

Georgia State University

ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University

Communication Theses

Department of Communication

11-28-2007

Legislating after Terrorism: September 11, the News Media and the Georgia Legislature

Rachel Tobin Ramos

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication_theses



Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ramos, Rachel Tobin, "Legislating after Terrorism: September 11, the News Media and the Georgia Legislature." Thesis, Georgia State University, 2007.

doi: <https://doi.org/10.57709/1061300>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Communication at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Communication Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gsu.edu.

LEGISLATING AFTER TERRORISM: SEPTEMBER 11, THE NEWS MEDIA AND THE
GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

by

RACHEL TOBIN RAMOS

Under the Direction of Dr. Mary Stuckey

ABSTRACT

This thesis sought to understand how specific print media and wire news services in Georgia framed the Georgia General Assembly's response to terrorism after September 11, 2001. The study concluded that the most detailed coverage came from the Morris News Service, a wire service subscribed to by statewide newspapers, followed by the Associated Press state newswire, then *The Atlanta-Journal Constitution* and *The Macon Telegraph*. In general, the media in this study chose to cover security bills in terms of "issues," as opposed to the "game frame" or the "leadership frame." While "patriotism" and "security" also emerged as frames, they were more likely to be in quotations from lawmakers or other elites. Surprisingly, only two citizens were quoted in the 39 articles in this study, despite the fact that several controversial bills were among the 21 considered by the Georgia legislature in the 2002 session.

INDEX WORDS: Georgia legislature, Georgia General Assembly, Georgia media, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Associated Press, *The Macon Telegraph*, Morris News Service, September 11, 2001, terrorism, bioterrorism, news framing analysis, security, patriotism, game frame

LEGISLATING AFTER TERRORISM: SEPTEMBER 11, THE NEWS MEDIA AND THE
GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

by

RACHEL TOBIN RAMOS

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Communications
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University

2007

Copyright by
Rachel Tobin Ramos
2007

LEGISLATING AFTER TERRORISM: SEPTEMBER 11, THE NEWS MEDIA AND THE
GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

by

RACHEL TOBIN RAMOS

Committee Chair: Mary Stuckey

Committee: Greg Lisby
David Cheshier

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
December 2007

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful husband, Carlos Artur Barbosa Ramos, for putting up with me for all these years while I pursued this degree, and subsequently, the media profession.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank the faculty of Georgia State University's Department of Communication for providing me with excellent instruction and life experiences.

I express heartfelt thanks to the contributions of Dr. Leonard Teel, and my thesis advisors Dr. Greg Lisby, Dr. David Cheshier and Dr. Mary Stuckey, to my success at Georgia State University. I still remember the debates in Dr. Lisby's courses on ethics and media law. I especially thank Dr. Stuckey for her teaching pedagogy class and Dr. Carol Winkler for her help and guidance in teaching a feisty class of Journalism 101 students.

I also am thankful for the personal and academic friendships that I made with Dr. Carolyn Cadamo, Dr. Karen Holmes, Dr. Marian Meyers, Dr. Ly Bolia, Dr. Doug Barthlow, Dr. Joe Bellon, Dr. Jaye Atkinson, Dr. Yuki Fujioka, Dr. Cynthia Hoffner and Dr. Niklas Vollmer. I also will have fond memories of the wonderful graduate students that I met while working for Dr. Teel's Center for International Media Education, plus a wonderful trip to China.

I salute the Department of Communication, and look forward to its continued growth and success.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Significance	4
Purpose/Objectives	5
Background	8
Plan of Thesis	9
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	11
Shifting Frames from Cold War to Counterterrorism	11
Media Coverage of Terrorism	14
Media: Part of the Terror Prevention Plan	15
Government and Media Symbiosis	18
Frames in Political Reporting: Media as Watchdog	19
Frames: A Map to Understanding	23
The Power to Control the Frame	26
Reliance on Battle-worn Frames can Alienate the Public	28
Who framed whom?	32
3 RESEARCH METHOD	35
Research Questions	36

	Data	37
	Variables	40
	Units of Analysis	41
	Definitions	42
	Data Analysis	43
4	RESULTS	44
	<i>The Atlanta Journal-Constitution</i> Results	47
	Associated Press Results	55
	Morris News Service Results	60
	<i>The Macon Telegraph</i> Results	62
	Overall Results	63
5	DISCUSSION	66
	WORKS CITED	74
	APPENDICES	78
	A: CODING SCHEME	78
	B: LIST OF ARTICLES	79
	C: LIST OF BILLS	83
	D: CODING RESULTS	88

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.1: News Framing Results	74
----------------------------------	----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJC: The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

AP: Associated Press

H.B.: House Bill

H.R.: House Resolution

MACON: *The Macon Telegraph*

MNS: Morris News Service

S.B.: Senate Bill

S.R.: Senate Resolution

Legislating after Terrorism: September 11, the news media and the Georgia Legislature

Chapter 1

Introduction

When four hijacked planes rammed into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and a field in Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001, terrorism instantly dominated U.S. television and newspapers and prompted dozens of bills from the nation's capital in Washington, D.C. Congress passed the USA Patriot Act (H.R. 3162, Library of Congress) intended to root out terrorists; revamped airport security and rewrote immigration laws. State legislatures and city councils followed the federal example by creating laws to shield vital public information from the view of would-be terrorists, and drafting emergency management plans (O'Hanlon et al 2).

In Georgia, the first legislative session after September 11 began in January 2002. Each year, the legislature meets for only 40 legislative days, beginning on the second Monday in January. Sessions normally end in mid- to late-March, but that depends upon the number of days the legislature recesses. In 2002, the legislature's session ran through mid-April. After September 11, 21 bills were introduced by Georgia lawmakers. All of the bills in this paper can be found on the Georgia General Assembly's Web site, http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm. (For the purposes of this paper, the bills will be referred to in Appendix C, which is referring to the bills numbers that can be looked up online).

The most prominent of the 21 bills about terrorism introduced was Gov. Roy Barnes' bioterrorism bill, Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C), which called for new state guidelines for quarantines during a bioterrorist attack. Barnes, a Democratic governor, pressed the

Democratically-controlled House and Senate at the state Capitol in Atlanta to pass the measure. But foes of the bill made for some interesting political bedfellows, like the American Civil Liberties Union, Libertarians and the National Rifle Association, all of which decried portions of the governor's bioterrorism bill. In the end, that bill passed, signaling one change that Georgia lawmakers made to state law in the wake of September 11. But that bill was just one of nearly two dozen introduced at the Georgia General Assembly after September 11, some of which, like the governor's bill, were covered by the print and wire media in news and editorial articles, but many others were not.

The national trend was similar: lawmakers in most states and federal legislators in Washington, D.C., also were introducing bills to address terrorism. National newspapers after September 11 reflected the morbid concerns sweeping the nation. Prior to the attacks, for example, major stories focused on the dot-com bust and a new, untested U.S. president who won office on the slimmest of margins. After September 11, news became sharply focused on anthrax attacks, terrorist training camps and Al Qaeda. Previously unknown words were becoming everyday vernacular—news watchers soon knew that a dirty bomb was a crude nuclear device, and that anthrax was a biological poison that could be mailed in envelopes, sometimes to deadly effect (Norris, Kern and Just 4). In short, the game changed dramatically for the news industry. From sports columns to fashion news—pretty much any story that could be linked to September 11 was so linked. (Walton; Bradley).

And with the deep sense of loss the nation felt after September 11 came a profound patriotism. The words uttered by the nation's leaders rang of love of country and threats to liberty. President George W. Bush began using strong war rhetoric almost immediately after the attacks. Just one concert, *America: A Tribute to Heroes*, a telethon by the United Way, raised

\$30 million for the families of September 11 in a few short hours. The country never seemed more united in recent history.

In this context, the Georgia legislature convened on January 14, 2002, for the first time since the attacks, and the state's lawmakers would take their first crack at securing Georgia against terrorism. In January, four months after the attacks, news outlets were beginning to cover other topics. There were still *Newsweek* and *Time* magazine covers related to gas masks, bioterrorism and Al Qaeda threats, but other topics made the covers of the news magazines as well. From September 11 through December 31, for example, 16 of 19 *Time* Magazine cover stories dealt with the aftermath of September 11. In the same period, *Newsweek* had 17 of 18 covers related to terrorism. By contrast, from January through April 2002, only 5 of 15 *Newsweek* cover stories and three of 12 *Time* cover stories dealt with terrorism. In this media atmosphere, Georgia lawmakers would set state policy on how to be prepared for, and/or respond to, terrorism. In Georgia, it remained to be seen how news organizations would cover terrorism bills introduced by the legislature.

During the 2002 legislative session, three of the farthest-reaching news organizations in Georgia were: *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution (AJC)*, Associated Press and Morris News Service. The three news organizations all had large Capitol news bureaus. *The Macon Telegraph* also had a Capitol news bureau. In addition to terrorism, reporters for these print news bureaus had plenty of other stories to cover. The incumbent Democratic governor was facing re-election; the state needed new legislative districts after the 2000 census; and families were losing their homes to "predatory lenders." Terrorism clearly wasn't the only thing on the agenda that session. Nevertheless, lawmakers did introduce 21 bills that year (out of 1,000 bills introduced) (Appendix C) addressing September 11 and security.

As a whole, the Capitol press corps writes hundreds of stories about the state legislature each session. This is important because media coverage of laws and policies can help set the agenda for both politicians and citizens. Because newspapers and wire services must make choices about what to cover and what to ignore, this thesis seeks to understand those choices, and analyze how the legislature's response to terrorism was treated by the news media. This thesis used theories related to "news framing," a subset of agenda-setting theory, to analyze media coverage of anti-terror policies during the 2002 legislative session, which lasted from January to April 2002, in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the Associated Press, Morris News Service and *The Macon Telegraph*. Agenda-setting theory posits that while the media aren't usually successful at telling us what to think, they are successful at telling us what to think about. Framing theory, then, looks at specific rhetoric used by the media when telling us what to think about. The media in this study were chosen because print media historically have the most in-depth news coverage on legislative and policy issues. These newspapers and wire services also had the largest news bureaus at the state Capitol at the time. The research focused on the content of the news coverage to determine how the news organizations framed the legislative debate and how reporters told the story of the lawmakers' quest to prepare Georgia for possible terror strikes.

Significance

This thesis is significant because it will fill a gap in the framing research on state-level media broadly, and specifically about terrorism bills in Georgia. While most scholarship focuses on the national media's coverage of the federal response in Washington, D.C. to terrorism, there are no studies about how state's responded to the attacks and how their local media covered it. In fact, very few framing studies pay specific attention to state-level media or to state legislatures.

Those that do, such as researchers Frederick Fico and William Cote, who wrote three papers about Michigan's state legislature, usually focus on election news and fairness and balance issues. Prior to this thesis, there were no framing studies specifically on the Georgia legislature, terrorism bills and media coverage. This thesis asks how significant state media covered the Georgia legislature's response to terrorism and how those media framed the issues.

The primary sources for the research included articles in two print media, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and *The Macon Telegraph*, and two wire services, the Associated Press and Morris News Service (as found in newspapers that subscribe to those newswires, like *The Augusta Chronicle*). The researcher used the database Lexis to find the articles. The thesis also used the complete record of the bills introduced during the 2002 session of the legislature, found online at http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm. Comparing those sources will shed light on which bills received media attention and how the media framed the issues. This is important because it can show how much the media helped to set the agenda on terrorism bills at the state Capitol, if at all, as well as how the media used existing news frames or created new ones for reporting on an aspect of the "war on terror."

Purpose/Objectives

How the media characterize legislative stories is important, because a primary media function is to inform the public about governmental action and to frame the debate (Entman, "Framing," 51-52). Framing theory analyzes how ideas get filtered and then presented to the public. It is a subset of agenda-setting theory, which says that the media may not be successful at telling us what to think, but they are successful at telling us what to think about (McCombs). In its basic form, agenda setting is concerned about how the news media create "salient" issues.

Framing, then, goes a step further, to analyze the selective process of filtering events to encourage or discourage distinct interpretations. By selecting certain language or defining the debate in certain terms, the media are making choices, or imposing “frames” on events. Framing is in essence the “packaging” of rhetoric. For example, ideas first expressed by politicians get filtered by journalists who report them to the public in news articles. Robert M. Entman says, “framing is the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other” (“Cascading,” 417). In Georgia, how the media covered the legislators’ response to terrorism can, as Entman argues, show how the press influences lawmakers, and vice versa. This study looks at the interplay of the Capitol press corps and state lawmakers. A snapshot of Georgia in 2002 shows that the media had a lot to tell readers. The legislature controlled a \$16 billion state budget, which affected 8.5 million citizens, financed mainly by taxpayers or user fees. Politicians typically introduce about a thousand bills each year, and as many as 250 could become law. Some are as benign as declaring grits the official processed food of the state, as happened in 2002 (House Bill 1297, Georgia General Assembly). Others are as important as deciding whether to raise taxes or treat minors accused of violent crimes as adults. No one could expect a news organization to cover all 1,000 legislative efforts each session. Instead, it’s the media’s job to distill, interpret and present the legislature’s actions on key initiatives. Choosing which bills to cover is important because there are more political events on any given day than reporters to cover them or space in newspapers to report them (McCombs 433; Graber, McQuail and Norris 2). The selection of news stories merits analysis because inevitably the media leave out information or tailor reports to fit space, time and style constraints. Because the newspaper may be the only place citizens learn about their lawmakers’ actions, it’s important to analyze how the media frame stories (McCombs 433). Additionally, the

media have choices when it comes to framing. The media could choose oppositional frames, like reporting a point of view that differs from that of a politician. Or the media could cover only the bills they believe have a chance of passing, even if that means ignoring issues of pressing public importance, as Paul R. Brewer and Lee Sigelman suggest (25). This study will examine the patterns of the media coverage of the Georgia legislature after September 11.

Specifically, this research will determine how the *AJC*, Georgia's largest daily paper, the *The Macon Telegraph*, a regional newspaper, and the Associated Press and Morris News wire services, the most widely-distributed Capitol news services in Georgia, characterized proposed anti-terror laws at the State Capitol in 2002. Did the media cover anti-terror stories like political campaigns, handicapping a bill's odds in the legislature like a horse in a race? Or did the media focus on legislators' personalities, profiling policy only because it was being made by powerful people, like the governor? Who did the media allow to set the agenda? Citizens, experts, politicians or editorial boards? Did the media coverage ring of patriotism? Did the media take sides or act as a neutral observer? This project will analyze how Georgia's largest newspaper, a regional newspaper and two wire services framed bills focused on preventing and preparing for terrorism attacks in 2002.

This study found that the media, in a sense, did take sides. The media, for the most part, allowed lawmakers to set the agenda at the state Capitol, reporting on measures introduced by the legislators, as opposed to raising issues independently. Most stories also used only one source of information: the lawmakers themselves. One of the most surprising findings in the study is that very few stories quoted citizens, lobbyists and experts. This is surprising considering that lawmaking, in theory, is a two-way street between lawmakers and their constituents. But few of the news articles in this study reflected that interplay. This could mean that the Georgia media

did not aggressively cover the legislature and didn't serve as a watchdog when it came to terrorism bills. Perhaps the Georgia media were timid about playing that role after September 11, a criticism later leveled at the national news media for failing to press President Bush on the veracity of his claims about Iraq, prior to the second Gulf war.

Background

The attacks of September 11, 2001 changed Americans' awareness of terrorism, as evidenced by the thousands of terrorism stories that filled newscasts, newspapers and magazines in the wake of the disaster. The September 11 attacks were different from anything the country had seen in recent times. Even sports and fashion columnists wrote about the effect the attacks had on their lives (Walton; Bradley). Although the country had been hit by other attacks, such as the 1996 Olympic bombing in Atlanta and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, those were incidents of domestic terrorism, planned and executed by American citizens. After September 11, however, lawmakers responded rapidly when it was determined that the perpetrators of the attacks were foreigners, with a mission to take down the symbols of American economic and political power, and in essence, cultural values. They were outraged when they discovered that many of the September 11 hijackers had entered the country legally. Almost immediately, politicians clamored for and passed sweeping governmental reforms. In the fall of 2001, Congress enacted laws to collect intelligence on potential terrorists, starting with the USA Patriot Act, which loosened regulations governing FBI and CIA investigations to give the agencies more freedom to investigate suspected international and domestic terrorists (H.R. 3162, Library of Congress). Critics of the act said it weakened civil rights, while proponents said it was long overdue and necessary to gather intelligence on potential threats to security. ("Patriot," "On

Civil;” Galvin; McGee; Hentoff; McFeatters). Either way, the Patriot Act was planned as an instant and firm message to terrorists that the United States would not tolerate further attacks on the American homeland (“Patriot;” Galvin; McGee; Hentoff).

While the federal government is typically responsible for the security of the nation, the states have their own role to play, particularly as the first responders in a crisis, as local governments like cities, counties and states employ the fire, police and other emergency staff required to respond to crises. They also have at their disposal the National Guard and in Georgia’s case, the Georgia Emergency Management Agency. The state also regulates hospitals and emergency rooms. States also govern the freedom of information. Local and state governments followed the national trend to update emergency management systems. Stories nationwide detailed how governments were purchasing small pox and anthrax remedies in case of bioterrorist attacks and articles speculated about how to respond to “weaponized” viruses (Begley; Broad and Petersen; Cowley; Scanlon, Keep Media; and Time). Likewise, in Georgia, 21 counterterrorism bills were introduced, out of 1,000 bills and resolutions introduced in the 2002 session. Examples include efforts to shield information on water and military infrastructure from public scrutiny—and thus would-be terrorists (Georgia). Other proposals ranged from giving the governor emergency powers in case of a bioterrorism attack to empowering the health department to quarantine people infected with infectious diseases (Georgia). This thesis asked how the Capitol media framed this antiterrorism legislation.

Plan of Thesis

This thesis used framing theory to analyze how the Capitol news bureaus covered laws introduced in Georgia in response to the September 11 attacks. Chapter 1 outlines the study, its

significance and background. Chapter 2 outlines the importance of framing studies by reviewing the scholarly literature on media coverage of politics. Chapter 3 describes the research method for this thesis, using a framing analysis developed by Brewer and Sigelman. Chapter 4 reviews the results of the project, and Chapter 5 draws conclusions from those findings. The study assesses how *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service covered terrorism prevention bills at the Georgia legislature, analyzes the frames those media employed, and offers possible interpretations of those decisions and their implications for media, the citizenry and democracy.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

While many studies about the media coverage of antiterrorism legislation predate September 11, the attacks have spurred a new look at legislating after terrorist violence. Most of the extant scholarship focuses on national media coverage of the federal response to terrorism. The following literature review will show that very few studies pay specific attention to the media coverage of local and state efforts. This section will show how this study will advance and contribute to the existing media studies on legislative responses to terrorism. The literature is divided into studies that, a) explore how the media covered the making of anti-terror policies and, b) the importance of media research using framing analysis. Both kinds of studies are important: media studies on anti-terror policies focus on one of the media's primary roles: to educate citizens about government actions, especially with regards to citizen safety and rights. Framing studies help to put media coverage into perspective—by analyzing the use of experts; particular perspectives and ideologies; and content that can skew coverage as patriotic, skeptical, oppositional or neutral.

