

# FRAMING DISSENT: THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS PROTEST

by

GEOFFREY THOMAS CARR

(Under the Direction of Leara Rhodes)

## ABSTRACT

Who decides how to frame today's version of reality? When presenting a news story, "objective" mass media journalists focus on perspectives that, though not necessarily untrue, are limited in scope. These "frames" saliently assert viewpoints while subliminalizing critical content or dissent. This research focuses on the print media's framing of the annual School of the Americas (SOA) protest. Critics accuse the SOA (or Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation) of instructing courses on torture techniques to Latin American mercenaries. Upon graduation, these "skills" are used to intimidate (sometimes fatally) democratically elected government officials, religious leaders, labor organizers, activists and civilians. A contextual analysis was conducted on national print coverage of the event and protest literature available at the 2006 vigil. This research will reveal the frequency of SOA-related coverage, how the events of the vigil were framed, and what issues were most often presented in the protest literature sample.

INDEX WORDS: Framing, Protest, School of the Americas, SOA Watch, Mass Media, Newspaper, Frame, Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, Mass communication theory, Social Movement

FRAMING DISSENT: THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS PROTEST

by

GEOFFREY THOMAS CARR

B.A., Pfeiffer University, 1999

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2007

© 2007

Geoffrey Thomas Carr

All Rights Reserved

FRAMING DISSENT: THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS PROTEST

by

GEOFFREY THOMAS CARR

Major Professor:      Leara Rhodes

Committee:            John Greenman  
                              Anandam Kavoori

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso  
Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
May 2007

## DEDICATION

For Hamburger Touchdown. This is the world you have to live in. Don't be afraid to be Yourself and fight for what you believe is right. Your mother and I will always love you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW OF FRAMING THEORY .....	4
3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND FRAMING THEORY .....	18
4 THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS .....	30
5 METHODS .....	38
6 RESULTS .....	41
7 UNMEDIATED FRAMES – ISSUES IN PROTEST LITERATURE .....	58
8 CONCLUSION.....	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	86
APPENDICES .....	89
A Social Movements Online.....	89
B Coding Sheet .....	95
C Original Introduction.....	101

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: School of the Americas Graduates .....	33
Table 2: Number of SOA Vigil Protesters and Arrest Numbers .....	34
Table 3: Episodic Frame vs. Thematic Frame Usage .....	42
Table 4: Percentage of Popular Frame Types Found Within Each Sample.....	45
Table 5: Number of SOA Articles vs. Vigil Attendance .....	48
Table 6: Issues Associated with the SOA Protest by Sample.....	53

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: United States Federal Budget Pie Chart .....	60



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Everyone came from nowhere. A din of makeshift drums announced their arrival, a sudden and great rising tide of unrestrained American adolescents (easily and often dismissed as a so-called “apathetic” class of citizen) marched into the streets of Columbus, GA with song, spirit and voice. This spirited delegation did not appear to be unconcerned with the state of current affairs. They were not talking on their cell phones. They were not discussing the latest *Harry Potter* movie. What motivated these young minds to take such action? It was not this nation’s embarrassing war with Iraq, though detractors were definitely present. The issue they protested was much closer to home: the marchers were flexing their developing political biceps by demanding the closure of the School of the Americas (SOA).

Their conviction was magnanimous to behold. Exuberant with life as grandfatherly advice, they clapped, sang, stomped and shouted as they rallied through a packed convention hall crowded with seasoned protesters (on hand for a concert), and marched out of the building into the night. Sure, the old-timers cheered them on, but continued to amble towards their regularly scheduled protest event. Now there’s no questioning the unparalleled merit of a finely crafted music arrangement, yet of all the events at the 2006 November vigil at Fort Benning, the ensuing unplanned march through the downtown streets of Columbus encapsulated **everything** a protest movement wishes to achieve. Unfortunately, as with many defining moments, there were no “official” sources around to notice it had ever happened. Thus, according to minds of most of the world, this it never did.

