affect perception among its consumers (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2015; Kort-Butler & Habecker, 2018; Thompson, 2020). Media effects is the

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concept that individuals will start to believe what is being told in media such as television, internet, and press (Crane, 1972; Stewart and Ward, 1994). There are intended consequences to media consumption, such as simply entertaining the audience (Vorderer, Klimmt, & Ritterfled, 2004), persuading consumers to buy advertised products, or informing the public on important information. For example, a mass media campaign to reduce consumption of sugar-sweetened beverages in American rural areas caused the decrease of sugar-sweetened beverages (Farley, Halper, Carlin, Emmerson, Foster, & Fertig, 2017). However, other studies have shown there have been unintended consequences to media consumption. For example, the popular mobile application *Pokémon Go* had positive effects to consumers' physical activity players, especially those who used to be sedentary (Wong, 2017). Holland (2011) noted that an unintended consequence of campaigns designed to challenge stigmatizing representations of mental illness in the media could be the perpetuation of assumptions and stereotypes associated with mental illness.

Previous studies have assessed how media consumption has affected audience perceptions and behaviors, particularly looking at violent media (Anderson, Berkowitz, Donnerstein, Huesmann, Johnson, Linz, Malamuth, & Wartella, 2003; Kanz, 2016; Näsi, Tanskanen, Kivivuori, Haara, & Reunanen, 2020; Osofsky, 1999; Rodenhizer & Edwards, 2019; Valkenburg & Piotrowski, 2017). First, some studies have examined how violent media consumption affects aggressive and violent behavior. For example, studies have found that sexual objectification of women and violent imagery in videogames may prime victim blaming attitudes and sexual objection behaviors (Beck, Boys, Rose, & Beck, 2012; Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008). Fox and Potocki (2016) found that among their sample of adults, videogame consumption was positively associated with "rape myth acceptance via interpersonal aggression

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and hostile sexism" (p. 1912). Williams, Phillips, Stockdale, Holmgren, Wong, and Peterson (2017) found in their study of 100 Black college students that Black college students who are heavy consumers of violent media were more likely to be aggressive than those who were not heavy consumers of violent media. There have been other studies that have analyzed how media consumption affects perceptions of other social phenomena. For example, Thompson (2020) found that using the American Trends Panel data, "exposure to political and election news directly from Trump intensifies the relationship between Whites' perceptions of media bias and their distrust of national news organizations" (p. 1). Also, Millington and Wilson (2010) found that young men use media portrayals of hegemonic masculinity to shape how they defined masculinity when interviewing a sample of Vancouver high school boys.

Studies have also examined how media consumption and media framing influence attitudes toward crime (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2015; Kort-Butler & Habecker, 2018). For example, Choi, Yim, and Hicks (2019) found that, among a sample of South Koreans, crime related media consumption was negatively significantly associated with "public confidence in the police via perceived incivilities and fear of crime" (p. 38). According to a study with 1,311 participants, fear of crime increased the chances of media consumption positively affecting support for the death penalty, stand your ground, three-strikes, and open carry laws (Dolliver, Kenney, Reid, & Prohaska, 2018). Kort-Butler and Habecker (2018) found in their study of Nebraska adults that watching television violence predicted anger and worry about crime, along with the belief that media are reliable sources of crime information predicted more support for the justice system and anger.

As mentioned previously, consumption of crime media affects perceptions of attitudes, but where media gets their information on crime needs to be discussed. In addition to focusing

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on rare criminal events, news reporting depends highly on state sources, such as criminal justice or military officials, to obtain the details of a crime to increase the efficiency of news reporting, creating further bias in news crime reporting (Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler et al., 2000; Woods, 2007). Reporters are not likely to criticize any actions of their institutional sources, and as a result, accept their information as fact (Chermak, 1997). These sources have a vested interest in the crime myth that "crime is out of control" (Kappeler et al., 2000; Welch et al., 1997). The sources may provide false information about crime to the news media to heighten fear of crime among the public, creating a false sense of effectiveness of the criminal justice system in punishing and controlling crime (Baer, 1997; Marsh, 1991). This reliance on official criminal justice sources perpetuates the standard narrative of crime that tends to be supportive toward law enforcement values in which law enforcement is the only effective deterrent to the epidemic of crime (Baer, 1997; Chermak, 1997; Kappeler et al., 2000; Roche, Pickett, & Gertz, 2016; Welch et al., 1997).

However, these findings could have changed depending on the depiction of law enforcement officials, especially with the continued increase in negative news reports on police because of police brutality being better documented due to technological advances (Graziano, 2018; Graziano & Gauthier, 2017). For example, Graziano and Gauthier (2017), when surveying respondents from a mid-size Californian city, stated that respondents who viewed local news as most important source of information were more likely to see police as legitimate than those who perceived that internet news as most important. However, Chermak (1994) stated that because the media depend on these sources, this will influence what stories will be selected and how these crimes will be presented to the public who then accept distorted descriptions of these crimes.

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Mass media disseminated misconceptions about Iraq after September 11, particularly media depictions of Islamic violence (Karim, 2002), that influenced public opinion by increasing American support of U.S. military groups going to war with Iraq (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kull, Ramsay, & Lewis, 2003-04; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). Overall, news reporting of crime is biased through the heavy use of institutional sources and the overemphasis on sensational crimes, specifically violent and serious crimes, that contribute to the social construction of moral panics in the media that affects those who consume media (Ditton & Duffy, 1983; Orcutt & Turner, 1993).

Typical offenders, victims, and crimes in the media

Previous research has shown that American newspapers report crime in a similar fashion because they tend to report on a small number of crimes that have common characteristics (Altheide, 1982; Chermak, 1997; Entman & Gross, 2008; Kohm, Waid-Lindberg, Weinrath, O'Connor Shelley, & Dobbs, 2012; Meindel & Ivy, 2017). As a result, common crime myths are (re)produced through news media (Best, 2002). Crime myths are exaggerations of realities of criminal events that facilitate fear because they focus on evil villains and innocent victims (Kappeler & Potter, 2004, p. 98). Often, crime myths in news media tend to heighten and exaggerate ordinary life events (Kappeler et al., 2000). Best (2002) stated that "oversaturated media coverage can portray a few isolated incidents as a national trend" (p. 21).

Crime myths are a type of moral panics. Moral panics are something society focuses on that is defined as a problem and that it need to be eradicated (Cohen, 1972/2011). News reporting on crime is distorted and biased because reporting of crime does not reflect actual and official crime trends or statistics (Davis, 1952; Kappeler et al., 2000; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Marsh, 1991; Miller, 2013; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Surette, 2015). For example, Liska and Baccaglini

(1990) analyzed leading newspapers from 26 major American cities and found that index crimes (eight crimes that the FBI use to produce their annual crime index, divided into property and violent crime) accounted for two percent of all crimes but made up 29.9% of all crime stories. Crime in news media tends to be sensationalized (reported in a way to incite public enthusiasm and interest rather than reporting on crime accurately) and overreported (Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Kappeler et al., 2000; Reiner, 1997; Roshier, 1981). Therefore, there are typical characteristics of offenders and victims that the media tend to report.

The typical offender is a poor racial minority man (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002; Entman & Gross, 2008; Hartly & Miller, 2009; Oliver, 2003; Robinson, 2000). Lower social class offenders tend to be presented in news media more than higher social class offenders (Grabe, 1996). Media disseminate information that links race and criminality that is further reinforced by political agendas (Welch, 2007). Society has used criminal predator to describe "young black male," especially in violent and crack cocaine offenses (Welch, 2007). As a result, Black men are viewed as a criminal threat that is widespread in media. Racial minorities, in particular Blacks and Hispanics, are more likely to viewed as criminals than victims in media (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002; Entman & Gross, 2008; Oliver, 2003). Minorities are more likely to be viewed as a threat associated with fear of crime (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002). In addition, typical offenders tend to be strangers, rather than acquaintances to the victims (Kitzinger, 2008; Surette, 1994).

Victims are often portrayed as "innocent, virtuous, and honorable." (Dowler, Fleming, Muzzatti, 2006, p. 841). As a result, the news media report on crimes that usually include women, the elderly, or child victims (Best, 2002; Paulsen, 2002; Sorenson, Manz, & Berk, 1998). Children are often highlighted as innocent and often are viewed to be victims (Kitzinger,

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2008). Women are more likely to be newsworthy victims than men (Chermak, 1995; Sorenson, Manz, & Berk, 1998). In addition, white victims are more likely to be viewed in a positive light than racial minority victims in media. As a result, white victims are viewed as more deserving than racial minority victims in media, receiving more attention and sympathy. Lastly, victims who live in poverty tend to be reported less often through the news media compared to victims who do not live in poverty (Dowler et al., 2006; Hawkins, Johnstone, & Michener, 1995). News media tend to report crimes with white woman victims (Callan & Rosenberger, 2015).

As there are typical victims and offenders, there are crimes with typical characteristics that the news media report. Deviant crimes that differ from crime trends are more likely to reported than common crimes (Kitzinger, 2008; Surette, 1994). Crimes in the media appear to be more random (Larkin, 2009) and senseless or motiveless (Surette, 2015). Interestingly, violent and serious crimes (i.e., felony crimes) are newsworthy (Chermak, 1994; Ditton & Duffy, 1983; Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Kappeler et al., 2000; Katz, 1987; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Marsh, 1991; Naylor, 2001; Reiner, 1997; Roshier, 1981) and tend to be reported more than other crimes such as white collar crimes (Chermak, 1994) or property crimes (Chermak, 1994; Marsh, 1991; Paulsen, 2002). Chermak (1994) explained that white collar crimes are reported less frequently because these crimes are more complicated to explain than violent crimes. The frequency of reporting different types of crime causes a distortion in the public's perception of which crimes occur more frequently (Davis, 1952; Roshier, 1981).

Exaggerated examples

Sometimes, biased statistics are used to perpetuate crime myths and denote the crime problem's importance and frequency along with extreme examples (Best, 2002; Welch et al., 1997). For example, in the year 1998 after the Columbine Shooting, National School Safety

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Center researchers identified 321 violent school deaths, but the incidents involved student-on-student violence, suicides, and accidental deaths, which was mentioned in publicized tragic school shootings (Best, 2002). Newspapers mentioned the researchers' findings to make school shootings an epidemic to America. There is also evidence that official statistics on crime are often criticized in the news media (Welch et al., 1997). For example, reporters cited experts that stated that crime rates increase and decrease, and therefore, official statistics cannot be trusted (Welch et al., 1997). The construction of crime myths and social problems in general may result in a moral panic regarding crime (Cohen, 1972/2011).

When crime is sensationalized in news media, reports on crime often become distorted and even fabricated, causing misinformation on crime to disseminate to individuals (Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Kappeler et al. 2000; Orcutt & Turner, 1993). For example, news coverage of illegal Chinese individuals migrating to Canada had invented health and security risks such as migrants having infectious disease and facilitating organized crime in Canada. As a result, public opinion on crime becomes reflected by what is depicted in news coverage rather than actual statistics or real risk of crime (Davis, 1952; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Kappeler et al., 2000; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Orcutt & Turner, 1993). The public rely heavily on the news media for information (Cavender & Mulcahy, 1998; Chermak, 1994; Davis, 1952; Ross, 1998), especially because newspapers can be more comprehensive than television news coverage (Ross, 1998).

The media focus on the rarest types of crime to make their reports marketable and increase readership and revenues (Kappeler et al., 2000; Pizaro, Chermak, & Gruenewald, 2007). Terrorism can be easily sensationalized. Terrorist attacks are newsworthy because these attacks are unique and involve the "adventure of having entertainment value, and somehow affecting the lives of those being informed of them" (Dowling, 1986, p. 14; Bassiouni, 1982; Gerber and

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Gross, 1979; Quester, 1986; Weimann & Brosius, 1991). Mass media disseminated

misconceptions about Iraq after September 11, particularly media depictions of Islamic violence

(Karim, 2002), that influenced public opinion in which Americans supported U.S. military

groups going to war with Iraq (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kull,

Ramsay, & Lewis, 2003-04; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). This topic is discussed in greater detail in

the next section.

Post-September 11 news coverage on terrorism

According to Chermak and Gruenewald (2006), the terrorist attacks that occurred on

September 11, 2001 were newsworthy because: (1) the attacks were "violent, intense,

unambiguous, unexpected, rare, and hostile to elite people and/or nations" (p. 429); (2) personal

anecdotes, video, and photographs of the attacks were distributed quickly to the media so the

public were able to view the airplanes strike the World Trade Center Towers and the towers

collapsing; (3) the attacks happened on American soil; and (4) finally, the attacks were told using

moral boundaries of good and evil, with sympathetic victims, heroes (e.g., firefighters), and the

villains (e.g., Osama bin Laden).

In addition, because mass media can transmit powerful images of terrorism, the pictures

taken from terrorist attacks represent crisis, trauma, and the will to act for the greater good of

America (Debatin, 2002; Der Derian, 2005; Faludi, 2007; Hatfield, 2008; Lucaites & Hariman,

2001; Lule, 2002). The ability of mass media to continuously show these same images allowed

the perpetuation of the messages that the news media tried to convey (Debatin, 2002). After the

September 11 attacks, media coverage on the war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan or other

terrorist attacks, such as the British's news coverage on the Mumbai Attacks in 2008 (Iqbal,

2015), focused on these images of terror and violence (Iqbal, 2015; Snow, 2007) and witness

accounts filled with disturbing details of the attacks (Brockus, 2009; Iqbal, 2015). Other researchers found that newsworthy terrorism follows similar themes of newsworthy crimes such as violence and unexpected terror and damage caused by the terrorist attacks, particularly casualties and injuries (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Debatin, 2002; Iqbal, 2015; Montgomery, 2005; Nacos, 2003; Snow, 2007; Traugott & Broader, 2002, Aug.).

For example, news coverage of terrorism is considered as a melodrama or "theater of terror," with videogames, films, and television shows gaining inspiration from the news coverage and real-time events (Anker, 2005; Ivory, Williams, Hatch, & Covucci, 2007, Aug. 8; Nacos, 2003; Pollard, 2002; Semati, 2001; Stahl, 2006; Thussu, 2009; Walsh, 2015; Weimann, 1983; Weimann, 2004). Also, news coverage of terrorism tended to sensationalize the terrorist attacks covered (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Collins, 2004; Debatin, 2002; Kelly & Mitchell, 1981; Kingston, 1995; Nacos, 2003; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Peresin, 2007; Ross, 2007; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). According to Nacos (2003), the media "need dramatic, shocking sensational tragic events to sustain and bolster their reading circulation" (p. 52; Peresin, 2007; Snow, 2007). Using sensational tragic events to increase reading circulation is especially true in American newspapers such as the *NYT* (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008). Sensationalizing terrorist attacks, like crime (Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Kappeler et al. 2000; Reiner, 1997; Roshier, 1981), is what attracts readers. News coverage magnified the imaginary and real dangers that resulted from the September 11 terrorist attacks (Collins, 2004). News coverage on terrorism after September 11 tended to focus on the negative aspects of the attack and the terrorists, particularly demonizing them (Debatin, 2002; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Roy & Ross, 2011; Zelizer & Allan, 2002).

Therefore, just as previous research on news coverage of crime suggests that coverage of traditional crime is biased (Davis, 1952; Kappeler et al., 2000; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Marsh, 1991; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Surette, 2015), previous research showed that news coverage on terrorism is also biased, especially because part of the news coverage is spent on speculating about future terrorist attacks (Nord & Stromback, 2006; Ross, 2007; Zhang, Shoemaker, & Wang, 2013). For example, using an analysis of 1,710 Swedish news articles, Nord and Stromback (2006) found that media coverage on September 11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan favored the American perspective and side of conflict rather than the Iraqi and Afghani perspectives. Also, the American public was provided with false information about Iraq from the news coverage after September 11 to support the war on terror (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kull et al., 2003-04; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). Like news coverage on crime (Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler et al., 2000), news coverage on terrorism tends to rely on institutional sources that often provide misleading information to further their political agenda (Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Ross, 2007). Specifically, reporters often referenced and relied on President George W. Bush and his administration (Montgomery, 2005; Zelizer & Allan, 2002) and other criminal justice, military, and government sources such as national security agencies (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Brockus, 2009; Li & Izard, 2003; Ross, 2007; Woods, 2007).

After September 11, biased messages promoted in the news coverage of the September 11 terrorist attacks (e.g., depiction of good versus evil in the attacks) influenced public opinion that caused the misperception of statistical risk on terrorist attacks (Kern, Just, & Norris, 2003; Nacos, 2003), similar to how people misinterpret their risk of crime (Davis, 1952; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Kappeler et al., 2000; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Orcutt & Turner, 1993). For

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example, Kern and colleagues (2003) stated that, despite the fact that Americans live in the safest region in the world (in terms of their risk of experiencing a domestic terror attack), the public still perceived terrorism as a threat, establishing the biased messages the American public was receiving. Also, Nacos (2003) stated that a survey conducted by the Pew Center Research found those who viewed larger amounts of news coverage of terrorism were more fearful of a potential terrorist attack than those who did not watch substantial amounts (p. 35).

As indicated earlier, the public depend on the news for information, especially on national events such as terrorist attacks after September 11, because of advancements in technology in news media (Cavender & Mulcahy, 1998; Chermak, 1994; Collins, 2004; Davis, 1952; Li & Izard, 2003; Nacos, 2003; Ross, 1998; Stempel & Hargrove, 2002; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). Given the media's inaccurate and distorted reporting of crime, it is possible that influential news organizations like the *NYT* could contribute to moral panics about violent crime. As explained in later sections, messages concerning the war on terror, Islamophobia, and immigration stemmed from the moral panic concerning terrorism. Terrorism is thus used as a tool to sway public perception and to further permit legislation and policies; news media contribute to the perpetuation of the moral panic of terrorism in which the news media's institutional sources gain support from the public to enact policies and legislation.

Moral panics

Social construction of reality

Before discussing the theoretical framework of moral panics, I will discuss the social construction of reality, because moral panics are part of the social construction of reality. Social construction of reality is the concept that "reality is socially constructed" (Berger & Luckmann, 2011, p. vi). Lippmann (1922) stated that "For the most part we do not first see, and then define,

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we define first and then see…we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture." According to Adoni and Mane (1984), there are three types of reality that relate to the process of social construction of reality: (1) objective social reality; (2) symbolic social reality; and (3) subjective social reality. Objective social reality "is experienced as the objective world existing outside the individual and confronting him or her as facts" (Adoni & Mane, 1984, p. 325), while symbolic social reality "consists of any form of symbolic expression of objective reality such as art, literature, or media contents" (p. 326). Subjective social reality is the combination of objective and symbolic realities that both serve as contributors for the construction of one's own subjective reality (Adoni & Mane, 1984, p. 326).

Media play an important role in socially constructing realities for individuals through media frames, which are "written, spoken, graphical, or visual message modality that a communicator uses to contextualize a topic, such as a person, event, episode, or issue, within a text transmitted to receivers by means of mediation" (D'Angelo, 2017, p. 1). Media frames, in other words, are socially constructed templates or archetypes that allow individuals to categorize or conceptualize a topic to interpret information in a meaningful way (Baranauskas & Drakulich, 2018, p. 681; Goffman, 1974). Essentially, mass media help individuals organize knowledge in a given society. According to Gitlin (1980), media frames organize world events for both journalists and those who rely on their news coverage. Media frames are a "bridging concept between cognition and culture" (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson, 1992, p. 384). These frames make it easier for individuals to understand world or social events, especially if people do not have direct experience with an event, such as crime, fulfilling the "knowledge gap" (Adoni & Mane, 1984, p. 331).

Previous studies have found that people's primary source of information about crime is the "distorted reality" of mass media (Baranauskas & Drakulich, 2018, p. 681; Stempel & Hargrove, 2002; Surette, 2015). Media frames can influence perceptions about crime, especially if media frames make things "natural and familiar" (Gamson, 1992, p. 135). As mentioned earlier, people used news resources for information on terrorism after the September 11 attacks (Stempel & Hargrove, 2002). Few people have direct experience with terrorism or know someone who had experience with terrorism. Because of this, individuals rely on outside (secondary) sources for all their information on terrorism, relying on these sources for how they socially construct terrorism in their minds. Also, media frames will influence perceptions of those who rely on media if "it reflects their local context;" therefore, news coverage related to local topics is more likely to alter individual perceptions on social or world events (Baranauskas & Drakulich, 2018, p. 682). Individuals will rely on symbolic social realities (in this case, media) on social or world events that are remote from one's objective social reality (in this case, individual direct experience; Adoni & Mane, 1984).

In addition, Carter (2013) stated that "news stories are essentially narratives and interpretations" (p. 1). Frames are "more like a storyline or unfolding narrative about an issue" (Gamson et al. 1992, p. 385). These news stories tend to report on one part of an event, making particular parts of stories more salient than other parts. This salience frames an event and provides a reference point for those consuming news stories. D'Angelo (2017) stated that most consumers of media encounter media frames in news stories that are the main text for media framing (p. 2). Because newspapers sensationalize and dramatize news coverage in order to increase readership and circulation, newspapers tend to focus on positions that are more dramatic such as the negative aspects of a social or world event (Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Kappeler et al.

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2000; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Reiner, 1997; Roshier, 1981; Roy & Ross, 2011; Zelizer & Allan, 2002).

Best (1999) discussed in his studies on random violence and news media how powerful the press is, especially since the news media has the power to define problems of public concern. Often, media depictions of violence and crime use melodrama to depict social problems, with innocent victims and wicked villains. Because news media cannot fully maintain public interest, the press must rely on hegemonic individuals in society, such as government officials and experts. In addition, media framing is controlled by hegemonic groups that can control how messages are depicted. The process through which this occurs is explained in the next section.

Hegemony in news media

The media, especially the news media, heavily depend on institutional sources for information pertaining to crime (Baer, 1997; Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler et al., 2000; Welch et al., 1997). Previous research has found that the news media reflect the dominant or hegemonic reality that shapes peoples' perceptions in a given society, particularly about crime (Altheide, 1982; Altheide, 1987; Barak, 1988; Barak, 2016; Cavender & Mulcahy, 1998; Chermak, 1997; Hall, 1979; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Karim, 2002; Peelo & Soothill, 2000; Reiner, 1997). Hegemony is defined as the "dominance and subordination in the field of relations structured by power," which is a way of maintaining and gaining power (Lull, 1995/2010, p. 39). Hall (1979) stated that hegemony or the "dominant ideology," reflected by the ruling class, is permeated with superstructure agencies such as the media, family, and cultural institutions (p. 333).

Individuals in a society will "subscribe to a general common purpose and common field of meanings" (Karim, 2002, p. 104) through the reproduction of dominant or hegemonic

information disseminated by these agencies such as the media or the police (Hall, 1979). Therefore, mass-circulation newspapers can be viewed as "agents of conformity" that create dominant narratives of crime (Barak, 1988; Barak, 2016; Peelo & Soothill, 2000, p. 131). However, because crime is exaggerated in news media (Williams & Dickinson, 1993), the news media will increase fear of crime among individuals in a given society and thereby influence public opinions on crime (Alitavoli & Kaveh, 2018; Callanan, 2012; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Nellis & Savage, 2012; Reiner, 1997; Williams & Dickinson, 1993). Newspaper reporters rely heavily upon state sources such as government, military, and criminal justice officials for information for content in their articles (Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler et al., 2000; Woods, 2007) and convey this information to the public. Therefore, the news media are hegemonic in nature because the information disseminated is determined by the state officials indirectly inform what stories get published (e.g., editors or newspaper owners).

Hegemonic groups are thus able to control media frames in the news media, influencing how information about any kind of event or occurrence is depicted. Moral panics, a type of social construction, are present in the news media that the hegemonic groups can use to further their own agendas. Moral panics in news media incite fear among the public that allow hegemonic groups to do what they want in a society under the guise of fixing the problem.

Theoretical framework of moral panics

The theory of moral panics was first introduced by Young in 1971, when he analyzed the rising and rapid public reaction to drug abuse in Britain, and by Cohen in 1972, when he examined two youth subcultures: the Mods and the Rockers (Cohen, 1972/2011; Critcher, 2008; Hauptman, 2013; Young, 1971). Cohen (1972/2011) described a moral panic as occurring when:

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"A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; social accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives itself (p. 1)."

A moral panic, in other words, occurs when the public are encouraged by those who have high standing in society to believe that there is a problem in their society and then demand action to resolve it. Moral panics erupt quickly, and often quickly subside. However, there are often serious and long-term consequences from these panics, such as legislation passed due to the public pressure to reduce the problem (Cohen, 1972/2011; Critcher, 2008). Cohen (1972/2011) defined four sets of agents that are important in the moral panic process: (1) moral entrepreneurs (i.e., rule creators); (2) mass media; (3) public; and (4) control culture (e.g., courts, police, and politicians). His model is known as the procedural model (Becker, 1963/2008; Critcher, 2008).

In 1994, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) expanded and clarified the concepts of moral panics by defining five criteria of a moral panic:

1) Concern, defined as "a heightened level of concern over a behavior of a certain group or category and the consequences that the behavior presumably causes for one or more sectors of that society" (p. 37).

2) Hostility, or the increased level of aggression toward a group of people who are seen as participating in or causing the threatening behavior. Therefore, an "us versus them" mentality forms.

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3) Consensus, which they defined as the minimum level of agreement in society "that the threat is real, serious, and caused by the wrongdoing group, members, and their behavior" (p. 38).

4) Disproportionality, as when the public concern does not reflect objective harm or threat and is higher than the actual risk. For example, statistics or figures are fabricated or exaggerated in order to make the threat seem "worse," and therefore the public believe these statistics.

5) Volatility, or when moral panics "erupt fairly suddenly (although they may lie dormant or latent for extended periods of time, and may reappear from time to time) and, nearly as suddenly, subside" (p. 41). As quickly as moral panics appear, they dissipate just as rapidly.

Also known as the attributional model, Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) criteria were based on the concept of claim making or the concept that "contending parties in a dispute [attempt] to establish their own version of what the threats, and who the folk devils and deserving victims are" (p. 31; Adler & Adler, 2009; Critcher, 2008). Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) stated that moral panics, "by their very nature, identify, denounce, and attempt to root out folk devils. A condition that generates such widespread public concern must have a personal agent responsible for its inception and maintenance" (p. 28). Folk devils are the "suitable enemy," or those who are responsible for the threat (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p. 27). Therefore, negative symbolization can signify threat through symbols of images and words. For example, the term "Rockers" and "Mods" indicated the moral panic of youth subcultures that Cohen (1972/2011) analyzed in 1972 (p. 36; Critcher, 2008). All these elements set in motion moral panics, labeling individuals associated with moral panics as folk devils who are against

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society (Cohen, 1972/2011; Critcher, 2008). Moral panics "disrupt" the stability of the values in a given society in which "social anxieties are displaced upon a scapegoat" or folk devils (Young, 2009, p. 13).

Media play an important role in moral panics. Typically, media reports on crime (1) typically describe the problem as a growing problem, (2) explain the problem using experts, and (3) interpret the problem through distinctive orientations toward the problem (Best, 1999, p. 37-45). According to Cohen (1972/2011), the media predict what would happen if the problem or threat is solved; for example, the problem will continue to occur if nothing happens to resolve the problem (Critcher, 2008). Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) stated that the media ignite and perpetuate moral panics, noting that the mass media "provide the most effective spark for the creation of moral panics, as well as an engine for their conveyance" (p. 89) in which its roles are "singling out threats, generating alarm, and directing attention to folk devils" (p. 90). Thus, the media exaggerate the seriousness and damage inflicted, distort details, and repeat false information, often using melodramatic and sensationalist vocabulary (Adler & Adler, 2009; Anker, 2005; Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Cohen, 1972/2011; Collins, 2004; Debatin, 2002; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Kappeler et al., 2000; Nacos, 2003; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Peresin, 2007; Reiner, 1997; Roshier, 1981; Ross, 2007; Wright, 2015; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). Therefore, the media are responsible for constructing social and moral problems (Schildkraut, Elsass, & Stafford, 2015).