Shifting Frames from Cold War to Counterterrorism

After September 11, terrorism became familiar terrain for the American consciousness. Prior to the attacks, terrorism rarely grabbed headlines, except when attacks hit far-off places in the Middle East, Asia or Europe. But Americans had a heightened sense of insecurity after September 11, which may not have reflected the actual threat levels. Pippa Norris, Montague Kern and Marion Just argue that one thing that “changed decisively” after September 11 was “American *perceptions* of the threat of world terrorism more than the actual reality” of those

threats (3-4). They write: “Understanding this situation is important, not just for its own sake, but also because perceptions of the growing threat of terrorism in America has created widespread concern, as well as fueled radical changes in U.S. security and foreign policy” (4). These researchers argue that coverage of terrorism after September 11 “can best be understood as symbolizing a critical shift in the predominant news frame used by the American mass media for understanding issues of national security, altering perceptions of risk at home and threats abroad” (3-4). The September 11 attacks not only changed the physical landscape of New York, Pennsylvania and Washington, and affected the lives of those involved, but it also changed the terrain for reporters and media organizations, which struggled to make sense of a new and different premise: America is vulnerable to attack.

Another part of this seismic shift in American journalism was the almost overnight emergence of technical talk about how terrorists attack, the types of weapons they use and the type of responses the government should have. A widespread discussion of issues that used to be esoteric, part of the domain of elite scientists and experts, became part of the regular vernacular. Terms such as “weapons of mass destruction,” “dirty bombs,” and “weaponized virus,” became part of every day parlance, as did stories about stocking more vaccines, improving airport security and preventing bioterrorism (Norris, Kern and Just 4). That these terms and issues became part of the media discussion of terrorism reflected a significant shift in the frames the media used for terrorism. Those terms evoke the potential for a violent attack, which may have been the “hook” the media needed to keep terrorism in its coverage bull’s eye. But what about the terms used in the Georgia legislature? Would lawmakers’ efforts evoke enough “violent” imagery to keep the media interested? And what would the media print? Those are two of the central questions posed by this thesis. The study found that lawmakers did, in fact, use graphic

and violent images to interest the media, and the media frequently used those graphic quotations in news stories about the Capitol.

Entman explained that the Cold War “frame” dominated U.S. news of foreign affairs until the early 1990s (“Framing” 54). That frame diagnosed many aspects of foreign affairs as being a problem of Cold War politics, with remedies stemming from that same ideological perspective. Central to Norris, Kern and Just’s hypothesis is that the “war on terrorism” frame emerged at a time when the Cold War was waning during the 1990s, and the media were “ripe” for a new frame. Without the Cold War, the media (along with the rest of us) lost certain assumptions about the world. For example, international alliances with the United States, North Korea, Iran and Iraq (Bush’s “axis of evil”) were pushed away while Russia, Pakistan and China were pulled in (14-15). Norris, Kern and Just argue the “war on terror” took the place of the Cold War—and gave the media a new way to frame the violence in the world, as well as governmental responses to that violence (14-15). Entman says that the “war on terror” was a very deliberate frame that was offered by the Bush White House (“Cascading,” 415-417). With official mouthpieces repeating a frame as often as the Bush administration has, the media would have a hard time not adopting that frame. As a consequence of adopting new frames, others are left behind (14-15). For example, the “war on drugs” frame of the 1980s and 1990s has been largely abandoned for the “war on terror.” Other issues that have faded from the media eye are political and economic instability in Latin America and the race to find a vaccine for AIDS (14-15). So in general, Entman’s studies have been helpful in showing how terrorism frames have replaced Cold War frames, as well as others, in the post-September 11 era. His studies have also shown how to use frames to determine bias and perspective in media reporting, and how to track those influences back to their source.

Media Coverage of Terrorism

In media coverage of terrorism, a simple newsroom adage applies: “If it bleeds it leads.” So it’s easy to see why terrorist acts dominate newscasts and front pages because of their bloody and dramatic nature. But the nonviolent act of legislating to prevent terror doesn’t as often make headlines, even though the policies enacted can affect citizens’ lives and in some cases, liberties. That’s what Brigitte L. Nacos discovered in her exploration of terrorism coverage in the media. Historically, terrorism measures tend to fly below the media’s radar screen, she found (132-33). Until recently, terrorism has barely received much notice nationally (132-33). An alarming Congressional report in 1999 about the changing nature of terrorist threats failed to generate a media buzz, despite the report’s scary findings (132-33). Even some new initiatives after September 11 didn’t get splashy headlines:

Even after the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, when the Bush administration pushed for and eventually got Congress to adopt several antiterrorism bills (i.e. the Antiterrorism Act of 2001, the Aviation Safety Bill), these important initiatives and eventually adopted laws did not receive a great deal of media attention nor did other anti- and counterterrorist considerations in comparison to the attention paid to terrorism and terrorist threats (Nacos 136).

The media’s focus on more dramatic events—such as actual terrorist attacks—tends to squeeze out coverage of the lawmaking activities that could deter those attacks. Nacos showed that even in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, the media didn’t pay as much attention to legislative efforts to deter further attacks aside from a few major pieces of law like the USA Patriot Act. But since September 11, some news coverage has focused on laws that passed after the attacks with almost no public scrutiny, which brings up the question, where was the media? A major hurdle for newsrooms is to balance dramatic stories with policy issues. This study explored how Georgia media balanced those competing interests and how they covered terror-prevention policies.

Media: Part of the Terror Prevention Plan

Nacos has shown that efforts to respond to and prevent terrorism often go unnoticed because they are nonviolent and therefore not inherently interesting to a news industry that is more likely to cover violence (Nacos 137). Nevertheless, after September 11, one would expect a significant amount of news coverage of any laws having to do with terror prevention and preparedness. “[N]onviolent anti- and counterterrorism measures are chronically under-reported unless those initiatives come in the wake of major terrorist incidents,” Nacos writes (194). She also argues that media coverage is a crucial way to disperse the anti-terror message. Nonetheless, those policies usually lack the drama needed to win the media’s attention:

Terrorism is at its core communication, and counterterrorism has strong communication aspects as well—at least when undertaken by leaders in democratic states who need to enlist support for their policies. Except for acts of military reprisal and preemption, counterterrorist policies and initiatives (such as law enforcement, economic sanctions, diplomatic initiatives, and readiness programs) lack, most of the time, the human drama that the perpetrators of mass-mediated terrorism intentionally stage. Propaganda by violent deed trumps propaganda by nonviolent deed because of the mass media’s special attention to violence. (137)

Arguably, the media can help propagate an anti-terror agenda, and get that message to would-be terrorists, which would serve as a preventative measure. However, policymaking isn’t as dramatic as actual terror and violence, so newsrooms may choose to ignore it, thereby not fulfilling their potential role in the communication process.

Other scholars also emphasize that terror policies have a psychological power predicated upon making sure terrorists get the message. The media, as important purveyors of information to the public about such policies, serve a crucial function by relaying news about terrorism preparation. Media coverage, in essence, becomes part of the anti-terror plan, which makes the tension in the newsroom about covering policy, versus selling newspapers, that much more critical to understand.

Other studies also say those anti-terror policies are meant as deterrents to would-be terrorists (“Patriot;” Galvin; McGee, Hentoff). Media coverage bolsters the governmental response to terrorism by getting the message to a wider audience. And the message intended for would-be terrorists is that the United States is ready for them, or “Bring it on,” as President Bush has said. In a study commissioned by the California Speaker of the House, Russell W. Glenn and Bruce W. Bennett argue that terrorism prevention measures are important because, “There is a strong interaction between preparedness and deterrence since terrorists will tend to attack the unprepared” (43). Liberal scholar Michael Parenti has argued that the public relations impact of terror laws is actually the point of the policies. Although he’s critical of the Bush administration’s war on terrorism, Parenti made the following observation about laws passed to fight terrorism: “Many of the measures taken to ‘fight terrorism’ have little to do with actual security and are public relations ploys designed to (a) heighten the nation’s siege psychology and (b) demonstrate that the government has things under control” (Parenti, The Terrorism Trap 5). Part of a plan’s value, in his thinking, is the lip service paid to it. Whether or not the plan will be effective is another matter. Another way to put it is that terrorism legislation is, in part, intended to make the populace feel safe. Media coverage gets the message to the populace, and government officials hope the message will soothe the public’s psyche. The coverage could also scare off would-be terrorists. Without media coverage, neither citizens, nor terrorists, will get the message (O’Hanlon et al; Nacos).

Scholars who study counterterrorism support Nacos’ and Parenti’s observations that the media play a crucial role in broadcasting information to both a concerned populace and would-be terrorists. Several counterterrorism studies give advice on how a state or organization can prepare for terrorist attacks (Glenn and Bennett; O’Hanlon et al), and a media component is

always a key part to the plan. Other studies critique and analyze those preparations (Nacos; Norris, Kern and Just). In both types of studies, the media take center stage as an important tool for getting out the government message to both the populace and terrorists that the country is prepared to fend off more attacks. The governmental need for media coverage poses an interesting question about how the government will get that coverage. Nacos argues that getting that coverage is difficult, because not all media will readily play the role the government wants, as the U.S. media is not under the control of the government (136).

This study investigated whether *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service played a helpful role to the government by broadcasting the readiness preparations the Georgia legislature was making. Based on Nacos' thesis that the media chronically underreport antiterrorism initiatives, it was expected that the *AJC*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service would not give antiterrorism bills much ink. In fact, they didn't. Only one bill, Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C) the governor's bioterrorism act, garnered substantive coverage, while many other bills received no coverage at all, even a bill mirroring the federal USA Patriot Act, which passed the Georgia General Assembly and was signed into law by the governor. The governor's bioterrorism bill was the subject of most of the articles in the time period of this study. There were very few reporter-generated story ideas in this study, such as investigative stories related to terrorism bills or statewide terrorism preparedness in general. On the other hand, lawmakers were treated uncritically by the reporters, as the primary source for most stories and citizens were rarely quoted. The media allowed the lawmakers to set the agenda, and in the way discussed by Parenti and Nacos, filled a place in the communication process by getting word out to would-be terrorists that the state was prepared. In other words, while the media coverage was sparse, the

coverage there was played a helpful role to the government by relaying the official agenda, often uncritically.

Government and Media Symbiosis

Nacos emphasizes that the American free press has a duty, as an institution burdened with keeping tabs on government, to cover counterterrorism efforts and thereby keep them in the public eye. After September 11, Georgia reporters had a lot of bills and policies to focus on because Georgia was part of the nationwide push for new laws. The U.S. government coordinated state and federal readiness efforts and dedicated a large budget to national security. At the federal level, President George W. Bush created the Homeland Security Department, with a stunning \$38 billion inaugural budget in 2002, according to Brookings Institute analysis (O'Hanlon et al 2). His administration also encouraged local and state governments to enact new laws to guard against terrorism. However, Georgia's legislative efforts went largely unnoticed by the state press. And, with the urgency of September 11 subsiding in January 2002, policy makers may have lost interest in the topic themselves. Nacos suggests that could be why the media also lost interest. (She urges the media not to take the decision makers' lead, but instead to continue to monitor terrorism prevention efforts.)

It is true that policy makers are quick with hearings and policy prescriptions after major acts of terrorism, but they fail to follow through with ongoing anti- and counterterrorism planning. These patterns, however, should not be copied by a press that takes its traditional role as a watchdog of government seriously and protects the public interest by prodding public officials for sustained attention and policy innovations in this important area of public safety. While otherwise eager to run with controversial political practices, the mainstream media displayed little appetite in the past to investigate and report on transactional politics, lobbying and turf battles surrounding the generally complex details of counterterrorist preparedness programs. Only time will tell if the shock of the September 11 attacks permanently eradicated news organizations' complacency in this respect (Nacos 194).

Although “transactional politics,” as she calls them, don’t have the news appeal or immediacy of a murder or a fire, the long-term consequences of legislating on terror—especially if there is another attack—are crucial. This thesis studied how well the Georgia media played a watchdog role in reporting on those policies.

The watchdog role of journalism has been part of the United State’s history, dating back to the founders of the country, who extolled the virtues of having a free press as a means to ensure a healthy democracy. They also wrote protections for the press into the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. In media framing studies, Entman proposes that government elites set the agenda for the media, especially in framing stories about terrorism after September 11 (“Cascading,” 416). In some occasions, the media propose their own frames of events or facts, which he calls “oppositional.” Nacos’ idea of a watchdog press, or one that doesn’t readily adopt the lawmakers’ frames, is also oppositional. This study set out to determine whether the media at the Georgia Capitol parroted the lawmakers’ frames, or used independent frames in their reporting.

Frames in Political Reporting: Media as Watchdog

Media coverage of lawmaking is important because scholars have widely acknowledged that the media impact public policy by setting the agenda, spurring public involvement, explaining legislative intent and serving as a watchdog. The media become, in essence, political actors by helping to set the agenda (Graber; Graber, McQuail and Norris; Perloff; McCombs). For example, the media can incite a public outcry after coverage that exposes government corruption (Graber 166). Media pressure also can become a political force and produce tangible changes when the media set the agenda (Graber 166, and Entman, “Cascading,” 415-432).

Entman shows that media coverage also influences public opinion (“Cascading,” 427.) In 2002, after the media started asking more questions about why the Bush administration didn’t target Saudi Arabia for its terrorist-supporting activities, “a poll taken by a Republican firm found the unfavorable rating for Saudi Arabia increased from 50 percent in May to 63 percent in August 2002” (427). This type of reporting can be a form of public service, by informing voters about political issues and the behavior of political leaders (Graber, McQuail and Norris 2). How well the media perform this public duty, from reporters’ newsgathering routines to swaying public opinion, are fertile topics of inquiry for communication researchers. Perhaps this is never truer than when proposed laws could affect the personal freedoms of citizens, as is the case with antiterrorism laws. This thesis will thus shed some light on how the media function as political actors at the state level.

Scholars also are interested in the media’s role as gatekeepers of information. Doris A. Graber, Denis McQuail and Norris address the role of newsrooms as gatekeepers who filter political news. They argue, therefore, it’s as important to watch newsrooms as it is to watch the political actors themselves. “Because the wealth of political information of potential concern to the public ... exceeds the capacity to publicize it, selections must be made,” they write (Graber, McQuail and Norris 2). Decisions on what makes the headlines and what hits the cutting room floor are important choices, which have reverberations at kitchen tables and in the halls of government. In 2002, more than 2,000 pieces of legislation were up for consideration at the State Capitol, as the session was the second of a two-year process. The 2001-2002 session would conclude in 2002, and all of the bills introduced in 2001 were still active in 2002. Therefore, there were 2,000 bills still on the legislature’s agenda in 2002. After the 2002 session ended, any bills not passed would have to be reintroduced. According to the legislature’s Web site,

http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm, about 1,000 bills were introduced in 2001, and another 1,000 bills in 2002, making for 2,000 bills and resolutions that were in play during the time articles being examined in this study were being written. Whether terrorism bills made it to the limited space in the state's press, an important question, will be answered by this research. Picking stories to write from hundreds of possible topics is part of the media's job. From the snail's pace of law-making to the sometimes fast-moving lobbying and politicking that goes into passing a bill, the media face the challenge of choosing what is salient to present to their audiences. Determining saliency is one of the original definitions of news "framing" (Entman; D'Angelo).

Entman wrote the first piece defining "framing" for the communication discipline ("Framing"). Framing is powerful, he says, because it consistently offers a way to describe the power of a text (51). Entman describes this power as the "the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location—such as a speech, utterance, news report or novel—to that consciousness" (51-52). He further elaborates that to "frame is *to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described" (52, italics in the original). Frames are defined as much by what they omit as what they include, he said (54). In the news media, determining what is salient is a judgment made by reporters and editors. Framing studies interpret and analyze those choices and how they are translated to the reader. In this study, the number of bills introduced related to terrorism was compared to the number of stories about the bills. If *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The*

Macon Telegraph, Associated Press and Morris News Service didn't determine the bills to be salient enough for coverage, that in itself is a framing choice.

In discussing framing analysis, Entman and Andrew Rojecki have said that "studying the way images and words supply information and stimuli to audiences, how they set up implied contrasts and critical omissions, and how they selectively frame the world" are key to understanding framing. (4). Mediated information includes not just what media explicitly say but how a given message compares with previous ones and with potential material on the same subject (4). In their book, *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*, they sought to understand what the baseline standard would be to judge observations in the press about messages on race (11). In the case of the war on terror, Entman says that the messages from the Bush White House emphasize patriotism and use evocative words such as "evil" and "enemy" to frame a culturally resonant, even moral, message ("Cascading," 415-418). That message was so powerful, adds Christian Spielvogel, that even while John Kerry questioned certain Iraq war policies during the 2004 presidential election, Kerry failed to mount an argument that could shake Bush's moral underpinnings for the war (549). This could have been one reason Kerry lost to Bush in the 2004 election, he speculates (550).

Furthermore, argues Spielvogel, frames can limit discussion by limiting "the range of interpretative possibilities by telling us what is important, what the range of acceptable debate on a topic is, and when an issue has been resolved" (551). That means that a frame, as the name implies, imposes boundaries, and closes out certain meanings while incorporating others. "When used in political discourse," writes Spielvogel, "frames rooted in moral values invite audiences to interpret political issues and programs based on their own deeply rooted cultural standards of what is considered right or wrong in human conduct, action and character" (551). The war on

terror is full of moral values, as are attempts at creating a safer society through legislation. In this study of the Georgia legislature after September 11, it's expected that the need for security would be used as a frame for passing laws that during other times would be considered repugnant both to lawmakers and the population. But in a time of war, these same laws can take on a moral meaning and significance to make them more acceptable. Still, Nacos would caution, it could be easy for newspapers to sidestep bills responding to terror. This study, therefore, analyzed the articles written by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service about antiterrorism laws, within the news, and moral, context of the day. While the Capitol press corps didn't sidestep terror bills entirely, they covered the bills selectively. One bill, the governor's bioterrorism initiative, received the bulk of the coverage, while many others were never covered at all or covered only briefly. The lack of coverage, as Spielvogel and Entman say, is a framing choice too.

Frames: A Map to Understanding

In general, news frames function to help the writer and the reader understand what the story is about. News frames serve as metaphors, distilling complicated matters down into simple concepts. For example, two common news frames are: the "horserace" in politics (who is running ahead in the polls or in fundraising) and "conflict" frames to simplify complex stories (Norris, Kern and Just 13-14). Norris, Kern and Just set out to study the "war on terror frame," specifically exploring how terrorism frames were generated and reinforced; how they shaped patterns of news coverage in different contexts and cultures; and how they had the power to affect public opinion (4). They explained that news frames function by representing "persistent patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion that furnish a coherent interpretation and

evaluation of events” (4). Common practices in newsgathering, such as determining what and how stories are covered, contribute toward the use of these frames. “Out of the myriad ways of describing events in the world, journalists rely upon familiar news frames and upon the interpretation of events offered by credible sources to convey dominant meanings, make sense of the facts, focus the headlines, and structure the story line” (4). In short, news frames—ready to pull off the shelf at a moment’s notice—fit the field of journalism as a ready interpretation of events that must be reported quickly and on deadline.

News frames, therefore, become tools making the media’s job easier and can be a shorthand for readers:

Conventional frames, which become mainstream in the news media, provide contextual cues, giving meaning and order to complex problems, actions and events by slotting the new into familiar categories or storyline ‘pegs.’ Conventional news frames of terrorism are important because they furnish consistent, predictable, simple and powerful narratives that are embedded in the social construction of reality (Norris, Kern and Just 4-5).