When does a moment transcend normalcy and court newsworthiness? As gripping and spontaneous as the march was, there was no mention of it in the press. A closer media analysis revealed there was rarely *any* mention of public participation at the protest at all. My perceptions of the vigil, based on attendance over the past two years, differed significantly from official accounts. It appeared the press chose to highlight certain aspects of the protest and ignore others; I questioned how the coverage could be so vapid when the crowd exuded a palpable surge of energy and optimism. The most startling indictment of the mass media was the copious amount of protest literature available at the event. The grievances listed far outnumbered the general scope of familiar political issues routinely covered by the mass media. This information was public domain at the vigil, yet practically none of its content made its way into mass media discourse. I began to question the mass media's intentions, and came to the conclusion that they wished to frame the event in a way that excluded public participation. It was this startling revelation that inspired the following research.

My research on the framing of the School of the Americas vigil is arranged in the following manner. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of past communication framing research. It defines the concept of framing, identifies common components and variables of frame analysis, reveals how frames can function to influence society, exposes common frame types employed by the mass media, explains the prominence of framing devices, determines the effectiveness and impact of framing, and lists important findings of previous frame research. Chapter 3 expands this literature review to determine how and which frames have been utilized by the mass media to cover social movements. Chapter 4 provides a background history of the School of the Americas protest based on the mass media's print coverage of the social movement

in two newspapers, *The New York Times* and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Chapter 5 provides a list of the methods used in this frame analysis. Chapter 6 reveals the results of the frame analysis conducted on both the mass media and independent protest literature samples. Chapter 7 offers a brief summarization of the issues featured in the protest literature sample. Chapter 8 offers some concluding remarks on this frame analysis research.

Frame analysis is important now more than ever. In a world of growing civil, economic, environmental, and political concern, it is critical to evaluate mass media messages to determine how the world is portrayed to its human inhabitants. If valid information is excluded from public dissemination, it undermines the democratic principles of a free, unconstrained press and could lead to disastrous consequences and abuses of power. The goal of this research is to inspire a critical reevaluation of the media's role in shaping a public construction of reality. There are people concerned with the general state of the world, and their voices yearn to be heard. Who will be there to notice it when they take to the streets?

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW OF FRAMING THEORY

Individuals are bound to construct a personal interpretation of reality based on the dominant stimuli of their immediate environment. Information is *the* pertinent ingredient of this formulation. This conveniently misleading construction is based on personal observation, empirical knowledge, social norms, superstitions and a bounty of exterior influences. Every personal interpretation of reality is fallible. There are undeniable voices (this study's focus is limited to the mass and independent print media) capable of supplying an endless assault of conflictual statements, images, ideas and entertainment that can indirectly influence behavior and philosophy. Fortunately, framing theory offers a useful outline to analyze mediated knowledge in an attempt to expose the subtle nuances used to propagate a false image of an ordered and shared perception of reality.

Erving Goffman introduced the theoretical concept of framing in his stream-of-conscious sociological masterpiece *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Goffman's nuanced individualistic perspective attempted to shatter the conception of a common shared reality; a reality programmed into human conscious by various framing measures and devices. Frames [of reference] are necessary for people because "in our society the very significant assumption is generally made that all events—without exception—can be contained and managed within the conventional system of beliefs. We tolerate the unexplained by not the inexplicable" (Goffman, 1974, p. 30). Frames provide a semblance of order, though they all fail to represent indisputable accuracy. Playful deceit, experimental hoaxing, fabrication, and other

forms of deception and misinterpretation are a few subterfuges that reveal the vulnerabilities of any master framework. “The relevant social implication is that we all live in a world that we assume, by and large, has a permanent residual character,” an implication which Goffman attempted to successfully dismantle in his engaging discourse (1974, p. 30).

Communication theorists have adapted Goffman’s arbitrarily complex vision into an empirically valid field of study that demonstrates the prevalence of frame usage in modern society. Frames can be utilized as weapons equitable to those that inflict physical harm. Mass citizenry “are victims of a consciousness industry that produces and encourages a conveniently misleading and incomplete understanding of their world” (Gamson, 1992, p. 5). Indeed, framing research is predicated on the belief that frames both influence decision-making and establish the psychological parameters that constitute individual concern. Leading frame scholar Robert Entman concluded “the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text” (1993, p.51). What then, exactly, is a frame?

There are many adequate definitions, however two are particularly elegant. Robert Entman stated 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” (1993, p.52). Todd Gitlin’s *The Whole is Watching* ascertained “media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (1980, p. 7). This author makes the assumption that a *frame* involves the symbolic or literal attempt of a text to draw attention or prominence to, repeat, highlight, magnify or elevate certain

information, while shrinking, obscuring, downplaying, subverting, diminishing, omitting, eliminating, deflecting, limiting or miniaturizing incompatible data critical of a dominant ideological system (see Entman, 1991; Cooper, 2002; Gitlin, 1980; Hanson, 1995; Entman, 1993).