This reporting on crime often constructs social problems that influences the public's opinion where the "social construction or subjective interpretation of conditions…defines a social problem, not the nature of the condition itself" (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p. 154). Therefore, social problems account for the public concern portion of moral panics (p. 48). Goode

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and Ben-Yehuda (2009) stated that, to the constructionist, a social problem occurs when: (1) a part of society sees the condition or phenomenon as wrong; (2) people are concerned about the condition or phenomenon; and (3) people want to fix it (p. 151). Once the public believe something is a problem, it becomes a "subjective" social problem (Jones, McFalls, & Gallagher, 1989). The next sections will provide some examples of how phenomena, particularly crime and terrorism, become moral panics that they are defined as social problems by the public.

Crimes as moral panics

Crimes, particularly school shootings, violent crime, and drug use, became moral panics. For example, the myth of the juvenile super-predator was created to increase public awareness of delinquent behavior and juvenile crime, even though school violence rates had been decreasing and schools were relatively safe (Best, 2002; Burns & Crawford, 1999; Larkin, 2009; Menifield, Rose, Homa, & Cunningham, 2001; Muschert, 2007; Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014; Springhall, 1999). According to Bennett, Dilulio, and & Walters (1996), juvenile super-predators are "radically impulsive, brutally remorseless youngsters, including ever more pre-teenage boys, who murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal deadly drugs, join gun-toting gangs and create serious communal disorders" (p. 27). This was evident after the Columbine school shooting occurred where the media presented biased favorable accounts of Columbine victim narratives of that created a moral panic and drew in public support (Muschert, 2007). The news media were biased in reporting school violence; for example, some school violence, such as rural school violence, was more prominent in the news than urban school violence, despite urban school violence being higher (Menifield et al., 2001). The youth, as noted by Cohen (1972/2011), became the folk devil within the panic of youth violence.

In addition to school shootings, violent crimes and drug use became moral panics. Best (1999) stated that random violence was grounded in the notions that crime was on the rise and out of control through moral panics that are "heavily publicized reports of sudden increases in particular sorts of criminal violence," such as reports of gangs using "lights-out initiations" (p. 2-4). In the 1980s, increased news reports of crack cocaine use gave the appearance that drug use was widespread among children, despite the declining rates of crack cocaine use. As a result, both the news media and President Ronald Reagan and First Lady Nancy Reagan created the moral panic on drugs via their "Just Say No" campaign (Chiricos, 1996/2006, p. 112; Critcher, 2008; Hawdon, 2001; Himmelstein, 2014; Orcutt & Turner, 1993). Specifically, the news media distorted and exaggerated the problem of drug use (Himmelstein, 2014; Orcutt & Turner, 1993).

Those who were labeled as criminal in newspaper coverage were young black men who became the target of the war on drugs and violence (Barlow, 1998; Block & Obioha, 2012; Chiricos, 1996/2006; Fellner, 2009). Black men were the folk devils for the moral panic of violent crimes in the 1990s, where media reports of violent crime increased even though the violent crime rates were declining (Barlow, 1998; Chiricos, 1996/2006; Cobbina, 2008). Overall, a group of people perceived a condition (in this case, drugs and violence) as threatening the stability of society (Block & Obioha, 2012; Cobbina, 2008; Eversman & Bird, 2017). As a result, the public demanded action against the problem of drugs and violence, which led to high incarceration and arrest rates among the folk devils (black men; Chiricos, 1996/2006; Fellner, 2009).

How is terrorism used to create moral panic in news coverage?

Other groups also have been targeted in moral panics (McCorkle & Miethe, 1998; Zatz, 1987). This became clear when American news media and public considered Muslims and other

immigrants the enemy of America after the September 11 terrorist attacks. News coverage of terrorism is biased, because of factors such as exaggeration and prejudiced or inaccurate sources (Arsenault & Castells, 2006). News coverage creates myths to provide "meaning to incredible events, to explain that which cannot be explained and to reaffirm values and beliefs, especially when those values and beliefs are challenged" (Lule, 2002, p. 276). These myths are for public consumption and are used to structure an unknown event, cultivating distorted images of events and crimes (Kappeler et al., 2000). In myths after September 11, terrorism was used to create a moral panic to justify Islamophobia, xenophobic immigration policies, and other policies that supported the war on terror. The next few sections will discuss these topics.

Novel events such as terrorism tend to trigger moral panics that cause heightened public concern through exaggeration and distortion in the news media (Dingley & Herman, 2017; Farnen, 1990; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004; Shafir & Schairer, 2013; Victor, 2006; Walsh, 2017). As mentioned earlier, Chermak and Gruenewald (2006) stated that the September 11 attacks were newsworthy partly because of the attacks were framed through the moral boundaries of evil and good, with defined heroes, villains, and victims. News coverage about September 11 portrayed the U.S. "as a morally powerful victim ensnared in a position that required it to transform victimization into heroic retributive action" (Anker, 2005, p. 22). Therefore, news coverage of terrorism promoted a collective sense of patriotism against a common enemy, the terrorists who threaten Western values (Altheide, 2004; Collins, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Roy & Ross, 2011). This conflict produced solidarity within American society (Collins, 2004). Often the call for action is violent counterterrorism, especially using military force to fight terrorism (Giroux, 2004; Kellner, 2007; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008), while other options are ignored or are considered unpatriotic in the media

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(Aday, Livingston, & Hebert, 2005; Kellner, 2007). Terrorism after September 11 was framed in the news media as a problem that threatened society, fundamental social values, and normal life (Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004).

Through the framing of terrorism as problematic, the news coverage of terrorism influenced public opinion (Walsh, 2017). As mentioned earlier, the news coverage of the September 11 terrorist attacks was biased and sensationalized partly because of any speculations of terrorist attacks being accepted as fact, even if those terrorist threats were not confirmed (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Collins, 2004; Debatin, 2002; Nacos, 2003; Nord & Stromback, 2006; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Peresin, 2007; Ross, 2007; Zelizer & Allan, 2002; Zhang et al., 2013). In addition, the overreliance on information from state sources such as military and law enforcement officials caused further bias of news coverage (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Brockus, 2009; Hutcheson, Domke, Billeaudeaux, & Garland, 2004; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Li & Izard, 2003; Miller & Sabir, 2012; Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003; Ross, 2007; Woods, 2007).

Reporters accepted this state information as factual, especially during the administration of President G. W. Bush (Montgomery, 2005; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). As a result, these sources can manipulate media reports and are "owners of dominant discourses of terrorism" that will outline and define terrorism and respond to different arguments on terrorism (Karim, 2002, p. 104). Therefore, the public's understanding of issues "relies heavily on the news as a means of updating, interpreting, and formulating perceptions of current events" (Hauptman, 2013, p. 32). As Welch (2003) stated, the media possess the capability to influence public opinion that function to form a sense of national identity and cohesive purpose. Therefore, corporate and political elites often go to great lengths to ensure their agenda is supported by the media (Welch,

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2003, p. 14). This often leads to a pattern of deception and misinformation arises because of reporters' use of these sources with vested interests (Karim, 2002; Miller & Sabir, 2012; Shafir & Schairer, 2013; Victor, 2006). Their products then lead to unnecessary levels of fear and panic among the misguided public (Giroux, 2004; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). Terrorism was potentially used to create a moral panic to promote George W. Bush's "war on terror," while inadvertently reinforcing negative attitudes toward Muslims and immigration.

War on terror

The news media strongly supported the war on terror (Aday et al., 2005) and the sources they used were generally supportive of counterterrorism (Aday et al., 2005) while demonizing the enemy and emphasizing American strength and core values (Hutcheson et al., 2004). The news media reflected G. W. Bush's stance on the war on terror, often stating that the war on terror was a moral fight of good versus evil and framing the fight as an "us versus them" mentality where terrorism was an epidemic that needed to be eradicated (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004; Graham et al., 2004; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Kellner, 2004a; 2004b; Kellner, 2007; Lazar & Lazar, 2004; Leudar, Marshland, & Nekvapil, 2004; Moeller, 2004; Powell, 2011; Schulzke, 2011). Part of the war on terror involved enacting the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (PATRIOT Act), changes to the legal system, and the expansion of the American military to intervene in Iraq and Afghanistan (Kellner, 2007; Welch, 2003).

The sensationalized news media coverage of terrorism promoted misconceptions propagated by the G. W. Bush administration about the war on terror. These misperceptions included: (1) there were close links between Al Qaeda and Iraq; (2) Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction; and (3) Americans had global support from other countries to go to war with

Iraq (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kull et al., 2003-04). According to Kellner (2004a), Kellner (2004b), and Lynch (2003), the news media were purposefully supporting the G. W. Bush Administration's agenda for the war on terror because they were complicit in the push for war due to a desire for "newsworthy" items to report, leading to increased readership and revenue.

As Lynch (2003) stated, there was misinformation about the war on terror because "compliant reporters get a steady drip-feed of exclusive stories from official sources" (p. 114). Whether the news media had an agenda other than profit is mere speculation, but evidence showed most of the public would have no problem believing the news media wanted to go to war (Aday et al., 2005; Lynch, 2003). For example, Aday and colleagues (2005) stated that the news stories that relied on retired military officials were more likely to have a tone that was supportive of war than those who did not use them (p. 17); also, news media tended to ignore any anti-war sentiments (Aday et al., 2005; Kellner, 2007). These factors increased the likelihood that the public would believe the news media wanted to go to war. Evidence suggested that the mass media "became part of the recovery from the September 11 attacks in a supportive role, further publicizing and upholding the commitment of society's moral entrepreneurs in the 'war on terror'" (Hauptman, 2013, p. 44). The war on terror frame "invalidates and renders invisible dangers of minority group members" (Hancock & Haldeman, 2017, p. 157), in particular Muslims and other immigrants.

Islamophobia and the Muslim Other

The news media coverage on terrorism after September 11 further exacerbated Islamophobia or discrimination against Muslim people. Muslims became the scapegoats or the folk devils in the moral panic of terrorism (Morgan & Poynting, 2012; Nord & Stromback, 2006;

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Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Poynting & Mason, 2007). Karim (2002) stated that "media portrayals of Islamic violence influenced by dominant cultural meanings attached to 'violence' and 'Islam' (dominant discourses) support actions of hegemonic powers to preserve themselves from threats that they themselves name as violent and terroristic" (p. 102). Research on media coverage of terrorism suggests that "Christian America" (Powell, 2011, p. 90) is against the Muslim Other, reinforcing the us versus them outlook (Achugar, 2004; Karim, 2002; Morgan & Poynting, 2012; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Semati, 2010; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). Media coverage after September 11 "demonized" the Muslim Other while "…Christians were glorified, a climate of fear that supports U.S. attacks on countries with a large Muslim population was sustained, and a fear of the outsider other was intensified" (Powell, 2011; p. 108; Nord & Stromback, 2006; Semati, 2010; Wilkins & Downing, 2002). As a result, international terrorism became a major threat in the U.S., while domestic terrorism became a minor threat that happened in isolated incidents by troubled people (Powell, 2011, p. 90).

This alludes to Said's (1978) concept of orientalism, which is the perception that allows people in the West to continue to perceive themselves as superior to people in the Orient. Orientalism, in turn, highlights the "weaknesses" of "Orientals" while highlighting the "strengths" of Westerners (p. 7). [The term "Oriental" is no longer an appropriate term and used only in quotes, but the concept as employed in Said's (1978) research is useful in understanding Western bias.] Orientalism is a "way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (Said, 1978, p. 1) that allows the "hegemonism of possessing minorities" (p. 108). This hegemonism was seen even before September 11, when Semati (1997) found that news coverage of the World Trade Center Bombing in 1993 considered Muslims to be the "other." After September 11, the Muslim Other

was intensified through orientalism (Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Wilkins & Downing, 2002). Racial and ethnic profiling (e.g., Western countries forcing Muslim women to take headscarves off) occurred because of the dominance of the Muslim Other, depicted as terrorizing Western ideals within the war on terror environment. As a result of the racial and ethnic profiling, immigration became a moral panic after the September 11 attacks (Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Schulzke, 2011; Semati, 2010; Welch, 2003). This process is described in the next section.

Immigration as a moral panic after September 11

Immigration became a moral panic after September 11 within the context of counterterrorism (Critcher, 2008; Eversman & Bird, 2017; Hauptman, 2013; Saux, 2007; Welch, 2003). Hauptman (2013) analyzed the *NYT* referencing immigrants before and after September 11. She determined that after the September 11 terrorist attacks and the passage of the PATRIOT Act, the effects due to the war on terror caused changes that negatively impacted immigration and immigrants that facilitated a moral panic against immigration (p. 29). Further, Hauptman (2013) argued that the "war on terror" was socially constructed based on suspicion and fear of immigrants and foreign-born individuals rather than real terrorist attacks that happened in the U.S. (p. 19). After September 11, the link between immigrants and criminality was exaggerated, with the news coverage providing extraneous information about immigrants irrelevant to the reported events. Other research supports the exaggerated association between criminality and immigrants in media after September 11 (Longazel, 2012; Saux, 2007; Zatz & Smith, 2012). Folk devils "extended geographically, thus amplifying a more widespread and exaggerated public concern over distinct groups" (Hauptman, 2013; p. 81).

This exaggerated and widespread public concern over particular groups caused an increase in xenophobia, or prejudice against foreign-born people, in western societies after September 11; in fact, immigrants were considered to be "pollutants" (Cisneros, 2008). The media "dehumanize[d] immigrants by constructing them as threatening substances, denying them agency and reinforcing common stereotypes" (Cisneros, 2008, p. 591; Schulzke, 2011). To illustrate this point, G. W. Bush, who was often referenced by news sources (Montgomery, 2005; Zelizer & Allan, 2002), said before September 11 that "immigration…is the sign of a confident and successful nation" (McKenzie, 2004, p. 7-8). After September 11, he supported stricter immigration policies such as the PATRIOT Act that targeted undocumented aliens (foreign inhabitants who lack suitable authorization to be in the U.S.), even though 16 of the 19 September 11 terrorists were legally residing in the U.S. (Cornell Law School, 2020; McKenzie, 2004, p. 7-8). Other western societies reflected xenophobia as well. In Spain, a country who had long-standing problems with domestic terrorism, the Spanish media described immigrants as "deviant or victims, often of other immigrants" (Saux, 2007, p. 62). Interestingly, the media reported that an abundance of Muslim and African immigrants came to Spain, even though Ecuadorians were the highest immigrants in official data. These reports highlighted the distortion and exaggeration aspect of moral panics (Saux, 2007).

Besides Arab/Middle Eastern immigrants, other immigrant groups, such as Latinos (Flores-Yeffal, Vidales, & Martinez, 2017; Flores-Yeffal, Vidales, & Plemons, 2011; Longazel, 2012; Zatz & Smith, 2012) and Asians (Hier & Greenberg, 2002), became folk devils in the moral panics of immigration after September 11. For example, Flores-Yeffal and colleagues (2017) stated that Latinos were portrayed as "dangerous, possible terrorists" when analyzing 170 anti-immigration websites (p. 576). In his media analysis of two homicides committed in

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Hazelton, Pennsylvania, Longazel (2012) noted a backlash against Latino/a immigrants where "officials relied heavily on racialized tropes of war on crime in constructing an illegal immigration problem, degrading the city's new immigrants, symbolically uplifting white majority and reaffirming the racial order" (p. 96). Moral panics of immigration after September 11 led to stricter immigration policies in western societies, citing reasons of national security, stealing jobs, committing crimes, or carrying communicable diseases (Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Longazel, 2012; Zatz & Smith, 2012).

It is worth noting that there was also a moral panic over immigration in the 1990s due to the World Trade Center Bombing in 1993 and the Murrah Federal Building bombing in Oklahoma in 1995 (Semati, 1997; Welch, 2003; Welch, 2012). Strict immigration policies were enacted, but the moral panic quickly subsided as most moral panics do (Welch, 2003; Welch, 2012). The moral panic of immigration after September 11 may have had more of an impact because the September 11 Terrorist Attacks were perceived as more newsworthy, in terms of damage, destruction, and causalities. Further, more prominent state officials (e.g., the G. W. Bush administration) were more dedicated to creating immigration policies than officials before the September 11 attacks (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Collins, 2004; Debatin, 2002; Montgomery, 2005; Nacos, 2003; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Peresin, 2007; Ross, 2007; Zelizer & Allan, 2002). Because of its newsworthiness and the number of casualties, the September 11 Terrorist Attacks may have had more media coverage than the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and therefore more of an impact on public opinion.

Summary of literature review

Previous research has found that terrorism was framed as harmful (or as researchers deem, a moral panic) after the September 11 attacks through biased messages in the news

coverage on terrorist attacks. Newspapers are important to analyze because both the *NYT* and the *CJ* are popular, nationally in the U.S. and locally in Kentucky, respectfully. Print news in the days after the September 11 attacks was an important source of information on terrorism and despite its numbers of readership decreasing, print news (whether available digitally or physically) is considered a reliable news source today.

In addition, previous research has found that news media tend to (re)produce crime myths that sensationalize or exaggerate criminal events to incite public interests, sacrificing accuracy or reporting (Kappeler et al., 2000; Kappeler & Potter, 2004, p. 98; Best, 2002). Therefore, terror attacks are newsworthy because the attacks are novel, serious, and violent crimes (Dowling, 1986, p. 14; Bassiouni, 1982; Gerber and Gross, 1979; Quester, 1986; Weimann & Brosius, 1991). Due to the sensationalization of news coverage on criminal events, the news coverage on terror attacks influenced public opinion that caused the misperception of statistical risk on terrorist attacks (Kern et al., 2003; Nacos, 2003) in a similar manner as how people misinterpret their risk of being victimized by crime (Davis, 1952; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Kappeler et al., 2000; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990; Orcutt & Turner, 1993). Terrorism was explained within the frame of good and evil (with defined heroes, villains or folk devils, and victims), increasing American patriotism toward a common enemy (Altheide, 2004; Collins, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Roy & Ross, 2011). In addition, any speculations of any possible terror attacks were accepted as true (Nord & Stromback, 2006; Ross, 2007; Zhang et al., 2013), while the media relied heavily on information from state officials, causing further bias (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Brockus, 2009; Hutcheson et al., 2004; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Li & Izard, 2003; Miller & Sabir, 2012; Norris et al., 2003; Ross, 2007; Woods, 2007).

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News coverage on terrorism after September 11 was framed through the social construction of terrorism. Social construction is the concept that "reality is socially constructed" (Berger & Luckmann, 2011, p. vi). Individuals in a society rely on media as a source of information to organize and reference social and world events. Most Americans have not directly experienced terrorism or know someone who has (lack of primary sources) and therefore have to rely on news media (secondary sources) with constructed media frames (archetypes of information organized in a certain way) for information on terrorism.

Terrorism is framed in the news coverage as a moral panic, which is when the public believes that something is a problem and mandates action to resolve it, encouraged by individuals with high social status. Mass media are responsible for igniting and perpetuating moral panics. There are many examples that crimes have become moral panics through mass media such as school shootings (Best, 2002; Burns & Crawford, 1999; Larkin, 2009; Menifield, Rose, Homa, & Cunningham, 2001; Muschert, 2007; Schildkraut & Muschert, 2014; Springhall, 1999), the drug epidemic (Chiricos, 1996/2006, p. 112; Critcher, 2008; Hawdon, 2001; Himmelstein, 2014; Orcutt & Turner, 1993), and violent crime (Barlow, 1998; Best, 1999; Block & Obioha, 2012; Chiricos, 1996/2006; Fellner, 2009). Through the framing of terrorism as a problem, news coverage on terrorism after September 11 justified the war on terror (global assault against terrorism and coined by the G.W. Bush Administration) and stricter immigration policies, reflecting information from state sources, particularly the G. W. Bush Administration. The war on terror was also framed as a moral fight of good and evil (Butt et al., 2004; Graham et al., 2004; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kellner, 2007; Lazar & Lazar, 2004; Leudar et al., 2004; Moeller, 2004; Powell, 2011; Schulzke, 2011). Media were generally supportive on the war on terror, even going so far as to promote misconceptions

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relating to the war on terror, exaggerate information, and sacrificing accuracy through their sensationalizing of the problem (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Kellner, 2004a; Kellner, 2004b; Kull et al., 2003-04; Lynch, 2003).

Due to the framing of the moral fight of good and evil, Muslims became scapegoats who were portrayed as enemies of Christian Americans (Morgan & Poynting, 2012; Nord & Stromback, 2006; Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Powell, 2011, p. 90; Poynting & Mason, 2007). In addition, immigrants also became scapegoats where the news media fueled suspicion and fear of immigrants in America (Critcher, 2008; Eversman & Bird, 2017; Hauptman, 2013; Saux, 2007; Welch, 2003). Evidence suggested that the framing of terrorism as an immoral problem in the news media influenced public opinion (Craft & Wanta, 2004; Faludi, 2007; Gross, Aday, & Brewer, 2004; Hier, 2016; Keinan et al., 2003; Kern et al., 2003; Kull et al., 2003-04; Liebes & Kampf, 2007).

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The dissertation used the *NYT* and the *CJ* to answer the following research questions: (1) How is terrorism socially constructed through newspapers? I wanted to examine how newspapers report terrorism as a threat using the moral panics theoretical framework (Stanley & Cohen, 1971/2011), (2) How did newspapers report and refer to terrorism on and after September 11, 2001?, (3) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories?, and (4) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism post-September 11? This chapter will explain the methods I used to answer my research questions. It tells how I selected my sample, the data I collected, and how I analyzed the data.

Sample

Because I was particularly interested in how terrorism is constructed in newspaper outlets in a post-September 11 world, I compared news coverage on terrorism after September 11 based on each newspaper's level of terrorism experience. I selected two newspapers (*NYT* and *CJ*). The *NYT*, located in New York City, was just 4.5 miles from Ground Zero and a prime example of a newspaper in a location that had direct experience with terrorism. The *CJ*, based in Louisville, Kentucky, was selected because it had not experienced any mass terrorism as of 2020.

I examined 500 print articles from the *NYT* and 500 print articles from the *CJ* (*N*=1000). I selected printed newspapers to analyze because print news media provide extended information and analysis when compared to television or social media coverage (Zelizer & Allan, 2002). This was especially true for people who reside in smaller neighborhoods and communities (Miller et al., 2012, Sept. 26). Because of the expansion of technology and the Internet, people increased reading news online; however, at the time, Kentucky residents may have relied more on print news media because Kentucky had less access to high speed internet than urban areas. Miller and colleagues (2012, Sept. 26) found that small-town residents relied more on traditional forms of news, such as newspapers and television, than suburban and urban residents. By comparing the social construction of terrorism in one newspaper covering an area with direct experience with terrorism and another with little experience with terrorism, I determined how the type of experience with terrorism correlated to how newspapers reported it, which contributed to the existing literature of the social construction of terrorism.

A newspaper's popularity was an important consideration in selecting what newspapers to sample in order to analyze the social construction of terrorism. The more popular media sources were, the more capable they were in influencing public opinion on terrorism. Researchers often examined the *NYT* because it was one of the most widely circulated papers in the U.S. (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Chyi & McCombs, 2004; Dickson, 1994; Hauptman, 2013; Kelly & Mitchell, 1981; Lule, 2002; Orcutt & Turner, 1993; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Woods, 2007). Because the *NYT* had a large audience, the *NYT* influenced other news outlets' news agenda, giving this paper an impact that went beyond its own users. In spring 2017, there were 9.32 million readers who read the *NYT* either online or in print (Statista, 2018); in 2017, their revenue was $1.7 billion (Ember, 2018, Feb. 8). Golan's (2006) analysis found that

the *NYT* was influential in shaping other major news organizations' news agendas, specifically *ABC* and *NBC*. I analyzed the *NYT* because the reliability and the popularity suggest that the *NYT* is significant to Americans.

Since no city or newspaper in Kentucky has had much direct experience with terrorism, I analyzed the most popular newspaper of the state, the *CJ*. The *CJ* was in the position to have an impact on public perceptions on terrorism throughout Kentucky (Kantar Media, 2018, Aug. 23). The *CJ*'s paid circulation for Sunday was 125,629, compared to the next highest, which was the *Lexington Herald-Ledger* (66,734), and other Kentucky newspapers such as the *Kentucky Enquirer/Post* (52,254; American Newspapers Representatives, 2018).

I obtained these articles from ProQuest's *Global Newsstream* using the keywords "terrorist" and "terrorism."[2] All articles that I selected were printed from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018. Interestingly, there were not any *NYT* or *CJ* articles on September 11, 2001 with the terms "terrorist" and "terrorism." This could be because print news did not publish information related to September 11 using the terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" due to little information about the attacks on the day of the attack or the print newspapers were already out when the planes hit. Potentially, they may not have declared the attacks as a terrorist attack in print media that day.

Data collection

Searching the ProQuest's *Global Newsstream* using the keywords "terrorist" and "terrorism" yielded 21,505 articles from the *NYT*. I ordered the search chronologically and downloaded it to a Microsoft Word file. These newspaper articles ranged from September 11,

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[2] A Boolean search for terroris* and only including just one of the keywords did not yield consistently relevant results.

2001 to August 15, 2018. The *CJ* search produced 1190 results. I also sorted the *CJ* news articles chronologically and downloaded them to a separate Microsoft Word file. In the *CJ* sample, the articles ranged from September 13, 2001 to August 1, 2018. I used both the Microsoft Word program and MAXQDA, a qualitative coding software.

To keep my data manageable, I analyzed 500 articles from the *NYT* and 500 articles from the *CJ* (*N*=1000). I chose the topmost relevant 500 articles from each search. The top 500 articles of each newspaper provided a good snapshot of how the newspapers depicted terrorism. According to ProQuest (2015, Sept. 30), their relevance algorithm ordered articles based on the static rank and dynamic rank that come up with the list of articles by order of relevance. When two articles' relevant ranking scores were equal, the publication date was considered; therefore, more recent newspaper articles were considered more relevant. To account for this bias of preference given to more recent publication, I compared the search results with the final samples. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below indicate that for both newspapers, the samples were similar to the full search results. In determining relevance, any documents with anonymous authors had lower ranking scores. For example, some newspaper articles were simply transcripts of speeches (e.g., President G. W. Bush's speeches on the war on terror) and did not list an author for the transcription.
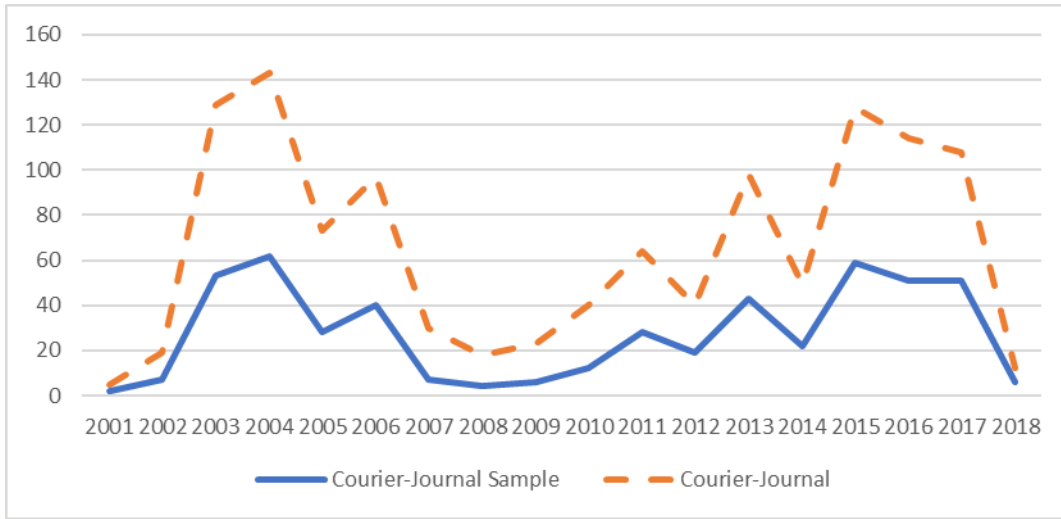
Figure 1.1   Comparison of the *Courier-Journal* Sample (*N*=500) and number of results from relevance list (*N*=1190)
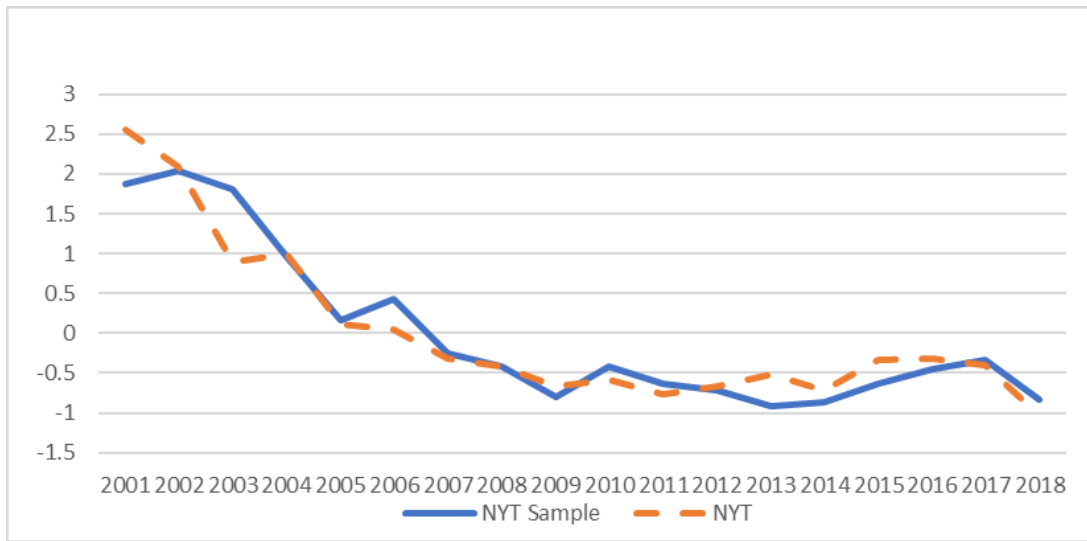

Figure 1.2   Comparison of the *NYT* Sample (*N*=500) and number of results (*N*=21,505)

*Note: The numbers between the sample and number of results were standardized because the numbers were too large in difference to determine recency bias.