In other words, frames at their basic level help break down a new, complex story into bite size pieces that are easier for the public to digest. Frames, which use key words and phrases, also help the public remember and understand that this story builds on a larger, emerging picture. The story of terrorism—new to mainstream America—can begin to fit into a simple outline when frames are created. “Through frames, apparently scattered and diverse events are understood within regular patterns,” Norris, Kern and Just wrote (11). Frames then become useful to different actors for different purposes. Politicians can compose responses to situations in simple, bite-sized messages. Reporters can fit the simplified story into a 60-second broadcast, and the public can use frames to make sense of complex events, people and leaders (Norris, Kern and Just 11).

Frames, though they fit specific sets of facts, are created within a broader context and act as a signpost to navigate the larger issue:

The idea of “news frames” refers to interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events. Where conventional news frames reflect broader norms and values common within a particular society, dissident movements challenging the mainstream news culture are likely to prove most critical of their use, providing rival ways to frame and interpret events (10-11).

In other words, when the media pull a ready-made frame off the shelf to fit a story, they may be missing a crucial angle or fact that doesn’t fit into the frame created for the topic. Norris, Kern and Just explained how news frames can leave gaps in the story. “Conventional news frames never provide a comprehensive explanation of all aspects of any terrorist act, leaving some important puzzles unresolved, while accounting for those factors which best fit the particular interpretation of events” (11). The media may oversimplify the facts, overlooking key elements that don’t fit the frame, or emphasizing information that fits the frame better. Gaps are the result of using frames, which is one of the shortcomings of news frames.

Frames are also the subject of emotional and cultural contexts, from patriotism to fear. Some frames may have greater emotional impact, and therefore pervade culture and media faster, while others may strike a dissonant chord. President Bush promoting a war with Iraq, for example, can emphasize fear of an “axis of evil” while reassuring citizens that’s it’s okay to go shopping to support the economy (Entman, “Cascading”). Meanwhile, administration voices that worry that actually Saudi Arabia might also be supporting terrorists can be silenced because they don’t fit into the frame about Iraq.

Frames also can be loaded with other signifiers, as Entman explores in “Cascading,” in which he describes a White House frame for going to war in Iraq, instead of Saudi Arabia, compared to an oppositional frame offered by reporters Thomas Friedman in the *New York Times* and Seymour Hersh in the *New Yorker* (415-432). Journalists can report both stories, but as seen with the Bush administration and the war in Iraq, a dominant frame emerged even when there was some opposition to it (Entman, “Cascading”). Thus, frames have many uses, but also are prone to pitfalls. They can be crutches for the media, leading to sins of omission or exaggeration. For politicians, they can help purvey cultural messages and make deeply emotional arguments. They can also serve to silence divergent voices. Frames when used by the media, therefore, have positive and negative traits, at once simplifying the reporting process while simultaneously resulting in sins of omission. When used by politicians, frames can silence certain voices while emphasizing other points of view.

The Power to Control the Frame

Framing is a subset of agenda-setting theory, which says that the media may not be successful at telling us what to *think*, but they are successful at telling us what to think *about* (McCombs). While agenda setting is concerned about how the news media create “salient” issues, framing essentially goes a step further by analyzing the selective process of filtering events to encourage or discourage certain interpretations. By selecting one idea over another, the media are imposing “frames” on events. Framing is in essence the “packaging” of rhetoric. Entman described how frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture (52). Frames are manifested in the text by certain keywords—stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences—

that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of fact or judgments. Framing in political news, Entman argued, “plays a major role in the exertion of political power, and the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of the actors or interests that competed to dominate the text” (55). While he admits that there may be polysemy, or different interpretations of the text, if everything in the text reinforces the dominant meaning, then that will be the most common interpretation (56). Therefore, a news frame isn’t as simple as it may appear. By using a frame, the media may omit important information, or may be choosing a dominant, mainstream interpretation of events. They also may ignore some facts to favor others that fit the frame or alienate certain readers who have different interpretations of events.

Norris, Kern and Just, for their part, say that terrorism framing is shaped by three factors: 1) the facts surrounding the terrorist event itself; 2) the way the events are interpreted by official sources including experts; and 3) the way the events are interpreted by dissident groups, in their communiqués or demands, for example (11-13). As the media look for story sources, those would be the actors most frequently consulted for information and interpretation. In the case of the Georgia legislature, the “event” would be the proposed laws; the official sources would be the lawmakers and bureaucrats; and the “dissidents” would be any groups that oppose the legislation, including other lawmakers, citizens, lobbyists or others. This study will add to the literature on framing by looking at how the *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service consulted different actors and framed the coverage terror prevention bills. In fact, the study found that surprisingly few voices were allowed to frame the news articles after September 11 pertaining to terrorism. In general, the media analyzed in this study allowed lawmakers to frame the issues. The elites, therefore, were

allowed to frame the debate, rather than dissident voices, like those of citizen activists, experts, lobbyists, or opponents to a bill.

Reliance on Battle-worn Frames can Alienate the Public

Framing studies expose the strengths and weaknesses of the media coverage of counterterrorism efforts. By examining the content, sourcing, and tone of news articles, framing can expose biases or partisan angles, shallow reporting, or reliance on experts—all of which can end up alienating the public. Because news coverage of terrorism may influence how citizens view terrorism prevention laws—whether to support them, oppose them, or ignore them—it’s important to analyze how the media frame the issues. Brewer made a connection between media coverage and opinions expressed over gay rights. In a 2003 study, he specifically tested citizens’ connections to two core American values (egalitarianism and traditional morality) in the public debate over gay rights from 1990-97. He concluded that the mass media’s framing influenced how educated citizens viewed the values connected to the debate. He showed how important it is for scholars to monitor important issues as they emerge in the press.

The media can often adopt the frames of experts they quote for context and analysis in their stories. By doing that, certain frames can get promoted over others. Sometimes, certain frames are used so often in media reports they become trite and lose their power. In 2002, for example, Brewer and Sigelman studied political scientists’ use of the “game frame” in articles on political issues and campaigns in major U.S. newspapers in 1997. They compared their findings to the scholarly work of political scientists. They found that political scientists cited as expert pundits in newspaper articles were more often quoted about the “horse race” aspect of campaigns than in the political scientists’ scholarly publications. Quotations regarding leadership or policy

issues appeared much less frequently in both types of publications, but newspapers even less frequently quoted professors on those topics than who was ahead of whom in polls or fundraising. Framing politics as a “game” or “horse race” has been determined to have an alienating effect on the public (25). As this example shows, framing analysis can expose a reliance on a single frame, and expose how a frame can become a crutch instead of a useful paradigm.

In 2001, S. Robert Lichter, with the help of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, revealed how staying with a one-dimensional frame for covering an issue can even prompt complaints. The Lichter research was part of a series of studies on how three national broadcast news networks covered U.S. presidential races. In 2000, the fourth campaign studied using the same techniques, the researchers found that not only had the total news coverage of candidates declined, but the focus on the “horse race” aspect of the campaign had increased, prompting complaints from candidates that the networks ignored the real issues. The factors that declined were: overall airtime devoted to the race and airtime available to the candidates (the average sound bite is eight seconds). Attention to the horse race increased sharply but issue coverage didn’t. Finally, the tone of the coverage remained consistently negative, though the Democrats sometimes fared better than the Republicans (8). The author says the findings “call into question recent efforts to make election news more useful to voters.” By staying in one frame of view, the media undercut their ability to give citizens important and useful information that they could use to make voting decisions. Frames, while convenient, can undercut other important topics and interpretations. In that vein, this study asked whether the media covering the Georgia legislature relied on “stock” frames to craft stories about post-September 11 bills, or deviated using oppositional or more inventive news frames. The study found that there were words and images

that emerged in the coverage, especially those that evoked terror or widespread illness. The study also found that the media used very few oppositional frames.

Framing studies can also show how the media adopt the views of the political elite. Nacos studied media coverage of counterterrorism initiatives, including the war against Afghanistan, and discovered that the mainstream media embraced the views of the political elite who were in charge of the counterterrorist war:

The events of September 11, 2001, changed the mindsets of Americans—including those in the mainstream media. As a result, the news reflected and reinforced the views and policy preferences of the administration, the political elite, and the vast majority of the public. The media elite seemed sensitive to the perennial charge that the ‘liberal’ news media were out of touch with the majority of Americans and not as patriotic as the rest of the country (161).

The media, then, are not immune to the criticism and desires of the public and government. At times, as Nacos said, the media will adopt the views of decision makers or the public, to seem more sensitive to the concerns of society. Entman also found that the Bush White House was extremely successful in getting its “war on terror” frame echoed in the media (“Cascading”). Initially, when two new outlets, *The New York Times* and the *New Yorker*, questioned the Bush doctrine frame regarding war versus Iraq or Saudi Arabia, very few other media outlets followed those stories. It wasn’t until other political elites began questioning the Bush frame that other media picked up on the story in a significant way (423-427). Entman describes this as a “cascade,” in which information from the White House waterfalls down to other political elites, then to the media, then shows up in news frames, and finally lodges in the public mind, as evidenced by polls and other indicators (419). It’s much more difficult for frames to go from the bottom (public and press) to the top (White House and other elites), Entman says.

In the face of a media that reacts to public pressure from elites, framing is an excellent tool to discern patriotism or other biases and slants in news stories. In 1991, Entman studied the media coverage of two almost identical events to compare the media frames imposed upon them. He chose the 1983 incident when a Soviet fighter plane shot down a Korean Air Lines Flight, killing 269 people, and the 1988 incident when a U.S. Navy ship shot down an Iran Air flight, killing 290 people. While both events were characterized by the military as “accidents,” after they identified the passenger aircraft as potentially hostile targets, the Soviet incident was demonized by the American press as immoral while the U.S. incident was characterized as an understandable accident. The Soviets were guilty, while the Americans were not, the press intoned, Entman’s analysis showed (6). But “nothing inherent in the reality of the events compelled the starkly different framing that the data demonstrate” (9). By “de-emphasizing the agency and the victims and by the choice of graphics and adjectives, the news stories about the U.S. downing of an Iranian plane called it a technical problem while the Soviet downing of a Korean jet was portrayed as a moral outrage,” Entman wrote (6). In other words, Entman found that the two similar incidents were treated differently, largely because of who the actors were. Could it be that there was a patriotic duty American reporters felt when U.S. military was involved versus our then-arch enemies, the Soviet Union? During the “war on terror,” when the Bush administration was looking to state governments to make laws that would mesh with national terror prevention strategies (O’Hanlon et al; Glenn and Bennett), this study asks how those strategies were articulated, and by whom, in Georgia? This study found that the elites were successful in getting the media to parrot the frames the elites created. In fact, the elites were quoted almost to the exclusion of lobbyists, citizens and experts.

Who framed whom?

Who gets to frame the debate is often a function of how well a source articulates a frame to the media. In 2002, Fico and Cote published a framing study that analyzed bias in the news coverage of the 1998 governor's race in Michigan. They compared that year's coverage to three previous elections. The authors discovered that overall the 1998 election coverage favored the Democratic candidate. However, as they analyzed issue coverage, they found the Republican candidate was better able to frame the "substantive issues" presented in the campaign news stories. Analyzing media reports on terror policy, therefore, can help determine who is framing the debate to the reporters: lawmakers, lobbyists, citizens or experts. Within the ranks of the lawmakers, framing can determine whether Democratic or Republican lawmakers are better able to articulate their point of view.

The words the media use to describe issues are also important. Sometimes one researcher found, the media are caught without the vocabulary necessary to "frame" a news story. Dov Shinar's 2000 study analyzed media coverage of the peace processes in the Middle East and Northern Ireland, honing in on the specific words used by journalists to characterize the peace process and the political actors. His primary hypothesis was that the media were caught linguistically "unprepared" to interpret the peace process, and thus reverted to using war terminology to describe peace negotiations. He concluded that the media should develop a vocabulary for peace-related stories.

When a newspaper shines a spotlight on terrorism prevention measures, there are other issues. For example, newspapers often focus less on the substance of the bills, and more on the controversy over who supports or opposes the measures. The media tend to frame the debate (in terms of pros/cons, supporters/opponents) rather than the substance of the proposals (Brewer and

Sigelman; Nacos). That sort of framing leaves out important information for citizens—such as what the proposal would mean if enacted. Nacos, for example, showed that television newscasts dealt with antiterrorism proposals usually by mentioning them in a few sentences, while longer segments focused mainly on the controversy between the backers and opponents of measures “rather than on the substance of the far-reaching legislation” (Nacos 136). If Nacos and other researchers are correct, one would expect *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service to focus very little on bills’ substance, but instead frame the issues by focusing on the politics of who is for or against the bills. In fact, that wasn’t the case. These news outlets actually focused more on issues than on gamesmanship.

This thesis asked whether the Georgia newspapers and wire services studied stayed with one kind of news frame when covering terrorism and who framed the debate—government officials, Democrats or Republicans, concerned citizens or interested elites. The study found that indeed the media allowed the elites—in this case the ruling Democratic party—to frame the debate over how Georgia should prepare for and respond to terrorist attacks. The study found that the voices of citizens were all but entirely ignored (only two citizens were quoted in 39 stories), the voices of experts were minimized and the voices of opposition rarely quoted. In addition to studying whether the Capitol press embraced the “official view” of the political elite, this study explored whether the press was more sensitive to playing a patriotic role to support the effort to prevent attacks than an oppositional role. The study found that indeed, for the most part, the press used highly-charged, patriotic quotations from lawmakers, and in general, adopted the frames used by the elites, thereby adopting a patriotic frame. This is important because it shows how the newspapers and wire services willingly covered the topics that the elites proposed—giving the elites both a mouthpiece and potentially more political influence.

While much framing research exists on the national media's coverage of national issues, and some of it, like the articles by Fico and Cote, focuses on the news coverage of state legislatures, specifically in Michigan, there are no framing studies that specifically focus on the Georgia legislature and terrorism. This thesis will add significantly to the scholarly research by looking state-level media and how they framed terrorism bills in the Georgia General Assembly. Specifically, the thesis asked how *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service framed the terrorism debate during the 2002 legislative session. As the research outlined above shows, the question is important for democracy, for decision-making and for the development of public policy.

Chapter 3

Research Method

The study used framing analysis, as explained by Entman (1993, 51-58; and 2003, 417-418) and the research design (using the predetermined frames) of Brewer and Sigelman. Framing studies use elements of content analysis, such as words, phrases, characters, themes and stereotypes, and also can incorporate prominence in page layouts, headlines, subheadlines, photos and the amount of newsprint dedicated to the story. This study used a framing analysis that was pre-established, as opposed to reading the articles to see which frames emerged. The writer looked for frames similar to those used in a study by Brewer and Sigelman.

Based on studies by Nacos and Norris, Kern and Just, this writer hypothesized that the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service used news frames to cover anti-terror laws, and tried to force the facts into the frame, even if it meant ignoring other aspects of the story. This writer also expected that newspapers and wire services would have handicapped the bills' chances for success, mimicking the "horse race" coverage that typifies political campaign news. Also expected is *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution's*, *The Macon Telegraph's*, Associated Press' and Morris News Service's patriotic stance towards anti-terror laws and reliance on experts and politicians to frame the debate, as opposed to reporting the concerns of citizen. In other words, it was expected these media would adopt the Bush administration's "war on terror" frame. Some of the expectations were met, and others weren't. This research looked for predetermined frames, developed by Brewer and Sigelman. The frames looked for were about how the media characterized stories, either as an "issue" story, a "leadership" story, or a "game frame" story (as described below). The biggest surprise came with the "game" frame: the articles in this study used the game frame much less

frequently than expected, favoring the “issue” frame instead. Perhaps the issue of terrorism and security are complicated enough that the “game frame” metaphor didn’t fit those stories, even though a few articles did use that frame (mostly opinion stories however). The stories also used patriotic quotations, favored the point of view of the elites, and sidelined the views of citizens, activists, experts and lobbyists. One concern that emerged in this research, however, is whether framing studies are useful when studying state-level media. Because the media studied in this thesis allowed the elites to almost completely determine the agenda, it’s possible that framing studies aren’t a great tool for studying state legislative coverage. Perhaps that’s because the state media, such as the bureaus at Georgia’s Capitol, don’t have the resources to be a real “watchdog” press. Instead, they allowed the elites to spoon-feed them story ideas, and then regurgitated them to the reading public.

The study asked the following research questions:

Research questions

RQ1: Did *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service pick frames for its coverage of terror-prevention laws and debates? Based on a review of the literature, it was expected that the print media in this study would choose several frames imposed on stories about the legislature’s response to terrorism.

RQ2: If the newspaper used frames, which frames dominated the coverage or was most prevalent? This thesis looked for three predetermined frames, and therefore expected that the print media would frame anti-terror bills like a “horserace” (or “game” frame), handicapping the bills’ chances for success, giving short-thrift to the issues underpinning the debate (an “issue” frame), or the personalities of the people introducing, lobbying for or opposing the measures (a

“leadership” frame).

RQ3: Who did *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service allow to frame the debate—government officials, Democrats or Republicans, concerned citizens or interested experts? Or did the media create a new frame as they went along? Regarding terror prevention strategies, how were those strategies articulated and by whom? Were different actors treated differently by the press? Based on previous research, it was expected that *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service would allow a bill’s sponsor to frame the debate. Experts, however, would articulate the specific needs for antiterrorism measures. It was also expected that the media in this study would treat citizens differently from elected officials and experts.

RQ4: Did *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service cast a critical or accepting eye upon the legislature’s response to terrorism? If a slant is noted, did it play into the way the paper framed the stories? How is the slant noticeable? It was expected for most of the stories to have a patriotic, as opposed to oppositional, tone, because of the “war on terror” frame that emerged after September 11.

RQ5: Did the newspapers and wire services cover the topic of antiterrorism legislation thoroughly? It was expected that that coverage would be deep on one or two issues, but other bills either were rarely covered in-depth or never covered at all.

Data

For political news in Atlanta, there are several sources, including alternative weeklies such as *Creative Loafing*, trade journals such as the business weekly the *Atlanta Business*

Chronicle and the daily legal newspaper the *Fulton County Daily Report*, and television and radio newscasts. There are also several subscription-only political sources, like Capitol Impact's "Georgia Report," and Insider Advantage. Atlanta's paper of record, however, and the paper with the largest circulation in the state is *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. The *AJC*'s distribution averaged 660,445 copies on Sundays and 404,367 copies from Monday through Thursday in 2002, the largest circulation in the state of Georgia, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation (Kempner, Wilbert). Due to its status as the major daily newspaper in Georgia, the *AJC*'s news coverage merits study and analysis. The newspaper also had the largest Capitol news bureau, with six reporters. Similarly, the Associated Press and Morris News Service kept the second largest news bureaus at the State Capitol, with three staffers each, and their coverage was picked up by news outlets statewide. Finally, *The Macon Telegraph* also kept a one-person news bureau at the Capitol in 2002, providing another insight into the news choices being made by the Capitol press corps, specifically by a regional newspaper. Circulation for the Macon paper in 2002 was 86,848 on Sundays (Wilbert). The Associated Press and Morris News Service articles are picked up by newspapers statewide. Specifically, the Associated Press' members include nearly every daily paper in the state, including *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and the *Savannah Morning News*, for a total of 40 newspapers. The AP State Wire also goes to publications outside the state. That wire includes news from all 50 states, drawing news stories from 143 U.S. bureaus and from AP member newspapers and broadcasters. Associated Press wire stories are also picked up by 40 statewide news outlets, and are also available on the Lexis database. The Morris News Service is used by papers like *The Augusta Chronicle*, *Athens Banner-Herald* (28,000 subscribers), *Savannah Morning News* (69,973 subscribers) and the *Georgia Times-Union* (9,000 subscribers). The two largest subscribers are *The Augusta*

Chronicle and *Savannah Morning News*. The *Augusta Chronicle*'s circulation, according to database Lexis, is 100,592 on Sundays in 2007. Data for 2002 wasn't available. This study therefore consulted stories in three major newspapers and by two major news wires, including: *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and *The Macon Telegraph* for their original reporting; and articles in *The Augusta Chronicle* and *Savannah Morning News* by the Associated Press and Morris News Service. The researcher also found AP wire copy in the Lexis database. In the results section, the study notes where an AP or Morris News Service story was published – either on the wire or in a member publication. The study focused on articles published from January 14, 2002 to April 14, 2002, which were the dates that the 2002 General Assembly was officially in session, the first session after September 11.

Using search engines and newspaper Web sites, this writer searched for stories by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service about the legislature's efforts to address terror threats using the following key words:

- Legislature and terrorism
- Lawmaker and terrorism and Georgia
- General Assembly and terrorism
- Bioterrorism and Georgia
- Bio-attack
- Biohazard
- GEMA (Georgia Emergency Management Agency)
- Biowar
- Bioterror
- Homeland security

The search produced 39 articles, of which 18 appeared in the *AJC*, 10 were written by the Associated Press, six by Morris News Service and five by *The Macon Telegraph*. For information about specific legislation introduced during the session, the study also consulted the complete record of the 2002 Georgia legislature, available online at

http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm. That record shows there were 21 bills introduced dealing with aspects of preparing for, fending off or responding to terrorism. In all, there were more than 2,000 bills and resolutions under consideration during the 2002 session. The Web site has a complete record of the bills introduced and passed in 2002. This researcher looked at the universe of bills introduced regarding terrorism and compared that to the universe of articles on terrorism bills by the *AJC*, *Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press or the Morris News Service.

Variables

Brewer and Sigelman monitored political scientists' use of the "game frame," or horserace analogy, while analyzing political issues and campaigns in the major U.S. newspapers in 1997. They compared their findings to political scientists' research papers published in scholarly journals. They found that political scientists more frequently used the horse race analogy in newspaper coverage of political campaigns, even in a year with few elections, than in their own scholarly publications. Issues and leadership appeared much less frequently as frames in both types of publications. And newspapers used those frames much less frequently than did political science journals. This idea of framing politics as a "game" has been determined by other researchers to have an alienating effect on the public (Brewer and Sigelman 25). This is why it is important to investigate the prominence of frames in the mass media.

This study looked for predetermined themes, borrowing from Brewer and Sigelman's study. Leadership, policy issues and horse races are themes that are broad enough to characterize political actors, events and policy questions, but different enough to capture framing trends. Brewer and Sigelman have offered definitions of terms that this study will borrow, with a few

modifications (26). This study is not analyzing campaign coverage or political scientists, but legislative coverage by a print outlet. Therefore the words “campaign” and “candidate” have been replaced by “policy” and “politician.” Also, the word “speaker,” referring to the political scientist, has been replaced by “news story,” referring to the newspaper article. The coding scheme (Appendix A) they developed, and this study will borrow, includes the following units of analysis (26):

- *Issue*. The news story focuses on a specific policy issue (e.g. the economy, crime, affirmative action, scandals) and/or a politician’s policy stance.
- *Leadership*. The news story focuses on a politician’s leadership qualities (e.g. competence, integrity, ethics, courage, leadership experience).
- *Game*. The news story focuses on a policy in terms of strategy and tactics (including game, war, and sports metaphors) and/or success (e.g., handicapping a politician’s initiative, and its chances winning or losing).
- *Other*.

Units of Analysis

To classify texts into different theme types, this researcher looked for certain words and phrases and focused on the overall content of the story. A story was classified as “game frame” if it focused on a bill’s chances for passage, who is likely to vote for it, which lobbyists were for or against it, and used words or phrases such as: chances, odds, likely or unlikely passage, vote trading, players, lobbyists, lobbies, interest groups.

“Issue” stories focused mainly on a current problem, policy or crisis that needs to be addressed, what caused it, and how it can be fixed. Words and phrases this researcher looked for include: issue, problem, policy, predicament, solution, fix, answer, way out.

“Leadership” stories focused on one or more politicians, profiled a lawmaker with personal details, or outlined a lawmaker’s strategy and legislative record, his or her supporters, detractors

and resumé. This writer looked for words or phrases including: leadership, challenge, guides, manages, resolves, politician, determination, problem-solver.

Definitions

In the literature, researchers define two kinds of responses to terrorism: anti- and counterterrorism. Using Department of Defense definitions, Nacos explains antiterrorism as a defensive measure that will reduce the vulnerability of people to terrorist acts. For example, preparing state laws to impose quarantines on sick victims of a contagious disease spread by bioterrorism is an antiterrorist effort (138). Counterterrorism is an offensive action designed to prevent, deter and respond to terrorist acts, such as the war on Afghanistan, according to Nacos (138). In an example of both kinds of actions, Glenn and Bennett recommended that California focus on both antiterrorism defensive measures to reduce the vulnerability of people and property to attacks, and counterterrorism offensive measures designed to deter and fend off attacks (52).

The Bush administration proposed to deter attacks by “preventing anthrax attacks, improving airport and airline security, beginning to link the databases of various law enforcement and intelligence agencies so that information on suspects can be widely shared and promptly used, stockpiling vaccines and antibiotics against biological attack, researching better antidotes to biological attack, improving the public health infrastructure needed to detect biological attacks and treat their victims, better equipping and training local responders for any mass-casualty attack, and making modest improvements in border security” (O’Hanlon et al 3). Those are examples of both kinds of terrorist fighting measures. That study concluded that two areas still needed beefing up in the national and statewide plans: protecting domestic sites and

managing the consequences of an attack (3). Some of those duties fall on the states that often are responsible for emergency management systems, hospitals, ambulance services, law enforcement and border patrols, and other services providers that would be first responders in the case of an attack. This thesis used those definitions in explaining the types of measures the Georgia legislature proposed—either to respond to an attack’s consequences (anti-terror measures) or to prevent terror attacks (counter-terror measures)—and to study the way the media framed these efforts.

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed to determine first, if the newspaper used news frames about terror; and second, which frames dominated the coverage of terrorism prevention efforts in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *The Macon Telegraph*, Associated Press and Morris News Service. Once the universe of articles was studied, the study drew conclusions about which frames were most prevalent, if frames were present in most of the articles and Georgia’s legislative response to the September 11 terrorist attacks.

Chapter 4

Results

If citizens wanted to follow and understand the bills introduced during the 2002 Georgia legislature regarding terrorism, they would have had to do most of the research themselves. By and large, the two news services and two newspapers analyzed in this study failed to report on most of the state's efforts to boost security and prepare for terrorism—which in many cases also meant curbs on freedoms and access to information. In fact, one major bill, Senate Bill 459 (Appendix C), which was signed by the governor and never got any media attention from the press, aligned Georgia law with the USA Patriot Act (Library of Congress). Other bills were mentioned only in legislative briefs, but were never explored further or followed through the legislative process. In general, the Morris News Service had the best and most complete coverage of terror-related laws. Six stories by the service were feature stories that were longer (meaning more than 500 words) than coverage by the other news outlets. Few of the stories in the *AJC* were longer than 400 words, for example (Appendix B). The Associated Press also did a better job than *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* or *The Macon Telegraph* in covering antiterrorism bills. The AP was the first news outlet to see the trend coming—and to use the frame for several issues, though not as often as the Morris News Service. One issue covered by the Associated Press was the energy the September 11 attacks gave to a new crop of religiously-motivated bills. One lawmaker was reported as saying: “The country’s mood after September 11 has boosted the political gain to be had by doing it,” with regards to passing faith-based bills after September 11 (March 14, 2002, “Christian Right Meeting with Success in legislature,” Appendix B). In only two instances did *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* rise to the challenge of tackling September 11 as a trend in the legislature, first in its story on racial profiling legislation

and second in its coverage of Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C), the governor's bioterrorism preparedness act. But in general, the *AJC* failed to thoroughly cover the progress of most antiterrorism bills and only superficially covered the trend of September 11 bills in the Georgia legislature. As expected in Research Question No. 5, two bills which became law (Senate Bill 459 and Senate Bill 330, Appendix C) didn't receive any media coverage. Of the rest of the 21 bills in this study, fewer than five were covered at any length, and only one, Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C), known as the governor's bioterrorism bill, was covered gavel-to-gavel, or as it went through the legislative process.

One of the biggest failings of the coverage was that the media didn't provide the bill numbers, such as Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C), in their coverage, except on rare occasions. The failure to provide bill numbers meant that citizens must search for the bill like a needle in a haystack on the legislature's Web site, which at the time had a barely functioning search function. Search terms would often give results that were too broad and the search would return hundreds of documents that weren't relevant. Another notable disappointment in the articles was the lack of direct quotations from opponents to a bill. In general, as expected in Research Question No. 4, stories took on a more patriotic as opposed to oppositional framework. The news coverage tended to summarize ideas from the opposing side, while giving the bulk of the coverage to the proponent in the form of direct quotations or excerpts from a bill or quotations from experts or lobbyists in favor of the bill. In many cases, the media adopted the frame of the elites, meaning the lawmakers proposing the bill. For example, there were citizens groups and special interest groups opposed to language in SB 385, the governor's bioterrorism bill (Appendix C). Those groups were concerned about forced vaccinations and quarantines, but only

one article in this study, by the Morris News Service, went into any depth about these groups' concerns.

The use of alarmist language was very common in the stories, although usually in the form of direct quotations. Except for a few occasions, reporters' prose wasn't alarmist per se. But the quotations reporters' selected were frequently alarmist. For example, in the April 4 article, "House Passes Bill Updating Emergency Powers Law," (Appendix B) the reporter selected the following quotation from a proponent of the governor's bioterrorism bill, Rep. Charlie Smith (D-St. Marys): "We need a mechanism ahead of time if some horrible attack actually happens,"; and an opponent, Rep. Brian Joyce (R-Lookout Mountain): "I don't think we should make it easier for anybody to suspend the civil rights of our constituency." Both quotations are examples of selecting powerful, attention-grabbing language. In this way, reporters adopted an alarmist frame, even when the strong language was both for and against the bill.

As will be noted later in this chapter, the coverage by each news outlet varied greatly. The paper that covered antiterrorism bills the least was *The Macon Telegraph*, which had five articles, three of which were legislative "diaries," or briefs, mentioning terrorism bills without going into any great detail. Perhaps that's because the regional newspaper was looking for extremely local content. The best coverage of terrorism legislation in terms of quantity and quality was Morris News Service. Morris News Service is a statewide news organization aimed at providing news to member papers in its network, many of which are owned by the same parent company. Most of Morris' stories had an extremely detailed approach, seeming to cater to its dual audience: the media elites that would read the wire copy and choose whether to publish it, as well as the hometown audience who might want to read about a local lawmaker. The Associated Press, on the other hand, in addition to its statewide member newspapers which are

for the state's largest cities, also has a national audience. The Associated Press, then, had three possible audiences: the news outlets that subscribe to the service in Georgia (an elite audience), the news outlets that subscribe nationally (which would be looking more for big trend pieces as opposed to very detailed local pieces), plus the news consumer. It's possible that the extreme local focus and mission of the Morris News Service, in this case reflected by the coverage of Georgia politics, gave the news service more license to cover the details of the legislative debate.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Results

There were 18 articles in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* about bills introduced in response to September 11 from January 14, 2002 to April 14, 2002. Of those, two were news commentary, two were opinions and six were "legislative notes," or brief news updates. The rest, or eight articles, were news stories on specific anti-terror bills, mentioning a total of eight initiatives. Still, only two of those stories covered September 11 as an important trend in lawmaking. The issue most covered by the *AJC* was Democratic Gov. Roy Barnes' bioterrorism bill, or Senate Bill 385 (Appendix C). The measure would increase the state's powers during a bioterror attack by authorizing forced vaccinations and quarantines. Other *AJC* stories covered how September 11 could give a hate crimes bill a new lease on life, how September 11 could torpedo the state's efforts to reform laws governing driver's licenses for illegal immigrants and how Georgia was establishing new homeland security and defense acts.

In the 18 *AJC* articles, 12 were primarily framed by issues, like "the war on terror." Three were framed by leadership, or who introduced the bill, and three were framed by the bill's chances of passage, or the "game frame." This was unexpected. In Research Question No. 2, the game frame was expected to dominate the legislative coverage. But, as will be explained below,

September 11 stories tended to use the “issue” hook more often than leadership or gamesmanship. It’s reasonable to conclude that was due to the recent nature of the attacks and their dramatic impact, and perhaps the difficulty of putting such a complicated issue into the game frame.

One article about the governor’s bioterrorism bill, SB 385, “Bill Seeks to Set Protocol for Bioterrorist Attacks,” (Appendix B) was disappointing in its shallow treatment of the controversies surrounding the bill. In the February 14, 2002 *AJC* article, the reporter summarizes arguments against the bill, without giving direct attribution or mentioning any of the bill’s opponents by name or organization, thereby giving elites, or lawmakers, the strongest voice. That was a glaring omission for readers who wanted to know more about who was opposing the bill and why. It was also surprising, given the intense opposition to the bill. Instead of reporting more completely on the controversy, the article reported the frame offered by the bill’s backers. The reporter previewed a debate to be held later that day in the Senate, writing: “Some civil libertarians and some Republicans have worried about giving the governor too much authority with too little oversight by the legislature,” but the article never directly quoted any of the opponents to the bill, or their specific concerns. The article only quoted a minority Republican leader, Tom Price (R-Roswell), who said that after working through the language with Democrats, he was comfortable with the bill. The *AJC* coverage of this bill didn’t get much better, despite the impact the bill would have on people’s civil liberties, until more than a month later, when the bill already had cleared the state Senate and had just passed the House. (There were two news commentaries and one editorial opinion about the bill, but only two *AJC news* articles hinted at the controversy prior to votes in the Senate and the House.)

The second feature article, published on April 4, “House Passes Bill Updating Emergency Powers Law,” (Appendix B) was balanced and finally included oppositional voices, with six paragraphs describing the necessity of the bill and two paragraphs against it, which quoted two lawmakers who unsuccessfully tried to amend the bill in the House. The *AJC* uses a strong quotation from a lawmaker opposed to the bill, for the first time directly quoting an opponent of the bill in its coverage. One quotation from the article reads, “We are dealing with forced inoculations, forced quarantines in camps or hospitals, forced reporting of private health care information,” said Rep. Brian Joyce (R-Lookout Mountain). “I don't think we should make it easier for anybody to suspend the civil rights of our constituency.” The bill would have to return to the Senate because of changes the House made to the bill, ostensibly giving citizens time to call about the bill before all the voting was final.

However, for readers who would have liked to have influenced the legislative process before then, the *AJC* coverage was scant, especially compared to what competing news bureaus were doing, especially the Associated Press and Morris News Service, as this chapter will explain below. As compared to the news wire services that had several audiences – including the elites (or editors) using the service – the *AJC*’s Capitol bureau was competing with the other major news stories of the day, from murders and fires to sports and business. As opposed to the wire services, which essentially prepare stories everyday on “speculation” that they will be used by subscribing media, the *AJC*’s Capitol staff could have been directed by *AJC* editors, and therefore limited. While this study didn’t interview reporters and editors, that’s one possible explanation.

Despite the scant details in the *AJC* articles about the governor’s bioterrorism bill, that bill received the most complete coverage of any of the other bills relating to terrorism during the

2002 session. In all, eight of the 18 *AJC* articles were about this bill or mentioned its status. That is hefty in comparison to just three stories mentioning SB 320, Georgia's Homeland Defense Act, and SB 330, the Transportation Security Act of 2002. Of the six other bills in the *AJC*, each were only reported on once, and many of those, only in new briefs that didn't mention bill numbers. News writing courses teach budding journalists to be terse and concise, but accurate. It seems that legislative coverage suffers from this teaching, as readers, and hence citizens, need more information so that they can get involved. As for the governor's bioterrorism bill, perhaps the *AJC* felt like it had to cover that bill precisely because it was introduced by the governor and his legislative leaders. Because most of the other bills didn't have such prominent sponsors, perhaps the *AJC* didn't find them as newsworthy. That shows a reliance on the leadership frame for choosing which news stories to cover. In other words, the governor's prominence (power) led to the coverage of that bill.

The most comprehensive of all 18 *AJC* news articles dealing with the aftermath of terrorism was about illegal immigration after September 11. The February 27 article, "Immigrants' Rights at Risk? Post-September 11 Policies Trigger Debates," mentioned 11 issues; quoted nine voices or experts supporting more regulation of immigrants; six voices or experts cautioning about more regulation; one incidence of the reporter fact checking what a politician said; and several "voice of God" phrases. The initiative that was the focus of the story was that of Rep. Chuck Sims (D-Douglas), who had introduced a bill, HB 1231, to alert a federal agency, then called the Immigration and Naturalization Service, if a foreign student missed class for more than two weeks. The bill didn't end up passing, but the 1,131 word article was atypical in the *AJC* series for length and thoroughness. It went above the level of other articles in providing the voices of lawmakers, experts, activists and citizens who would be affected by

changes to immigration laws. The article also didn't seem to be generated by elites at the Capitol—the tone was more investigative and independent, which was a departure from the tone of most of the rest of the legislative coverage. Perhaps it's notable that this story was written by Mark Bixler, who was not part of the *AJC*'s Capitol news bureau. Perhaps Bixler had a more independent perspective, given that he didn't work on a daily basis with the state's lawmakers.

In general, issue coverage dominated the coverage of September 11 bills in the *AJC*. Because the bills had a major issue to be pegged to, i.e. September 11, the *AJC* used doomsday scenarios and language to its their stories and directly link them to the attacks. For example, one story, “September 11 May Aid Race Profile Bill, Hate Crimes’ Rise is an Impetus,” (Appendix B) published on January 31, leads off: “The aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks has state legislators making another bid to outlaw racial and ethnic profiling.” Another lead, in the article “Bill Seeks to Set Protocol for Bioterrorist Attacks,” (Appendix B) on February 14, 2002, reads: “They are almost unthinkable questions, but they are now among those public officials must ask themselves: What if metro Atlanta residents begin trickling into emergency rooms and clinics complaining of flulike symptoms and a rash? And within a few days or weeks, experts began to suspect that bioterrorists unleashed small pox?” Clearly, the issue of September 11 was used to frame the coverage of these bills.

Leadership was the second dominant frame in the *AJC* coverage, with three stories focusing on which lawmakers had introduced the bills, who their constituency was and what motivated them to introduce the bills. In general, it's notable that the governor's bioterrorism bill was the legislation that received the most attention of the 21 bills introduced after September 11. showing a slant towards leadership as a preferred frame. While many other bills were introduced

responding to September 11, the prominence of SB 385's sponsor – the governor – made this bill the poster child of the September 11 legislation (Appendix B, C, D).