With any search, several relevant factors influenced the dynamic rank scores of articles

(ExLibris, 2017, Mar. 24). ProQuest based the articles' relevant ranking scores on both: (1)

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whether the search terms appear in a newspaper article's title and subtitle and (2) how often the

terms appear in the article. ProQuest based dynamic rank on how well a search matches each

record, or in this case, how a search on "terrorist" and "terrorism" matched each newspaper

article. Table 3.1 shows the overview of relevance factors important to the newspaper searches.

Table 1.1   Overview of relevance factors pertinent to the newspaper searches

Factors that influence relevance scores in newspaper articles	Definitions
Static Rank	Relevance scores are based on the value of a newspaper article
Publication Date	More recent newspaper articles have higher relevance scores than older newspaper articles
Anonymous Author	Newspaper articles with at least one designated author will have higher relevance scores than those with anonymous authors (e.g., G.W. Bush's transcripts in the *NYT*)
Dynamic Rank	How well a search on "terrorism" and "terrorist" matches each newspaper article
Field Weighting	The closer newspaper articles match "terrorist" and "terrorism," the higher the relevance scores
Field Length	Newspaper articles with more keywords have the higher relevance scores than articles with fewer keywords
Exact Title or Title and Subtitle Match Boost	Newspaper articles with "terrorism" and "terrorist" within the title and subtitle have higher relevance scores than articles that do not have those keywords in them
Known Item Search Boost	Newspaper articles containing a combination of "terrorism" and "terrorist" in things such as title, subtitle, or publication title have higher relevance scores than articles that do not

Experts in content analysis often used a codebook as they analyze and gather data and information (Altheide & Schneider, 2013; Berger, 2014; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000; Saldana, 2009). Following this protocol, I created a digital codebook to facilitate the qualitative data, more specifically the descriptive data and sensitizing concepts extracted from the newspapers. (See Appendix A: Codebook.)

The sensitizing concepts that I looked for were (1) concern, (2) volatility, (3) villains (folk devils), (4) heroes, (5) victims, and (6) war on terror. I explain these concepts more below. I wrote my results from the data collected in the codebook.

Qualitative data collection

The qualitative data that I used include descriptive data and data from sensitizing concepts (pre-existing concepts). My descriptive data were extractions of key data points from each individual article that I sampled (from *NYT* and *CJ*) and an overall description of each newspaper (*NYT* and *CJ*). To describe each sample article, I analyzed demographic information of each newspaper article from the data in my codebook. These fields included: (1) newspaper article identification number, (2) title of newspaper article, (3) publication date, (4) edition of newspaper, (5) type of article, (6) department or desk of article, (7) author, (8) dateline, (9) description of graphic, if applicable, (10) sources, (11) person or group described as allegedly responsible for terrorist attack, and (12) event details. In identifying an overall description of each newspaper's perspective, I collected descriptive information including: (1) which events were discussed, (2) what group or person was described as responsible or allegedly responsible for the attack, and (3) the number of published articles about or referring to terrorism in a given year. As I analyzed each newspaper article, I imported the data into Excel spreadsheets to

facilitate organization of the analyzed media. Appendix A contains an outline of the newspaper coding instrument.

My qualitative data also included sensitizing concepts, which gave "the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances." In essence, sensitizing concepts provided guidelines to the researcher on where to look (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). In other words, sensitizing concepts can provide the researcher with reference points to find the patterns within the data, providing guidance and direction on where to look in the data (Bowen, 2006). Charmaz (2003) stated that sensitizing concepts were "those background ideas that inform the overall research problem" (p. 259) that can be "tested, improved, and refined" (Bowen, 2006, p. 3; Blumer, 1954).

Qualitative sensitizing concepts selected for this project reflected a constructivist paradigm. According to this paradigm, one "must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors" (Schwandt, 1998, p. 222). Because moral panics were a social construction, the constructivist paradigm was appropriate for analyzing the social construction of terrorism.

In order to develop themes within the data, researchers examined "substantive codes" using sensitizing concepts (Bowen, 2006, p. 3). A potential disadvantage of sensitizing concepts was that this method may divert attention away from other important parts of the data (Bowen, 2006, p. 3). In order to minimize this disadvantage, I looked for other essential parts in the data and added those to "additional notes" in my codebook such as significant patterns or authors who seem to prefer to write on terrorism.

I developed the sensitizing concepts for the current study through literature reviews on moral panics and news coverage on terrorism. Because of "the specification of procedures to

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measure them," researchers considered sensitizing concepts to be temporarily undefined variables (Bowen, 2006, p. 4). Once themes were uncovered, they defined the sensitizing concepts and were labeled as variables. Guided by Cohen's (1972/2011) work, I used the theoretical concept of moral panics to build my sensitizing concepts to code the relevant data from the newspaper articles. As noted earlier, researchers defined moral panic as a social construction of a "problematic" event. Moral panics were always related to something that ran contradictory to social norms, and they always had a defined group to blame. As a result, moral panics promoted the idea that eradicating the problem was absolutely necessary. In this way, moral panics became powerful agents for change, often leading to new policies designed to alleviate the problem or to get rid of it entirely.

In collecting relevant data, I included both areas of sensitizing concepts: substantive and conceptual frameworks (Bowen, 2006). The substantive area of sensitizing concepts served to empirically analyze a sociological inquiry (Bowen, 2006). The conceptual frameworks area connected a variety of formally accepted concepts and served as the foundation for formulating theory (Bowen, 2006, p. 3; Seibold, 2002).

I selected three sensitizing concepts for my qualitative research on understanding how newspapers socially construct terrorism in the period following September 11. They were the war on terror, portrayals identified in moral panics, and concern about terrorism. One sensitizing concept I used to study the social construction of terrorism is the "war on terror." The "war on terror" was a common term used in news coverage and by researchers since September 11. As noted earlier, "war on terror" was G.W. Bush's campaign term for the global war against terrorism. In order to develop the sensitizing concept of war on terror, I used several previous works on the topic of terrorism (see Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004; Graham et al., 2004;

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Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Kellner, 2004a; 2004b; Kellner, 2007; Lazar & Lazar, 2004; Leudar, Marshland, & Nekvapil, 2004; Moeller, 2004; Powell, 2011; Schulzke, 2011). These previous works pointed out how news coverage used the term to sensationalize and increase the readers' concern for terrorism. For my research, I examined the 1000 sample newspaper articles for any mention of the war on terror or the President G.W. Bush's administration reactions to the September 11 terrorist attacks (Lewis & Reese, 2009). Using war on terror as a sensitizing concept, I identified themes relating to problems with terrorism.

Another sensitizing concept that I used in investigating the social construction of terrorism was portrayals identified in moral panics (depiction of their individual traits). In order to understand how newspapers reported on terrorism depicted these portrayals, I identified individuals or groups included in the newspaper coverage of terrorism. For each portrayal, I used Anker's (2005) definition of the social actors of moral panics to determine whether the article portrayed the individual or group as a theoretical hero, victim, or villain. Anker (2005) considered a hero to be the embodiment of good, defined as a savior who redeemed victims through retributive actions (Anker, 2005, p. 24). Casted as virtuous in moral panics, Anker (2005) defined a victim as someone who was suffering at the hands of the villains or folk devils. Anker (2005) considered folk devils, or villains, to be an embodiment of evil. He said they were the individual or group who were blamed for causing and committing terrorism, and this necessitated retaliatory action from the hero (Anker, 2005, p. 25). Folk devils threatened the American moral values, and as a result, were "personified, demonized, and codified as the embodiment of pure evil" (Anker, 2005, p. 26).

To further determine how terrorism was socially constructed, the third sensitizing concept that I used was concern about terrorism. This concept came from Goode and Ben-Yehuda's

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(2009) definition of concern of moral panics. Concern was the increased level of anxiety of an action of a group or category (i.e., folk devils or villains). For this analysis, I examined the individual and collective patterns of newspaper articles on terrorism to determine what concerns newspapers have. For example, newspaper articles may imply that terror attacks occurring on American soil were a bigger concern than those happening in other areas. According to Burns and Crawford (1999), concerns "over issues, either fabricated or concrete palpable threats, [were] always real to those who make these claims and demand action" (p. 149).

To summarize, the three sensitizing concepts I used to analyze the social construction of terrorism were (1) war on terror, (2) portrayals identified in moral panics, and (3) concern about terrorism. War on terror was the global war against terrorism and a term coined by the G. W. Administration. Portrayals were key individuals that were described in the newspaper articles separated based on how they were depicted, which were folk devils (villains), victims, and heroes. Concerns were issues related to terrorism the newspaper articles reported as being problematic. These sensitizing concepts were integral to understanding the social construction of terrorism.

Quantitative data collection

My quantitative data included only one sensitizing concept, that which pertained to volatility. Volatility was when moral panics "erupt fairly suddenly (although they may lie dormant or latent for extended periods of time, and may reappear from time to time) and, nearly as suddenly, subside" (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p. 41). Volatility was measured by considering "the length of time in which public attention is focused on a specific issue" (Schildkraut et al., 2015, p. 97), in this case terrorism. Given the characteristics of quantitative data, I readily defined the variable for volatility. I measured volatility by calculating the

frequency of all articles that were published within the analyzed time period (from September

11, 2001 to August 30, 2018) from the CJ (N=1190) and the NYT (N=21,505) with the keywords

"terrorist" and "terrorism."

In summary, I included both qualitative and quantitative data to investigate the social

construction of terrorism. My qualitative data incorporated descriptive (the overall description of

each newspaper and also the detailed analysis of each sample article) and sensitizing concepts

(war on terrorism, portrayals of hero, victim, and folk devil identified in moral panics, and

concern about terrorism). In addition, I collected data regarding volatility, which I categorized as

a quantitative aspect. Table 3.2 depicts the types of data I collected for this research.

Table 1.2   Types of data used regarding the social construction of terrorism

Types of Data Used Regarding the Social-Construction of Terrorism			
Qualitative			Quantitative
Descriptive	Sensitizing Concepts		Sensitizing Concept
*Overall newspaper *Each article	Substantive Area	Conceptual Frameworks	* Volatility
	*War on terrorism	*Portrayal of hero, victim, and folk devil *Concerns	

Data analysis

Quantitative: Descriptive analysis

Analyzing the descriptive data helped me to synthesize my findings into an overall

description of each newspaper's perspective and to describe the trends of each sample article. I

described the articles and the newspapers overall using the data gathered in my Excel sheet and

www.manaraa.com

codebook. For describing each newspaper's perspective, I considered how the descriptive data were beneficial in understanding the social construction of terrorism. Specifically, I summarized the information that I had extracted and entered into my codebook, looking for patterns such as what events were mentioned, when it was written, and how often a particular author wrote articles relating to terrorism. In understanding each newspaper's perspective on terrorism, I identified the type of each article, noting its inclusion of facts versus opinions. I used chi-squares and phi coefficients to determine patterns. I analyzed the number of articles published within each given year to do my volatility analysis. The length of articles, measured by the number of words in each article, was important in determining how much reporters wrote on terrorism.

Qualitative: Sensitizing concepts analysis

I used the qualitative analysis of sensitizing concepts to identify themes. Analyzing the sensitizing data led me to identify themes among the collections of articles. To analyze the sensitizing concepts, I read through each article line by line identifying any reporting on or indication of those concepts. I did this so I can develop "progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize" to understand the data in the newspaper articles and identify patterns within the data (Charmaz, 1996, p. 28). I copied and pasted the relevant information into a Microsoft Word document under each sensitizing concept. Overall, from organizing the information, I analyzed the data, identified the patterns, and created a theoretical framework for how newspapers depict moral panics. I synthesized and determined each of the emerged themes for each of the sensitizing concepts introduced in my Results section later in this dissertation. In this manner, I found themes pertaining to the sensitizing concepts of (1) war on terror, (2) concern, and (3) key individual portrayals identified in moral panics.

Then, I used thematic analysis to search for themes and patterns within each group of comments associated with each particular sensitizing theme. According to Riessman (2005), thematic analysis "[focused] on 'what' is said" (p. 2). Thematic analysis helped me clarify the "stories" of how terrorism and the war on terror are told by each newspaper. I also sought to understand how Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) concern criterion was depicted within the moral panic of terrorism in newspaper articles. Lastly, I determined the "what is said" by identifying the common "story" elements of the moral panic, including the key groups or individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or folk devils. Using sensitizing concepts, I was able to use thematic analysis to identify common themes and pattern in the newspaper articles.

Qualitative: Substantive area analysis

For the "war on terror" (substantive area analysis) sensitizing concept, I also applied thematic analysis. To do so, I reviewed all mentions of the term that I had recorded in my codebook, organizing all mentions of "war on terror" or "war on terrorism" into groups by similar themes. For the study, I focused on how the topic of "war on terror" was handled within a particular article. For example, the G.W. Bush administration stated that certain countries were to blame for the spread of terrorism (e.g., Iraq) and that those countries needed to do whatever it takes to stop terrorist groups. I then created a statement or title for each group, thus clearly stating each theme. These themes illuminated how each newspaper presented the problem of terrorism.

Qualitative: Conceptual frameworks analysis

For the qualitative conceptual frameworks of concern and portrayals, I handled the analysis in a similar manner as I did for war on terror. I had noted in my codebook all mentions

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of concerns from the 1000 sample articles related to terrorism. I reviewed what concerns about terrorism the newspaper articles seemed focused on and how they presented concerns in the overall social construction of terrorism. After finding what newspapers defined as concerns relating to terrorism, I organized the data related to concern into broad themes based on type of concern such as security and policy related.

In analyzing portrayals identified in moral panics, I considered who the significant individuals mentioned in each article were, including who the reporters used as sources for information pertaining to terrorism and how they depicted these sources in the article. I also examined patterns of whom newspapers blamed for terrorism, and I looked for patterns on who were identified as victims of terrorism. Then I summarized the data collected on each of the main portrayals and used it to determine who were cast as heroes, victims, and villains.

Quantitative: Content analysis

Given the nature of quantitative data, I used a different method to understand the quantitative sensitizing concept of Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) volatility. The purpose of this quantitative content analysis was to address two different parts of my research question concerning volatility, namely when was terrorism considered to be a threat (as measured through the number of articles published in a given year)? and how did the number of publications of the *CJ* and *NYT* differ by year?

Schildkraut and colleagues (2015) explained that a rapid sequence of stories may arise after a tragic event, in this case after the September 11 attacks. If the newspapers used September 11 terrorist attacks to construct terrorism as a problem (a moral panic), then I would see a dramatic increase in newspapers articles in the years immediately following the September 11 attacks, then an eventual decrease in articles as time went on. Measuring the universal number of

newspaper articles with the keywords provided a better picture of the impact of newspapers possible depiction of the moral panics of terrorism. Analyzing more newspapers brought me even closer to the actual pattern of news coverage on terrorism.

The purpose of my quantitative analysis regarding volatility was to identify the times of high concern about terrorism, which equated to periods of moral panic. To determine when terrorism was most considered to be a threat, I used the number of articles about terrorism published during each calendar year as my variable. After coding each article with its year of publication, I was able to chart the number of articles in a given year using Excel. I graphed the number of articles by year in order to see patterns of increases and decreases to determine where the moral panic periods occurred.

The concept of volatility also factored in the differences between the *NYT* and the *CJ* in reporting terrorism. Consequently, I charted not only the number of articles per year, but also in which of the two newspapers each article was printed. By analyzing the data in graph form, I identified trends within each newspaper. Then I compared the trends between newspapers in order to determine differences or similarities in number of publications. I used descriptive analysis to report these observations.

Summary of methodology

The purpose of this study was to analyze the *CJ* and the *NYT* newspaper articles to answer the following research questions. (1) How is terrorism socially constructed through newspapers? (Specifically, using the *NYT* and the *CJ*, I want to examine how newspapers report terrorism as a threat using the moral panics theoretical framework; Stanley & Cohen, 1971/2011). (2) How did newspapers construct terrorism on and after September 11, 2001?, (3) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered

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news stories?, and (4) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism post-September 11?

For the qualitative sensitizing concepts (war on terror, individual portrayals identified in moral panics, and concern about terrorism), I analyzed a sample of 1000 newspapers (500 *CJ* and 500 *NYT*). For my quantitative sensitizing concept (volatility), I used the total population of the *NYT* (21,505) and *CJ* (1190) articles from the ProQuest's *Global Newsstream* using the keywords "terrorist" and "terrorism." Once I downloaded the sample of articles into a word file, I organized the data into a codebook by using sensitizing concepts of the "war on terror" (substantive area), key portrayals identified in moral panics (conceptual framework), and concern about terrorism (conceptual framework). I used descriptive analysis such as phi coefficient and chi-square to find significant differences between the newspapers. For the qualitative sensitizing concept analysis of the "war on terror" and "concern," I organized the data into broad thematic categories. For the key portrayals, I organized the data into themes by folk devils (villains), heroes, and victims. Finally, I used quantitative content analysis to analyze the volatility sensitizing concept through the number of articles published in a given year. Using both qualitative and quantitative analyses helped me answer my research questions. The next chapter will discuss my findings.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter will explain the results of the quantitative analyses of the news coverage on terrorism as reported in the *CJ* and the *NYT* from 2001 to 2018. As mentioned earlier, the social construction of terrorism (moral panic of terrorism) was reflected through news coverage on terrorism. This section will discuss the general quantitative findings from the analyses of the two newspapers to answer the following research questions: (1) How did newspapers construct terrorism on and after September 11, 2001? (2) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories? (3) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11?

Upon completing the analysis of the 1000 newspaper articles published during the selected time period, I identified evidence of two widespread moral panics, one mini moral panic, and one localized moral panic (only reported in the *CJ*). The years immediately following September 11 contained the most intense widespread moral panic, and there was another, slightly less intense widespread moral panic from 2015 and 2017. The mini moral panic, which was very short-lived, occurred in 2013 as the result of the Boston Marathon bombing. The localized moral panic reported in the *CJ* concerned the arrest of two Iraqi refugee men living in Bowling Green, Kentucky who allegedly conspired to commit terroristic acts on May 25, 2011. This chapter will

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discuss the descriptive statistics of the newspapers, then specifically focus on top journalists, types of terrorism, and most mentioned terrorist attacks. The chapter will then discuss the quantitative analysis of sensitizing concepts.

Descriptive statistics

This section describes the general statistics of the two newspapers, the *NYT* and the *CJ*. Table 4.1 shows general descriptive statistics for both newspapers. The average word count for the 500 *CJ* articles that I analyzed was 737 words. There were 61 Readers' Corners and Forums (dedicated to readers' comments and opinions) and 66 articles written by the editor. In contrast, the average word count of the *NYT* articles was 1200 words, and only 21 articles were written by its editors. The *NYT* included only seven letters from concerned citizens regarding terrorism. The *CJ* had no articles or transcripts at all from official speeches or executive orders, yet there were 27 *NYT* articles solely pertaining to transcriptions on various communication mediums, including G.W. Bush's speeches and Trump's executive orders regarding the travel ban. Of the *CJ* analyzed articles, 45.40% were positioned on the front page. In the *NYT*, that amount was 74.50%.

Table 4.1   Descriptive data for selected newspapers

Descriptor	The *Courier-Journal (N=500)*	*The New York Times (N=500)*
Average Word Count	737 (Range: 100-5113)	1200 (Range: 121-6553)
Average Published Date	2010	2005
Front Page Placement	45.40%	74.50%
Letters to the Newspaper	61	7
Editorials (by editors or reader submitted)	66	21
Reports on Bowling Green, KY incident	22	0
Transcripts of speeches or hearings	0	27

The high number of readers' comments (61) and articles from the editor (66) seemed to indicate that the *CJ* was quite opinion-based and more localized, particularly during the first widespread moral panic period that occurred in the years immediately following September 11. Instead of reporting purely factual incidences of terrorism, the newspaper frequently incorporated the concept of terrorism into other stories. By integrating terrorism into different topics, the *CJ* may have led its readers to believe that terrorism was an ever-present part of their lives, that it influenced even their most mundane and routine of activities. For example, the *CJ* reported on premieres for television shows that depicted terrorism. One article from the *CJ* pointed to the "the stresses of…24-hour news about acts of terrorism and natural disasters" as "a recipe for an unhealthy lifestyle" and then used those fears as their reason for reporting on healthier ways to live. The newspaper also reported that terrorism was being discussed in classes at local Kentucky schools and featured stories about students debating their stances on terrorism and that a particular high school teacher was planning to teach a whole course on terrorism.

A significant number of *CJ* articles discussed one localized incident of potential terrorism that warrants further discussion. On May 25, 2011, two Iraqi refugee men who lived in Bowling Green, Kentucky were arrested for conspiring to commit terroristic acts. There were 22 articles in the *CJ* that publicized this case. The focus on this event highlighted the importance of local events for the *CJ*. Expounding upon this story, the *CJ* described both men as "regular people" who resided in Kentucky and "kept a low profile." They reported that neighbors had never seen them doing anything suspicious and that they "would not have stood out in the multi-ethnic neighborhood where there are many Muslims." The debate about whether to try them in civilian courts or military tribunals was a drawn-out topic in the newspaper, with Senator Mitch McConnell promoting that they be tried in military tribunals. However, the newspaper and its readers were clearly against that, with the newspaper stating that the "performance of military tribunals…has been abysmal." Readers responded to this with strong emotions. One reader stated,

> "I am sick and tired of hearing from Mitch McConnell, et al. that we have to move the trials of the suspected Iraqi terrorists to Guantanamo. This is Kentucky, not Manhattan. I don't think any true Kentuckian is scared of these boys or of who and what they represent. I know that we have far more scary and dangerous people in this state than these punks."

Although it was a significant story for the *CJ*, the *NYT* did not report at all on the Bowling Green incident.

The *NYT* had significantly more transcripts on speeches and hearings than did the *CJ* (27 *NYT* articles compared to zero in the *CJ*). Looking at the number of *CJ* articles written by the editor (66 articles) and articles just dedicated to readers' comments (61 articles), the *CJ* was more opinionated about the speeches and hearings than was the *NYT*, which had only 21 editorials. Readers' comments or opinions were rarely published in the *NYT*. The *CJ* did not

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publish any articles that were simply transcriptions. The lack of opinion articles in the *NYT*

suggests that terrorism was portrayed more objectively in the *NYT* than the *CJ*.

Table 4.2 presents the top primary subjects of the analyzed newspapers. (See Appendix B

for a full listing of all the subjects.) Several differences between the two newspapers stand out.

First, the *NYT* had articles on terrorism as its primary subject, but the *CJ* reported on terrorism

with other primary subjects. For example, 53.2% of the *NYT* articles had terrorism as its primary

subject, compared to 11.9% of the *CJ* articles. Second, the *CJ* focused more on political subjects

when discussing terrorism than the *NYT* did. For the *CJ*, 14.1% of articles with the keywords

"terrorist" and "terrorism" had political subjects, such as naming particular political figures (i.e.,

George W. Bush or Mitch McConnell), compared to 4.7% of the *NYT* articles with politics as the

primary subject. Third, weapons were the primary subject in 10.2% of the *CJ* articles, such as

weapons of mass destruction or chemical weapons, compared to 2.7% of the *NYT* articles.

Overall, the *CJ* had a greater variety of primary subjects than the *NYT*, with the majority of the

NYT articles having terrorism as its primary subject. This indicated that the *CJ* did not focus on

terrorism as closely as the *NYT* did.

Table 1.3   Subject percentage by newspaper

Primary Subject	*CJ* (N=481)	*NYT* (N=485)
Security	4.0% (19)	2.47% (12)
War on Terror	4.6% (22)	1.4% (7)
Political	14.1% (68)	4.7% (23)
Legislation	6.4% (31)	3.9% (19)
Weapons	10.2% (49)	2.7% (13)
Law Enforcement	2.7% (13)	6% (29)
Media/Communication/Internet/Technology	5.0% (24)	4.9% (24)
Military/War	5.0% (24)	2.3% (11)
Travel/Airports/Transportation	3.5% (17)	.8% (4)
Terrorism	11.9% (57)	53.2% (258)
Judicial System	4.0% (19)	2.5% (12)
Reports/Information/Records	1.9% (9)	3.1% (15)
Muslim/Islam	3.5% (17)	.8% (4)

In summary, the two papers differed in several important ways, particularly in their frequency with which each reported on terrorism. The *NYT* wrote extensively on terrorism (1200 words compared to 737 words in the *CJ*) and wrote articles that were more factual than opinion or editorials (21 editorials compared to 57 in the *CJ*). In addition, the *NYT* did not report on the Bowling Green arrest at all, while the CJ reported extensively on it. Like the *CJ*, the *NYT* discussed local news, even though reports of local news occurred less frequently in the *NYT* than in the *CJ*. Lastly, the majority of the analyzed *NYT* articles had terrorism as their primary subject, compared to the *CJ* articles, which incorporated a greater variety of primary subjects.

Top journalists

Table 4.3 shows the top journalists who wrote the analyzed newspaper articles. For the *CJ*, the most prolific reporters were James Carroll (24 articles) and Siddique Malik (22 articles). James Carroll wrote on the two suspected Iraqi men getting arrested for conspiracy of terrorism.

Carroll addressed a variety of aspects on the subject of terrorism. For example, he wrote on how easily one can buy fertilizer to be used in bombs. In addition, he wrote on legislation related to terrorism and counterterrorism. For example, he wrote on the PATRIOT Act and politicians' stances on terrorism and legislation related to terrorism, in particular Mitch McConnell and Rand Paul.

Siddique Malik often wrote passionate accounts about terrorism and the plight of Arab-Americans. One of Malik's articles stated his anti-terrorism position, "As a human being, I am pleased that the terrorists' ability to inflict harm on humanity has been virtually crushed. As a Muslim, I am further pleased that their ability to hijack my religion to carry out their dirty deeds has been curtailed considerably."

Table 1.4   Top authors by number of terrorism articles

CJ *Authors*	Articles Written	Percent		*NYT* Authors	Articles Written	Percent
James R. Carroll	21	4.20%		Eric Lichtblau	27	5.40%
Siddique Malik	18	3.60%		Philip Shenon	20	4.00%
Andrew Wolfson	14	2.80%				
Tom Dorsey	14	2.80%				
Peter Smith	13	2.60%				
David Jackson	12	2.40%				
Kim Hjelmgaard	12	2.40%				

For the *NYT,* the most generative reporters to write about terrorism were Eric Lichblau (24 articles) and Philip Shenon (20 articles). Eric Lichblau reported on suspicions regarding some Muslim charities funding terrorist activities and how certain people were suspected to be terrorists, including an ex-prosecutor and an Ohio cleric. Lichblau also published on court proceedings and rulings related to terrorism. For example, he wrote how John Ashcroft, United

States Attorney General from 2001 to 2005, defended the detention of immigrants based on suspicion of terrorism and how Ashcroft wanted more power to pursue terror suspects.