There were surprisingly few stories, only three (of which two were news commentaries) that primarily focused on the gamesmanship in the legislature and the chances of a bill's passage. It is significant that two of those stories were written by Tom Baxter, who wrote his own column bearing his photo, of news analysis and commentary for the *AJC*. These stories had a sarcastic tone and were critical of the partisanship in the legislature. In his February 15 column, “‘Sensible’ Security Measures Seem Elusive” (Appendix B), Baxter wrote that the bioterrorism bill “passed easily, but in a way that exemplified the sometimes contradictory ways politicians are coping with the post-September 11 world.” He goes on to describe petty exchanges between Democrats and Republicans before they praised each other for working on the bioterrorism bill together. Baxter's column also describes a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing about the governor's SB 385 that “became so heated earlier in the week that Chairman Rene Kemp (D-Hinesville) gaveled it to a close.” This is the first mention in the *AJC* of exactly how controversial the governor's bioterrorism bill was. However, Baxter also summarizes the controversy without much detail, writing: “Various provisions of the bill raised concerns across a wide spectrum, from gun groups to the ACLU.” He never mentions which provisions, or why. In another Baxter commentary on February 20, “It's Not Nice to Anger Pro-gun Lobby” (Appendix B), he uses his tongue-in-cheek style to describe a lawmaker's quandary facing an amendment to the bioterrorism bill that sent the bill back to the Senate for a new vote. Baxter wrote:

[The bill “already approved in a bipartisan show of inevitability last week, was brought back for an amendment by Sen. Phil Gingrey (R-Marietta). The word ‘gun’ does not appear in this bill, but it connects to language already on the books which gives the governor power to confiscate guns in emergencies. So Gingrey, who is running for Congress, wanted to change existing law to take that power away.”]

Baxter then describes how one Democrat, the governor's powerful floor leader, Sen. Steve Thompson (D-Powder Springs) was "frustrated and furious" at the amendment, given that he represents a conservative area and would be forced to vote for the gun amendment even though he didn't want to. "What really stuck in Thompson's craw was the realization that he was going to have to vote for the amendment, like nearly everybody else," wrote Baxter. This article is a prime example of using a game frame, which focuses on the jockeying for power, influence and votes, but it's a frame that was rarely used by other *AJC* reporters on September 11 issues. Two days later, the *AJC*'s editorial board added to the sarcasm, in an article entitled: "Senator Guns for Self-promotion," (Appendix B) which criticized the Gingrey amendment, calling it grandstanding and saying that "Gingrey interjected politics into a possible matter of life and death." Arguably, that article was more about leadership—Gingrey's—than the game frame, but was a comment on the way the bill was handled in the context of September 11 and Gingrey's run for Congress, which is pure gamesmanship. [Note: Gingrey won his bid for higher office and is now a U.S. representative.] The January 31, 2002 article, "September 11 May Aid Race Profile Bill, Hate Crimes' Rise is an Impetus," (Appendix B), about a hate crimes bill introduced by African-American lawmakers, focused on the fact that two of the lawmakers were running against each other for a seat in Congress, and that the lead proponent probably didn't have enough votes for the measure (a "game frame" element).

To summarize, the *AJC*'s Capitol news coverage of terrorism bills was more likely to be framed in terms of "issues" compared to the *AJC*'s editorial and opinion writers, like Tom Baxter, who were more likely to use the "game" frame. This is an interesting distinction because this study expected to find that the Capitol news stories would focus more on gamesmanship than issues during the legislative session. Perhaps it says something about the nature, and

newsworthiness, of terrorism and the issues raised by the September 11 attacks that journalists were able to use a different news frame when covering them. This breaks the traditional, and expected, mold in legislative coverage.

Aside from the leads in two *AJC* stories, the loaded words that appeared in most of the articles studied were in quotations from lobbyists, experts or lawmakers. There are a few cases, however, in which the *AJC* summarizes peoples' arguments without giving attribution, thereby adopting an elite's frame. For example, a January 31 article, "September 11 May Aid Race Profile Bill, Hate Crimes' Rise is an Impetus," (Appendix B) about African-American Democrats push for a racial profiling bill, reads: "After the September 11 attacks, people of Middle Eastern descent have said there was a rise in reports of 'flying while Arab'—a twist on the long-standing African-American complaint of 'driving while black.' " Written in "voice of God," meaning without attribution, that passage offers a justification for the racial profiling bill, and clearly reflects the spin of an elite interviewed by the reporter. The article quotes several lawmakers—none of whom are Arab—who claim it is time for a racial profiling bill, but no one offers evidence linking the bill directly to September 11. So, the reporter uses "voice of God" to summarize an argument, even though there is no direct attribution or evidence for it, and in so doing, adopts the views of those elites. Without attribution for facts, readers can't decide for themselves if the information is credible. They also can't discern who is making the statement, and therefore, who is trying to influence their beliefs.

To conclude, the *AJC* gave substantial coverage to only 7 terrorism-related issues during the 2002 Legislative session, but did use the September 11 attacks to frame issues, pegging them to that newsworthy event more frequently than framing issues in terms of leadership or gamesmanship. Too often, the *AJC* allowed elites to frame the debate and frequently failed to

directly quote opponents of a bill, including using “voice of God” phrases that lacked attribution. The stories also lacked pertinent details, such as bill numbers, that would have been helpful to readers, and completely failed to quote citizens. In short, while at least one issue, the governor’s bioterrorism bill, received the bulk of the coverage, the paper could have done better as a whole in reporting on crucial bills concerning the state’s response to terrorism.

Associated Press Results

The Associated Press was more consistent in using September 11 as a frame for reporting Capitol events. Three stories in January focused on SB 385, the governor’s bill that would authorize forced vaccinations and quarantines in the case of a bioterrorism emergency (Appendix C). One story on March 14, “Christian Right Meeting with Success in legislature,” (Appendix B) described how September 11 had given the lawmakers the courage to introduce bills favored by the religious right that previously hadn’t found a constituency at the legislature (Note: that was a wire service story found on Lexis, and it was also published in *The Macon Telegraph*). Additional stories followed several terrorism bills through the General Assembly, such as an effort to amend the state’s open record laws to allow authorities to shield antiterrorism information shared by federal agencies. In all, there were 13 Associated Press stories dealing with 13 September 11 bills and/or budget initiatives. Five were news wire stories; three were published in *The Macon Telegraph* and five were in *The Augusta Chronicle*, of which three were briefs.

The “game” frame appeared more prominently in AP articles than in *AJC* articles. The game frame was the primary frame in five articles, and appeared as secondary frames in three articles, whereas the “issue” frame was primary in three articles and secondary in three articles.

“Leadership” was the main frame in only one article. AP articles also tended to have a more narrative style, following the legislature gavel to gavel, and describing the antics of lawmakers and their changing political fortunes. Several stories also picked up on trends—and described events unfolding in the legislature to support the observation. In general, the AP tended to lean more heavily on the issue and game frame than on the leadership frame. The Associated Press, like the Morris News Service, is a news service for newspapers, and therefore has only one job: to cover the legislature gavel to gavel and provide stories to member newspapers and other media (and hope the stories are picked up by members). That also means the Morris News Service and Associated Press are writing for several audiences: the end user (or media consumer) as well as the elites in the newsrooms who will determine whether to use their stories. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, on the other hand, is a general newspaper covering many beats, and the staff writes for the internal editors as well as the subscriber. This could mean there is a more top-down approach to reporting – in other words, the editors assign stories to the AJC reporters. That is a different news routine than the wire services, which write everyday to produce gavel-to-gavel coverage of the legislature. The AJC’s legislative coverage, despite having six reporters assigned to the Capitol, isn’t the newspaper’s only focus. Perhaps the nature of the Associated Press’ and Morris News Service’s missions at the Capitol allowed them to cover issues more thoroughly. The news services also prepare Sunday feature articles for member papers, and are therefore looking for interesting topics that could be the subject of in-depth articles. This may explain why the Associated Press’ and Morris News Service’s coverage was deeper and more consistent than that of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on September 11 issues.

Two themes emerged in the Associated Press coverage: the “war on terror” and “patriotism.” One of the first stories of the session regarding September 11 bills was the most comprehensive. The January 17 story, “Homeland Security Proposals Get Early Attention in legislature,” (Appendix B) outlined eight bills that had been introduced during the first week of the legislative session. (That was a wire story found on Lexis.) Topics covered included: Gov. Roy Barnes’ quarantine bill which would also make it a misdemeanor for doctors or health workers not to report contagious diseases; Barnes’ proposal to spend \$6.3 million over two years to create the Georgia Information Sharing and Analysis Center to gather information on terrorist threats; a Senate Republican’s bill to redefine criminal terrorism; two House bills to give tax breaks to the military and a Senate Republican’s bill to withhold state money from any agency refusing to work with the Department of Justice. Articles published subsequently didn’t go back to check on the status of many of those bills. Aside from Barnes’ bioterrorism bill, the AP did not cover those bills throughout the session. Nonetheless, most of those bills, even though mentioned only briefly, were never reported by the *AJC*.

The Associated Press also observed trends involving September 11 and the Georgia Capitol. Those stories often used descriptive, loaded words from lawmakers. Specifically, three stories kept track of trends related to September 11. In the January 14 article, “Budget, Homeland Security Top Issues as Georgia legislature convenes Monday” (Appendix B), the AP wrote, “In the aftermath of terrorist attacks last year on New York and Washington, homeland security will also make the agenda.” (That story was on the wire, and was picked up by *The Augusta Chronicle*.) In the January 17 wire story, “Homeland Security Proposals Get Early Attention in legislature,” (Appendix B) there were seven voices or points of view represented in the 665 word story. Regarding a bill to waive state income tax for soldiers stationed overseas for

more than six months, Rep. Paul Jennings (R-Atlanta) told the AP, “We’ve suggested this before, but I think with renewed patriotism it will get more attention.” About the bill that would pull funding from law enforcement agencies that don’t cooperate with the Department of Justice, Rep. Mike Snow (D-Chickamauga) said: “I’m not sure we need it. I’m not sure we need to tell local law enforcement agencies that we’re turning into a police state.” By using those quotations from lawmakers, or elites, the AP was adopting a patriotic frame, in other words, using words loaded with patriotism to describe terrorism bills, even when the quotations came from opponents of the bills. In covering the legislature, then, based upon the articles in this study, it appears that elites were often allowed to set the agenda for the media. This is important to understanding how stories are generated at the state Capitol, from who pushes for those stories to how successful they are at imparting their agenda to the media and thus to citizens.

Even though the game frame wasn’t the primary frame used in the Associated Press’ coverage, it did occur more frequently than in the other media. The political process emerged in the AP articles as a justification that lawmakers used both for introducing bills and predicting that the bills would pass. It was one of the “shorthand” frames that the AP used for terrorism bills. For example, a January 14 wire story written by the AP, “Budget, Security to Mold Session” (Appendix B), published in *The Augusta Chronicle*, reported on bipartisan cooperation on the security bills. The article reads, “Much of the early discussion around the state Capitol last week focused on homeland security. Lawmakers said to expect bills that would stiffen penalties for terrorist acts or threats.” The Republican leader of the Senate, Eric Johnson of Savannah said, “I think anything we do to increase security with no cost attached will go through very quickly.” Another story described the horserace by showing how September 11 and patriotism were bolstering the cause of the religious right and infusing new life into bills that had languished for

years in the legislature. In the March 14 AP wire story, “Christian Right Meeting with Success in legislature” (Appendix B), which also appeared in the *Macon Telegraph* on March 17, the story gives examples “of a more religious tone from the legislature after September 11—or, to some, an example of how election-year grandstanding now takes the shape of appeals to God and country.” The story describes how both parties are embracing religious bills after September 11, even though the reporter notes some of the bills are more for a feel-good effect than for public policy. One bill that got a new life after September 11 would allow money from federal grants to be used to help faith-based charities. “The idea stalled for years,” writes the reporter, quoting Rep. Len Walker (R-Loganville), who said: “Part of me wonders, would that bill have been possible in years past? I’m not sure it would have had much of a chance before September 11.” Religion-friendly bills are common in an election year, the reporter added, writing: “The country’s mood after September 11 has boosted the political gain to be had by doing it.” The reporter quoted one expert who called the newfound religion a misuse of the September 11 events. “There’s been an attempt by some on the far right to misuse September 11 and take advantage of that terrible tragedy to say, ‘We need more government support of religion,’” said Elliott Minceberg, vice president of People for the American Way in Washington, D.C. These quotations exemplify how the AP used September 11 as a lens through which to look at trends in the legislature. Or in other words, adopted a game frame related to September 11 for much of its reporting, focused on patriotism and the terrorism.

To summarize, the Associated Press more consistently used the events of September 11 as a lens through which to view the gamesmanship at the state Capitol. Importantly, the AP was more likely to cover stories with a view to the game than a view to issues or leadership. As one of two news services based at the Georgia Capitol, the AP had a mission to deliver content to

member newspapers both in Georgia and nationally. It may have been those conditions that guided the AP in its coverage, and therefore meant that it could focus more on the “trend” of September 11 bills and how they played out at the legislature, without getting into the real specifics.

Morris News Service Results

By far, the most comprehensive coverage of Georgia’s homeland security efforts came from the Morris News Service. Owned by Morris Communication Corp., the company operates 42 daily and weekly newspapers, and has news bureaus in several state Capitols, including Atlanta and Juneau, Alaska. Starting from the opening gavel, Morris News more thoroughly covered the debate and controversy surrounding Governor Barnes’ bioterrorism bill, SB 385, as well as how September 11 was a driving force behind other legislation. It’s only from Morris News service stories that a reader could glean why a Senate hearing on the governor’s bioterrorism bill was disrupted by upset activists and what the outcome was. In the February 12, 2002 article, “Senate hearing aborted,” which ran in *The Augusta Chronicle*, (Appendix B), Morris News offers a comprehensive account of the bill, the context behind it, who was protesting, and the reason for the protests. The protests erupted after the senator in charge of the meeting called for a vote, without allowing public comment.

Another example of this type of reporting comes from the March 16, 2002 article which ran in *The Augusta Chronicle*, “Religion-based bills hit Capitol” (Appendix B) which outlines several efforts that got new life after September 11, from Gov. Barnes’ bill to allow faith-based groups to receive federal funds to putting more restrictions on abortions and allowing prayer in schools. “Our country turns to God and religion for guidance in times of trouble,” school prayer

proponent Sen. Jack Hill (D-Reidsville) said in the article. Rep. Tom Bordeaux (D-Savannah) countered: “If this war with the Taliban has taught us anything, it ought to be that government shouldn’t run religion, and religion shouldn’t run government.” The article was balanced, included one expert voice, four voices for the religious-based bills, and two voices against them, but with multiple quotations.

Morris News also seemed aware of the possible exploitation of September 11 for political effect. A Morris News story printed by the *Savannah Morning News* on January 20, 2002, “General Assembly faces flurry of ‘homeland security’ bills” (Figure 4.2), goes as follows:

[Lt. Gov. Mark] Taylor said he looks forward to developing the trauma program and that he doubts there will be any problem with legislators using the September 11 tragedy as an excuse to file bills that are thinly related to terrorism. “There’s always been legislation introduced that ties into the lead stories in the newspaper,” said Taylor, explaining that just because a bill has ties to September 11, doesn’t mean it will automatically be passed. “You have to be a good legislator to get your legislation passed,” he said. “(Lawmakers) have a pretty good feel of what’s for show and what’s important.”

Of the six Morris News Service articles in this study, four were framed around issues, two around the game, and none around leadership. The news service’s approach was focused on explaining issues in detailed way, acknowledging the political winds or other trends when necessary, but with a more independent voice compared to the other media, in terms of offering balanced quotations and perspectives. In general, Morris News Service offered less of a bird’s-eye view than *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution’s* 10,000 foot approach, and more of an in-the-trenches perspective. The news service, as mentioned in this chapter already, has several audiences that might dictate this type of coverage. The news service’s first reader is the editorial direction at member newspapers – an elite audience that will have to pick stories to put in the local paper. The second reader is represented by the subscribers to the community newspapers in the news service’s chain in Georgia – a readership arguably looking for good local news content

– perhaps about their own lawmakers at the state Capitol. This is different from the AP’s audience, which is local and regional as well as national, and is ostensibly looking for larger trend pieces, but not for news that is as detailed and local. The Morris News Service’s reporting was more helpful for citizens, more detailed, more timely and more thorough than reporting from the *AJC* or the AP. The reporting was also the least biased, offering more perspectives and voices than reports from the *AJC* or the AP.

The Macon Telegraph Results

The Macon Telegraph’s coverage of terrorism bills was the weakest of the four media outlets in this study. One bright spot was coverage of an income tax break for military personnel serving overseas, probably because of the large (over 5,000) military population at Robins Air Force Base nearby. But in general, coverage of terrorism bills was relegated to a feature called the “Legislative dairy” that appeared occasionally and was no more than a brief summary of bills, sometimes with brief quotations from proponents or opponents. Instead, the Macon paper focused on national figures, like then-U.S. Rep. Saxby Chambliss, who visited Macon to stump for changes to federal laws and to run for the U.S. Senate. The Macon paper also had a comprehensive article about whether Middle Georgia lawmakers backed President Bush on defense, but that article made no mention of laws in the Georgia legislature, so it wasn’t appropriate for analysis in this study. Seemingly, *The Macon Telegraph*’s policy was to focus on lawmakers from Middle Georgia and on bills that specifically addressed that community, as opposed to general issues winding their way through the legislature. In the few samples from *The Macon Telegraph*, the paper focused on the game frame, determining whether issues had a strong chance of passage given their political proponents or opponents.

Overall Results

In general, coverage from the Capitol in Atlanta devoted to anti-terror bills was not very thorough. Many bills introduced by lawmakers—some of which passed—never received coverage from the Capitol press corps represented in this study. A prime example of that was Senate Bill 459 (Appendix C), entitled “Georgia’s Support of the War on Terrorism Act of 2002.” Introduced by Senators Bill Hamrick (R- Douglasville) and Rene Kemp (D-Hinesville), this bill was intended to bring Georgia’s wiretapping laws up-to-date with federal standards, in order to prevent evidence gathered under Georgia’s procedures from being thrown out of federal courts. It was a comprehensive rewrite of Georgia’s statutes, and was also meant to dovetail with a controversial federal law, the USA Patriot Act of 2001 (H.R. 3162, Library of Congress). Even the title of the Georgia bill, “Georgia’s Support of the War on Terrorism Act of 2002,” which was ultimately signed by the governor, made the bill interesting, but the media in this study never covered it. In an interesting note, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* published an opinion article by *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen on January 13, 2002, one day before the start of the 2002 Georgia Legislative session, railing against a similar bill introduced by California Governor Gray Davis. In that article, “States shouldn’t enter anti-terrorism business,” Cohen writes that allowing state authorities, and therefore state judges, to grant the authority to wiretap communication in the name of anti-terrorism was a terrible development. He harkened it back to the days when some states and cities had their own “Red Squads.” Writes Cohen: “There was hardly a major city in the country that didn’t have some palooka in a fedora following some bookworm in a beret.” He added that Southern states also used their police powers to “intimidate and harass civil rights activists.” Cohen was concerned that Governor Davis’ bill would become

a nationwide trend. “The last thing we need is 50 FBIs, some of them effectively accountable to no one. Let the feds handle terrorism. That way, we’ll all be safer,” he wrote. It’s almost unbelievable that none of the media in this study, particularly reporters from the *AJC*, covered SB 459, especially given the bill’s potential impact on civil rights and the new powers it would give to state judges and law enforcement. It’s especially shocking considering the *AJC* ran this opinion editorial at the start of the Georgia legislative session, but never looked to see if a similar law was proposed in Georgia. Not only was a similar law proposed, it passed. But citizens never knew that if they relied only on the media in this study, which was the farthest reaching media in the state.