Philip Shenon conveyed how the color-coding of threat alerts were confusing to the public. He also reported how structures and communities were not prepared for future terrorist attacks. For example, Shenon reported that terrorism drills highlighted inadequate preparation for attacks and that there were errors in the Terrorist Watch List.

Types of terrorism

This section will discuss the types of terrorism mentioned in both newspapers. Table 4.5 shows the terrorism type mentioned by newspaper. The columns of "percent" represented the percent of instances terrorism type was mentioned. The 500 *CJ* articles referenced terrorism types 563 times, while the 500 *NYT* articles reported terrorism types 699 times. Several differences between the two papers stand out. First, 81.4% of *CJ* articles mentioned Islamic terrorism, compared to 95.4% of *NYT* articles. Second, 14.4% of *CJ* articles reported on general terrorism, compared to 3.4% of *NYT* articles. Third, 5.6% of *CJ* newspaper articles described homegrown terrorism compared to 14.4% of *NYT* articles. Lastly, the *CJ* reported on state-sponsored terrorism in 1.2% of articles compared to 9.4% of *NYT* articles. Overall, the *NYT* mentioned more specific types of terrorism than the *CJ*. The *NYT* reported more on homegrown terrorism, material/financial terrorism, and state-sponsored terrorism than the *CJ* did. The *CJ* was more likely to report on terrorism in general than the *NYT*. Highlighting specific terrorism types may indicate that *NYT* was more concerned about terrorism than *CJ*.

Table 1.5   Percentage of Terrorism Type Mentioned by Newspaper

Terrorism Type	CJ		NYT	
	Percent	Percent of Cases*	Percent	Percent of Cases*
Islamic	72.3%	81.4%	68.2%	95.4%
General	12.8%	14.4%	2.4%	3.4%
Bio/Nuclear	1.4%	1.6%	2.0%	2.8%
Eco	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%
Homegrown	5.0%	5.6%	10.3%	14.4%
Jewish	0.2%	0.2%	0%	0%
Material	1.1%	1.2%	9.2%	12.8%
Specific/Non-Islamic	0.5%	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%
State Sponsored	6.2%	7.0%	6.7%	9.4%
Anti-Islam	0.2%	0.2%	0%	0%
International	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.6%
Cyber	0.2%	0.2%	0%	0%
Total	**100.0%**	**112.6%**	**100.0%**	**139.8%**
	N=563	*N*=500	*N*=699	*N*=500

*Percent is terrorism type based on all types of terrorism mentioned, while percent of cases is terrorism type based on number of articles (500 for each newspaper). For example, out of the 500 articles in the *Courier Journal*, for example, terrorism types were mentioned 563 times because more than one type of terrorism was mentioned in multiple *Courier-Journal* articles. Percent of cases is the percentage of newspapers that had any instance of terrorism type. For example, 81.4 percent of cases out of 500 mentioned Islamic terrorism in the *Courier Journal*, hence the percentage being 112.6 percent as terrorism types overlapped due to the possibility of multiple terrorism types being mentioned in an article.

Most mentioned terrorist attacks

There were nine separate terrorist attacks that were reported by the *CJ* with at least nine articles each. (Appendix C shows all terrorist attacks mentioned by each newspaper.) Table 4.5 presents those terrorist attacks by name, the year each occurred, and the frequency of their mention (count and percentage). As expected, the most common terrorist attack in the *CJ* was the September 11 attacks (209 or 41.8% of articles). Of the attacks reported most frequently in the *CJ,* Islamic terrorists carried out or allegedly carried out all of those attacks mentioned. Interestingly, with the exceptions of the September 11 attacks, the 2012 Benghazi attacks, and the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing, the highest frequency attacks noted were all from the second widespread moral panic period, 2015 to 2017. This raised the unanswered question of

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why, during the second moral panic period, the *CJ* started to report more on the terrorist attacks—significantly more than they did in the first moral panic period in the years immediately following September 11. Other than the September 11 attacks, six of the top eight attacks mentioned happened during the second moral panic period of 2015-2017 in the *CJ*. This could be due to the change of editors. In 2013, their longtime executive director Bennie Ivory retired and was replaced by Neil Budde (Lord, 2013; Yetter, 2016). Perhaps Budde was more interested in publishing terrorist attacks than the previous editor. Regardless, the *CJ* reported more attacks during the second moral panic than the moral panic immediately after September 11.

Table 1.6   Most mentioned terrorist attacks by number of the *Courier-Journal* articles (*N*=500)

Courier-Journal Articles (that include the word "terrorism" and/or "terrorist")			
Year	Terrorist Attack	Frequency	Percentage
2001	September 11 Attacks	209	41.8
2015	November 2015 Paris Attacks	26	5.2
2015	San Bernardino attack	18	3.6
2015	Charlie Hebdo shooting	15	3.0
2016	Brussels bombing	14	2.8
2016	Orlando nightclub shooting	13	2.6
2012	Benghazi attack	12	2.4
2013	Boston Marathon bombing	11	2.2
2016	Nice, France truck attack	9	1.8

Table 4.6 presents a list of all the terrorist attacks mentioned in at least nine *NYT* articles, displaying the total number of articles and the percentage in which each attack was mentioned. There were 14 terrorist attacks reported by the *NYT* at high frequency. Overwhelmingly, and not surprisingly, the terrorist attack mentioned most often was the September 11 attacks (331 or 66.2% of articles). Except for the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Islamic terrorists carried out or

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allegedly carried out all of the most frequently mentioned terrorist attacks in the *NYT*. The second moral panic period was evident in the most mentioned terrorist attacks, with attacks such as the 2015 November Paris attacks and 2016 Brussels bombing on the list.

Table 1.7   Most mentioned terrorist attacks by number of *New York Times* articles (*N*=500)

New York Times Articles (that include the word "terrorism" and/or "terrorist")			
Year	**Terrorist Attack**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
2001	September 11 Attacks	331	66.2
2005	London Bombings	33	6.6
1998	Bombings of American Embassies in Africa	29	5.8
2004	Madrid Bombings	26	5.2
1993	World Trade Center Bombing	22	4.4
2015	November Paris Attacks	19	3.8
1995	Oklahoma City Bombing	18	3.6
2000	USS Cole Bombing	16	3.2
2002	Bali Bombing	15	3.0
2016	Brussels Bombing	14	2.8
2008	Mumbai, India Attacks	12	2.4
2016	Orlando Nightclub Shooting	11	2.2
2013	Boston Marathon Bombing	9	1.8
2015	San Bernardino Attack	9	1.8

Both newspapers focused disproportionately on specific terrorist attacks, namely the September 11 events and the Boston Marathon bombing. The *CJ* noted that Americans were "[traumatized] by the 9/11 terrorist attacks on U.S. soil." The *NYT* stated that "On Sept. 11, Americans entered a new and frightening geography, where the continents of safety and danger seemed forever shifted." Clearly, the *NYT* reported more concerns about terrorism than the *CJ* during the first widespread moral panic in the years immediately following September 11.

In the mini moral panic in 2013, both newspapers reported on the Boston Marathon bombing, as indicated in the tables as one of the most mentioned attacks. This could be because this attack was highly sensationalized with three deaths and 264 injuries (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2018). The *CJ* perceived and printed that the purpose of the attack was "designed for maximum effect." The *NYT* reported that the violence was the "end of more than a decade in which the United States experienced strikingly few terrorist attacks, in part because of the far more aggressive law enforcement tactics that arose after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks."

Both newspapers reported on terror attacks during the second widespread moral panic period between 2015 and 2017. For example, the *CJ* reported that "Terrorists on a murderous rampage killed scores of people in multiple attacks in the French capital Friday night." The *NYT* recounted that a driver was arrested and being investigated for terrorism after a deliberate car crash in London. Both the *NYT* and *CJ* reported terror attacks in the years immediately following September 11 and during the second widespread moral panic.

There were several major differences between the two newspapers regarding the most mentioned terror attacks. First, the *NYT* reported more individual terror attacks (101 attacks) than did the *CJ* (69 attacks). The *CJ* did not mention terror attacks that occurred before September 11 nearly as much as the *NYT* did. This made it appear to *CJ* readers that terror attacks rarely happened prior to September 11 and that there was no connection between any of the terror attacks, even though Al Qaeda was found responsible for the 1998 bombing of American embassies both in Kenya and Tanzania. Second, the *CJ* mentioned the Benghazi attacks more frequently than the *NYT* (12 or 2.4% of the *CJ* articles compared to 3 or .6% of the *NYT* articles). Third, the *CJ* also published more about the 2015 Charlie Hebdo shooting as terror attacks than

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the *NYT* did (15 or 3% of the *CJ* articles compared to 1 or .2% of the *NYT* articles). In fact, the *CJ* mentioned more attacks during the second widespread moral panic than the *NYT* did, with 23.6% of top terrorist attacks during the second moral panic mentioned in the *CJ* compared to 10.6% in the *NYT*.

As expected, the most mentioned terrorism occurrence in both newspapers was the September 11 attacks. The top mentioned attacks in both newspapers were reported as being carried or allegedly carried out by Islamic terrorists. Both papers reported on the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, which fueled the mini moral panic. Even though the *NYT* reported on more total terror attacks than the *CJ* did, the *CJ* mentioned more terror attacks that occurred after the September 11 attacks than the *NYT*. Lastly, the *CJ* focused more on attacks during the second widespread moral panic (2015-2017) than did the *NYT*. These differences were indicative of the incongruities in reporting. These descriptive statistics highlighted differences between the newspapers that showed how newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) varied from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11.

Quantitative analysis of sensitizing concepts

I performed quantitative analyses on sensitizing concepts to check for presence of direct concern about, innocuous mention of terrorism, mention of the war on terror, and handling of heroes, victims, and folk devils. This directly addressed my third research question of how newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) vary from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11.

Table 4.7 presents the crosstabulations for the presence of direct concern of terrorism, innocuous mention of terrorism (within concern about other topics), and war on terror. The *NYT* articles were more likely to report direct concern about terrorism than the *CJ*: 76.4% of NYT articles reported concern about terrorism compared to only 32.6% of CJ articles. Similarly, the *NYT* was significantly more likely to innocuously mention terrorism than was the *CJ*: only 41.4% of the 500 *CJ* articles mentioned terrorism while expressing other concerns compared to the 76.8% of articles in the *NYT*. The *NYT* was significantly more likely to mention war on terror than *CJ*: 84.2% of *NYT* articles reported on war on terror compared to 55.2% of *CJ* articles. Overall, the *NYT* expressed direct concerns about terrorism, innocuously mentioned terrorism, and referred to the war on terror significantly more than the *CJ*. In each case, the phi coefficients suggested there were moderate relationships between the type of newspaper and its terrorism reporting.

Table 1.8   Presence of sensitizing concepts

A. Was there direct concern about terrorism present in articles?			
	CJ	*NYT*	Total
No	337	118	455
	67.4%	23.6%	45.5%
Yes	163	382	545
	32.6%	76.4%	54.5%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =193.411, *p*=.000); ϕ=.440, *p*=.000			
B. Was terrorism mentioned in an innocuous way?			
	CJ	*NYT*	Total
No	293	116	409
	58.6%	23.2%	40.9%
Yes	207	384	591
	41.4%	76.8%	59.1%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =129.609, *p*=.000); ϕ=.360, *p*=.000			
C. Was War on Terror present in newspapers?			
	CJ	*NYT*	Total
No	224	79	303
	44.8%	15.8%	30.3%
Yes	276	421	697
	55.2%	84.2%	69.7%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =99.554, *p*=.000); ϕ=.316, *p*=.000			

Table 4.8 presents page placement of terrorism articles for both newspapers. Page

placement, or whether the article was on the front page or tucked on a later page, represented the

importance of terrorism. Page placement would seem to indicate the level of the newspaper's

concern about the topic. The *NYT* was significantly more likely than the *CJ* to feature terrorism

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articles on the front page: 74.5% of the 500 *NYT* articles were on the front page, compared to 45.4% of the 500 *CJ* articles. The phi coefficient suggested a moderate relationship between type of newspaper and page placement.

Table 1.9   Placement on page by newspaper

	CJ	*NYT*	**Total**
Front Page	208	368	576
	45.4%	74.5%	60.5%
Not Front Page	250	126	376
	54.6%	25.5%	39.5%
Total	458	494	952
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=952) =84.097, *p*=.000); ϕ=.297, *p*=.000			

Table 4.9 shows the percentage of articles mentioning of heroes, folk devils, and victims by newspaper. First, the two newspapers did not significantly differ in their mentions of heroes: 34% of the *NYT* articles reported heroes compared to 34.2% of *CJ* articles. Next, 33.6% of the *NYT* articles mentioned victims compared to 41.4% of *CJ* articles. The *CJ* articles were more likely to report victims than was the *NYT*. 78.8% of the *NYT* articles reported folk devils compared to 75.8% of *CJ* articles. There was no significance between the two newspapers in terms of reporting folk devils. Overall, reporting on victims was the only significant difference between the two newspapers in which the *CJ* mentioned victims more than the *NYT*; the phi coefficient indicated a very weak relationship between the newspaper type and their mention of victims which the *CJ* was more likely to report victims than the *NYT*.

Table 1.10   Presence of heroes, victims, and folk devils by newspaper

Heroes	*CJ*	*NYT*	Total
No	329	330	659
	65.8%	66.0%	65.9%
Yes	171	170	341
	34.2%	34.0%	34.1%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =.004, *p*=.947); ϕ=-.002, *p*=.947			
Victims	*CJ*	*NYT*	Total
No	293	332	625
	58.6%	66.4%	62.5%
Yes	207	168	375
	41.4%	33.6%	37.5%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =6.490, *p*=.011); ϕ=-.081, *p*=.011			
Folk Devils	*CJ*	*NYT*	Total
No	121	106	227
	24.2%	21.2%	22.7%
Yes	379	394	773
	75.8%	78.8%	77.3%
Total	500	500	1000
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
X^2 (1, *N*=1000) =1.282, *p*=.257); ϕ=.036, *p*=.257			

Table 4.10 shows the average word length of articles with the presence of heroes, victims, and folk devils each newspaper. Interestingly, articles with the presence of folk devils (*CJ*=743 words; *NYT*=1277 words) had the fewest average amount of words compared to articles with the presence of heroes and victims. Articles with the presence of victims had the highest average amount of words (*CJ*=830 words, *NYT*=1430 words) followed by articles with the

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presence of heroes (*CJ*=803 words, *NYT*=1386 words) and folk devils (*CJ*=743 words, *NYT*=1277 words).

Table 1.11   Average word count of newspaper by presence of key portrayals

	CJ	*NYT*
Heroes	803	1386
Victim	830	1430
Folk Devil	743	1277

Lastly, for this analysis, I used quantitative analysis to analyze volatility to determine points of moral panics of terrorism. Volatility was deemed apparent when moral panics explode abruptly and then quickly disperse. I operationalized volatility using the number of published newspaper articles with the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist" during the selected time period (from September 11, 2001 to August 30, 2018). Using quantitative content analysis, I confirmed the presence of volatility to determine points of concern. (Appendix D shows the actual percentages of the published articles in both newspapers.)

Figure 4.1 shows the number of published articles by year in the *CJ.* The Kentucky newspaper did not publish many articles with the keywords "terrorist" and "terrorism" until 2003 (129 or 25.8% of 1190 articles with those keywords) and 2004 (143 or 28.6% of 1190 articles with those keywords). There were two widespread moral panic periods evident in the *CJ:* the first was a few years immediately following September 11 and then another from 2015 to 2017. Out of 1,190 total articles published from 2001 to 2018 that mentioned "terrorist" and "terrorism," there were 466 articles (39.16%) published from September 11, 2001 to 2006 and 350 articles (29.40%) published from 2015 to 2017. There was a "mini moral panic" in 2013,

where there was a spike from 40 published articles in 2012 to 98 articles in 2013. The 2013 date aligned with the occurrence of the Boston Marathon bombing.
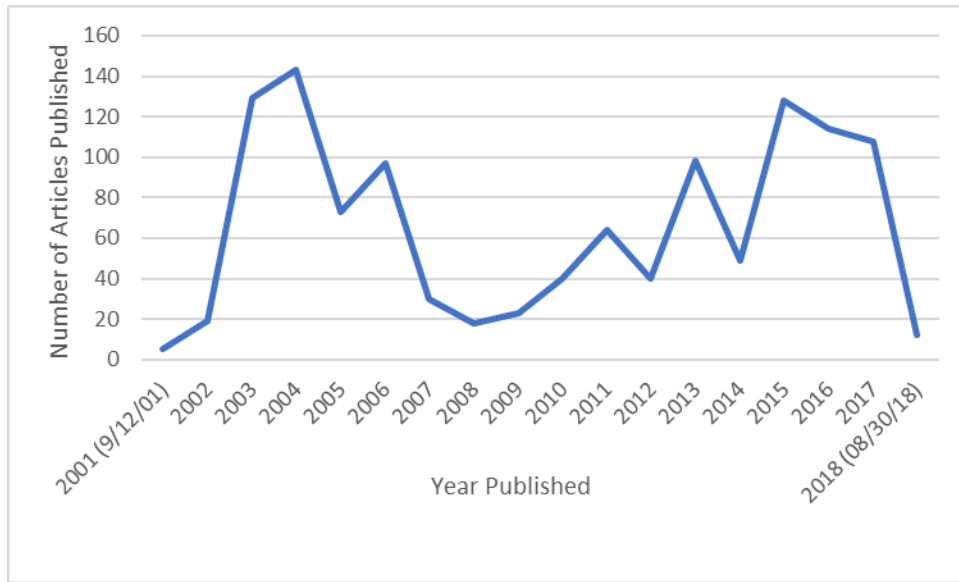
Figure 4.1   Distribution of the *CJ* published newspapers

Figure 4.2 shows the number of published articles for the *NYT*. For the *NYT,* the number of published articles on terrorism generally decreased over time. Like the *CJ*, there were two moral panics during the analyzed time period: the first was the years after September 11 (2001- 2006) and another one from 2015 to 2017. Out of 21,505 total terrorism articles in the *NYT*, there were 13,187 articles (61.32%) published from 2001 to 2006, and 3,006 articles (13.98%) published from 2015-2017. Similar to the *CJ*, the *NYT* experienced an increase in terrorism articles from 2012 to 2013: the number of published articles increased from 603 in 2012 to 735 articles in 2013. However, the change was much less pronounced in the *NYT* than the *CJ*.
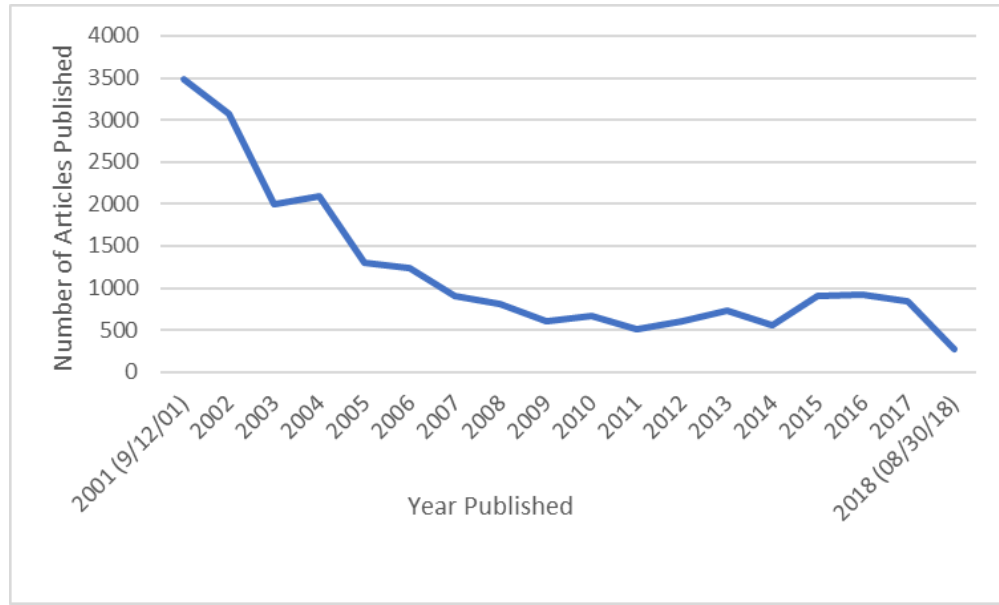
Figure 4.2   Distribution of the *NYT* published newspapers

Overall, Figures 4.1 and 4.2 indicated the two significant moral panic periods in both newspapers: the years after September 11 from 2001 to 2006 and the time period from 2015 to 2017, indicating the presence of volatility. From 2015 to 2017, there was an increase of terrorist attacks in Western countries. These included six key attacks: the November 2015 Paris attacks, the San Bernardino attack in 2015, the Brussels bombing in 2016, the Orlando Nightclub shooting in 2016, the Manchester Terror Attacks in 2017, and the London Bridge attack in 2017. Both newspapers widely reported these terror attacks, thus renewing the widespread moral panic of terrorism.

Finally, there was a "mini moral panic" in 2013 right after the Boston Marathon bombing occurred. Like previous studies that analyzed moral panics (Chiricos, 1996/2006, p. 112; Cohen, 1972/2011; Critcher, 2008; Hawdon, 2001; Himmelstein, 2014; Orcutt & Turner, 1993; Victor, 1998), data presented here suggest that moral panics of terrorism exploded suddenly and quickly

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dissolved. The second widespread moral panic from 2015 to 2017 was not as powerful as the years immediately following September 11 and may have been a by-product of the moral panic after the September 11 attacks. The presence of widespread moral panics, as indicated by the volatility of published newspapers articles by year, indicated the impact of terrorism.

Summary of quantitative results

The purpose of the quantitative portion of the results was to partially answer: (1) how did newspapers report and refer to terrorism on and after September 11, 2001?; (2) in what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories?; and (3) how did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11? Overall, there were major differences in the newspapers. The *NYT* focused more on terrorism than did the *CJ.* The *NYT* was more likely to have articles with the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist" on the front page and to have terrorism as a primary subject. The *NYT* published lengthier articles than the *CJ* did. The *NYT* wrote more about direct concern about terrorism, innocuous mention of terrorism, and the war on terror than did the *CJ,* who addressed terrorism in a more general sense. The *CJ* was more focused on its readers, as indicated by the number of entries in its readers' forums. The *CJ* mainly discussed the victims, while the *NYT* focused more on the perpetrators and the terroristic acts. The quantitative findings supported that differing sets of experiences among the newspapers were associated with their handling of the topic of terrorism.

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter will explain the results of the qualitative analyses of the news coverage on terrorism of the *CJ* and the *NYT*. As mentioned earlier, the social construction of terrorism (moral panic of terrorism) was reflected through news coverage on terrorism. This section will discuss the general qualitative findings from the analyses of the two newspapers to answer the following research questions: (1) How is terrorism socially constructed through newspapers? Specifically, using the moral panics theoretical framework as developed by Stanley Cohen (1971/2011), how did the *NYT* and the *CJ* newspapers report terrorism as a threat? (2) How did newspapers report and refer to terrorism on and after September 11, 2001? (3) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories? (4) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11?

As mentioned in the previous section, there were two widespread moral panics, one mini moral panic, and one localized moral panic in the *CJ*. The years immediately following September 11 had the most intense widespread moral panic, and the second moral panic period was slightly less intense from 2015 and 2017. The short-lived mini moral panic happened in 2013 as the result of the Boston Marathon bombing. This chapter will discuss the qualitative

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themes and where applicable, subthemes. When discussing the themes, I will address the themes found in the sensitizing concepts of war on terror, Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) criteria of concern, and the individuals that both newspapers considered to be heroes, victims, and folk devils (villains).

The "war on terror"

The *NYT* and the *CJ* both reported on topics concerning counterterrorism, more specifically, the "war" on terror. "War" on terror in this instance had a variety of meanings. First, America needed to defeat terrorism using any means necessary to protect its citizens; essentially, the "war" on terror was a fight for survival. Next, the term "war" denoted urgency and danger; as a result, Americans should be on high alert for terrorist attacks. Terrorism was also a societal problem that needs to be fought by Americans and their allies. Therefore, America needed to utilize "warlike" and "aggressive" tactics to fight terrorism through counterterrorism. In other words, counterterrorism was discussed here as a part of the moral panic of terrorism because terrorism was a social problem that needed to be resolved through counterterrorism measures. Frequent reporting of countermeasures, especially tied to the idea of terrorism as being pervasive and normal, made the terrorism threat very real to the newspapers' readers.

The war on terror, a term promoting the global and national fight against terrorism, became a hot topic and was written many times in both newspapers. As discussed in the quantitative findings, in the *CJ,* the term "war on terror" or "war on terrorism" was printed 276 times, while in the *NYT,* these terms were published 421 times. In the *CJ*, a reader stated that "We are at war with terrorism. The people that believe it is their duty to kill and harm as many Americans as they possibly can." The *NYT* published one of Bush's speeches that addressed the war on terror. In it, the President stated:

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"The attack took place on American soil but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world. And the world has come together to fight a new and different war -- the first, and we hope, the only one of the 21st century. A war against all those who seek to export terror and a war against those governments that support or shelter them."

When examining the sensitizing concept of "war on terror," three themes emerged from the data. These included: (1) the policies and tactics for preventing terrorism, (2) military action, and (3) politics.

Tactics and policies for preventing terrorism

The newspapers' reports included both the war on terror and policies and tactics designed to combat terrorism. In addition to reporting on the war on terror, both newspapers conveyed how law enforcement and legislatures developed tactics and policies bent to fight against terrorism. These reports on tactics and policies contributed to the overall description of terrorism by showing how immediate the dangers of terrorism were as important social institutions were actively doing something about this serious problem.

During the moral panics, both newspapers highlighted three main aspects of the policies and tactics aimed at preventing terrorism. The *NYT* said it most succinctly: These actions "(1) attack terrorists and their organizations, (2) prevent the continued growth of Islamist terrorism, and (3) protect against and prepare for terrorist attacks." The *NYT*, however, provided more coverage of policies to prevent terrorism than did the *CJ*. In describing these measures, the newspapers provided concrete actions and encouraged readers to incorporate them into their lives. By discussing policies on terrorism prevention, concerns, and funding, reporters further made terrorism seem more "real" to readers. For example, the *NYT* and the *CJ* described the creation of a color-coded ranking system to warn American citizens of the chance of terrorist attacks. Also, the *CJ* raised the alarm that the people of Kentucky needed to protect themselves

against bioterrorism and infectious diseases. The *CJ* furthered concerns of Kentucky citizens by communicating that "Security is being boosted at the nation's borders, at major airports, at nuclear power plants and electricity transmission facilities, subways and government buildings." Local officials in Kentucky were also focused on creating emergency systems to prevent terrorism. The *CJ* also reported that there were "Kentucky agencies who participated in a two-day exercise to prepare emergency crews for an agro-terrorism incident."

Both newspapers reported changes in law enforcement intended to facilitate the arrests of those suspected to be involved with terrorism and to prevent the growth of Islamic terrorism. The newspapers reported on the need of innovative law enforcement tactics due to the threat of terrorism as previous tactics did not work to prevent the September 11 attacks. The *NYT* reported that Attorney General Eric H. Holder, Jr. encouraged law enforcement agents "to use an expansive notion of a 'national security safety exception' for asking questions of terrorism suspects about any immediate threats to public safety before informing them of their Miranda rights." The *NYT* also reported that the Bush administration decided to reorganize the FBI to help them focus more on "counterterrorism and away from crime fighting." In conjunction with this change, the FBI created a new terrorism task force to tighten "immigration controls to make sure no one enters or stays in our country who would harm us." The *CJ* reported that the FBI's counterintelligence activities included "preventing foreign attempts to obtain government and industrial secrets; preventing international and domestic terrorism; and collecting and analyzing intelligence." By reporting the FBI's change in focus from fighting crime to fighting terrorism, newspapers made terrorism seem even more ominous to the newspapers' readers and that contributed to the description of the moral panic of terrorism.