Another bill that was never covered would have made information about the security plans of water departments secret. This bill, HB 1170, didn’t pass, but if it had, it would have had important implications for citizens seeking public records. Two additional bills, SB 320, Georgia’s Homeland Defense Act, and SB 330, the Transportation Security Act of 2002, were covered briefly, but not in detail. Both of those bills passed, but citizens would have known very little about them from the coverage. The coverage of those bills consisted of legislative briefs or stories in the Fayette edition of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* as part of profiles on local lawmakers. But those stories weren’t seen by most of the paper’s readership, only those on the Southside of Atlanta. Moral issues, such as those surrounding illegal immigrants and faith-based initiatives, captured more attention from the media in this study. And, as expected in Research Question No. 5, more mundane lawmaking about wiretapping and transportation security nearly failed to get any coverage.

In addition, many bills, if mentioned once or twice in a story or legislative notes, never got further media attention. For example, while there were a total of 13 bills mentioned in all of

the stories studied, only a handful were the focus of feature-length news stories, and few were followed as they journeyed through the legislative process. The rest of the bills were covered only in legislative briefs and were rarely covered more than once. This confirms Nacos' findings that while terrorism events are inherently newsworthy, legislation regarding terrorism is not. Even when there were lively debates at the Capitol—loaded with patriotic fervor both for and against a bill—the media didn't update subscribers on the legislative process. The governor's bioterrorism bill, SB 385, was the most closely watched, but even then, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* failed to provide crucial details of those debates. The Morris News Service and Associated Press did a better job, but didn't do gavel-to-gavel coverage on any other issue. All the media in this study failed to cover several important bills, some which became law. The implication is that either the bills were deemed uninteresting, or that legislating around terrorism and fear—specifically future events that may or may not happen—is a difficult task, at best, and it failed to capture the media's attention.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This study has found that issue frames dominated media coverage of the Georgia legislature after September 11, 2001. The search produced 39 articles, of which 18 appeared in the *AJC*, 10 were written by the Associated Press, six by Morris News Service and five by *The Macon Telegraph*. In terms of framing, the breakdown was as follows: *AJC* – 12 by issue, three by leadership and three by game frame. The Associated Press – six by gamesmanship, three by issue; one by leadership. The Morris News Service – four in by issue, two by gamesmanship and none by leadership. And The Macon Telegraph – three by gamesmanship, one by issue and one by leadership. Of all 39 articles analyzed, 20 used issue frames, 14 used game frames and 5 used

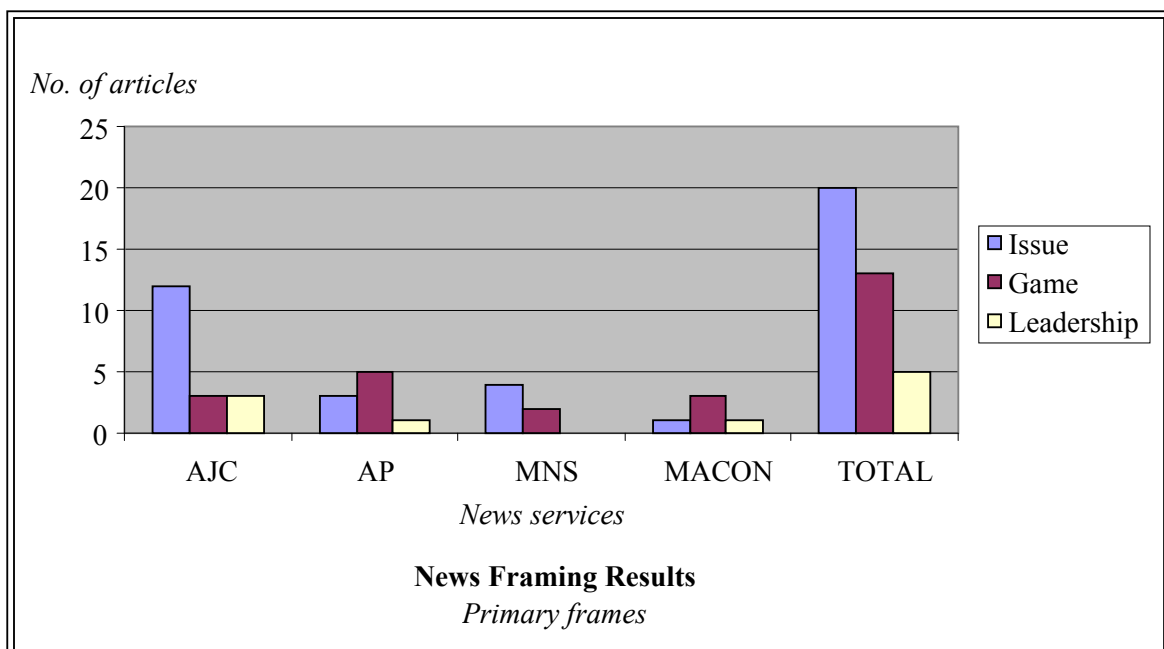


Figure 5.1

leadership frames. Three were too short to determine a frame. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* favored the issue frame over game and leadership frames, as did the Morris News Service. The Associated Press and *The Macon Telegraph* both favored the game frame. None of the media in

this study relied heavily on the leadership frame, perhaps because the issue of September 11 was newsworthy per se, and perhaps because no lawmakers were staking their careers on the passage of the bills. All of the media used September 11 as a lens with which to view events at the Georgia Capitol. The Associated Press more often used September 11 to portray legislative trends, closely followed by the Morris News Service.

Another finding is that substantial media coverage of bills was saved for only three or four key issues, most notably a bill introduced by the state's governor. The other issues that received coverage had a strong moral overtone, such as immigration and religion. The media more consistently framed the stories in terms of an issue—in this case that of September 11—than in terms of gamesmanship or leadership, unlike what was expected. Interestingly, opinion articles, like those by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* editorial board and a political writer, were more likely to use a “game frame,” than the newspaper's regular Capitol press corps. The Associated Press reporters, however, focused more on the game frame than *AJC* beat reporters. This could reflect a slant from the editorial staff at either news organization. Often, news organizations resort to the game frame as a quick and easy shorthand to explain the importance of a bill to readers, especially its chance of passage. In general, however, more of the stories in this study went the more difficult route, focusing on issues. To be sure, many of the articles were written from the point of view of the elites proposing the bills. Indeed, some of the issues, like the governor's bioterrorism bill, were rather complex to explain. In January 2002, the September 11 attacks were fairly recent and dramatic events, so pegging news stories to those events was a natural frame for reporters to use. In other words, September 11 was still part of the national debate, and concerns over how to prevent a similar attack were top of mind in Georgia, for both the media and lawmakers.

An interesting phenomenon in this coverage is that reporters didn't create a new framework for their stories, but instead relied upon experts and elites to frame their stories. In fact, only two citizens were quoted in all 39 articles studied. This was surprising, as it's hard to believe that so few citizens showed up to listen to the hearings on some of the bills in this study, particularly the governor's bioterrorism initiative. But this brings up questions for the media, such as: do they not find citizen activists to be credible? Are they so used to working with lawmakers everyday that they are more likely to quote them because they know them? Did they not have access to the citizens? Were there other forces at work that prevented them from quoting citizens, such as tight deadlines? Whatever the reason, this was a surprising finding that doesn't bode well for democracy.

Instead, the sponsors of bills were most likely to be quoted, followed by lawmakers who opposed the bills, followed by "experts," such as academics and the leaders of interest groups and paid lobbyists. In most stories, reporters came from the point of view of the bill's sponsor, instead of adopting an oppositional tone. The only oppositional tones in this study came from *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution's* editorial board and the *AJC's* political commentator, Tom Baxter, as well as one non-capitol bureau reporter. This was expected in Research Question No. 4. However, what was unexpected was the almost complete lack of citizens' voices and the rare use of experts to provide an oppositional voice. In framing the stories almost entirely from the perspective of lawmakers proposing a bill, the media was seemingly accepting of the legislature's response to terrorism. To be sure, the media's job is to cover what lawmakers are doing at the Capitol, which already stacks the deck in favor of lawmakers. Still, with an extreme lack of interest in the views of citizens, and rare discussions with experts, the media from the Georgia Capitol, on the whole, appeared to accept the agenda set by the state's legislators.

In-depth coverage of issues was more the exception than the rule in this study. Much of the coverage on terrorism bills came by way of short legislative briefs, or snapshots which offered few details about bills. One way in which the media did distinguish themselves, however, was by reporting on trends spurred by September 11, such as lawmakers' newfound interest in faith-based bills, how legislators had more jitters about granting immigrants rights, and how the aftermath of September 11 affected minorities and what lawmakers wanted to do about that. Those were the strongest reports—aside from gavel-to-gavel coverage of the governor's bioterrorism bill by the Morris News Service. This finding confirms what was expected in Research Question No. 5, that only a few bills would receive in-depth coverage. It also sadly confirms that many bills, some of which were approved by the lawmakers and signed into law by the governor, never received any coverage. As government watchdogs, one can certainly question whether the Capitol press corps must, or even can, cover every bill that is approved by legislators. But, in the case of SB 459, "Georgia's Support of the War on Terrorism Act of 2002," citizens may not have known that Georgia was falling into step with the federal government on new wiretapping rules, some of which were part of the controversial USA Patriot Act (H.R. 3162, Library of Congress). Due to the absence of media coverage, Georgia's citizens lost out on important information regarding how the government proposed to wiretap suspects, as well as a local iteration of the national debate over the USA Patriot Act. The Capitol press corps could have done better.

Unlike Shinar's study, in which he found that the media needed to develop a better vocabulary for discussing peace negotiations (83), Georgia's Capitol press corps had the right tools for covering anti-terror laws, according to this study. The media, however, could have used their tools better. Because this study doesn't outline the rest of the coverage the press corps gave

to the lawmakers, it's possible that other issues were covered better than September 11. However, in the case of bills introduced to respond to September 11, instead of new vocabularies, the media needed to branch out more, talking to citizen activists or even lobbyists and experts more frequently. Reporters also could have looked more deeply into the September 11 issues, and followed more of the bills more closely and profoundly, gavel-to-gavel. Still, the fact this study shows there was very little in-depth coverage of anti-terror laws is another lesson for scholars about the choices that the media make. Is an important but tedious bill likely to be left off of a news line-up because there was a fire or murder that day? This study didn't analyze the other news choices made by the media while they were covering the September 11 bills, but that would be fertile ground for further study. Without knowing that, it is hard to determine which topics were competing for the media's attention. Absent that additional information, this study shows that the Georgia media studied could have dug deeper in their reporting on September 11 issues.

While this study adds to the body of political communication and framing research, there are several other ways this study could be enhanced. This paper only studied selected print coverage. Analyzing other news formats, like television, radio, Internet and online subscription-only news services like Capitol Impact and InsiderAdvantage, could give a more complete look at all the information available to citizens during the legislative session. Three Atlanta newspapers that cover politics, and weren't included here, are the weekly *Creative Loafing*, the weekly *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, and the legal daily, *Fulton County Daily Report*. (This researcher was the Capitol reporter for the *Fulton County Daily Report* during the 2002 legislative session, and therefore didn't study her own coverage.) A more complete study would also track those media, although all of those newspapers have a more local and limited reader

base than the statewide media chosen for this study. Still, that begs the question of whether traditional media coverage – that of major news wires and newspapers – is potentially disenfranchising or disabling citizenship by its lack of specificity and its wholesale adoption of the Capitol elites’ frames. The media in this study didn’t investigate very well the claims the lawmakers made about the necessity of the 21 bills introduced in response to September 11. In fact, the press corps in this study completely failed to cover a bill that updated the state’s wiretapping laws, to bring them into line with the controversial USA Patriot Act (H.R. 3162, Library of Congress). The question becomes whether real political news – that which covers the Capitol in-depth – has become the domain of the elites who can afford subscription niche news coverage. *The Fulton County Daily Report*, for example, costs \$425 a year. The Georgia Report from Capitol Impact, \$300 a year. Insider Advantage’s Georgia report, \$200 a year. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, by contrast, is about \$150 a year. This study showed that reliance on the two news services and two newspapers would not have given the full picture of the bills introduced in Georgia in response to the September 11 attacks. It would be important for a future study ask if the niche news media did a better job. That answer to that question could also reveal that the major news media are shifting away from political news. For example, the *AJC* has recently cut its number of Capitol news reporters, and the Macon Telegraph discontinued its Capitol bureau. That could mean that newspapers rely more on the news wires. But with fewer reporters scouring the Capitol for stories, it could leave bigger gaps in the coverage of state politics – which is a loss for citizens and could further disable the fourth estate’s ability to be a check on the balance of power.

Ideally, another study would look at several years of Legislative coverage to get a more complete picture of how the Capitol press corps frames their articles over time. Researchers also

could interview politicians to assess their attitudes and thoughts about the media coverage and their efforts to influence it. It would also be interesting to interview politicians' staff and public relations aides to see what strategies they used to land their messages in the media. A more complete study would also interview reporters and editors involved in the editorial process to ask them how they made their decisions about what to cover and how to frame the story, like the studies by Fico and others. For example, Fico interviewed state senators and reporters about their use of media and how they sought to influence stories ("Statehouse").

Researchers could also survey voters about their thoughts on the media coverage of lawmakers and the laws they make. An important question would be how voters use political news to make their decisions (on candidates, policies or other political activities), and whether media coverage influences citizens to get involved. Also, this study used a relatively simple framing analysis that looked for "pre-determined" frames. A study that is more open-ended may expose other frames or trends in media coverage of the legislative process.

However, this study does point to a glaring problem: perhaps framing research is less relevant when studying state-level media, when those media are so eager to adopt the frames given to them by the political elites. This study showed that the Georgia media too readily accepted the frames used by the politicians, and rarely quoted opponents, lobbyists, experts and citizens. This could be one reason that framing researchers tend to focus on the national media and national issues. More research should be done in this area.

These studies are important, for in order for the media to be the "eyes and ears" in a democracy, as the founders of the American constitution envisioned, it's as important for media scholars to watch the watchdogs—the media—as it is for the media to keep an eye on government. As the media environment changes rapidly, with more Internet coverage in the form

of bloggers and fewer Capitol reporters (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* cut its Capitol staff nearly in half in 2007), it's important to see how media coverage, and by extension democracy, is affected. It's possible that bloggers and nontraditional reporters could enhance the overall coverage of issues at the Capitol. But as the ranks of traditional reporters dwindle in the halls of government, will that mean that more bills go unnoticed, like "Georgia's Support of the War on Terrorism Act of 2002," which was ignored even in a Capitol relatively flush with reporters? These questions are important not just for democracy but for the future of the media, and the roll that it will play in America's greatest continuing political conversation.

Works Cited

Primary sources

Bradley, Mark. "Real World Forces Sport into its Place." Atlanta Journal-Constitution 17 Jan.

2002: H1.

---. "A Bad Decision was Made Good; After the Assault." Atlanta Journal-Constitution 14 Sept.

2001: E1.

Kempner, Matt. "Big Ga. Newspapers Suffer a Small Decline in Daily Circulations; The *AJC*,

However, Records an Increase." Atlanta Journal-Constitution 8 May 2002: D3.

Library of Congress. Thomas home. Bills, resolutions. 26 Oct. 2001. Online. 12 Oct. 2007

<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:HR03162:@@@L&summ2=m&>.

Georgia General Assembly. Legislation. Online. 8 Aug. 2007. [http://www.legis.state.](http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm)

[ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm](http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm).

Summary of General Statutes Enacted at the 2002 Session of the General Assembly of Georgia.

Office of Legislative Counsel: 2002.

Walton, A. Scott. "Style: Style Comes Home; The Truly Good Life Awaits, Atlanta's

Trendsetters Agree; When We Seek Out the Simple Pleasures of Friends and Family."

Atlanta Journal-Constitution 13 Jan. 2002: M8.

---. "Style: Spring/Summer Fashion Preview 2002: No Surrender by Raising the "White Flag,"

Designers Signal a New Sense of Triumph and Optimism." Atlanta Journal-Constitution

4 Nov. 2001: M8.

---. "New Times, New Roles: Focus on Fashion Gave Way to Images of N.Y. Tragedy." Atlanta

Journal-Constitution 7 Oct. 2001: M1.

Wilbert, Caroline. "Newspaper Circulation Little Changed from '02." Atlanta Journal-Constitution 5 Nov. 2003: D3.

Secondary sources

Brewer, Paul R. "Values, Political Knowledge and Public Opinion About Gay Rights: A Framing-Based Account." Public Opinion Quarterly 67 (2003): 173-201.

Brewer, Paul R. and Lee Sigelman. "Political Scientists as Color Commentators: Framing and Expert Commentary in Media Campaign Coverage." Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics. 7.1 (2002): 23-35.

D'Angelo, Paul. "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman." Journal of Communication 52.4 (2002): 870-88.

Entman, Robert M. "Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9/11." Political Communication. 20 (2003): 415-432.

---. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." Journal of Communication 43 (1993): 51-58.

---. "Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives in the KAL and Iran Air Incidents." Journal of Communication 41.4 (1991): 6-27.

Entman, Robert M. and Andrew Rojecki, *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Essig, Alan. "Twelve years of budget growth: Where has all the money gone?" Fiscal Research Program (Georgia State University), No. 84. July 2003. Online. 8 Aug. 2007:

http://frp.aysps.gsu.edu/frp/frpreports/Report_84/Rpt84text.pdf

Fico, Frederick. "Statehouse Reporters in Indiana: Influences on News Source Use." Paper

- presented at AEJMC Annual Meeting. Corvallis, Ore. 9 Aug. 1983.
- Fico, Frederick and William Cote. "Fairness and Balance in Election Reporting: The 1994 Governor's Race in Michigan." Newspaper Research Journal 18.3-4 (1997): 50-63.
- . "Fairness and Balance in the Structural Characteristics of Newspaper Stories on the 1996 Presidential Election." Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 76.1 (1999): 124-37.
- . "Partisan and Structural Balance of Election Stories on the 1998 Governor's Race in Michigan." Mass Communication & Society 5.2 (2002): 165-83.
- Glenn, Russell W. and Bruce W. Bennett, "California's Preparedness for Weapons of Mass Destruction Attacks." Eds. K. Jack Riley and Mark Hanson. The Implications of the September 11 Terrorist Attacks for California: A Collection of Issue Papers – Prepared for the Speaker of the California Assembly. Santa Monica: Rand, 2002. 43-64.
- Graber, Doris A. Mass Media and American Politics. 5th ed. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1997.
- Graber, Doris A, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris. "Introduction: Political Communication in a Democracy." The Politics of News, The News of Politics. Eds. Doris A Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998. 1-16.
- Lichter, S. Robert. "A Plague on Both Parties: Substance and Fairness in TV Election News." Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics 6.3 (2001): 8-30.
- McCombs, Maxwell. "Building Consensus: The News Media's Agenda-Setting Role." Political Communication 14 (1997): 433-44.
- Nacos, Brigitte L. Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

- Norris, Pippa, Montague Kern and Marion Just. "Framing Terrorism." Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public. Eds. Pippa Norris, Montague Kern and Marion Just. New York: Routledge, 2003. 3-23.
- O'Hanlon, Michael E., Peter R. Orszag, Ivo H. Daalder, I.M. Destler, David L. Gunter, Robert E. Litan, James B. Steinberg. Protecting the American Homeland: A Preliminary Analysis. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2002.
- Paletz, David L. "The Media and Public Policy." The Politics of News, the News of Politics. Eds. Doris Graber, Dennis McQuail and Pippa Norris. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998. 218-37.
- Parenti, Michael. The Terrorism Trap: September 11 and Beyond. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2002.
- . Make-Believe Media: The Politics of Entertainment. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Perloff, Richard M. Political Communication: Politics, Press and Public in America. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998.
- Rogers, Everett M., James W. Dearing and Dorine Bregman. "The Anatomy of Agenda-Setting Research." Journal of Communication 43.2 (1993): 68-84.
- Shinar, Dov. "Media Diplomacy and 'Peace Talk': The Middle East and Northern Ireland." Gazette: International Journal for Communication Studies 62.2 (2000): 83-98.
- Spielvogel, Christian. "'You Know Where I Stand': Moral Framing of the War on Terrorism and the Iraq War in the 2004 Presidential Campaign." Rhetoric & Public Affairs 8.4 (2005): 549-570.