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To provide support to the importance of counterterrorism, both newspapers promoted the PATRIOT Act, stating the legislation was necessary to prevent more terrorism. The American PATRIOT Act, which was quickly passed after the September 11 attacks, was "summarized in the full name that was needed to create that acronym -- the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001," according to the *NYT*. The *NYT* reported that the United States Senate passed a law that would "expand the government's ability to conduct electronic surveillance, detain immigrants without charges and penetrate money-laundering banks." The *CJ* quoted Kentucky's senior U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell when he stated that "Some people seem to have lost sight of the fact that we are fighting a war on terrorism and that the president needs good intelligence data at his disposal to root out al-Qaida cells." The *NYT* reported that the Act is supposed to "expand the government's ability to spy on foreign terrorist suspects in the United States." The newspapers reported on other legislative policies. For example, according to the *NYT,* the government enacted legislation to choke financial and material terrorism (which is providing material or monetary support to terrorists or known terrorist organizations).

Lastly, *NYT* heavily discussed government policies relating to insurance for terroristic attacks, particularly Terrorism Risk Insurance Act of 2002. The *NYT* reported that "the nation's insurance companies, supported by bankers, builders and real estate companies, warned that if Congress did not shield the insurers from losses in future attacks, terrorism coverage would vanish, and the economy would grind to a halt." The *NYT* insisted that due to issues with terrorism insurance, the government should pass legislation to address the shortcomings of it.

In summary, a theme that stemmed from the sensitizing concept of war on terror was a focus on tactics and policies for preventing terrorism due to the "new" terrorism threat. For

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example, the *CJ* quoted U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron who said, "What we're facing in Iraq now with ISIL is a greater and deeper threat to our security than we have known before." The *NYT* quoted an expert stating that "What we see here is a totally new pattern." Both the *NYT* and the *CJ* described terrorism as a phenomenon that necessitated innovative techniques, legislation, and law enforcement tactics to be used to stop or at least fight terrorism. Both newspapers agreed that innovative law enforcement tactics and legislative policies, such as the PATRIOT Act, were needed to protect potential terrorist targets. Both newspapers discussed the need for more funding to combat terrorism. Both also reported that law enforcement was arresting those suspected of terrorism and needed new innovative tactics to perform their jobs better. Focusing on these policies and tactics strongly emphasized the necessary evil of giving up liberties to combat an even worse entity: terrorism.

Militaristic and aggressive actions

Another theme associated with the war on terror was a focus on aggressive and militaristic responses to terrorism in both newspapers that was essential to newspapers' arguments concerning war on terror and more broadly, counterterrorism. To effectively engage in the war on terror, America should fight against terrorism using the military and aggressive actions. The *CJ* stated that the "military strikes against the Islamic State are designed to help U.S. allies 'degrade and defeat' the terrorists and are 'very restrained and different.'" In addition, the *CJ* stated that Ted Cruz, U.S. Senator from Texas said that "America is at war…Our enemy is not violent extremism. It is not some unnamed benevolent force. It is radical Islamic terrorism." The *NYT* reported the "military's heightened role in homeland security," where warplanes "have flown periodic air patrols over American cities since the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001." Lastly, the *NYT* reported that "offensive action abroad has protected the

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homeland" which "our military presence in Afghanistan and our aggressive policies around the globe have seriously disrupted the enemy." The newspapers stated the importance of militaristic and aggressive actions when dealing with terrorism. These actions were necessary to stop terrorism.

The newspapers also tended to use warlike and aggressive terms to describe the fight against terrorism. According to the *CJ*, "President Bush announced in his State of the Union address as a victory in the war on terrorism with their arrest in the small community of 3,000 people," while another *CJ* article reported that the "military has the ability to use cyberweapons to shut down terrorist websites and disrupt communication, but it is cautious about authorizing such actions because of unanticipated effects beyond its intended targets, such as disrupting legitimate websites and servers." This was because cybercapabilities were "already in use by the Islamic State" and therefore the military was using "cybertools to disrupt ISIL's ability to operate and communicate over the virtual battlefield." The *NYT* reported that a commission official urged the "Obama administration to work to halt the Iranian and North Korean nuclear weapons programs, backing up any diplomatic initiatives with 'the credible threat of direct action' -- code for military action." Using words such as "battlefield," "disrupt," and "credible threat of direct action" further reinforced the importance of military and aggressive actions.

The *CJ* stated that a "large majority of Kentuckians think the United States should take military action in Iraq," while the *NYT* stated that the "assault on the nation's security" can "only be dealt with only by military force." The *CJ* stated that "aggressive American action in the Muslim world" was essential in preventing "failed states," promoting economic and political change, and liberalizing education. The *NYT* reported that the congressional leaders who supervise America's intelligence system concluded that "America's spy agencies should be

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allowed to combat terrorism with more aggressive tactics, including the hiring of unsavory foreign agents," even citing a senator who said, "We have got to be a hell of a lot more aggressive."

Another instance of military and aggressive actions was indicated by the debate around whether alleged terrorists should be tried at military tribunals or civilian courts. In the case of the Bowling Green incident in the *CJ*, Mitch McConnell wanted the two suspects to be sent to Guantanamo Bay's detection facility and be prosecuted before military tribunals. Those arrested on terrorism related charges threaten public safety, and regular law enforcement was not equipped to deal with terrorists. In addition, the *NYT* reported that G.W. Bush argued that "military tribunals will protect civilian jurors against reprisals from terrorists, but federal agents have fully protected judges, jurors and witnesses in many trials posing similar risks." Also, evidence in terrorism cases "seized in a 'war zone' would be difficult to authenticate for use in civilian courts."

Therefore, terrorism was viewed as a major threat that can only be resolved through militaristic and aggressive actions. This *NYT* article summed up why according to an official, stating that "We run the risk for ourselves and our allies that we're not dealing aggressively enough from the outset with the adaptation of this group, which could become catastrophic." In other words, terrorism did not work the same way as historical military campaigns had because when children are involved, "there's no acceptable losses."

Politics: Terrorism as ammunition in politics

Another theme that stemmed from the sensitizing concept of war on terror was politics. The mention of terrorism in politics stressed the importance of the issue of terrorism. Along with reporting on counterterrorism measures and war on terror, the coverage of politics further

facilitated the moral panic of terrorism in news coverage. Especially during political campaigns, both newspapers reflected on the importance of terrorism in politics stating that terrorism was the "key topic" or according to the *CJ*, the "shadow of 9/11 still falls over presidential politics." The *NYT* stated that "Two years after 9/11 and one year before the presidential election, concern about terrorism continues to dominate American politics." A few news articles publicized Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign concerning her involvement and perception of terrorism. She was quoted as stating, "We are at war with these terrorist groups and what they represent." The *CJ* stated that the attack in Benghazi was "a political witch hunt aimed at former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and her possible run for president in 2016." In another *CJ* article, U.S. Senator Rand Paul from Kentucky stated that she should be "'disqualified' from being president because of the State Department's reaction" to the Benghazi Attack.

Essentially, politicians used terrorism and the disruption and fears it caused as ammunition in their political platforms. Politicians and officials were frequently questioned on their stance on terrorism. The *CJ* reported that Republicans criticized Obama "for underestimating the threat of the Islamic State," citing that both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton discussed terrorism tactics more than Obama did during the presidential election in 2016. For example, Donald Trump promised that "he would ask Congress to declare war on terrorism." The *NYT* stated that former U.S Secretary of State John Kerry and former U.S. Senator from North Carolina John Edwards shared "their party's general unwillingness to think hard or realistically about the war on terrorism." Some articles actually stated that politicians and officials may have used the war on terror and fear of terrorism to manipulate public opinion. In the *CJ*, a reader stated "So what is this war on terrorism all about? It is a political ploy by the Republican Party and the President, grasping for more power. Wake up, America!" A *NYT*

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article stated that "Trump successfully exploited America's obsession with terrorism." Politicians used terrorism as ammunition in political platforms, and both newspapers enabled them to do by choosing to print what they did.

Both newspapers briefly mentioned gun control in relation to terrorism and politics. For example, the *CJ* stated that the National Rifle Association (NRA), in response to measures to restrict guns, argued that "President Obama and his allies proved they are more interested in playing politics than addressing their failure to keep Americans safe from the threat of radical Islamic terrorism." The *NYT* pointed out vulnerabilities in gun control laws and that the "legal debate over how gun records are used became particularly contentious months after the Sept. 11 attacks." Issues such as gun control became prevalent within the scrutiny of terrorism.

Fears and promises about terrorism became valuable tools and important topics in politics after September 11. Politicians used terrorism as ammunition to support their political platform. The newspapers often questioned politicians' stances on terrorism, accusing them of using fear of terrorism to manipulate public opinion. Referring to terrorism in politics greatly advanced the perception that terrorism was a threat to the safety of the United States.

War on terror was the global and national war against terrorism, the term coined by G.W. Bush. Using the sensitizing concept of war on terror, I found three themes. First, newspapers reported on (1) tactics and policies related to preventing terrorism. Next, the newspapers reported on (2) military action against terrorism, and lastly, (3) politics was discussed in conjunction with war on terror.

The war on terror essentially set the boundaries of good and evil, maintaining that the war on terror was fighting for American values, as corroborated by previous research (Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). The war on terror and its characteristics acknowledged the necessity and

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urgency to combat terrorism. Setting this distinction of good and evil in the news coverage of terrorism accelerated the momentum of the moral panic of terrorism. The next section will discuss the sensitizing concept of concern and its themes.

Concerns: Why is terrorism a problem?

In addition to discussing counterterrorism and war on terror measures, the newspapers addressed several areas of concerns related to terrorism. According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) research, concern was defined as people having an increased level of fear of a group (folk devil) or an action. Using concern as a sensitizing concept, I found four themes from the data. The themes included (1) concerns that terrorism is dangerous, (2) concerns of the safety and security of the U.S., (3) concerns of "new" terrorism, and (4) concerns that policies and tactics that prevent terrorism were ineffective.

Terrorism is dangerous

In both the *NYT* and the *CJ*, there was overall concern on how and why terrorism was dangerous. The newspapers' reports on terrorism tended to promote the perception that people should be fearful; consequently, both newspapers had a part in creating and sustaining moral panics. Associated with the overall fear of terrorism, the newspapers portrayed terrorism using dangerous characteristics. A *CJ* article reported that "terrorism's threat lies not in its power, but in its effect, its ability to make us appalled, frightened, irrational, and, most of all, convinced that we are next, and nowhere is safe." Another *CJ* article stated that the impact that terrorism had was "likely to be a persistent negative for consumer and business confidence," resulting in a "huge tax on our economy" for tasks such as upgrading security and firewalls for computer systems. The article reported that an official stated that "fear of attack will never be behind

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us…but investors need to take a long-term perspective and recognize that there will always be disruptions."

For example, terrorism was depicted as unpreventable, making terrorism more threatening and serious. Both newspapers considered terrorism to be anything that would further terrorists' agenda and produce maximum casualties. In other words, terrorists, according to the *NYT*, were "trying every way they can to get their hands on weapons of mass destruction, whether radiological, chemical, biological or nuclear." A *CJ* article stated that a former congressman stated Americans knew what terrorists' intent was: "It is very simple: They want to kill as many of us as they can." Due to the nature of the terrorists and their intent, terrorism was unpreventable and dangerous.

According to the *NYT*, the "overall terrorist threat [had] grown since the Sept. 11 attacks." A *NYT* article reported that "Al Qaeda is on the rise and will continue to be a threat to the United States." Another *NYT* article stated that "the broader Islamist network [Al Qaeda] it supports and feeds off of may be as strong as ever, and it constitutes a serious terrorist threat that will remain even after Osama bin Laden is killed or captured." A *CJ* reader claimed, "The simple fact is that a truly free society can never be 100 percent safe from such attacks," while the *CJ* quoted a CIA veteran warning that "It's only a matter of time before the jihadist group is likely to be in a position to direct more elaborate attacks on American soil that could result in mass casualties." A *NYT* article published that "No amount of precautions can stop determined terrorists from killing New Yorkers" and that the "risk is real, however, and has been known for a while." Terrorism, according to the *NYT*, "will last well beyond the defeat of radical Islam." Both newspapers suggested that even if Americans were able to stop current Islamic terrorist

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organizations like Al Qaeda, terrorism would not end. The newspapers were seriously and openly concerned about terrorism.

In addition, newspapers promoted the idea that terrorism was everywhere and therefore, no one was safe. As a result of believing that terrorism is everywhere, the *CJ* said that terrorism starts to feel normal. The *NYT* stated that "terrorism is universal" and has become "commonplace." Consequently, terrorism will affect Americans' daily lives because terrorism was everywhere, making Americans fearful of terrorism to the point of normalcy. The *NYT* pointed out that the yellow and orange government terrorism alerts simply meant that "terrorists can strike at any place, at any time and with virtually any weapon." Because terror groups operated in small terror cells within a country, an experienced terrorist recruiter can appear to be a "regular" person who can blend into a Western society. As a result, terrorism "can happen here, or anywhere," as worded by the *NYT*.

Lastly, terrorism was dangerous because terrorism was inevitable or an ongoing fight that will not end. Therefore, future attacks will happen. An article from the *CJ* stated that "violence and terrorism are still ongoing in much of the world," and the *NYT* reported that "Al Qaeda is on the rise and will continue to be a threat to the United States." Another *NYT* article stated that another "Sept. 11-style terrorist attack in the United States is highly likely." A *CJ* article stated that an official said that "It isn't always New York City…It's important that Louisville is just as prepared as New York or L.A. It can happen anywhere. There was a bombing in Oklahoma City."

In terms of terrorism being problematic to society, the *NYT* indicated more concern about terrorism than did the *CJ*. This could be because the September 11 attacks occurred in New York City. The *NYT* articles stressed that Americans were continually mindful of terrorism due to the

heightened risk of terrorist attacks. For example, an article from the *NYT* communicated that there was "deep concern here and in Europe that the United States and its allies are facing more -- not fewer—terrorist foes than before." Another *NYT* article was called "Terrorism Scares Away the Tourists Europe Was Counting On." The *CJ* did express concern about terrorism, specifically quoting a congresswoman who pointedly stated that "terrorism is at an all-time high."

Both newspapers also deemed terrorism as dangerous. In other words, both newspapers suggested there will definitely be another terrorist attack and therefore Americans should be prepared because terrorism was inevitable and was everywhere. Because terrorism was portrayed as dangerous, this added to the moral panic of terrorism; terrorism was a social problem, as indicated by a *NYT* article which an official stated that "the fight against terrorism was more theoretical…Now terrorism is universal." Also, a reader of the *CJ* stated, "The simple fact is that a truly free society can never be 100 percent safe from such attacks." Similarly, the *CJ* quoted a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) veteran stating that "It's only a matter of time before the jihadist group is likely to be in a position to direct more elaborate attacks on American soil that could result in mass casualties." The *NYT* explained that "No amount of precautions can stop determined terrorists from killing New Yorkers" and that the "risk is real, however, and has been known for a while." The theme that terrorism being dangerous contributed to the overall meaning of terrorism in both newspapers. Previous research indicated that the media supported the perception that terrorism was a problem that threatens normal life and society (Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). Terrorism being dangerous in both newspapers fueled the perception that terrorism was a problem and people should be afraid of these attacks.

Safety and security of the U.S.

Another theme associated with concerns was the safety and security of the United States. The *CJ* and the *NYT* both reported concerns about the safety and security in the United States. Both newspapers alluded that the September 11 attacks challenged the safety and security of America, becoming a hot button issue. As a result, Americans were in grave danger. Some of the articles were centered on the safety of American and western citizens.

As a *CJ* article reported, the "concern about homeland security costs has intensified with the war in Iraq and the raising last week of the terrorist threat to 'orange,' its second-highest level," while another *CJ* article stated that "environmental terrorism and security is at the top of people's minds." The *NYT* reported that a British interior minister, Ehrhart Korting said that "terrorists will not allow themselves to be disrupted by the warnings…You will never be able to guarantee 100 percent security against terrorists." Another *NYT* article reported that the U.S. government remained "deeply concerned about the security of Americans overseas and that "fears were 'based on threatening rhetoric from extremist groups and the potential for further terrorist actions against American citizens and interests.'"

An article from the *CJ* stated that the "safety and security of our nation is at stake." A *CJ* article stated that due to terrorism against the United States, Fort Knox had accelerated the process of tightening security which "a National Guard force inspects all vehicles that don't have stickers" and "stickered vehicles are searched at random." Another *CJ* article stated that at a gaseous diffusion plant with uranium, general "public tours are no longer conducted; after the September 11 attacks, the "plant also has increased patrols and security posts; added barriers; and implemented more restrictive site-access controls for personnel." Another *CJ* article publicized that "[major] cities across the United States scrambled to harden their security nets

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after the latest [Brussels 2016] terror attacks." In the *NYT*, an article proclaimed that the "U.S. government remains deeply concerned about the security of Americans overseas," while another *NYT* article reported on "checkpoints on highways, closed parking structures at airports, flyovers by military aircraft and other security measures…while reassuring many people, may for others increase anxiety by providing a constant reminder of danger."

Also, both the *NYT* and the *CJ* highlighted security and safety problems with immigration and issues with physical infrastructures. For example, the *CJ* called the American immigration system "sluggish" for mailing a visa to a September 11 hijacker, while the *NYT* reported that the September 11 Commission called immigration policies ineffective. A *CJ* article stated that Pence "argued that the federal government may not be able to identify terrorists posing as Syrian refugees, and said he had a compelling interest to protect the state from such a public safety threat." Another *CJ* article reported that after the Islamic State terror attacks in Paris and Brussels, "European concerns that terrorists could be arriving as refugees have taken on new importance, even as more migrants arrive. Similar concerns are echoed in the United States, notably by Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump." Newspapers reported on how the immigration policies in place were inadequate in protecting American and western citizens as terrorists can come in as legal immigrants or refugees.

The newspapers also emphasized that physical infrastructures were inadequately protected. The *CJ* stated that "not nearly enough has been done to secure America's borders, ports, bridges, and chemical and power plants." The *CJ* reported that "experts say the USA's relatively open transportation system could make it vulnerable to attacks like the ones that struck Brussels" when reporting the 2014 Brussels terror attack, describing the attack that "brought the capital city's airport and downtown metro to a terrifying halt, killing more than 30 and wounding

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at least 150 as screaming commuters dived for cover from shards of bomb shrapnel." This reporting only brought more fear and concern for safety for its readers. The *NYT* also stated that security measures were "inadequate to protect the thousands of individual water supply systems in the nation from terrorist attacks." Addressing these issues relating to immigration and physical infrastructures contributed to the issue of terrorism.

The newspapers often mentioned probabilities of terror attacks and terrorist groups as a threat to security and safety of America. For example, according the *NYT,* "Al Qaeda poses the most serious terrorist threat to U.S. security interests, for Al Qaeda's well-trained terrorists are actively engaged in a terrorist jihad against U.S. interests worldwide." Another *NYT* article mentioned that "warnings by federal officials that terrorists may strike again in this country have ratcheted up concerns about everything from suicide bombers to explosions in apartment buildings or at prominent landmarks;" however, the scariest scenario was that "terrorists will someday lay hands on or fabricate a nuclear weapon and explode it on American soil, causing devastation that would dwarf any terrorist act yet seen." A *CJ* article reported that "attacks in Southern California and Paris linked to the self-proclaimed Islamic State have sharpened concerns about the safety of the homeland" with an official stating "If you don't have the safety and security of the country, you don't have anything." Therefore, security and safety was important in order to prevent those terroristic probabilities from happening. Essentially, these *NYT* quotes explained this point well: "The U.S. government remains deeply concerned about the security of Americans overseas," as the fears were "based on threatening rhetoric from extremist groups and the potential for further terrorist actions against American citizens and interests." The mere reports and mentions of potential and extreme terrorist groups exacerbated the concerns of safety and security in the moral panic of terrorism. Within the theme of security and safety of

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Americans, the subtheme I found was that terrorism was portrayed as against American and Western values.

Against American/Western values

Both newspapers portrayed terrorism as the antithesis of American and Western culture, especially the values of security and safety. Western countries and America used counterterrorism in order to fight and protect those values. A reader from the *CJ* stated that "The war on terrorism is a war of principles," while another reader affirmed that "If we are fighting for freedom, we must hold firm the basic principles of freedom, regardless of fear. If we do not, the terrorists have already won." The *NYT* declared that the war on terrorism is to "counter extremism, and encourage democracy, freedom and economic prosperity abroad." Another *NYT* article reported that "U.S.-led military action in Afghanistan and Iraq has exacerbated anti-U.S. sentiment."

Essentially, the newspapers depicted terrorists as fighting against American values or civil liberties, commonly using words such as "freedom," "civil liberties," and "democracy." For example, the *NYT* mentioned that Americans "fight for our values: for our freedom, for democracy, for the rule of law, the equality of all human beings and for peace." An article from the *NYT* quoted a government official, stressing "that a war to oust Saddam Hussein and disarm Iraq was a necessary step in combating terrorism." A reader in the *CJ* emphasized, "To the 25 million Iraqis who were living in the shadow of Saddam Hussein's torture chambers, yes, the war is very necessary." Fighting for American values supported previous research of terrorism being depicted as threatening Western and American values (Altheide, 2004; Collins, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004; Roy & Ross, 2011).

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Fighting for American and Western values against terrorism required Americans to forego some liberties. Reporters rationalized that enacting prevention policies was an appropriate decision to protect citizens from future terrorist attacks, even if those policies impeded some of Americans' liberties or freedom. *CJ* writers stated that security was "worth loss of some freedom," and that "Pre-emption, after 9/11, makes a lot of sense." The *NYT* reported that by "closing the embassies and consulates, the United States and its allies deprive terrorists of potential targets and also buy time to find more clues and pressure extremist networks, hoping to trip up any would-be attackers." Another *NYT* article reported that "counterterrorism legislation is expressly written to capture people in the early preparatory stages of a terrorist act." Both papers communicated the perspective that even if Americans were losing a little amount of liberty, counterterrorism measures through prevention were necessary for the safety from terrorism.

The *NYT* and the *CJ* cited that security and safety of Americans were concerns in relation to terrorism. In addition, terrorism was cited as being against American and Western values as safety and security are both values. As a result, both newspapers judged that tactics and policies and the war on terror were necessary to fight terrorism, even if Americans needed to forego some of their liberties. Clarifying the boundary of good and evil that made moral panics effective, the newspapers cited counterterrorism measures as essential to the safety and security of the U.S. which contributed to the conviction that terrorism was immoral and detrimental to American society.

Terrorism types: Out with the old, in with the new terrorism

Another theme associated with the sensitizing concept of "concerns" was the distinction between terrorism types. The analyzed articles distinguished between "new terrorism" (terrorism

from the September 11 attacks on) and "old terrorism" (pre-September 11 terrorism). The *NYT* reported that a terrorism expert stated that "'What we see here is a totally new pattern," having to rewrite a published book on suicide bombing because of "staggering new evidence." The *NYT* articles referred to the Basque (Spain) separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (E.T.A.), Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.), and Cuba state sponsored terrorism as old terrorism. The *NYT* labeled militant and extremist Islamic groups such as Al Qaeda and others as new terrorism. Because the "landscape of the terrorist threat has shifted," Americans should be greatly concerned about "new" terrorists who are using different tactics.

The old terrorists, such as the E.T.A. and I.R.A., had dissipated as their goals were "getting a place at a negotiating table to achieve nationalistic, ethnic or ideological ends that are geographically circumscribed." A *NYT* article stated that when examining every suicide bombing and attack around the world between 1980 and 2001, the reporter found "little connection between suicide terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism, or any religion for that matter." Another *NYT* article reported on the "mainly Catholic I.R.A." who "spent a quarter-century trying to unite the province with Ireland by way of a terrorist guerrilla campaign against the largely Protestant unionist majority and Britain itself," stating the "old groups are unwilling to relinquish the fallback threat of violence." In fact, according to the *NYT,* the "old" terrorist groups "have been compelled to distance themselves from Al Qaeda and its affiliates by refraining, in at least some measure, from violence." These groups sought specific goals that are different from the new terrorists. "Old" terrorists shy away from violence.

However, the new terrorists, such as Al Qaeda, had broader goals and resort to more "unpredictable" violent attacks than old style terrorists. They were willing to use suicide and high fatality attacks, as indicated by statistics assembled by the *NYT*. As this *NYT* article

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succulently reported: "For the 'new' terrorists of Al Qaeda and its affiliates, apocalyptic terrorism is an indispensable means to a total, violent victory for radical Islam over the West." The *NYT* reported that a suspected terrorist disclosed that "potential targets for attack would include hospitals and large food stores." A *CJ* article described that "suicide bombers do not fear for their own safety. What distinguishes a terrorist is the strength of the hatred in his heart. He is happy to lose his life if he can blow some of his enemies to hell in the process." Another *CJ* article reported an official staying that the "probability of an al-Qaeda attack in the U.S. is difficult to predict…because of the diffusion of the threat." As a result, the official reported that "Al-Qaeda's dispersion and decentralization from its 'core' in Afghanistan and Pakistan to multiple locations across the Muslim world create 'a different threat and a harder one to watch and predict.'"

A *NYT* article stated that Donald Rumsfeld, U.S. Security of Defense reported that the "military was in the process of adjusting its command structure to deal with 'new' terrorism" as "there's never really been worldwide terrorism at a time when the weapons have been as powerful as they are today, with chemical and biological and nuclear weapons spreading to countries that harbor terrorists." Another *NYT* article stated that the "threat of terrorists wielding mass-casualty weapons -- chemical, biological or even nuclear -- is more serious" than seriously believed. Lastly, British Prime Minister Blair stated that Islamic terrorist (new terrorist) demands were "none that any serious person could ever negotiate on" compared to the I.R.A.'s (old terrorist) demands. Religious ideologies and extremist violence characterized new terrorism.

According to the *NYT*, terrorists' use of advanced technology and the Internet were evidence that new terrorism was not like old terrorism. Prime Minister Blair stated that the "combination of modern technology and the willingness to kill without limit makes this an

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appreciably different threat." Other *NYT* articles have stated that the new terrorists have used technology and the Internet to "plot attacks, raise money and recruit new members" who become "dangerous tools" for terrorist groups. The Internet can also reach a wide audience to allow terrorists to "flood" their propaganda and attract sympathizers to their unscrupulous cause. The *NYT* reported that the "central role of the Internet in modern insurgencies and conspiracies to broadcast propaganda and spread images. Web sites have been widely used to broadcast gruesome images of beheadings in Iraq and to spread militant Islamic views." Due to the goals of new terrorist groups and the advancement of technology and Internet, according to these news stories, new terrorism was much worse for society than previous versions of terrorism.

The newspapers reported that new terrorism, characterized by the desire for maximum fatalities and acceptance of suicide attacks, was more barbaric and ruthless. According to previous literature and my findings, "new terrorism" was different than "old terrorism" due to religious extremism, usage of weapons of mass destruction and advanced technology, and "indiscriminate violence" (Duyvesteyn, 2004; Spencer, 2012; Tucker, 2001). "Old terrorism" tended to have reasonable political goals and engaged in "targeted violence" (Landström, 2019; Spencer, 2012). Newspaper coverage reinforced that the social construction of terrorism that reflected terrorism being a dangerous problem that needed to be stopped. There were two subthemes associated with terrorism types: (1) homegrown terrorism and (2) material or financial terrorism.

Homegrown terrorism

A subtheme associated with terrorism types was homegrown terrorism. Homegrown terrorism (or domestic terrorism) was defined as "violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a

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political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature" (FBI, 2018). Both newspapers reported that homegrown terrorism is particularly problematic. The discussion of homegrown terrorism in both newspapers seemed to have made terrorism a personal issue for newspaper readers. Both newspapers reported numerous cases of terrorists easily convincing young American and Western individuals to join terrorist organizations thereby corrupting American and Western children. In addition, the newspapers pointed out that terrorists readily recruit certain immigrants or foreign-born individuals to commit terror attacks in America and other Western countries.

Though both newspapers discussed the importance of combating domestic terrorism or homegrown terrorism, the *NYT* highlighted particular instances of law enforcement tactics and legislative policies combating domestic terrorism. The *CJ* stated that "Monitoring and defending against domestic terrorism… are legitimate and necessary." The *NYT* stated that the "failure of the FBI to identify and disrupt any similar terrorist cell in the United States since September 11" caused concern, especially if the "FBI has still not risen to the domestic intelligence task." The *NYT* reported that "there is no specific domestic terrorism statute." When discussing the Charleston church shooting and the murder of Heather Heyer at a white supremacist rally during the second widespread mora panic, the *NYT* questioned whether hate crime was indeed domestic terrorism.

Homegrown terrorism was mentioned significantly more in the *NYT* than in the *CJ*. This could be because the September 11 attacks occurred in New York City, the *NYT* reporters were affected more than the *CJ* reporters did after the attacks. As a result, the *NYT* was more worried about having another attack like the September 11 attacks and was more concerned about the possibility of homegrown terrorism due to the city being a likely terrorist target compared to

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Louisville, KY. An article from the *NYT* quoted an FBI agent who said, "The enemy recruits in this country, it trains in this country, it plans in this country and acts in this country." When recounting or describing homegrown terrorism, the *NYT* often used heavily connotative terms such as "radicalization" and "extremism," and they almost always associated these terms with Islam.

For example, an article from the *NYT* quoted a United States attorney who stated that "radicalization of American citizens by terrorist organizations like ISIS is a threat to our safety here and abroad." Another *NYT* article reported that the "FBI is investigating 1,000 potential 'homegrown violent extremists,' the majority of whom are most likely tied to or inspired by the Islamic State." Interestingly, the *NYT* articles went into great detail regarding who was most likely to be radicalized, stating it was usually young, angry, vulnerable people, acting either as lone-wolves (those who commit terrorist acts without being affiliated with a group) or in terror cells (small groups in areas who conspire to commit terrorism). One article warned that "Islamic State propaganda can influence vulnerable young people," while another article noted that defense attorneys were describing their "clients as young, misguided indigents rather than, as the government contends, homegrown terrorists eager to do Al Qaeda's bidding." These vulnerable young people needed to be protected from the recruitment and corruption of terror groups.

Although the *NYT* was more focused on homegrown terrorism than was the *CJ*, both newspapers expressed concern about homegrown terrorism in the United States and other Western countries. An article from the *CJ* stated that Australia was "confronting terrorism inspired by the Islamic State that has washed up on its shores." An article from the *NYT* discussed how Britain was concerned that at least 2000 people there are a threat to public safety and national security due to their support on terrorism. Newspaper discussion of homegrown

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terrorism facilitated the perception that its readers must worry about people they knew who might be recruited to join terrorist organizations and commit terrorist acts. Homegrown terrorism had changed the perspective of terrorism among Americans after September 11. Because many of the September 11 terrorists were legally here in America, the newspapers expressed concerns of increased domestic terrorism, often citing that American children and other innocent Americans were in danger of violent terrorist attacks or even be recruited to be part of the terrorist groups. The *NYT* reported that "that nearly anyone is a potential terrorist" and that "studies seem to warn of the adolescent condition, singling out young, impatient men with a sense of adventure who are 'struggling to achieve a sense of selfhood.'" Another *NYT* article reported that "terrorists are being smuggled in, camouflaged as refugees." The emphasis on homegrown terrorism facilitated the moral panic of terrorism in the newspapers, causing more fears that enable the concept that terrorism is a social problem. This perception made terrorism more personal for readers, influencing them to worry about homegrown terrorism, in addition to international terrorism.

Material or financial terrorism

In addition to informing the public about homegrown terrorism, another subtheme associated with the types of terrorism was material or financial terrorism. Material or financial terrorism was defined as material or monetary support to terrorists or known terrorist organizations. Making newspaper readers aware of material or financial terrorism fueled the concern that violent terrorism was not the only type of terrorism that Americans need to fear. For example, the *NYT* reported that, despite the fight against material and financial terrorism, "senior Obama administration officials say they believe that many millions of dollars are flowing largely unimpeded to extremist groups worldwide." Both newspapers outlined legitimate businesses and

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charitable organizations, such as the Benevolence International, Crescent Relief, and Holy Land Foundation, that allegedly funded known terrorist organizations. As a result, Americans should be concerned with how American money was used to fund terrorists, another condition that threatens societal values and interests that lead to moral panics.

The newspapers also pointed out illicit and criminal activities such as selling illegal drugs or narcotics and arms, trafficking drugs and people, money laundering, and tax fraud as being used to fund terrorist organizations. Because citizens of the United States and other Western countries' citizens were the main source of funding for terrorists, Western citizens were considered to be the victims. This knowledge provided the motivation for the heroes to seek retaliatory action against the folk devils (villains).

Not all material or financial support was from illicit or illegal sources. An article from the *CJ* stated that some European governments "have accidentally paid taxpayer-funded welfare benefits such as unemployment funds, disability pensions and housing allowances to Islamic State militants." Meanwhile, an article from the *NYT* stated that Hamas, a Palestinian-based extremist group, relied on access to donations from Middle Eastern individuals living in the United States as a major part of their financial support.

Much news coverage on material and financial terrorism centered on how terrorists (folk devils) were victimizing American and Western citizens by using their hard-earned money to fund terrorism. The heroes, American and Western countries' institutional officials, created measures to counteract terrorism. Both newspapers reported on the policies and other preventive measures put in place, such as making any form of financial aid to known terrorist groups illegal, charging charities and others for financing terrorist groups, and freezing assets that were suspected of funding terrorist groups. Overall, a theme that emerged from the sensitizing concept

of concern was types of terrorism, in particular new and old terrorism. The subthemes associated with it were homegrown terrorism and material and financial terrorism.

Ineffective policies and tactics

Another theme associated with the sensitizing concept of concern involved reporting ineffective current prevention and counterterrorism policies and tactics. According to the newspapers, ineffective policies and tactics caused the ineptness of institutions such as intelligence agencies and law enforcement. Both newspapers also discussed how government policies were not effective in combating terrorism. For example, the newspapers cited the ineffectiveness through the discussion of the increase and subsequent terror attacks after the September 11 Attacks. The *CJ* asserted that there was "a lack of courage and decisiveness on the issues of ISIS and Muslim." This perspective was even more emphasized in the *NYT*, as they printed that "[G.W.] Bush runs the risk of diluting his anti-terror campaign by continuously expanding its targets." The *NYT* further claimed that the war in Iraq may actually "spawn a new generation of Islamic radicalism." Reading about this lack of efficacy served to strengthen the belief that Americans truly needed to be worried about terrorism.

Newspapers reported problems with intelligence and communication as significant concerns that made counterterrorism polices and tactics to be further ineffective. The *CJ* reported that "separate intelligence bureaucracies that failed to communicate, share information and coordinate data were the primary reasons why the 'dots' that needed to be connected on the 9/11 terrorist plot never came into focus." This narrative was further reinforced in the *NYT*, who reported that the Transportation Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service would have helped track down the September 11 terrorists if intelligence was "shared elsewhere in the government." This was elaborated in other *NYT* articles that claimed that there was

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inadequate information or resources to counter the terrorist threats. According to the *NYT*, "intelligence failures in the United States" were the reasons the United States was unable to stop the September 2001 terrorist attacks. In addition, the *NYT* reported that there were "faulty communications and a lack of coordination between the agencies" of police and firefighters during the attack.

Lack of communication and intelligence continued after the September 11 attacks. The *NYT* asserted that after the September 11 attacks, there was simply too much intelligence and too many tips related to terrorism for law enforcement to follow up on. The *NYT* reported that European authorities "are swamped and are in the difficult position of trying to head off attacks of which the only forewarning is often in the form of what someone thinks or what they are overheard saying." The *CJ* cited the Brussels Terror Attack in 2016, while the *NYT* reported that the FBI was "criticized for failing to thwart a series of terrorist attacks in recent years in Boston; Orlando, Fla.; Garland, Tex." The newspapers cited communication and intelligence problems as significant concerns that highlighted the ineffectiveness in preventing and countering terrorism.

In addition to issues in communication and intelligence, both newspapers criticized the color-coding warnings on terrorism implemented by the federal government. The *CJ* stated these warnings were "useless," while the *NYT* stated that the system was "so vague in detailing threats that the public 'may begin to question the authenticity' of the threats and take no action when the alert level is raised." Because the confusing color-coded warning system affected the daily lives of average Americans, terrorism again was perceived as a personal problem for the newspapers' readers.

Law enforcement tactics were also criticized by both newspapers for not effectively countering terrorism. The *CJ* stated that "air marshals can't be on every plane, and during those

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decades, they haven't faced a real terrorism threat during an actual flight." The *NYT* reported that "America's criminal justice system is ill-suited to prosecuting terrorists." Even though there was an increase in federal prosecution of terrorism-related crimes, these prosecutions were "often by bringing minor charges that have resulted in jail sentences of only a few months." In addition, because "federal responsibilities are already so vast and diverse;" the FBI was reported as having "mismanagement" problems, such as police abuse. The *NYT* reported that the Terrorist Screening Database had "provided outdated and inaccurate information to the government's main watch list for terrorism suspects." Examples such as these highlighted major flaws in the criminal justice system through "weak evidence and other legal problems." According to the news coverage of terrorism, these problems were evidence that terrorism was beyond the reach of law enforcement. Such fears brought terrorism to a personal level.

An impediment to implementing effective counterterrorism was that there was not enough local and domestic funding to combat domestic terrorism. The *NYT* stated the government may be spending too much money on counterterrorism at the federal level, yet government officials cannot pass policies to successfully prevent terrorism. The *NYT* and the *CJ* both expressed that the federal government did not provide enough funding to New York and Kentucky, respectively, and therefore the state and local governments were ineffective in preventing terrorism. Specifically, the *CJ* declared that "rural areas need homeland security protection;" however, Kentucky rejected Louisville's request for money in homeland security grants. The *CJ* claimed that the federal government needed to provide more money to Kentucky to effectively combat terrorism. The *NYT* also addressed funding at the local level, reporting New York City Mayor Bloomberg saying that the "federal government is placing New York City in greater danger by providing too little money to defend the city against future terrorist attacks."

In addition, the *NYT* criticized that the "Bush administration had failed to provide enough money to defend against terrorist attacks on American soil," and therefore, there was not enough funding for "domestic counterterrorism programs." Discussing the lack of funding at state and local levels made terrorism a personal issue for the newspapers' readers. A subtheme to ineffective policies and tactics was impediment of freedom. As discussed in the next section, both newspapers reported that the PATRIOT Act was ineffective as it infringed on freedom and other civil liberties such as the expanding "the notion of who should be considered a terrorist" and providing the "the attorney general with remarkable personal powers to detain such people," according to the *NYT,* while a reader who wrote to the *CJ* stated that "the government can now enter homes without a warrant or probable cause."

Impediment of freedom

The newspapers questioned whether current counterterrorism policies and tactics held up to American values and standards, especially as terrorism was such a threat and a novel issue in the years immediately following September 11. Because the American government did not know how to effectively deal with terrorism, existing policies infringed and compromised both basic human rights and Americans' rights. Interestingly, even though newspapers touted that Americans should forego some freedom earlier, newspapers later reported that these policies and tactics made Americans give up too much civil liberties. Within the frame of basic human and American rights, civil liberties and privacy were the main foci in the newspapers, referencing organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union. This was particularly true when evaluating the PATRIOT Act, which the newspapers described how ineffective the policy was due to its infringement on civil liberties. A *CJ* article stated that "existing law [of the act] violates Americans' privacy rights and has not been effective at catching terrorists;" the violation

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of privacy rights included the "National Security Agency's mass collection of phone records from millions of Americans not suspected of any terrorist activity." In terms of privacy concerns, the *CJ* stated that "massive amounts of data" was an "intrusive tool."

The newspapers cited both the First and Fourth Amendment as being possibly violated in these policies and tactics. The First Amendment stated citizens' freedoms of speech, religion, assembly, press, and petition (U.S Constitution Amendment I). The *CJ* reported that "In the first test of the U.S. PATRIOT Act's limits on free speech to counter terrorism, the First Amendment was the loser." In the *NYT*, an article stated that by making it illegal "to provide 'material support' to foreign terrorist groups… [the PATRIOT Act] carries the risk of being applied in ways that infringe on Americans' freedom of expression." Their reasoning was that the term "material support" can be applied to "less concrete support, like advice and 'service.'"

Within the topic of intrusion and privacy, both newspapers made references to the Fourth Amendment that prohibited unreasonable search and seizure when discussing the PATRIOT Act (U.S Constitution Amendment IV). The *NYT* described that the G.W. Bush administration had used the PATRIOT Act "with increasing frequency in many criminal investigations that have little or no connection to terrorism." The *CJ* reported that the PATRIOT Act freed "certain law-enforcement activities from judicial control" causing some concerns about civil liberties such as search and seizure. In the *CJ*, "'the intrusive nature of our government,' disrespect the rights of travelers and violate the Fourth Amendment's prohibition of unreasonable searches and seizures." According to the *NYT*, law enforcement used some of the counterterrorism measures to "pursue crimes from drugs to swindling," further misusing the PATRIOT Act.

As a result, many civil liberties groups and American citizens had protested the PATRIOT Act according to both newspapers. The *CJ* reported that "opposition to the PATRIOT

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Act has grown with civil liberties groups contending the legislation goes too far, impinging on citizens' freedoms." The *NYT* quoted an executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union as saying, "Allowing evidence obtained illegally but in 'good faith' by a police officer erodes the Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches."

The *NYT* also reported how basic human rights were violated during questioning of terror suspects:

> "After the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, Bush administration lawyers approved as legal, despite antitorture laws, such tactics as prolonged sleep deprivation, shackling into painful 'stress' positions for long periods while naked and in a cold room, slamming into a wall, locking inside a small box, and the suffocation tactic called waterboarding."

Newspapers questioned whether such policies and tactics were held up to American and basic human rights and standards. Antitorture laws were designed to enable officials to obtain important and timely information that would help prevent any future terrorist attacks, but arguments about the rights of terrorists seemed to do the opposite: interfere with getting information that could prevent terrorist attacks.

According to both newspapers, yet another reason why counterterrorism was ineffective was that people did not know why terrorists decided to commit acts that hurts innocent people. Not being able to identify a villain's motives makes it harder to design the remedy. The *NYT* stated that, despite how much effort researchers have expended, institutional officials still cannot understand why terrorists decided to commit terrorist acts. The *NYT* summed up this necessity to understand terrorists:

> "The purpose . . . is to focus attention on the types of individuals and groups that are prone to terrorism in an effort to help improve U.S. counterterrorist methods and policies. The emergence of amorphous and largely unknown terrorist individuals and groups operating independently (freelancers) and the new recruitment patterns of some groups, such as recruiting suicide commandos,

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female and child terrorists, and scientists capable of developing weapons of mass destruction, provide a measure of urgency to increasing our understanding of the psychological and sociological dynamics of terrorist groups and individuals."

Articles noted that this question may be impossible to answer, despite any amount of funding and quality of expertise. Despite "millions of dollars of government-sponsored research, and a much-publicized White House pledge to find answers, there is still nothing close to a consensus on why someone becomes a terrorist." Therefore, current policies and tactics were ineffective because institutional officials cannot understand why people commit terrorism. Institutional officers cannot effectively make policies to combat the sources of terrorism because they do not know those sources. Not knowing why terrorists commit acts against innocent people was further evidence that terrorism was a problem of grave concern.

As published in both the *NYT* and the *CJ*, current counterterrorism policies and tactics were ineffective for several reasons. The newspapers reported issues related to immigration, security, and law enforcement, which all affected their readers' day-to-day lives. In addition, policies and tactics were ineffective because of the absence of state and local funding, the conflict of rights versus the need for information, and the inability to understand terrorists' needs and thinking. In the news coverage of both newspapers, discussing the problems of counterterrorism perpetuated the argument that terrorism was an immoral threat to society.

In sum, there were four themes to the sensitizing concept of concerns. First, terrorism was dangerous because terrorism was unpreventable, everywhere, and inevitable in which future attacks will happen. Second, the newspapers reported being concerned about the safety and security of the U.S., and the subtheme associated is terrorism was against American and Western values. Next, the newspapers were concerned with terrorism types, often comparing "old terrorism" (pre-September 11 attacks) and "new terrorism" (post-September 11 attacks). Other

terrorism types or subthemes to terrorism types included (1) homegrown terrorism and (2) material or financial terrorism. Lastly, newspapers reported concerns related to ineffective policies and tactics, which the subtheme associated was how these policies and tactics caused impediment of freedom of Americans.

The moral panic of terrorism was effective due to the core themes and subthemes identified in my analyses. To inform their readers, the newspapers reported specific concerns about terrorism, and by often going into detail about them, they made their readers fear terrorism. Newspapers informed readers of a vast array of directly related and also tangential issues concerning terrorism. Repeatedly hearing these issues in the newspaper coverage on terrorism elevated and reinforced the importance of the threat of terrorism. The newspapers' reporting on terrorism constructed the perspective that terrorism was a social problem, providing testimonies from officials and other individuals who were concerned about terrorism and those wanting to find solutions to "beat" terrorism. As the newspapers were part of the mass media, they presented the topic of terrorism so that its readers can access and interpret information as they usually would not have normally have access to terrorism firsthand. As Best (1999) indicated, the news media had the authority to denote problems of public concern, using melodrama to depict social problems. As indicated in the next sections, defining terrorism a social problem was especially true when the newspapers defined the heroes, the victims, and the villains (folk devils).

Heroes

Moral panics, or more broadly, the social construction of social problems, often defined three groups instrumental to its effectiveness: (1) the hero as the embodiment of good who redeemed victims; (2) the victim as the epithet of virtue who suffered due to villains or folk

devils; and (3) the folk devils as the personification of evil blamed for the problem behavior or in this case, terrorism (Anker, 2005). These three key portrayals were used as sensitizing concepts for this analysis.

Heroes will be discussed first. Heroes in moral panics were those who were attempting to resolve the threat (in this case terrorism). Heroes were personified as goodness; they performed preventive, supportive, and retaliatory actions on behalf of the victims. Heroes were the opposite of the folk devils. The themes associated with hero included: (1) American and Western government or institutional officials and (2) Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims against radical Islam.

American and the Western institutional officials

Both newspapers cited American and Western state and institutional officials, which included law enforcement, military, and September 11 rescuers such as firefighters and first responders, as the heroes of the moral panics. This finding aligned with previous research that media were supportive of law enforcement (Chermak, 1994; Chermak, 1997; Dickson, 1994; Kappeler et al., 2000; Woods, 2007). The *CJ* stated that the FBI helped people "better understand how we can continue to work with our fellow citizens and law enforcement agencies in keeping our communities and country safe and free from those who spread hatred." The *CJ* acknowledged "the bravery of law enforcement officers and first responders, the resilience of those who were at the epicenter of what seemed like madness, and the generosity of strangers reaching out to those affected" by the Boston Marathon bombing. The *NYT* mentioned how "one year after the worst terrorist attack in Spanish history, the Spanish police continue to uncover and thwart new plots involving Islamic militants." Western governments were willing to expand the power of law enforcement to combat terrorism. For example, the *CJ* reported that the U.K. police

"may get temporary powers to seize the passports of British nationals fighting in the Middle East who are attempting to return to the U.K. to conduct terrorist operations." Newspaper reports promoting such acts perpetuated the belief that these state and institutional officials were the indeed heroes and are the embodiment of goodness.

Both newspapers also praised the American military as heroes. The *CJ* affirmed that Americans "owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to all the brave men and women who have sacrificed so much" for American freedoms. In another *CJ* article, Senator Rand Paul praised "our troops, the intelligence community, and the military leaders involved in both the administrations of Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama for their perseverance and courage in pursuit of this most grievous enemy of the United States of America." The *NYT* published transcriptions of G.W. Bush's speeches, one stating the heroes are "those who voluntarily place themselves in harm's way to defend our freedom, the men and women of the armed forces."

The newspapers often cited state officials who referenced (and praised) rescue workers for their efforts during and in the aftermath of September 11 terror attacks. In the *NYT*, one of G. W. Bush's speeches stated that the heroes are "those who ran into burning buildings to save others: our police and our firefighters" and the Flight 93 passengers who "rushed terrorists to save others on the ground." Also, the *CJ* reported in "the heat of the Sept. 11, 2001 World Trade Center terrorist attack, two firefighters took a moment to hug and say goodbye [to each other] before rushing into the burning towers." The *CJ* published a moving story on an artist's monument that honored September 11 rescue dogs as important heroes.

The newspapers also praised state and institutional officials. For example, the *NYT* reported that G.W. Bush's "standing with the public remained extraordinarily high" because of

his strong response to terrorist attacks while a reader in the *CJ* exclaimed, "I now trust my country to President Bush." The *CJ* praised local government officials as they worked hard to secure federal funding to protect against terrorism in Kentucky. In addition, the newspapers consistently portrayed America and its allies, usually other Western countries, as the heroes of the moral panics of terrorism. For example, according to the *CJ*, a European official who visited said that "Guantanamo [was] 'a model' prison and better than the ones in Belgium." An article in the *NYT* stated that Indonesia did not heed America's advice on a terrorist organization, and, as a result, was unprepared for the 2002 Bali Bombings. An article from the *NYT* explained that "Spain, like Britain, embraced the American approach, principally in order to place its fight against E.T.A. in the context of a global war on terrorism." Another *NYT* article proclaimed that Indonesia, "under pressure from the United States to act decisively against terrorism…[declared] a fundamentalist Islamic group, Jemaah Islamiyah, a terrorist organization."

In both the *NYT* and the *CJ,* state and institutional officials from America and its Western allies were clearly portrayed as the heroes. These heroes, including law enforcement, military, and rescue workers, performed preventive, supportive, and retaliatory actions for the victims. Those who were not allies with America were considered the antithesis of the heroes. This clear boundary of good and evil contributed to the moral panic of terrorism (social construction of terrorism).

Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims against Islamic terrorism

In addition to officials from Western countries, a theme associated with heroes was Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims who stood up against Islamic terrorism. In the *CJ*, the Association of Physicians of Pakistani Descent of Kentucky and Indiana "strongly [condemned] and reject the cowardly act of attempted terrorism in New York City." An article from the *CJ*

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quoted an Iraqi refugee who said, "We will tell what we know…We are totally against Saddam Hussein, so we would love to see him out of power." An article from the *NYT* reported that a "committee of Islamic Society scholars" stated that "Islam does not condone terrorism," nor "violence against people of other faiths and religious extremism."

However, both newspapers stated that Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims were hailed as heroes if they actively sought to thwart Islamic terrorists and held them accountable for the extremists' actions. And if they did not, they were just as immoral as the terrorists. A *CJ* article stated, "A key source of productive information has been the American Muslim community." An article from the *NYT* explained that "Muslims themselves are in the best position to expose the terrorists' lies." Newspaper articles holding "good" Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals accountable for the "bad" ones emphasized the choice they had of either assisting the Western heroes or aiding the Islamic terrorists through ignorance or inaction.

Heroes were the embodiment of good, and they sought actions against folk devils. The themes associated with the sensitizing concept of hero included: (1) America and the Western officials and Muslims and (2) Middle Eastern individuals who spoke or acted against Islamic terrorism. This distinction between good and evil reinforced the moral panic of terrorism (social construction of terrorism), honoring the heroes and encouraging others to be on their side.

Victims

The news stories reporting on the victims further defined the boundary between good and evil. Victims were the people who suffered from the perceived threat at the hands of the folk devils. As previous research has supported, reporters portrayed the victims in a sympathetic light (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006). Victims provided an incentive for the heroes to fight against the folk devils, which contributed to the storytelling quality of producing and sustaining

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terrorism as a moral panic. The four themes associated with victims included: (1) individuals and their families targeted by terrorist attacks; (2) innocent citizens in American, Western, and Middle Eastern countries in general; (3) those Americans wrongly accused of or feared of terrorism; and (4) guiltless Muslim- and Arab-Americans.

Individuals and their families targeted by terrorist attacks

A theme associated with the sensitizing concept of victims was individuals and their families who were harmed in mass attacks. As to be expected, both the *NYT* and the *CJ* newspapers frequently wrote numerous articles about the many September 11 victims. For example, the *CJ* reported a trial for someone suspected of terrorism "should be executed in a swift and enacting way and when found guilty they should receive the same mercy that they meted out the nearly 3,000 people murdered on Sept. 11, 2001." Later, the newspapers concentrated on victims from later attacks, such as the 2016 Brussels bombing and the November 2015 Paris attacks. In response to incidents of international terrorism, *NYT* and *CJ* journalists sought to include information on any American victims, which facilitated the perception that the victims could have been people readers knew. For example, the *NYT* reported that "at least two Americans were killed," and proceeded to name one of the American victims "identified by her family." Therefore, terrorism was perceived as a huge threat as it could affect the lives of newspapers' readers.

The families of the individuals harmed in terrorist attacks were also victims. The *CJ* reported on a ceremony honoring "Fort Campbell soldiers who have died in the war on terrorism and ended with the children of some of them receiving their medals." The *NYT* published a transcription of one of G.W. Bush's speeches that stated, "many thousands of children are tragically learning to live without one of their parents." Reporting on the families of the victims

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highlighted the tragic impacts of terrorism, emphasizing children not having their parents or parents losing their adult children. The *NYT* and the *CJ* articles emphasized the victims in the moral panics of terrorism as being the American individuals and their families. Such a viewpoint provided a perfect reason for readers to support heroes who fought against the folk devils or villains.

Innocent citizens in American, Western, and Middle Eastern countries

Another theme associated with the sensitizing concept of victim involved the idea that innocent citizens of America, Western, and Middle Eastern countries were the primary targets for terrorism. As mentioned earlier, essentially, the terrorist groups waging war against America and other Western countries were "anti-American;" or "anti-Western," and therefore, regular and innocent citizens were targeted by the folk devils and became the victims. For example, the *CJ* reported that "expressions of anti-Americanism are rampant throughout Africa and the Middle East." The *NYT* conveyed that "most of history's deadliest terrorist incidents were directed at American civilians." More specifically, an article from the *NYT* stated the four underlying factors that are "fueling the spread of the jihadist movement." These factors were:

> "(1) entrenched grievances, such as corruption, injustice, and fear of Western domination, leading to anger, humiliation, and a sense of powerlessness; (2) the Iraq jihad; (3) the slow pace of real and sustained economic, social, and political reforms in many Muslim majority nations; and (4) pervasive anti-U.S. sentiment among most Muslims -- all of which jihadists exploit."

The *NYT*, when reporting the Paris Terror Attacks in 2015, pronounced that France became "a battlefield in the violent clash between Islamic extremists and the West." The *CJ* stated that "Europe is the latest front in the Islamic State's war on the West." The citizens provided a motivation for the heroes (mainly the institutional officials of America and other Western countries) to seek retaliatory action against the folk devils. Americans, along with

Western countries' citizens, were the primary victims, and they needed protecting. News coverage about regular citizens being harmed by terrorism encouraged the newspapers' readers to personally identify with the social construction of terrorism.

It is important to note the focus on innocent individuals who resided in the Middle East who were also considered victims of terrorism in both newspapers. According to the *NYT*, "innocent people of Afghanistan have committed no crime." The *CJ* reported that terrorists "throw acid on the faces of little schoolgirls, stone women to death for going shopping, behead innocent people, rape children, suppress all imaginable freedoms" in the Middle East. In particular, protection of people there (particularly children and women) provided another reason for the heroes to initiate the war on terror besides defending Americans and Western countries' citizens, as cited in previous studies (Brittain, 2007; Caiazza, 2001; Lorber, 2002; Naaman, 2007).

Americans wrongly feared or accused of terrorism

Another theme associated with the sensitizing concept of victims was Americans wrongly feared or accused of terrorism. Both newspapers reported situations of when people were accused of or inappropriately charged with conspiring to commit or committing terroristic acts. As a result, terrorism became a stigma for them. Because of the folk devils' terrorist actions and the ineffectiveness of current counterterrorism (as mentioned earlier), certain groups of people became stigmatized. In spite of the newspapers considering them as innocent, the moral panics stigmatized them, and they became indirect victims. A *CJ* article reported that "Terrorism is a serious charge in our nation. Since Sept. 11, 2001, America has come to view its threat as the equivalent of an enemy invasion." According to the *NYT*, violent instances were "swiftly judged to the work of terrorists."