Appendix A: Coding Scheme

CODING SHEET INSTRUCTIONS

The study will analyze, using this coding scheme, the universe of articles about the Georgia legislature's response to terrorism in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* or written by the Associated Press or Morris News Service from Jan. 14, 2002 to April 14, 2002.

Complete one sheet for each article

Publication: _____

Date: _____

Byline: _____

Word count: _____

Section and page number: _____

Type of story (circle one): brief, news, letter to the editor, editorial.

Headline: _____

A. What is the context of the story?

B. What bill is mentioned in the story?

C. Who is the main character of the article?

D. How is the topic framed?

E. What experts, lobbyists, lawmakers or citizens are quoted? Are Republicans and Democrats quoted or referred to in the story?

F. Are there any terms in the article that indicate a bias or slant?

G. Who says those words or are they part of the writer's prose?

H. Describe any adversarial or controversial context in the article.

I. Does the author describe the bill's chances of passage?

Appendix B: List of Articles

DATE	OUTLET	ARTICLE TITLE	BYLINE	NO. OF WORDS
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution				
1/15/2002	B4	Legislative Notes	Staff and wire reports	537
1/18/2002	D4	Governor Seeks New Powers to Handle Bioterrorism	Duane D. Stanford	440
1/24/2002	JM1 (Fayette)	Security Bills High on Lawmakers' Agenda	Add Seymour Jr.	371
1/29/2002	A11	Our Opinions: Giving Licenses to Illegals Safer than the Alternative	Editorial	631
1/31/2002	B4	Tax Break for Guard Proposed	Jim Tharpe	346
1/31/2002	B4	Legislative Notes	Staff and wire reports	550
1/31/2002	B4	Sept. 11 May Aid Race Profile Bill; Hate Crimes' Rise is an Impetus	James Salzer	485
2/14/2002	C4	Bill Seeks to Set Protocol for Bioterrorist Attacks	Duane D. Stanford	230
2/15/2002	D4	On Politics: 'Sensible' Security Measures Seem Elusive (Tom Baxter commentary)	Tom Baxter	580
2/15/2002	D5	Legislative Notes	Staff and wire reports	407
2/20/2002	B4	On Politics: It's Not Nice to Anger Pro-gun Lobby (Tom Baxter commentary)	Tom Baxter	536
2/22/2002	A21	Our Opinions: Senator Guns for Self-promotion	Editorial	288
2/27/2002	E1 (Atlanta & the World)	Immigrants' Rights at Risk? Post-Sept. 11 Policies Trigger Debates	Mark Bixler	1131
3/9/2002	H3	Legislative Notes	Staff and wire reports	421
3/28/2002	JM3 (Fayette)	Coweta, Fayette Senators Back Bills on Security	Add Seymour Jr.	441
4/4/2002	C4	House Passes Bill Updating Emergency Powers Law	Yolanda Rodriguez	260
4/14/2002	C5	Bills Passed and Failed	Duane D. Stanford	1080
Associated Press				
Associated Press Wire stories				
1/14/2002	Wire	Budget, Homeland Security Top Issues as Georgia Legislature Convenes Monday	Dick Pettys	440
1/17/2002	Wire	Homeland Security Proposals Get Early Attention in Legislature	Kristen Wyatt	665

Appendix B
List of articles covering terrorism and security during 2002 Georgia General Assembly

DATE	OUTLET	ARTICLE TITLE	BYLINE	NO. OF WORDS
2/13/2002	Wire	House Panel Puts its Mark on Midyear Budget	Dick Pettys	615
3/14/2002	Wire	Christian Right Meeting with Success in Legislature	Kristen Wyatt	643
4/2/2002	Wire	Some Oppose Broad State Power in Governor's Bioterror Bill	Kristen Wyatt	501
Associated Press stories in The Macon Telegraph				
3/17/2002	B1, The Macon Telegraph	Assembly Takes on Religious Tone: Bill Endorsing Traditional Beliefs or Groups Getting More Attention by Lawmakers	Kristen Wyatt	612
3/27/2002	B8, The Macon Telegraph	Lawmakers Tackle Flurry of Bills Before Legislative Deadline	Associated Press	407
4/13/2002	A1, The Macon Telegraph	Marathon Legislative Session Ends; Predatory Lending, Natural Gas Bills Approved on Last Day	Dick Pettys	745
Associated Press stories in The Augusta Chronicle				
1/14/2002	B1, The Augusta Chronicle	Budget, Security to Mold Session	Kristen Wyatt	294
3/27/2002	B5, The Augusta Chronicle	Lending Bill Clears Deadline	Associated Press	385
Morris News Service				
Morris News Service stories in The Augusta Chronicle				
1/15/2002	A1, The Augusta Chronicle	Georgia General Assembly 2002 Session Kicks Off with Partisan Sparring; Flag Change, Unemployment Put Heat on the Democrats	Doug Gross and Dave Williams	554
2/12/2002	B6, The Augusta Chronicle	Senate Hearing Aborted	Brian Basinger	429
3/4/2002	B5, The Augusta Chronicle	Officials Say Confusion Surrounds Security Bill	Brian Basinger	1219
3/10/2002	B9, The Augusta Chronicle	Election Politics Arrive	Doug Gross	372
3/16/2002	B5, The Augusta Chronicle	Religion-based Bills Hit Capitol	Dave Williams	907
Morris News Service in the Savannah Morning News				
1/20/2002	B7, Savannah Morning News	General Assembly Faces Flurry of 'Homeland Security' Bills	Brian Basinger	948
The Macon Telegraph				
1/15/2002	A1	New Representative Says First Day Like Christmas	Andy Peters	531

Appendix B
List of articles covering terrorism and security during 2002 Georgia General Assembly

DATE	OUTLET	ARTICLE TITLE	BYLINE	NO. OF WORDS
1/16/2002	B1	Barnes Seeks to Spur Ga. Economy; Governor to Unveil Budget Today	Andy Peters	993
1/16/2002	B5	Legislative Diary	Andy Peters	993
1/18/2002	A6	Legislative Diary	Andy Peters	781
2/19/2002	B6	Legislative Diary	Andy Peters	692

Appendix C: List of Bills

Note: All of these bills can be found at the Georgia General Assembly's official Web site, at:
http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm

	BILL NO.	SPONSORS	PURPOSE	PASSED/ SIGNED BY GOV	MEDIA COVERAGE	OFFICIAL TITLE
	HOUSE					
1	HB 165	Paul Jennings, R; Ken Birdsong, R; Rob Snelling, R; Carl Rogers, D	Would exempt military income from state income tax when it's received by a member of the armed services stationed overseas for six months or more	NO	YES	
2	HB 238	Paul Jennings, R; Ken Birdsong, R; Rob Snelling, R; Carl Rogers, D	Would exempt military income from state income tax when it's received by a member of the armed services stationed overseas for six months or more	NO	YES	
3	HB 1035	Paul Jennings, R; Ken Birdsong, R; Rob Snelling, R; Carl Rogers, D; Bill Cummings, D; Amos Amerson, R; Pat Bell, D	Would exempt military income from state income tax when it's received by a member of the armed services stationed overseas for six months or more	NO	YES	
4	HB 1060	Mike Barnes, D; Ron Dodson, D; Don Wix, D	To allow for security measures to be carried out at airports	NO	NO	"Transportation Safety Act of 2002"
5	HB 1130	Judy Poag, D	Wiretapping bill: the types of communication for which wiretapping can be allowed and the types of devices. Some of the reasons for wiretapping include: threatening national or state security, treason, terroristic acts or threats, insurrection, rebellion, espionage, sabotage, or felonies like arson, kidnapping, drug trafficking, burglary, prostitution, blackmail, extortion, bribery, gambling, racketeering.	NO	YES	
6	HB 1131	Bill Hembree, R	Prohibit selling or making fake identifications; 2nd offense would incur \$25,000 fine and a felony charge	NO	NO	
7	HB 1137	Ken Birdsong, R; Thomas B. Buck III, D; Larry Walker, D; Thomas B. Murphy, D; Jimmy Skipper, D	Would exempt military income from state income tax when it's received by a member of the national guard or reserve when called to active duty for more than three weeks	NO	NO	
8	HB 1170	Lanett Stanley-Turner, D; Pamela Stanley, D; Bob Holmes, D; Kathy Ashe, D; Stephanie Benfield, D; Judith Manning, D	Water records; bill would prohibit the public disclosure of information about "security plans and vulnerability assessments of public water utilities"	NO	YES	

Appendix C

List of Bills on Security or Terrorism Prevention During the 2002 Georgia General Assembly*

	BILL NO.	SPONSORS	PURPOSE	PASSED/ SIGNED BY GOV	MEDIA COVERAGE	OFFICIAL TITLE
9	HB 1190	Arnold Ragas, D; Karla Drenner, D; Mareta Taylor, D; Tyrone Brooks, D; Kasim Reed, D; Carolyn Hugley, D	So-called "racial profiling bill" that would prohibit law enforcement officers from impermissibly using race, ethnicity, or religion in determining whether to stop a motorist; require annual training and require officers to document the race, ethnicity, and gender of a motorist and passengers. (This was the sister bill to Senate bill.)	NO	YES	
10	HB 1202	Ken Birdsong, R; Thomas B. Buck III, D; Larry Walker, D; Jimmy Skipper, D; Calvin Smyre, D	Would exempt military income from state income tax when it's received by a member of the national guard or reserve when called to active duty for more than three weeks	NO	NO	
11	HB 1231	Chuck Sims, D; DuBose Porter, D; Larry Walker, D; Richard Royal, D; Lynn Westmoreland, R; Penny Houston, D	New wiretapping guidelines, would update Georgia laws to match the 2001 federal "USA Patriot Act"; would prevent evidence from being thrown out of court when federal law trumps state law and would allow law enforcement agencies to share information	NO	YES	
12	HB 1236	Roger Williams, R; Ken Birdsong, R; Allen Hammontree, R; Terry Johnson, D; Judith Manning, R	Ensures that public employees that are members of the National Guard would be paid if ordered to do military duty and during a state of emergency	YES, 5/15/02	NO	
13	HB 1240	Anne Mueller, R; Burke Day, R; Ron Stephens, R; Doug Everett, R; Terry E. Barnard, R	Would impose a fine of \$1 million for injecting any substance (other than drilling for a well) in the state's aquifer; would also impose a 5 to 10 year prison sentence	NO	NO	
	SENATE					
1	SB 41	Gloria Butler, D; Charles Walker, D; Donzella James, D; Nadine Thomas, D; Robert Brown, D; Connie Stokes, D	So-called "racial profiling bill" that would prohibit law enforcement officers from impermissibly using race, ethnicity, or religion in determining whether to stop a motorist; require annual training and require officers to document the race, ethnicity, and gender of a motorist and passengers	NO	YES	

Appendix C

List of Bills on Security or Terrorism Prevention During the 2002 Georgia General Assembly*

	BILL NO.	SPONSORS	PURPOSE	PASSED/ SIGNED BY GOV	MEDIA COVERAGE	OFFICIAL TITLE
2	SB 320	Eric Johnson, R; Thomas Price, R; Bill Stephens, R; Robert Lamutt, R; Mitch Seabaugh, R; Mike Beatty, R	Meant to provide law enforcement the tools to prohibit and punish domestic terrorism; for example, it would allow the death penalty to be applied if a terrorist act results in murder, plus add RICO statutes to the terror toolbox	YES, 5/16/02	YES	Georgia's Homeland Defense Act
3	SB 330	Greg Hecht, D; Terrell Starr, D	Bill would give law enforcement officials the same powers within an airport as they have in their normal jurisdictions. Creates penalties for sounding a false alarm; defines a terroristic act and defines hijacking, as well as adds guidelines regarding skirting security systems that weren't in place when Michael Lasseter breached Hartsfield security on Nov. 16.)	YES, 5/15/02	YES	Transportation Security Act of 2002
4	SB 365	Richard Marable, D; Nathan Dean, D; Jack Hill, D; Charles Walker, D	Bill mandates that every state agency prepare an emergency plan and coordinate with the Georgia Emergency Management Agency. Also exempts those plans from public disclosure, and, funds allowing, mandates GEMA to train those agencies in preparedness procedures. (Marable said bill was in the works before Sept. 11 to unify government agency responses to disasters and shootings.)	NO	YES	
5	SB 372	Vincent Fort, D; David Scott, D; Robert Brown, D; Donzella James, D	So-called "racial profiling bill" that would prohibit law enforcement officers from impermissibly using race, ethnicity, or religion in determining whether to stop a motorist; require annual training and require officers to document the race, ethnicity, and gender of a motorist and passengers.	NO	YES	
6	SB 385	Steve Thompson, D; Connie Stokes, D; Charlie Tanksley, R	Bill would allow the governor to declare a public health state of emergency after a biological attack or other outbreak of contagious diseases. That would trigger possible quarantines and vaccinations. Bill would also require reporting of diseases by health care workers to track their spread.	YES, 5/16/02	YES	

Appendix C

List of Bills on Security or Terrorism Prevention During the 2002 Georgia General Assembly*

	BILL NO.	SPONSORS	PURPOSE	PASSED/ SIGNED BY GOV	MEDIA COVERAGE	OFFICIAL TITLE
7	SB 396	Phillip Gingrey, R; Mike Crotts, R; Charlie Tanksley, R; Seth Harp, R; Don Cheeks, D; Robert Brown, D	Protect public records to against terrorists by not allowing public access to the safety plans of government facilities, including blueprints, plans, nonpublic entrances to buildings, locations of vents and utilities, computers, water, gas and other systems	NO	NO	
8	SB 459	Bill Hamrick, R; Rene Kemp, D	New wiretapping guidelines, would update Georgia laws to match the 2001 federal "USA Patriot Act"; would prevent evidence from being thrown out of court when federal law trumps state law and would allow law enforcement agencies to share information	YES, 5/16/02	NO	Georgia's Support of the War on Terrorism Act of 2002

*Note: All of these bills can be found at the Georgia General Assembly's official Web site, at: http://www.legis.state.ga.us/legis/2001_02/leg/legislation.htm.

Appendix D: Coding results

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
1/15/2002	SB 330	Legislative Notes	Sen. Greg Hecht, D-Morrow	hazardous substances, terroristic threats and acts, reaction to Sept. 11 attacks, add airports	Hecht introduced bill to add "hazardous substances" to state's list of terroristic threats and acts. Bill introduced in reaction to Sept. 11. Bill would add airport terminals to list of places where it is illegal to carry explosives, firearms, knives, other deadly devices.	ISSUE
1/18/2002	SB 385	Governor seeks new powers to handle bioterrorism	Gov. Roy Barnes	quarantine, bioterrorist attack, medical reporting, smallpox, part of \$6.3 million homeland security package, quoted, Barnes and "expert" Kathleen Toomey, dir. of public health	Barnes could declare a "public health state of emergency after a bio-attack or other catastrophic outbreak of disease" under proposed law. That would "trigger" possible quarantines and vaccinations. Bill would "cut red tape" and "murky" chain of communication. Toomey and Barnes = proponents. No opponents interviewed.	ISSUE
1/24/2002	SB 330, SB 320	Security bills high on lawmakers' agenda	Sen. Greg Hecht, D-Morrow, Sen. Mitch Seabaugh, R-Sharpsburg ; Rep. John Yates, R-Griffin	Coweta and Fayette lawmakers' bills: Hecht = airport and transportation. Security. Passed Senate unanimously	Response to Georgia fan who ran up escalators the wrong way; Seabaugh sponsored the Georgia Homeland Defense Act "which would give law enforcement more leeway in investigating acts of terrorism. "New crimes can be prosecuted under states racketeering laws.	LEADERSHIP

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
1/29/2002	none listed	Our opinions: Giving licenses to illegals safer than the alternative	none mentioned	bill would give undocumented workers a chance to apply for a driver's license.	"In the wake of Sept. 11" a bill that would give undocumented workers a chance to apply for a driver's license had "little chance." The bill isn't about 9/11, but as a result of the attacks, lost momentum. "Nine- eleven put the final death drum on that one. Sentiments changed overnight," said state Rep. Bobby Parham, D, chairman of the crucial Motor Vehicles Committee. The AJC board says that's too bad. "Keeping foreign terrorists out of the country is a high priority, but it does not prevent the legislature from making our highways safer as well.	ISSUE
1/31/2002	HB 1137, HB 1202	Tax break for guard proposed	Rep. Ken Birdsong, D-Gordon	tax break for National Guard members, would exempt guardsmen from state income tax when they are called to duty for more than three weeks	"Backed by powerful Democrats in the House." Co-sponsors: House Speaker Tom Murphy, Dem; House Majority Leader Larry Walker "giving the bill clout"; "Birdsong said the war on terrorism and its potential impact on reservists prompted the bill."	ISSUE
1/31/2002	SB 365	Legislative Notes	Sen. Richard Marable, D-Rome	bill requiring Georgia Emergency Management Agency (GEMA) to conduct safety audits of all state government buildings. Audits would be followed by emergency plans for natural disasters to biohazard events.	GEMA spokesman Buzz Weiss said audits would be contingent on funding availability.	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
1/31/2002	HB 1130	Legislative Notes	Rep. Charles "Judy" Poag, D-Eton	"Etc. They said it."	"We've got to look out for ourselves," he said, about adding terrorism to list of suspected crimes police can use to ask for wire-tapping warrant.	LEADERSHIP
1/31/2002	SB 41	Sept. 11 may aid race profile bill, Hate crimes' rise is an impetus	Sen. Vincent Fort, D-Atlanta	Co-sponsors: Sens. Donzella James and David Scott, both running for Congress, introduced a bill on racial profiling; "more concern" about profiling after 9/11; word of God quote saying "After the Sept. 11 attacks, people of Middle Eastern descent have said there was a rise in reports of 'flying while Arab' -- a twist on the long-standing African-American complaint of 'driving while black.' "	Lead: "The aftermath of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks has state legislators making another bid to outlaw racial and ethnic profiling." This story doesn't include pro/con comments, but does quote Georgia State Patrol, saying they give officers sensitivity training, and Senate Minority Leader Eric Johnson, R, as saying GOP supported "past racial-profiling legislation." Article is cynical, saying Sen. Vincent Fort, D, "doesn't have numbers" to back up claim of increases in racial profiling.	ISSUE
2/14/2002	SB 385	Bill seeks to set protocol for bioterrorist attacks	Gov. Roy Barnes	Leaders from both parties worked through concerns on governor's bioterrorism bill; "civil libertarians" (none quoted, voice of God) and some Republicans "have worried about giving the governor too much authority with too little oversight by the legislature." Story advances by saying GOP and Democrats have been working thru bill, and GOP now seems comfortable with it.	Lead: "They are almost unthinkable questions, but they are now among those public officials must ask themselves: What if metro Atlanta residents begin trickling" into clinics with flu-like symptoms? i.e smallpox?; "bill seeks to define bioterrorism and assert governor's authority to declare a public health emergency."	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
2/15/2002	SB 385	Sensible' security measures seem elusive, (Tom Baxter commentary)	Gov. Roy Barnes	Baxter's take on how "the war on terrorism" is impacting "life under the Gold Dome." He discusses how female lobbyists protested the closing of a bridge due to new security measures and how Gov's bioterrorism bill "passed easily [in the Senate], but in a way that exemplified the sometimes contradictory ways politicians are coping with the post-Sept. 11 world."	He discussed the debate over the bioterrorism bill, marveling at how GOP/Democrats worked together while simultaneously lambasting each other over other issues. Senate passed the bioterrorism bill. Baxter cited a Judiciary Committee hearing that became "so heated" Chairman Rene Kemp, D, "gaveled it to a close." "wide spectrum" from gun groups to ACLU, concerned about the bill.	GAME
2/15/2002	SB 385	Legislative Notes	Gov. Roy Barnes	"Senate Republicans and Democrats cut a deal on the floor Thursday to pass a bioterrorism bill."	"Republicans, concerned that the governor's power would be too broad under the bill, pushed for a provision that would automatically convene the legislature after the declaration of a public health emergency," to confirm or reverse governor's decision.	GAME
2/20/2002	SB 385	It's not nice to anger pro-gun lobby (Tom Baxter commentary)	Gov. Roy Barnes	Sen. Phil Gingrey, R-Marietta, brought back governor's bioterrorism bill for a Senate vote to strike existing state law tied to the new bill which would allow law enforcement to confiscate guns during state-declared emergencies.	Gingrey's amendment passed. Story focuses on how/why Sen. Steve Thompson, D-Powder Springs, the governor's floor leader, was forced to vote for the amendment, because it's an election year, and he lives in Cobb County. The story says the NRA hadn't taken a position, but that "local Second Amendment activists were in the halls and active on the phones and Internet."	GAME