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The ineffectiveness of American state counterterrorism further exacerbated the stigma of Muslims and Middle Easterners as being terrorists. The *NYT* pointed out that the net the "Justice Department has cast has unfairly swept up hundreds of people who may have little or no direct link to terrorists." Another *NYT* article reported that the men who were accused and cleared "were then listed in a national crime registry as having been accused of terrorism, even though they were never charged;" however, being on the list "prevented them from flying, renting apartments and landing jobs." Another *NYT* article stated that a Muslim scholar was denied entry to the United States even though charges of him supporting terrorists had been dropped. If the FBI could add people to the American government terrorist watch list, even after they had been "acquitted of terrorism-related offenses or the charges are dropped" and still deny them coming to America, innocent people were wrongly being discriminated against in the name of terrorism.

Related to ineffective counterterrorism, the *NYT* wrote articles about individuals who were "wrongly labeled" or "harshly treated" as if they were terrorists. For example, the newspaper wrote an article entitled "Radical Environmentalist Gets 9-Year Term for Actions Called 'Terrorist.'" The article reported the suspect in a positive light stating as when "Chelsea D. Gerlach was 16, she was putting her passion for the environment into action." Due to the harsh nature of the counterterrorist tactics and policies, those such as this "environmentalist," who were "wrongly labeled" terrorists, became indirect victims of terrorism. As stated by a witness to Gerlach's trial, "It's an outrage that they're being put into the same category as Osama bin Laden and Timothy McVeigh."

Others who worked with suspected terrorists, such as defense lawyers, were also stigmatized by association. For example, the *NYT* interviewed a defense lawyer named Lynne Stewart who was charged with committing material terrorism for a high-profile client who was

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sentenced "for conspiring to wage a terrorist war against the United States." Lawyers in such terrorism-related cases complained that they could not properly perform their duties because they suspected that government was listening in. The *NYT* even documented an instance where a material witness was jailed and treated as a terrorist. As evidenced in newspaper articles, state officials sometimes made mistakes when performing counterterrorism. As a result, innocent people were treated as guilty by association and became another category of terrorism's indirect victims.

Terrorism suspects who were later proven innocent still were stigmatized, thus becoming indirect victims in the moral panic. The *NYT,* and to a lesser degree the *CJ,* described those suffering due to the stigma of terrorism as additional casualties of the terrorists. As a result of this discrimination of generalizing an Islamic terrorist organization (Al Qaeda), many Middle Eastern individuals and Muslim Americans themselves became indirect victims of terrorism.

Guiltless Muslim and Arab-Americans

Another theme related to the sensitizing concept of victims was guiltless Muslim- and Arab-Americans. Both newspapers warned of the dangers of prejudice and discrimination against Muslim- and Arab-Americans. Arab- and Muslim-Americans became indirect victims that suffered due to the initial actions of the folk devils. As indicated by the *NYT* report on Long Island Muslim residents after the September 11 Attacks, Muslim- and Arab-Americans were systematically suspected of supporting terrorists and had to keep a low profile. The readers who wrote editorials for the *CJ* were more vocal in these dangers, stating that "No religion teaches violence and makes its followers terrorists. Terrorism has no religion." The readers believed that America was fixated on Islamic terrorism, and this fixation promoted Islamophobia, ultimately contributing to the hostility targeted at American Muslims. Another *CJ* article reported that

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"profiling Muslims does not solve the problems; one should root out the causes of terrorism." An article from the *NYT* communicated that only a small portion of Western Islamic converts support terrorism, and an even smaller portion actually participate in terrorist activity. Writers and editors of both newspapers clearly believed that innocent Muslim Americans were pointedly discriminated against.

Newspapers quoted the American Civil Liberties Union and some Muslim or Middle Eastern dominated organizations who said that American state-sponsored policies and actions and their associated hostilities, restricted the civil liberties of innocent Arab- and Muslim-Americans. One article from *NYT* reported significant issues with the arrest of 762 illegal immigrants, most of whom were of Middle Eastern descent. The article recounted that many "were left in jail cells for weeks or months without being formally charged, with some suffering physical and verbal abuse from their jailers…and few of the detainees proved to have ties to terrorists."

On the other hand, both the *NYT* and *CJ* newspapers expressed that state-sponsored discrimination and prejudice of Muslim- and Arab-Americans were necessary in order to fight terrorism. An article from the *NYT* indicated that the "State Department said last week it would slow down the process for granting visas to young men from Arab and Muslim nations." Another *NYT* article reported that American officials were attempting to "persuade Muslims to not support terrorism." Neutral sounding policies were further reinforcing state-sponsored discrimination and prejudice, such as Trump's executive order cited in the *NYT*, stating that the Secretary of State can make changes to "prioritize refugee claims made by individuals on the basis of religious-based persecution, provided that the religion of the individual is a minority religion in the individual's country of nationality." As explained above, Muslim- and Arab-

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Americans were another group of indirect victims of terrorism. If the folk devils did not commit terrorism, then American counterterrorism would not have led to the stigmatization of innocent Muslim- and Arab-Americans.

In summary, I found four themes related to the sensitizing concept of victims: (1) individuals and their families targeted by terrorist attacks; (2) innocent citizens of America, and Western and Middle Eastern countries; (3) Americans wrongly feared or accused of terrorism; and (4) guiltless Arab- and Muslim-Americans. Because of the numerous direct and indirect victims, heroes were motivated to seek retaliatory action against the folk devils. America, and Western and Middle Eastern countries' citizens were the primary victims that heroes needed to protect against terrorism. The newspapers cited that innocent people who resided in the Middle East were a reason for the heroes to wage the global war against terrorism (The War on Terror). Those who became stigmatized, (Arab- and Muslim-Americans and those wrongly accused of committing terrorist acts) and also those people deemed guilty by association were indirect victims. The next section will discuss folk devils.

Folk devils

In both newspapers, the sensitizing concept of folk devils were represented as evil, while the heroes were depicted as good. The distinction between these polar opposites of good and evil in the newspapers pushed the narrative that terrorism was a significant threat, a social construction of a problem that was reflective of a moral panic. Being the personifications of evil, folk devils were perceived as the enemy who caused the problem behaviors. As noted earlier, the heroes performed retaliatory actions on behalf of the victims against the perceived enemy evildoers.

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Both the *NYT* and the *CJ* described terrorists as the main group causing problems after the September 11 attacks, often using Bush's description of them as "an axis of evil" or "barbaric." Supported by quantitative analyses, almost every terrorist reported was of Muslim or Middle Eastern descent; rarely did either paper talk about anti-abortion terrorists or individuals like Adam Lanza (Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in 2012). For example, the *CJ* stated that the highest death toll from Islamic terrorism since the September 11 attacks that the United States experienced was the Orlando shooting in 2016, with "no comparable count of non-Muslim terrorism in the United States." This statement demonstrated the biased ways that both newspapers often defined violent acts – those perpetrated by Muslims were "terrorism," while those perpetrated by non-Muslims were rarely labeled as terrorist attacks. There were two themes associated with folk devils: (1) Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals and (2) Middle Eastern and Muslim countries.

Muslims and Middle Easterner individuals

A theme of the sensitizing concept of folk devils was applied differentially to Muslims and Middle Easterners. As alluded to in the newspapers' most mentioned terrorists (which were Islamic terrorists) and in previous research, the newspapers blamed Muslims and those of Middle Eastern descent, including foreigners from the Middle East, for causing terrorism (Morgan & Poynting, 2012; Nord & Stromback, 2006; Odartey-Wellington, 2009; Poynting & Mason, 2007). The *NYT* reported that a prime minister called "the notion that Western intrusion into the Muslim world can only be reversed by a merciless onslaught on Western resolve" an "evil ideology." In the sample of articles, suspected terrorists were usually Muslims or Middle Easterners, using terms such as "Islamic militants" or "Islamic terrorists." For example, the *NYT* reported on a "leading Islamic cleric who runs Ohio's largest mosque" who was arrested "on

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charges that he concealed his ties to terrorist causes when applying for citizenship to the United States a decade ago." The *CJ* reported that Senator Newt Gingrich suggested monitoring mosques noting that "gunmen at the Paris concert hall shouted 'Allahu akhbar' (God is great) [Arabic for Allah is the greatest] and fired into the crowd" in an article reporting on the November 2015 Paris Attacks.

Readers writing to the *CJ* blamed Muslims and Middle Easterners as well. For example, a reader stated that "war on terror will not end until Muslims decide to take back their religion from the bloodthirsty extremists who have hijacked it." An article from the *CJ* stated that the "inconvenient truth is that almost without exception, these terrorists are Muslims." Despite both newspapers warning of the dangers of discrimination and being prejudiced toward Muslims and Middle Easterners, the newspapers usually cited Muslim or Arab terrorist suspects when discussing terroristic activity, often using terms like "extremism" and "radicalism" when describing them. Therefore, Muslim and Middle Easterner individuals were both victims and folk devils simultaneously as prejudice and discrimination were necessary tools for state-sponsored counterterrorism.

Both the *NYT* and the *CJ* cited foreigners and immigrants who were Middle Eastern and/or Muslim as potential terrorists or, in the social construction of moral panics, as folk devils (Critcher, 2008; Eversman & Bird, 2017; Hauptman, 2013; Saux, 2007; Welch, 2003). Both newspapers highlighted the concern that these people were coming to America and other Western countries to commit terror acts and supported this claim by noting instances of terrorist attacks performed by immigrants and foreigners. For example, the *NYT* reported that German authorities arrested an Algerian couple on suspicions "of planning a terrorist attack in Berlin and…of belonging to the Islamic State" when they "entered Germany late last year and applied

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for asylum as Syrian refugees." In addition, the newspapers stated that government officials were concerned that terrorists would come to the United States under false pretenses. This belief was apparent when officials focused heavily on the Syrian refugees. For example, the *CJ* reported that a number of American governors stated they would act to "prevent Syrian refugees from settling in their states."

When reporting on Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals, both newspapers discussed immigration policies and actions to combat terrorism, such as using immigration charges to deport or deny entry to those suspected of terrorism. The *NYT* published two of Trump's executive orders that outlined the immigration ban. The *CJ* quoted the former head of Immigration and Naturalization Service who said that the refugee program was usually "one of the parts of the immigration system that actually worked well." However due to the terrorist attacks by "radical Muslims," the refugee system had become a political issue associated with terrorism. The newspapers cited Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals, which included the Syrian refugees, as the enemy since people feared that terrorist were coming to America as immigrants and visitors. Creating an "us versus them" mentality, the newspapers condoned restrictive immigration policies as necessary to prevent terrorism occurring on American soil.

Middle Eastern and Muslim countries

Another theme of folk devils was Middle Eastern and Muslim countries who allegedly worked with terrorist groups and therefore facilitated terrorism. The newspapers linked Iraq and Saddam Hussein with terrorist groups being hostile toward America and possessing weapons of mass destruction. In addition, the papers accused Saudi Arabia of being lax in their effort to stop "Saudi financing of radical Islamic groups that support violence." The *NYT* reported that United States officials asked the country to increase their security, but Saudi Arabia did not respond or

listen to them. Also, both papers claimed that Pakistan was working with terrorists, more specifically, bin Laden, Al Qaeda, and the Taliban.

In addition to naming Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan as working with terrorists, both newspapers stated that Iran and Syria remained top supporters for terrorism. The newspapers mentioned Syria as being a "state sponsor of terrorism." For example, the *NYT* stated that Syria "harbors groups that have been identified as violent and have been accused of terrorist acts," while a *CJ* article reported that Syria could be "a way station for terrorists seeking to attack the United States or other nations." In addition, both newspapers also reported Iran as aiding terrorists and being on America's list of sponsors of terrorism. The *CJ* quoted Senator Mitch McConnell who said that "Iran is expanding its ballistic missile program and supporting 'terrorist proxies' that pose a threat to the United States and its allies." The newspapers routinely blamed Middle Eastern countries for the spread of terrorism.

In addition, both papers blamed additional Muslim countries for facilitating or sponsoring terrorism. For example, the newspapers reported that the African countries of Libya and Sudan were facilitating terrorism and on America's list of state sponsors of terrorism. A *NYT* article published Trump's travel ban that included the Middle Eastern countries of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. The *NYT* article cited the executive order stating that "their nationals continue to present heightened risks to the security of the United States." The newspapers blamed Middle Eastern and Muslim countries for the facilitation of terrorism, which turned these countries into folk devils. Considered as state sponsors of terrorism, these Middle Eastern and Muslim countries were regarded to be just as evil as the actual attackers themselves.

In summary, the themes related to folk devils were (1) Muslims and those of Middle Eastern descent and (2) Middle Eastern and Muslim countries. In the social construction of moral

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panics, folk devils were the evil ones who were blamed for the social problem. Heroes performed retaliatory actions against the folk devils on behalf of the suffering victims. The strong distinction between the good and evil in terrorist situations enabled moral panics to be effective.

Summary of qualitative results

There were five sensitizing concepts for this qualitative analysis: war on terror, concern, heroes, victims, and folk devils. First, war on terror was the national and global war against terrorism and provided more of an emphasis on the fight against homegrown terrorism. The themes associated with war on terror involved reporting on the tactics and policies for preventing terrorism, military action, and politics. Both newspapers encouraged military action against terrorists. With the theme of politics, both newspapers often discussed the political stances and implications associated with the war on terror, with some politicians using war on terror and terrorism as ammunition in their political platform. Terrorism was constructed as a problem that politicians needed to provide solutions to it and that military action was needed to combat terrorism.

Next, the sensitizing concept of concern was people having an increased level of fear of a group (folk devil) or an action (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2012). There were four themes associated with concern. First, terrorism was dangerous in the sense that terrorism was unpreventable, everywhere, and inevitable which includes future attacks. Another theme of concern was the safety and security of the U.S., and the subtheme related to the theme is how terrorism was against American and Western values. Next, a theme of concern involved terrorism types, with newspapers differentiating between old (before September 11) and new (after September 11) terrorist attacks. The subthemes that were associated with the theme to further distinguish terrorism types included (1) homegrown terrorism and (2) material and financial terrorism.

Lastly, a theme of concern involved ineffective policies and tactics. The subtheme associated with this theme were how these policies and tactics impeded freedom of Americans. These themes of concern contributed to the construction of terrorism being a societal problem. Table 5.1 outlines how each theme contributed to the construction of terrorism being a problem.

Table 5.1   Qualitative themes and how they answer the research questions

Sensitizing Concept	Theme	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 2	How does it answer the research questions?
War on Terror	Tactics and policies for terrorism prevention			Describes the importance of terrorism using counterterrorism
	Military action			Describes how terrorism is dangerous enough to use drastic action
	Politics			Terrorism is an issue that politicians need to get involved with
Concerns	Terrorism is dangerous			Describes terrorism, constructing terrorism to be a problem
	Safety and security of the U.S.	Against American and western values		Terrorism is a problem that puts Americans in danger.
	Terrorism Types: Old and new terrorism	Homegrown terrorism	Material and financial terrorism	Defines terrorism as a threat through distinguishing types of terrorism after September 11
	Ineffective policies and tactics	Impediment of freedom		Adds to characteristic that terrorism is such a problem that these do not work

The last three sensitizing concepts discussed in this dissertation were portrayals of the heroes, victims, and folk devils. All three signified the distinction of good (heroes and victims) and evil (folk devils) that contributed to the effectiveness of moral panics. The themes associated with heroes were (1) American and the Western countries' officials and (2) Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals against terrorism. Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals against terrorism chose the good side and became heroes who fought against the Islamic terrorist folk devils. The heroes performed retaliatory actions toward the folk devils on behalf of the victims.

The themes associated with victims were (1) individuals and their families targeted by terrorist attacks, (2) innocent citizens in American, Western, and Middle Eastern countries, (3) Americans wrongly feared or accused of terrorism, and (4) guiltless Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims residing in America. All described as virtuous, each different type of victim served a different purpose in the moral panic of terrorism. Terror victims and their families were the primary motivation for fighting against terrorism. Innocent people who lived in the Middle East, especially women and children, were indirect justifications for the war on terror or the global fight against terrorism. The other indirect victims, those wrongly stigmatized due to terrorism, which included Middle Eastern individuals and Muslim Americans, provided the evidence of the extent of the damage done by the folk devils did as a result of their actions. The American and Western citizens were heroes who needed protection from the terrorists.

Folk devils threatened the American values who are "personified, demonized, and codified as the embodiment of pure evil" (Anker, 2005, p. 26). The themes associated with folk devil were (1) Muslims and Middle Easterners and (2) Middle Eastern and Muslim countries. Always referenced as negative, the folk devils hurt victims and were the evil ones whom the heroes needed to stop. There was a very clear boundary between good and evil, and that

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distinction reinforced the effectiveness of moral panics of terrorism. Table 5.2 lists the themes associated with the sensitizing concepts of hero, victim, and folk devil.

Table 1.12   Characters that portrayed terrorism using the moral boundaries of good and evil

Heroes
• Institutional officials of America and the other western countries, including law enforcement, government officials, military, and September 11 rescue workers
• Middle Eastern individuals and Muslims against Islamic terrorism
Victims
• Individuals and their families or terror attacks
• Innocent citizens in American, Western, and Middle Eastern countries in general
• Those wrongly accused of or feared of terrorism
• Guiltless Arab- and Muslim-Americans
Folk Devils (Villains)
• Terror groups and terrorists (Quantitative)
• Muslims and Middle Easterners
• Middle Eastern and Muslim Countries

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Introduction

This dissertation sought to understand the social construction of terrorism through newspaper coverage on terrorism in the *CJ* and the *NYT*. The newspaper analyses showed that widespread moral panics of terrorism existed, that they affected the social construction of terrorism in America, and that they became an important topic in American politics. Terrorism continues to be an integral part of society today, especially with Trump's Muslim Travel Ban.

To uncover the social construction of terrorism, I analyzed 1000 newspaper articles (500 from the *CJ* and 500 from the *NYT*) with the keywords "terrorist" and "terrorism." I sought to answer these research questions: (1) How is terrorism socially constructed through newspapers? Specifically, using the moral panics theoretical framework as developed by Stanley Cohen (1971/2011), how did the *NYT* and the *CJ* newspapers report terrorism as a threat? (2) How did newspapers report and refer to terrorism on and after September 11, 2001? (3) In what ways are individuals portrayed as heroes, victims, and/or villains in terrorism centered news stories? (4) How did newspapers with two different sets of experiences (ground zero New York City versus potential target Fort Knox, Kentucky) differ from each other in their reporting of terrorism after September 11? The following sections discuss how the dissertation contributes to the existing literature and the implications.

Moral panics of terrorism

I wanted to determine how terrorism was socially constructed through newspaper coverage post-September 11 specifically analyzing the *NYT* and the *CJ*. This dissertation provided a timeline as to when terrorism was most concerning to the newspapers and the public. The analysis revealed two major moral panics: (1) the years immediately after September 11 and (2) the period between 2015 and 2017. There was also a mini-moral panic in 2013 when the Boston Marathon bombing occurred. Most studies have analyzed the moral panic immediately after the September 11 attacks (Arsenault & Castells, 2006; Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Collins, 2004; Debatin, 2002; Der Derian, 2005; Faludi, 2007; Giroux, 2004; Hatfield, 2008; Kellner, 2007; Lucaites & Hariman, 2001; Lule, 2002 Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliviera, 2008; Peresin, 2007; Ross, 2007; Zelizer & Allan, 2002; Zhang et al., 2013), but have not fully analyzed the second moral panic I found from 2015 to 2017 or the mini moral panic in 2013. The number of published articles on terrorism was possibly dependent on whether terrorism as a sensationalized topic gained readership for the newspapers which contributed to the level of momentum associated with moral panics of terrorism. This dissertation identified new points of moral panics of terrorism not previously mentioned in existing literature.

According to previous research, moral panics can be inactive for a long period but can resurface, which will quickly subside (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). This dissertation proved that was the case when analyzing the news articles from 2001 to 2018. As found in the newspaper analysis, there were "periods" when terrorism rose and quickly subsided. As seen in the Trump's Muslim Travel Ban executive orders, the moral panic of terrorism remained pervasive as Trump has cited Middle Eastern and Muslim dominated countries and individuals as terrorists. For other types of social phenomena that can be moral panics, such as the juvenile

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super-predator or the COVID-19 (coronavirus) pandemic, researchers need to analyze longer time periods to assess the impact of these moral panics to determine cultural and institutional implications.

Social construction of terrorism

The newspaper analysis indicated that the social construction of terrorism in newspaper coverage was a moral panic that cited terrorism as an immoral and immediate problem, which confirmed the findings of previous research (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004; Graham et al., 2004; Kappeler & Kappeler, 2004; Kellner, 2004a; 2004b; Kellner, 2007; Lazar & Lazar, 2004; Leudar, Marshland, & Nekvapil, 2004; Moeller, 2004; Powell, 2011; Schulzke, 2011). For moral panics to be effective, news coverage on terrorism had to define the problem of terrorism. In defining the terrorism problem, the newspapers reported on specific terror attacks, described counterterrorism and the global and national war on terror, and stated the importance of terrorism as a pertinent topic in politics. In mentioning specific terror attacks, both newspapers most frequently mentioned the September 11 attacks, while the newspapers reported that the most terrorist attacks were committed or allegedly committed by Islamic terrorists. The reporting of counterterrorism tactics and policies, such as the PATRIOT Act and militaristic and aggressive measures, furthered the effectiveness of the moral panics of terrorism.

News coverage on terrorism in both newspapers promoted a collective sense of patriotism against a common enemy, the terrorists who threaten Western values, as indicated in previous studies (Altheide, 2004; Collins, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Roy & Ross, 2011). As Anker (2005) stated, America was a "morally powerful victim ensnared in a position that required it to transform victimization into heroic retributive action" (p. 22). The themes that stemmed from concern included the idea that terrorism was a threat to society, which contributed

to the moral panic of terrorism (social construction of terrorism). Both newspapers also integrated terrorism with aspects of life that made the terrorism threat more personal for their readers, facilitating the view that the terrorism threat affected their daily lives. Like Chermak and Gruenewald's (2006) findings, terrorism during the analyzed time frame was newsworthy partly because news coverage framed terrorism through the moral boundaries of good and evil, with defined heroes, folk devils, and victims, making the moral panics of terrorism more effective in newspaper coverage. Identifying the concerns and how heroes, folk devils, and victims were portrayed assisted with how a social phenomenon became socially constructed to be a problem. The social construction of terrorism found in the dissertation remains pervasive today. Social construction of any social phenomenon can influence how individuals see social phenomena, especially if the social construction recurs in powerful social institutions such as media.

Essentially, this dissertation provided a new framework through which researchers can study moral panics, inspired by previous literature (Cohen, 1971/2011; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994/2012). The framework used in the current dissertation confirmed previous research on how Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) five criterion of moral panics (Burns & Crawford, 1999; Critcher, 2008; Stewart, 2016; White, Hepworth, & Zidar, 2018) and the concept of folk devils (Flinders & Wood, 2015; Mannion & Small, 2019; Walsh, 2020; Werbner, 2013) continue to be relevant when examining modern moral panics. The framework in my dissertation combined both of these concepts to understand the moral panic of terrorism rather than analyze the criteria and folk devils separately. Lastly, the framework also combined a significant term within the moral panic of terrorism: war on terror. Using sensitizing concepts to combine substantive area (war on terror) and conceptual framework (heroes, victims, folk devils, concern, and volatility) terms helped me create a new framework to study moral panics.

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Homegrown terrorism

My findings also contributed to the growing body of knowledge concerning the social construction of new terrorism and its implications. Both newspapers extensively discussed the difference between old terrorism that happened before September 11 and new terrorism that happened after September 11. The newspapers set the distinction between the two types of terrorism, noting that the new terrorists were worse than the old terrorists.

New terrorism was more dangerous than old terrorism according to my analyses. New terrorism was more ruthless and barbaric with more religious extremism than old terrorism, as found in previous studies (Duyvesteyn, 2004; Landström, 2019; Spencer, 2012; Tucker, 2001). This understanding adds to the existing literature of the "constructed" and "perceived" differences between old and new terrorism. Numerous studies attempted to discern if new terrorism after September 11 is truly new (Duyvesteyn, 2004; Landström, 2019; Smith, 2010; Spencer, 2012; Spencer, 2006; Tucker 2001) or if existing policies are useful with "new" terrorism (Hoerauf, 2012; Jackson, 2019; Smith, 2010; Ugelow & Hoffman, 2012).

More specifically, both newspapers focused on homegrown terrorism, which was associated with "new terrorism." This dissertation expanded on the existing literature of the portrayal of homegrown terrorism in major newspapers because the topic of the portrayal of homegrown terrorism had not been studied as "new terrorism." According to the newspapers, due to advanced technology and the Internet, terrorist groups can recruit impressionable young people. In addition, terrorists can be "camouflaged" and look like average citizens. As a result, officials can enact policies under the premise that new terrorism needs innovative laws and tactics to fight the threat as other existing policies and tactics were viewed as ineffective in combating or preventing terrorism. Whether or not "new terrorism" was worse than "old

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terrorism" objectively did not matter if the dominant voice believed it. In the words of W.I. Thomas (1928), "if men define situations as real, they are real in its consequences." The social construction of "new terrorism" had caused new policies to be enacted, such as the Trump Muslim Ban. This dissertation has other implications to the social construction of new terrorism that should be analyzed.

Indirect victims

The newspaper analysis also found a new concept related to the social construction of moral panics that can contribute to the existing literature: indirect victims. Indirect victims were those who were portrayed as being harmed by terrorism secondarily. Chermak and Gruenewald (2006) found that media portrayed terrorism using the moral boundaries of good and evil that made moral panics effective. Interestingly, this expanded on the dangers of the social problem of terrorism, stating that the folk devils' actions caused more harm. The indirect victims in the newspaper analysis were those stigmatized due to terrorism (e.g., those wrongly accused of terrorism) and the discriminated Muslim and Middle Easterners residing in America and other Western countries. The newspapers presented discrimination and stigmatization as unavoidable byproducts of the terrorists' actions. The newspapers justified current counterterrorism tactics and measures that did stigmatize and discriminate because having something in place that was semi-broken was better than not having any measures or tactics. These indirect victims provided further justifications of why terrorism was a threat and why the heroes needed to stop terrorism.

Indirect victims can be expanded to other types of moral panics as well. For example, in the case of juvenile super-predator, the indirect victims could be the parents of those who were deemed to be a juvenile super-predator or those who performed minor crimes and received heavy sentences due to how people viewed violent teenagers. This also is seen with the recent case of

COVID-19 pandemic. Asian Americans become indirect victims as people blame them for the epidemic, with the media recognizing that Asian Americans are unjustly discriminated against (Frias, 2020, Jul. 11; Kandil & Yam, 2020, Jul. 31; WHO, 2020, Feb. 24) as the COVID-19 pandemic began in China (WHO, 2020, Jun. 29). According to the Pew Research Center, four in ten American adults stated that is common for individuals to "express racist views toward Asians since the pandemic began" (Ruiz, Horowtiz, & Tamir, 2020, Jul. 1). Indirect victims were compared with folk devils because indirect victims displayed the extent of the damage the folk devils have done. As explained in the next section, folk devils helped distinguish between the evil and good in moral panics.

Folk devils and Islamophobia

As shown by this study with Muslim and those of Middle Eastern descent, this dissertation confirmed the findings in previous research that moral panics can be detrimental to targeted groups or those deemed as "villains" or folk devils (Barlow, 1998; Block & Obioha, 2012; Chiricos, 1996/2006; Fellner, 2009 McCorkle & Miethe, 1998; Zatz, 1987). Middle Eastern countries, Muslims, and Middle Eastern individuals became folk devils, which affected how America treated Muslims and Arab-Americans, encouraging Islamophobia. When discussing Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals within the context of distinguishing between good and evil, Islamophobia was crucial in perpetuating the moral panics of terrorism. The dissertation adds to the existing literature of how Middle Eastern individuals and countries, along with Muslims, were being discriminated against in major newspapers within the context of terrorism.

As these previous studies and the current dissertation have shown, often the targeted groups in moral panics were disadvantaged groups, where typically the heroes were the

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dominant, hegemonic groups or individuals. Heroes, usually government and law enforcement officials, were seen as people upon whom the public should rely. The heroes were usually the officials who provide information to the media, and as such they were generally able to control the dissemination of information.

Both newspapers demonized Muslims and Arab Americans who did not actively speak against terrorism, delegating the responsibility of stopping terrorism to Muslims and Arab-Americans in their religion or culture. The newspapers in the dissertation pushed those who spoke out against terrorism to the limelight. As a result, the newspapers in a way blamed Muslims and Arab Americans for Islamic terrorism and put the responsibility on the group for stopping terrorism. As a result, the general public deferred the responsibility of stopping terrorism to those in the group that were considered responsible for these terroristic acts, taking away the power of the stigmatized group.

Discrimination against Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals was apparent in later newspaper articles, indicative of reports on Syrian refugees and Trump's Travel Ban. This discrimination of folk devils (in the case of the moral panic of terrorism, Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals) can be applied to other types of social phenomena that can be considered a problem. For example, as mentioned earlier, the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in Asian Americans being unfairly discriminated against, with officials like President Trump calling the coronavirus the "kung flu" (BBC, 2020, Jun. 24; Cohen, 2020, Jun. 24). With the powerful following President Trump has, this has implications for Asian Americans as the Asian population is most likely going to be the folk devils of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is possible that we may see policies being implemented due to the COVID-19 pandemic that bars travel toward those who are perceived to cause the pandemic, like the people from China. As

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mentioned in the next section, media can be a powerful instrument in the social construction of social phenomena.

Importance of newspapers and overall media

This dissertation highlighted the dominant role the media play in socially constructing citizens' view on terrorism. This can occur because people rely on news media for information on social and world events, especially on events such as terrorism that they do not personally experience. Relying on media can cause people to perceive and believe that the social construction of social phenomenon in the media is factual and accurate, even if the social construction is exaggerated or fabricated. As a result, consumers of media will have misconceptions about unknown social or world events, which could affect to other aspects of their lives. According to Ridout, Grosse, and Appleton (2008), the mass media "are part of the story in our attempt to explain where threat perceptions [of global threats] come from" (p. 591). Their study found that the media messages persuaded individuals with little to no experience outside of their home country more than those with more experience (Ridout et al, 2008).

Previous research has suggested that media have influenced perception of various social phenomenon, such as perceptions of cosmetic surgery (Wen, Chia, & Xiaoming, 2017), perceptions toward risky driving (Wright & Silberman, 2018), perceptions of diseases (Young, Norman, & Humphreys, 2008), and perceptions toward immigrants as a threat (Rubaltelli, Priolo, Scrimin, & Moscardino, 2020). For example, according to Rubaltelli and colleagues (2020), those who watched terrorism-related images in an experiment perceived Middle Eastern immigrants as more threatening than participants that did not. Essentially in their study, "images of terrorist attacks provide people with examples that are vivid and easy to retrieve from memory" (p. 7). Especially for those who do not have direct experience with terrorism, exposure

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to mass media, especially important newspapers that are deemed as factual and credible, had significant influence on people's perception on terrorism.

In the example of terrorism, consumers may have become more prejudiced toward Muslims and Middle Easterners because these groups were portrayed as the folk devils in the social construction of terrorism (moral panic) in news media. In this case, people usually have no primary experiences with terrorism, and everything most people know about terrorism is secondhand knowledge, typically from the news media. Consequently, news media have almost full control over what information people have about terrorism. Therefore, studies like this are important because they can provide insight on how media in general can influence perceptions of individuals on phenomena with which people do not have direct experience.

Implications of media influence

Next, this dissertation adds to the literature on how the news media can influence whether individuals accept policies or legislation that are reflective of the social constructions. The newspapers contributed to the moral panics of terrorism, which allowed officials to pass legislation, such as the PATRIOT Act and Trump's Muslim Travel Ban executive orders, to combat and prevent terrorism, even if the legislation impeded American rights. Even though this dissertation did not directly analyze how media can affect individual choice and influence, my findings indicated how powerful the rhetoric is in the newspapers. This was especially apparent in readers' letters to the *CJ* in my findings. As previous research has found (Altheide, 1982; Altheide, 1987; Barak, 1988; Barak, 2016; Cavender & Mulcahy, 1998; Chermak, 1997; Hall, 1979; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Karim, 2002; Peelo & Soothill, 2000; Reiner, 1997), hegemonic groups provide and ultimately control the social construction of social or world phenomena, especially the information of the phenomena and its distribution. Because people are more likely

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to believe the social construction when they lack direct experience with unknown social or world phenomena, hegemonic groups can pass policies or legislation that are favorable to them, but not necessarily beneficial to the rest of society.

For example, even though immigrants are statistically less likely to commit crime than American-born individuals (Bersani, Loughran, & Piquero, 2014; Vaughn & Salas-Wright, 2018), people still believe that immigrants are going to commit crimes or even become terrorists, as indicated in this dissertation and previous studies (Critcher, 2008; Eversman & Bird, 2017; Hauptman, 2013; Higgins, Gabbidon, & Martin, 2010; Saux, 2007; Welch, 2003). Because of this prejudice, the American government can restrict certain groups from entering the United States. This can be seen in Trump's Muslim Travel Ban, maintaining the status quo of the dominant, hegemonic power. Also, the PATRIOT Act, much to the dismay of the public later on, severely curtailed many Americans' civil liberties. Under the premise of countering the social and immoral problem of terrorism, the policy quite possibly benefited those in charge (Domke, Graham, Coe, Locket John, & Coopman, 2006). As a result, hegemonic groups control people's perceptions of social phenomena, creating a sense of false consciousness among the masses.

Lastly, these findings can apply to other forms of sensationalized phenomena that allow for the passing of policies that benefit mostly the hegemonic group. For example, the "epidemic of illegal immigrants" had allowed policymakers to pass policies concerning increased funding toward "eradicating the problem." According to Welch (2002, 2006), the American government dedicated excessive time and effort to lower illegal immigrants from coming to America, with the reasoning that they might plot a domestic terrorist attack. According to Longazel (2013), there were American state and local level ordinances that try to crack down on illegal immigrants. Longazel (2013) stated that Hazelton, Pennsylvania "officials relied heavily on the

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racialized tropes of the war on crime in constructing an 'illegal' immigration 'problem'" and as a result lower the power of new immigrants but at the same time "symbolically uplifting the white majority, and in turn reaffirming the racial order" (p. 96). Especially with its increasingly powerful presence, social media tools, such as "hashtags," comments, and "likes," assisted to effectively and continuously target undocumented immigrants (Flores-Yeffal, 2017, p. 402).

As a result, social institutions such as law enforcement discriminated against illegal immigrants (or those who appear to look like them), similar to how Muslims and Middle Eastern individuals were treated within the moral panic of terrorism. The sensationalized and biased messages in the media have serious implications, especially since those in law enforcement believe these messages (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997). Previous research showed how powerful media can be. During the September 11 attacks, media were powerful instruments in changing public perception, in spite of the media at the time being less advanced than today. Although this dissertation made several important contributions to existing literature, it is not without its limitations. Below, I describe these limitations in detail and suggest how future research could expand upon the current study while also attempting to avoid its limitations.

Limitations and Future Research

There were several limitations to the current study. First, because the newspaper sample for the dissertation relied on ProQuest's algorithms for the most relevant newspaper articles with the keywords "terrorism" and "terrorist," it is possible that there were other articles that could have provided more information on the social construction of terrorism or moral panics of terrorism. Future studies should use different keywords such as "war on terror" to further study the extent of moral panics of terrorism.

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Second, this study only examined the *NYT* and the *CJ*. For future research, researchers should analyze the moral panics identified in this study more carefully with additional data sources and more newspaper articles from those periods. Future studies should analyze other major newspapers, such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *Atlanta Journal Constitution* from the same time period to see how newspaper coverage differed from the news coverage of the *CJ* and the *NYT*. Using newspapers from different regions of the country can provide a more complete picture on how American newspapers contribute to moral panics, especially in relation to level of experience with terrorism. For example, it is possible that the *Atlanta Journal Constitution (AJC)* may have been as concerned about terrorism as the *NYT* since Atlanta also has experience with terrorism—the bombing during the 1996 Olympics. However, this was an act of domestic terrorism. Therefore, future research should consider examining how experience with terrorism performed by Americans compares to terrorism experiences performed by foreigners. Likewise, future research can analyze *NYT*'s coverage immediately after September 11 to Atlanta's or Oklahoma City's major newspaper coverage right after their experiences with domestic terrorism.

Third, the current study did not examine news coverage before the September 11 attacks. Future studies should compare news coverage on terrorism in major newspapers from before and after the September 11 attacks to see if there were differences. For example, were there signs of newspapers associating Muslims and Middle Easterners with terrorism before the September 11 attacks? If so, were they portrayed differently than they were after the September 11 attacks?

Fourth, the current study only analyzed a small sample of newspaper articles published during the second moral panic. Given that previous studies have only focused on the events immediately following the September 11 attacks (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Debatin, 2002;

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Der Derian, 2005; Faludi, 2007; Hatfield, 2008; Hauptman, 2013;), it is important that researchers consider other time periods during which a moral panic of terrorism took place— such as the time period between 2015 and 2017. Other studies which focus on the second moral panic period between 2015 and 2017 could include a larger sample of newspaper articles to provide a more comprehensive picture of the news coverage on terrorism during that period.

Fifth, since the findings of the current study indicated that terrorism was important in politics, future studies should (1) examine this relationship in greater detail and (2) compare how this relationship varies among the most recent presidents (G.W. Bush, Obama, and Trump). It is possible that news coverage on terrorism portrayed differences in presidents' stances on terrorism based on factors such as recency of terror attacks or affiliation with a political party. Future studies should also analyze other events regarding politics. Because this study has shown that politicians use terrorism as ammunition in politics, we can infer that politicians can use other events, such as the Syrian refugee crisis or the opioid crisis, in similar ways. Future studies should determine if there were moral panic periods for those types of crises.

Sixth, the current study only addressed two of the criteria presented in Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) research. It would be important for future studies to test the rest of Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) criteria. More specifically, disproportionality, hostility, and consensus should be analyzed in newspapers to determine how these elements affect newspaper coverage of terrorism or of crime in general. For example, since disproportionality described how news coverage can use exaggerated and fabricated numbers to facilitate moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009), future studies should fact check figures, statistics, and information reported in news coverage of major terror attacks or other types of crime to test disproportionality.

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Lastly, the current analysis was limited to only one form of media: printed newspapers. Future research should examine news presented in other formal and informal forms such as news websites and social media. Future research could also analyze the depiction of terrorism in fictional media such as modern videogames or movies. Such a study could analyze how characteristics, such as gender, affect the depiction and perception of terrorism. Researchers could also analyze popular war and military movies released after the September 11 attacks to determine whether they contributed to the moral panic on terrorism.

This dissertation implies that other types of events that are considered detrimental to society, such as the "problem" with millennials, can easily become a moral panic. As a result, this study can provide a framework for how to study future moral panics on other events besides terrorism. Researchers could distribute surveys to a representative sample to determine perceptions on those problem events and investigate these relationships of those perceptions to a moral panic.

Conclusion

This study was a newspaper analysis of the *CJ* and the *NYT* on how terrorism was socially constructed after the September 11 attacks using sensitizing concepts. After the September 11 attacks, terrorism became a hot topic in popular media as terrorism was newsworthy with a willing audience to read more about terrorism due to most of them not having any direct experience with terrorism. Through my findings, both newspapers portrayed terrorism in different ways, most likely due to their different experiences in terrorism. There were two points of moral panics that portrayed terrorism as a problem: (1) the years immediately after September 11 and (2) the years between 2015 and 2017. The ways that terrorism were reported, such as outlining the concerns of terrorism or clearly defining the boundaries of good and evil,

defined terrorism as a problem to society that needed to be eradicated. As a result, Muslim and Middle Eastern individuals became demonized within the moral panics of terrorism.

The dissertation can apply to other social phenomena depicted in media. Moral panics, or in general, social construction of social phenomena, portrayed in popular media can influence public opinion, which in turn can affect many important aspects in a society as shown in my findings. The way information is depicted in the media will affect public opinion. For example, the depiction of COVID-19 pandemic in popular media can influence how individuals feel about the pandemic; if a popular media source does not fully advocate for wearing masks, then individuals who consume that source will be less likely to wear masks and more likely to get infected and sick. Media consumption on social phenomena, especially phenomena that people may not have firsthand experience in, can have a ripple effect to the overall society.

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APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK

Outline of Codebook

I. **Descriptive information**

   a. Coded Name of Article

   b. Title

   c. Date

   d. Page, section

   e. Length in words

      i. *Less than 500*

      ii. *501-1500*

      iii. *1501-3000*

      iv. *3001 plus*

   f. Subhead/Abstract:

   g. Author/Byline

   h. Topic

      i. *Subject matter(s) of article/report*

      ii. *What is the purpose of this article?*

      iii. *What was the terrorist attack described?*

      iv. *If no terrorist attack was mentioned, what was the discussion about terrorism on?*

II. **Is there any indication that moral panics are present in the article? (Are there any indications that terrorism is a threat in society that needs to be eradicated?)**
   a. **YES**
   b. **NO**
   c. **MAYBE**

III. **Individuals in moral panics (Categories are not mutually exclusive)**

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a. Heroes
    i. YES
    ii. NO
    iii. MAYBE
b. Victims
    i. YES
    ii. NO
    iii. MAYBE
c. Folk devils/villains
    i. YES
    ii. NO
    iii. MAYBE

IV.   **Is concern present in the article?**
a. Is Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2009) concept of concern ["a heightened level of concern over a behavior of a certain group or category and the consequences that the behavior presumably causes for one or more sectors of that society" (p. 37)] present?
b. YES
c. NO
d. MAYBE
e. *Is terrorism presented as a major concern?*
f. *If yes, how so?*
g. *What types of terrorism are mentioned as a concern?*

V.   **Is war on terror(ism) frame present?**

VI.   **How is terrorism described?**

VII.   **Other variables**
a. Research notes
b. Miscellaneous notes

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APPENDIX B

SUBJECTS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Table B.1   Subjects of newspaper articles (*N*=1000)

Subject	*CJ*	*NYT*
Prevention Strategies	1.0% (5)	0.82% (4)
Actual Terrorists	0.8% (4)	0%
Security	4.0% (19)	2.47% (12)
Impediment to freedom, human rights	2.0% (10)	1.6% (8)
War on terror	4.6% (22)	1.4% (7)
Political	14.1% (68)	4.7% (23)
Legislation	6.4% (31)	3.9% (19)
Weapons	10.2% (49)	2.7% (13)
Economy	1.0% (5)	1.0% (5)
School	1.3% (6)	.2% (1)
Violence	1.5% (7)	.6% (3)
Religion	2.1% (10)	.4% (2)
Law Enforcement	2.7% (13)	6% (29)
Media/Communication/Internet/Technology	5.0% (24)	4.9% (24)
Middle East	1.7% (8)	.4% (2)
Military/War	5.0% (24)	2.3% (11)
Victims of Terror Attacks/Casualties	0.6% (3)	0%
Health	0.8% (4)	0%
Sport	0.6% (3)	0%
Vulnerable Populations	0.8% (4)	0%
Travel/Airports/Transportation	3.5% (17)	.8% (4)
Recreation/Entertainment	.62% (3)	.2% (1)
Research	.8% (4)	.8% (4)
Community	2.1% (10)	.8% (4)
Officials	.2% (1)	0%
Resources	.4% (2)	0%
Terrorism	11.9% (57)	53.2% (258)
Natural Disasters	0.2% (1)	0%
Extremists	0.4% (2)	.4% (2)
Immigration/Refugees/Aliens	0.2% (10)	.2% (1)
Propaganda	.2% (1)	0%

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Table B.1 (continued)

Subject	*CJ*	*NYT*
Holiday	.2% (1)	0%
Awards/Honors	.6% (3)	0.2% (1)
Infrastructures	.4% (2)	0%
Judicial System	4.0% (19)	2.5% (12)
Insurance	.4% (2)	1.0% (5)
Reports/Information/Records	1.9% (9)	3.1% (15)
Muslim/Islam	3.5% (17)	.8% (4)
Humanitarian/Charities/Fund-Raising	0.2% (1)	1.6% (8)
Abstract Concepts	0%	.6% (3)
Total	100% (481)	100% (485)

APPENDIX C

TERRORIST ATTACKS REPORTED BY NEWSPAPERS

Table C.1   Terrorist attacks reported by *NYT*

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by NYT	Number
1946 King David Hotel bombing	1
1963 16th Street Baptist Church bombing (KKK, church in Birmingham, Ala.)	1
1968 attack of two ETA militants who killed a policeman who had stopped them	1
1968 ETA first planned assassination, ambushing a police inspector, Melitón Manzanas	1
1972 hijack of Eastern Airlines flight from Allentown	1
1972 Munich massacre (Olympic Games, Israeli delegates, Black September)	3
1973 assassination of Adm. Luis Carrero Blanco by ETA	1
1974 Ma'alot massacre (22 Israeli high school students killed)	1
1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier	1
1976 bombing of a Cuban commercial airliner that killed 73 people (Flight 455)	1
1977 bombing of a Cuban commercial airliner that killed 73 people (Flight 455, targeted again)	1
1978 Coastal Road massacre (37 murdered, including 13 children)	1
1978 kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the former Italian prime minister	1
1980 Misgav Am hostage crisis (two kibbutz members killed, one an infant)	1
1983 Beirut barracks bombings (Marine base)	3
1983 U.S. embassy bombing in Beirut, Lebanon	2
1984 Rajneeshee bioterror attack (poisoning with salmonella bacteria in OR)	1
1985 attack on T.W.A. Flight 847 (hijacked)	1
1985 attack on the Achille Lauro (Italian cruise ship, Palestinian terrorists)	3
1987 bombing of a South Korean passenger jet (Pyongyang's agents)	1
1987 Hipercor bombing (TA bomb killed 21 people at a Barcelona supermarket)	1
1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 above Scotland	6
1988 downing of an Iran Air civilian airliner by the American warship Vincennes	1

Table C.1 (continued)

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by NYT	Number
1992 Yemen hotel bombings	1
1993 Battle of Mogadishu (attack on U.S. soldiers in Somalia in October)	2
1993 bombing of the World Trade Center (Feb)	22
1993 bombings in Mumbai, formerly Bombay (series of deadly bombs)	2
1994 attack of an 18-year-old woman (Palestinian Islamic Jihad)	1
1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia	1
1995 bombing of train near Notre Dame Cathedral	2
1995 car bombing in Riyadh (connected to bombing of Khobar Towers)	1
1995 Oklahoma City bombing	18
1995 Tokyo subway sarin attack (Japanese cult's 1995 gas attack in the Tokyo subway)	2
1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia	7
1996 bombing of the Summer Olympics in Atlanta	1
1997 assassination of Miguel Blanco (Miguel Ángel Blanco, a local conservative politician)	1
1997 attacks of tourist spots in Havana and killed an Italian visitor there	1
1997 series of killings of officials in the Fergana Valley in Uzbekistan in 1997	1
1998 bombing of abortion clinics (connected to Olympic bombing in 1996)	1
1998 bombings of embassies in Africa (Kenya and Tanzania, car bombs)	29
1999 bombings in Tashkent, Uzbekistan	1
1999 infamous hijacking of an Indian Airlines flight (Indian Airlines Flight 814, Kandahar)	2
2000 USS Cole bombing Navy (killed 17 American sailors, Al Qaeda)	16
2001 Anthrax attacks	6
2001 attack in Kashmir, India (terrorist strike)	1
2001 Indian Parliament attack (Pakistan blamed)	2
2001 Sept. 11	331
2002 Bali bombing (Oct. 12, Kuta)	15
2002 Faylaka Island attack (marines in Kuwait)	1
2002 Ghriba synagogue bombing (April 2002 truck bombing)	1
2002 Karachi bus bombing	1
2002 kidnapping and beheading of Daniel Pearl, a reporter for The Wall Street Journal	1
2002 Limburg bombing (French vessel/oil tanker)	2
2003 Casablanca bombings (30 people died in a suicide bombing)	2
2003 Istanbul bombings (attacks against the British Consulate and HSBC bank in Istanbul)	5
2003 Jakarta's international airport bombing	1

Table C.1 (continued)

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by NYT	Number
2003 Marriot Hotel bombing in Jakarta (killed 12 people)	2
2003 Maxim restaurant suicide bombing in Haifa, Israel (21 people dead)	1
2003 Mumbai bombing (bomb blast on a train on 3.13 and car bombs on 8.25)	1
2003 Riyadh compound bombings (killed 34 people including 8 Americans)	4
2004 Beslan school siege (Russia)	1
2004 Madrid bombings (March 11)	26
2005 Amman bombings (3 hotel lobbies)	1
2005 London bombings (transportation network, July 7 and 21, Islamic militants)	33
2006 Mumbai train bombings	1
2007 Glasgow Airport attack	1
2008 13 September 2008 Delhi bombings	1
2008 attacks on Mumbai, India	12
2009 Fort Hood shooting	6
2010 Austin suicide attack	1
2011 New Delhi Attack	1
2012 Benghazi attacks	3
2013 Boston Marathon bombing	9
2013 Westgate shopping mall attack in Nairobi, Kenya	1
2014 Dijon, France attack (Dec)	1
2014 shootings at Parliament Hill, Ottawa	2
2014 Sydney hostage crisis (12.15)	2
2015 Charleston church shooting (9 blacks)	4
2015 Charlie Hebdo shooting (Jan)	1
2015 Colorado Springs Planned Parenthood shooting	1
2015 Curtis Culwell Center attack (attack on an anti-Islamic gathering in Garland, Tex.)	2
2015 Hypercacher kosher supermarket siege (Jan)	1
2015 killing of German tourists outside a mosque in Tunisia	1
2015 November 2015 Paris Attacks (Nov. 13, Islamic militants)	19
2015 San Bernardino attack (ISIS)	9
2016 Attack of a couple in northern France in the name of the Islamic State	1
2016 Berlin truck attack	3
2016 Brussels bombings (3.22)	14
2016 July 2016 Dhaka attack (deadly attack early this month at a cafe in Bangladesh)	1
2016 Nice truck attack (France)	6
2016 Orlando nightclub shooting (ISIS allegiance)	11
2017 Barcelona terror attacks	1

Table C.1 (continued)

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by NYT	Number
2017 Charlottesville car attack (killing of Heather Heyer)	1
2017 June 2017 London Bridge attack (6.3)	1
2017 Las Vegas massacre	1
2017 Manchester terrorist attacks	1
2017 Marseille stabbing (knife attack at the train station)	1
2017 Stockholm truck attack	1
2017 Westminster Bridge attack	1
2018 Liège attack (Belgium, a temporarily freed prisoner went on a deadly rampage)	1
2018 London Car Terror Attack	1

Table C.2   Terrorist Attacks Reported by *CJ*

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by *CJ*	Number
1941 Pearl Harbor	1
1968 Islamic Palestinian terrorist assassinated an American candidate for president	1
1972 Munich massacre (Olympic Games, Israeli delegates, Black September)	1
1980 Iran Hostage Crisis	2
1983 Beirut barracks bombings (Marine base)	3
1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 above Scotland	1
1993 bombing of the World Trade Center (Feb)	7
1995 Oklahoma City bombing	7
1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia	1
1996 bombing of the Summer Olympics in Atlanta	1
2000 USS Cole bombing Navy (killed 17 American sailors, Al Qaeda)	1
2001 Sept. 11	209
2002 Bali bombing	3
2002 Mombasa bombing of an Israeli-owned resort	1
2002 takeover by dozens of Islamist terrorists of the Dubrovka Theater in Russia	1
2003 Mumbai bombing (bomb blast on a train and car bombs a few monthsd)	1
2004 Killing of Napalese hostages and excute French jounalists	1
2004 Madrid bombings (March 11) (Al Qaeda)	5
2005 London bombings (transportation network, July 7 and 21, Islamic militants)	2

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Table C.2 (continued)

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by *CJ*	Number
2009 Fort Hood shooting	6
2010 Moscow Metro Bombings	1
2010 Times Square car bombing attempt	1
2011 pipe-bomb plot in Spokane	1
2012 attack on the U.S. Embassy in Tunis	1
2012 Benghazi attack	12
2013 Boston Marathon bombing	11
2013 off-duty soldier named Lee Rigby was killed by two al-Qaeda-inspired extremists (UK)	1
2013 Suicide bombing at US Embassy in Turkey (Ankara)	1
2013 two suicide bombings killed 34 people in Volgograd	1
2014 beheading of journalist James Foley	1
2014 beheadings of two American journalists (Foley and Sotloff)	1
2014 homemade bomb -- killed a police officer and injured four others outside a court in Cairo	1
2014 killing of three Jewish boys were killed by Hamas terrorists	1
2014 Peshawar School Attack (Taliban, killing 131 classmates)	2
2014 second blast struck a bus in the area not far from Sharm el Sheikh	1
2014 suicide bomber struck a checkpoint near Mount Sinai	1
2014 Sydney hostage crisis	1
2014 terrorist attacks Peshawar, in Nigeria	1
2015 Beheading of Kenji Goto (ISIS	1
2015 bomb exploded in remote Parachinar, killing at least 23 people and wounding dozens more	1
2015 Charlie Hebdo shooting	15
2015 Christian terrorist killed three innocent people at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado	1
2015 downing a Russian airliner in Egypt	3
2015 gunman who opened fire on a free speech seminar at a Copenhagen cafe	1
2015 Hypercacher kosher supermarket siege	8
2015 Mali Attacks	2
2015 November 2015 Paris Attacks (Nov. 13, Islamic militants)	26
2015 San Bernardino attack (ISIS)	18
2016 attack of Burkina Faso (28 dead)	1
2016 Berlin truck attack	6
2016 Brussels bombing	14

Table C.2 (continued)

Terrorist Attack Mentioned by *CJ*	Number
2016 deadly assault by two men on an exhibit of the prophet Mohammed near Dallas	1
2016 Nice truck attack (France)	9
2016 Normandy church attack (France, priest)	1
2016 Orlando nightclub shooting (ISIS allegiance)	13
2016 Suicide bombing in Baghdad (ISIL)	1
2016 terrorist who blew himself up Sunday outside an outdoor music festival in Ansbach, Germany	1
2017 Australian teenager Jake Bilardi blew himself up in a suicide attack for the Islamic State	1
2017 Barcelona terror attacks	3
2017 Islamic State claimed responsibility for two terrorist attacks on Coptic churches	1
2017 June 2017 London Bridge attack	8
2017 London Mosque Attack/2017 Finsbury Park attack	3
2017 London subway station bombing	2
2017 Manchester terrorist attacks (Grande concert)	5
2017 Manhattan truck attack	1
2017 massive explosion in Somalia's capital, Mogadishu	1
2017 terrorist attacks on Coptic churches in the Egyptian Nile Delta town of Tanta (ISIL)	2
2017 truck slammed into a group of Israeli soldiers at a Jerusalem bus stop	1
2017 Westminster Bridge attack	8

APPENDIX D

THE *CJ* & THE *NYT* PUBLISHED ARTICLES BY YEAR

Table A.1   The *NYT* Published Articles by Year

Year	Number of Articles	Percentages
2001 (9/12/01)	3486	16.2
2002	3075	14.3
2003	2002	9.3
2004	2092	9.7
2005	1302	6.1
2006	1230	5.7
2007	902	4.2
2008	816	3.8
2009	600	2.8
2010	666	3.1
2011	508	2.4
2012	603	2.8
2013	735	3.4
2014	558	2.6
2015	901	4.2
2016	916	4.3
2017	839	3.9
2018 (08/30/18)	274	1.3
Total Articles	21505	

Table A.2   The *Courier-Journal* Published Articles by Year

Year	Number of Articles	Percentages
2001 (9/12/01)	5	0.4
2002	19	1.6
2003	129	10.8
2004	143	12.0
2005	73	6.1
2006	97	8.2
2007	30	2.5
2008	18	1.5
2009	23	1.9
2010	40	3.4
2011	64	5.4
2012	40	3.4
2013	98	8.2
2014	49	4.1
2015	128	10.8
2016	114	9.6
2017	108	9.1
2018 (08/30/18)	12	1.0
Total Articles	1190	