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
2/22/2002	SB 385	Our opinions: Senator guns for self-promotion	Gov. Roy Barnes	Gingrey "under gun lobby's spell." "flapped on shamelessly." "his transparent effort to sweet-talk the National Rifle Association, Gingrey interjected politics into a possible matter of life and death." "His fellow roosters in the Senate crowed their agreement.	Gingrey amended bioterrorism bill to take out a measure to restrict gun sales in an emergency. "The amendment was crass political theatrics. He turned a bipartisan attempt to deal with bioterrorism into a personal opportunity for a campaign ad."	LEADERSHIP
2/27/2002	HB 1231	Immigrants' rights at risk? Post-Sept. 11 policies trigger debates	Rep. Chuck Sims, D-Douglas	Wide ranging story on the effect 9/11 has had on immigration laws and enforcement, at local and national levels, from keeping closer watch and foreign students here on visas, to states changing drivers license regulations.	This article mentioned: 11 issues; 9 voices/experts "pro" more regulation governing immigrants; 6 voices/experts cautioning and worried about new regulation; one incidence of the reporter fact checking what a politician said; and several "voice of god" phrases. One new Georgia proposal was mentioned: Sims' bill to alert the INS if a foreign student missed class for more than 2 weeks.	ISSUE
3/9/2002	SB 320	Legislative Notes	none mentioned	"Senate approves 'domestic terror' bill' ": "Another in a string of bills reacting to the Sept. 11 attacks moved through the Senate on its way to the House." The "homeland security bill" defines a new crime of "domestic terrorism".	New crimes can be prosecuted under states racketeering laws. Passed Senate unanimously	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION						
3/28/2002	SB 330, SB 320	Coweta, Fayette senators back bills on security	Sen. Greg Hecht, D- Morrow, Sen. Mitch Seabaugh, R- Sharpsburg	A story for the Fayette "City Life"; mentions two local lawmakers sponsoring 2 key post-Sept. 11 laws: Hecht = Transportation Security Act of 2002; Seabaugh = Georgia's Homeland Defense Act. Story says both bills passed Senate took "major steps forward." Went to look at other lawmakers/issues not related to 9/11.	Transportation act = tightens Georgia's laws, definitions and penalties for "terrorist acts." Story says it would add guidelines that weren't in place when Michael Lasseter breached Hartsfield security on Nov. 16. Defense Act = allows death penalty to be applied if a terrorist act results in murder, plus RICO.	ISSUE
4/4/2002	SB 385	2002 Georgia Legislature: House passes bill updating emergency powers law	Gov. Roy Barnes	"House passes bill updating emergency powers law" "over objections to provisions" for quarantines and vaccinations. Updates a 1951 law. Restricts sales/transportation of guns, explosives, alcohol. House vote: 112-52. Bill returns to Senate with changes. 1 pro quote; 2 con quotes.	"We need a mechanism ahead of time if some horrible attack actually happens," said Rep. Charlie Smith, D-St. Marys. Warren Massey, R-Winder tried unsuccessfully to remove forced vaccinations/quarantine. Worried about civil rights. Brian Joyce, R-Lookout Mountain, "I don't think we should make it easier for anybody to suspend the civil rights of our constituency."	ISSUE
4/14/2002	many, SB 385	Bills passed and failed	Gov. Roy Barnes	A rundown of significant bills that passed or failed during 2002 legislative session	19 bills listed; SB 385, Gov's bioterrorism bill only anti-terror bill that made the list; others: a natural gas bill establishing a consumers bill of rights; a predatory lending bill protecting consumers from high-interest home loans; crematory bill to make abusing a dead body a felony; child endangerment bill;	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ASSOCIATED PRESS WIRE STORIES						
1/14/2002	none listed	Budget, homeland security top issues as Georgia Legislature convenes Monday	Gov. Roy Barnes	Story about the upcoming legislative session. The state's recession with budget cutting is previewed, plus capital improvement projects. The reporter notes it's an election year.	The story reads, "In the aftermath of terrorist attacks last year on New York and Washington, homeland security will also make the agenda." Quotes Rep. Calvin Smyre, D-Columbus, saying "a lot of things will get introduced just to be put on the radar screen."	ISSUE
1/17/2002	SB 385, HB 1137, HB 1202, SB 320	Homeland security proposals get early attention in Legislature	multiple bills, including Barnes' quarantine bill	This is a review of about 8 security issues the legislature is considering, including: Barnes quarantine bill; making it a misdemeanor for doctors or health workers not to report contagious diseases; Barnes' proposal to spend \$6.3 million over 2 years to create Georgia Information Sharing and Analysis Center to gather information on terrorist threats; Senate GOP bill to redefine criminal terrorism; 2 House bills to give tax breaks to the military and a Senate GOP bill to withhold state money from any agency refusing to work with the Department of Justice.	There were 7 voices/points of view represented in the 665 word story. Here are some: regarding a bill to waive state income tax for soldiers stationed overseas for more than 6 months: "We've suggested this before, but I think with renewed patriotism it will get more attention," Rep. Paul Jennings, R-Atlanta. About the DOJ bill, a Democratic opposing it said: "I'm not sure we need it," said Mike Snow of Chickamauga. "I'm not sure we need to tell local law enforcement agencies that we're turning into a police state."	ISSUE
2/13/2002	none listed	House panel puts its mark on midyear budget	Gov. Roy Barnes	In the budget process, Barnes lost "some of the homeland security money he proposed for emergency coordinators in the state's public health districts and a satellite communications system.	During the midyear budget negotiations; The story says, "Key House budget writers believed the money was unnecessary."	GAME

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ASSOCIATED PRESS WIRE STORIES						
3/14/2002	none listed	Christian right meeting with success in legislature	several, not named specifically	<p>Story gives examples "of a more religious tone from the legislature after Sept. 11- or, to some, an example of how election-year grandstanding now takes the shape of appeals to God and country." Democrats and GOP embracing the bills. Still, some bills aren't going anywhere. Quote: "There's been an attempt by some on the far right to misuse Sept. 11 and take advantage of that terrible tragedy to say, 'We need more government support of religion,'" said Elliott Minceberg, VP of People for the American Way in Washington, D.C.</p>	<p>Bills noted: House voted to allow money from federal grants to be used to help faith-based charities, for the first time in Ga. "The idea stalled for years." Religion-friendly bills common in an election year, but "The country's mood after Sept. 11 has boosted the political gain to be had by doing it." Rep. Len Walker, R-Loganville, said, "Part of me wonders, would that bill have been possible in years past? I'm not sure it would've had much of a chance before Sept. 11."</p>	GAME
4/2/2002	SB 385	Some oppose broad state power in governor's bioterror bill	Gov. Roy Barnes	<p>As SB 385 was going for a House vote, there was opposition. "But, unlike many proposals crafted in response to Sept. 11, this bill is likely to run into spirited opposition." Rep. Warren Massey, R-Winder, says "This is a knee-jerk reaction that goes to far," of Gov. Barnes' bill on forced vaccinations and quarantines in a state of emergency.</p>	<p>"What if the worst happened tomorrow? Let's have some structure in place should that occur," said Rep. Charlie Smith, D-St. Marys, Gov's floor leader. Massey replies: "We are a free people. The terrorists win if we give up our freedoms out of fear." He recommends voluntary vaccinations instead of forced.</p>	LEADERSHIP

Appendix D: Coding results

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ASSOCIATED PRESS IN THE MACON TELEGRAPH						
3/17/2002	none listed	Assembly takes on religious tone	Picked up the wire story: Christian right meeting with success in legislature	Story gives examples "of a more religious tone from the legislature after Sept. 11- or, ... how election-year grandstanding now takes the shape of appeals to God and country." Democrats and GOP embracing the bills. Still, some bills aren't going anywhere. Quote: "There's been an attempt by some on the far right to misuse Sept. 11 and take advantage of that terrible tragedy to say, 'We need more government support of religion," said Elliott Minceberg, VP of People for the American Way in Washington, D.C.	Bills noted: House voted to allow money from federal grants to be used to help faith-based charities, for the first time in Ga. "The idea stalled for years." Religion-friendly bills common in an election year, but "The country's mood after Sept. 11 has boosted the political gain to be had by doing it," paraphrasing a source. Rep. Len Walker, R-Loganville, said, "Part of me wonders, would that bill have been possible in years past? I'm not sure it would've had much of a chance before Sept. 11."	GAME
3/27/2002	SB 365	Lawmakers tackle flurry of bills before legislative deadline	various	Article about bills passing on crossover day, the last day for a bill to pass at least one chamber of the General Assembly. (Only terrorism bill mentioned.)	The Senate "voted to change the state's open record laws to allow authorities to keep secret, anti-terrorism information shared by federal agencies." House voted to make grits the official processed food of Georgia, joining peaches, peanuts and Vidalia sweet onions as official foods.	GAME
4/13/2002	SB 385, others	Marathon legislative session ends; predatory lending, natural gas bills approved on last day	various	A roundup of the bills passed on the last day of the legislative session. "Lawmakers passed Gov. Roy Barnes ... and gave him new authority to deal with acts of bioterrorism." Barnes, facing reelection, offered a less controversial agenda compared with his push last year to change the state flag.	"It was the longest session in years, extended repeatedly as lawmakers awaited the verdict of a federal court on" redistricting plans. Re: grits -- "I'm concerned that this session will be remembered for caring more about the grits on the table than the people around it," said Sen. Bill Stephens, R-Canton.	GAME

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
ASSOCIATED PRESS IN AUGUSTA CHRONICLE						
1/14/2002	none listed	Budget, security to mold session		Short legislative session expected with homeland security, budget as key issues. Dem. Lt. Gov. Mark Taylor says plans are to improve coordination among agencies.	"Much of the early discussion around the state capitol last week focused on homeland security. Lawmakers said to expect bills that stiffen penalties for terrorist acts or threats." "I think anything we do to increase security with no cost attached will go through very quickly," said Sen. Republican. Leader Eric Johnson of Savannah.	GAME
2/11/2002	SB 385	Key bills	Gov. Roy Barnes	Bioterrorism act: referred to Senate Judiciary Committee	N/A	N/A
3/18/2002	SB 385	Key bills	Gov. Roy Barnes	Bioterrorism act: Passed Senate, referred to House Judiciary Committee	N/A	N/A
3/25/2002	SB 385	Key bills	Gov. Roy Barnes	Bioterrorism act: Passed Senate, referred to House Judiciary Committee	N/A	N/A
3/27/2002	SB 365	Lending bill clears deadline		A round-up of bills, led by lending bill. Mentions: "Senators voted to change open records law to allow authorities to keep secret anti-terrorism information shared by federal agencies."		ISSUE
MORRIS NEWS SERVICE IN THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE						
1/15/2002	none listed	Georgia General Assembly 2002 Session kicks off with partisan sparring; Flag change, unemployment put heat on the Democrats	various	A wide-ranging article focusing on first week of session, specifically GOP criticisms of the Democratic leaders, like: blaming Democrats for Georgia's recession because they didn't return the state's surplus to voters. Predicting a "safe" session as politicians get ready for elections.	Other issues that would come up: redistricting, flag protesters, natural gas regulation, and "domestic terrorism" for the GOP.	GAME

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
MORRIS NEWS SERVICE IN THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE						
2/12/2002	SB 385	Senate hearing aborted	Gov. Roy Barnes	Senate hearing on SB 385: Sen. Rene Kemp allowed a vote in packed room before public could speak, blaming an internal clerk deadline. He later allowed the speakers, after protests. "It looks to me like this is being railroaded through by the governor," said a citizen. Dr. Kathleen Toomey spoke for the bill for the governor: the public health director, saying: "There's no authority in this piece of proposed legislation that the state doesn't already have," alluding to the quarantines and vaccinations.	The state has had the ability to isolate infected and at-risk groups for years, she said. The bill was bringing those powers to light. "This is the way they operate in socialist and communist countries!" yelled Ian Madge, an Atlanta resident. The story includes two pro voices and two con voices, both citizens.	ISSUE
3/4/2002	SB 385	Officials say confusion surrounds security bill	Gov. Roy Barnes	Profile and explanation of SB 385 -- a feature story. Features 7 pro voices, and a balanced number of pro/con quotes. Quotes ACLU, Garrett Michael Hayes, libertarian, Barnes, Toomey, Kemp, Tommy Irvin, and summarized voices against the bill. Kemp says most issues objected to "were already law." Religious objectors, were against vaccinations.	Story seeks to clarify the issues around the bill, and specific problems some have with it. "We're trying to prepare for scenarios that, prior to September 11, people did not think were possible," said Toomey. Despite Toomey's attempts, word spread through the Capitol and the media that the bill was creating the ability to quarantine and vaccinate Georgians at the drop of a hat. Hayes calls it overreaching. "It's a response to a problem that isn't necessarily as big a threat as a lot of politicians would like us to believe." "The governor should not have the right to force that needle into someone's arm." Gerry Weber, ACLU, wants a court hearing before a quarantine or vaccination.	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
MORRIS NEWS SERVICE IN THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE						
3/10/2002	SB 385	Election politics arrive	Gov. Roy Barnes	Store about how there is "more politics than usual in the air" as lawmakers position for reelection or seek higher office, especially in the Senate. "Day in and day out, bills and resolutions that would normally be considered routine have turned into chances to debate, and sometimes, to break out "unfriendly amendments."	"Last week, Sen. Phil Gingrey, R-Marietta, who is running for the U.S. House, tacked a pro-gun amendment onto" Gov. Barnes' bioterrorism bill. Gov's supporters say "it would possibly make illegal gun-running legal during national emergencies - but they urged members to vote for it to spare them from political repercussions."	GAME
3/16/2002	SB 385, others	Religion-based bills hit Capitol	Gov. Roy Barnes, others	Supporters believe the surge in religious faith that followed the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks is helping build momentum for the governor's bioterrorism bill and other measures being backed by the General Assembly by a bipartisan coalition of religious conservatives.	Gov. Barnes' bill to allow faith-based groups to receive federal funds. Other bills to restrict abortions, allow prayer in schools. "Our country turns to God and religion for guidance in times of trouble," said Sen. Jack Hill, D-Reidsville. "If this war with the Taliban has taught us anything, it ought to be that government shouldn't run religion, and religion shouldn't run government," said Rep. Tom Bordeaux, D-Savannah. Article included one expert voice, and four pro voices, two con voices.	ISSUE

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
MORRIS NEWS SERVICE IN SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS						
1/20/2002	SB 385, various	General Assembly faces flurry of 'homeland security' bills	Gov. Roy Barnes, others	Lead: "Since a series of airplane hijackings and crashes on Sept. 11, the issue of 'homeland security' has loomed large on the minds and agendas of Georgia's political leaders." Bills "laying a foundation for Georgia's terrorism prevention and response plan." Barnes has no "precedent to follow." Building plan from "scratch." After attacks, governor's office created "Homeland Security Task Force." "Hopefully, we are preparing for incidents that will never occur, never happen," Barnes said. "But when the unexpected does happen, having the proper systems in place will make all the difference in the world."	"None of us will ever forget Sept. 11," said Barnes, at a press conference Thursday where he outlined his \$6.3 million homeland security package. "Barnes' 2003 budget proposal includes millions of dollars for new jobs, data systems and equipment, as well as collaborations with the FBI and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention." "The governor is handling the prevention side of the campaign, while [Lt.Gov. Mark]Taylor, who presides over the state Senate, is in charge of Georgia's response to a terrorist attack".	ISSUE
THE MACON TELEGRAPH						
1/15/2002	none listed	New representative says first day like Christmas	Rep. Larry O'Neal, R-Warner Robins	A profile on Larry O'Neal who had just been elected.	New lawmaker states the main issue he wants to see addressed is security, in the wake of Sept. 11. "If people don't feel safe in this country, I don't think we'll see an economic recovery. People can't be afraid to fly and travel."	LEADERSHIP

DATE	BILL NO.	ARTICLE TITLE	SPONSOR	KEY WORDS	CONTEXT	PRIMARY FRAME
THE MACON TELEGRAPH						
1/16/2002	budget	Barnes seeks to spur Ga. Economy; governor to unveil budget today	Gov. Roy Barnes	In context of a state economic recession, the GOP was criticizing the way the governor was planning to spend the state's money.	"Republicans fear the budget also will call for more new spending on items ranging from homeland security to education reform." "Barnes wants to spend our way out of the recession," said Sen. Eric Johnson, R-Savannah, Senate minority leader.	GAME
1/16/2002	none listed	Legislative diary		"Citing homeland security concerns, House Republicans introduced a bill that would put a "non-citizen" label on driver's licenses for legal aliens who are allowed to drive but not to vote."		ISSUE
1/18/2002	HB 1137	Legislative diary	Rep. Paul Jennings, R-Atlanta	gives military personnel spending six months overseas income tax exemption in Ga. -- would cost state \$3.4 million. Macon near Robins Air Force Base, with 5,253 military employees.	3rd year he's tried to pass bill. "This is the third year Rep. Paul Jennings, R-Atlanta, has tried to pass the bill. He thinks it has a better chance this time because of heightened patriotism and greater support of the military in light of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks."	GAME
2/19/2002	SB 385	Legislative diary	Gov. Roy Barnes	political stakes raised on SB 385 when Gingrey, running for congress, passed his pro-gun amendment. Democrats vow to remove it in the House.	quoted Thompson's fears about "gun-running"	GAME
N/A: These legislative briefs were too short to be analyzed.						