The effectiveness of framing is determined by the information's salience, which Entman defined as the ability to make "a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (1993, p.53).<sup>1</sup> Constructing frame resonance is accomplished "through repetition, placement, and reinforcing associations" (Entman, 1991, p. 7), which the media utilizes to "push forward their frames as the salient ones, the ones that condition and limit public discussion" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 132). Frames can be identified by an audience/individual in any media text by probing for reoccurring themes or positions emphasized; obvious starting points are headlines, statistics and graphic coverage, however this list is by no means exclusive. Metaphors (see Baysha & Hallahan, 2004; Entman, 1991; Graber, 2000) play a prominent role in constructing frames. Metaphors are an artistic and playful nomenclature that blurs the distinction between fact and faction. They help manufacture an artificial reality since no two people can share the exact experience or interpretation; metaphors possess the ability to "connote two or more things simultaneously in different contexts and for different people. This ambiguity or polysemy allows metaphors to be important tools in politically strategic representations of reality" (Baysha & Hallahan, 2004, p. 245).

There are useful methods for identifying frame usage in the media. Searching for particular categories, key words, images, catchphrases, or exemplars within a particular syntax is

---

<sup>1</sup> Advertisers rely on salience to introduce "new" products. Contrary to the relatively stable history of culinary preferences, fast-food restaurants readily have often employed the adjective to sell such standard fare as hamburgers and chicken sandwiches.

an effective method (see Baysha & Hallahan, 2004; Entman, 1991; Graber, 2000; Hanson, 1995; Nelson, et al., 1997). These devices of a communicating text assist audiences to process information and construct an opinion or viewpoint. “The names, metaphors, and symbols used by the news media to describe a public policy determine its acceptability for various groups and its ultimate fate” (Terkildsen, et al., 2000, p. 337), as such “organized interests supply such framing devices as sound bytes, slogans, analogies, and imagery to succinctly and effectively convey a specific construction of an issue” (Nelson, et al., 1997, p. 224). This subtle and perpetual process can influence habits, opinions, and worldviews. Frame examples include the “working poor”, the “dissolving family unit”, and the “diminishing quality of life” (Iorio & Huxman, 1996).

Frames function almost identically to schema, insomuch that frames can be thought of as “information-processing schemata” (Entman, 1991, p. 7). A general concept widely used in cognitive psychology, a schema is “a central organizing principle that holds together and gives coherence and meaning to a diverse array of symbols” (Gamson, et al., 1992, p. 384).

Unfortunately for schema (and frames for that matter), no definition of the concept can directly identify the specific components of study. Though schema are invisible until one notices their existence, schema effortlessly “provides an initial expectation, an anticipation of what one is going to see” in every situation and “helps us to determine both what is relevant and what it means (Gamson, 1988, p. 170). For this reason, “schema has a core frame that is largely taken for granted, a range of positions consistent with it, and condensing symbols that suggest it in short hand” (Gamson, 1988, p. 171).

Erving Goffman alluded to the media's use of framing when he cited a *San Francisco Chronicle* article printed on February 26, 1965. The subject concerned the arrest of a young man (Christoffersen) who engaged with a brief shootout with police officials, after which he was:

...persuaded by a friend, Paul Carlson, 20, to "go fishing."

The two got into Christoffersen's auto and headed for Oakdale. Three plain clothesmen followed in an unmarked car.

When the two men stopped and got out at Oakdale, Chief Viarengo said, the detectives overpowered Christoffersen and lodged him in the county jail (Goffman, 1986, p. 102).

Notice how the phrase "go fishing" in the above article implied deception by setting it off in quotation marks, yet no such indication was applied to the word 'friend', which was printed straight. This indirectly implied that Carlson was working in the best interest of Christoffersen by deceiving his friend and selling him out to the police. This example is one of the gentler framing devices perpetuated by the media.

If journalists are the lifeblood of democracy, how can one explain the predominance of detrimental framing practices in mediated public discourse? It would be unfounded speculation to claim the profession was motivated by simple wickedness. This is obviously not the case; instead, media coverage is limited by the routine structures and practices of the profession that make it necessary to "frame events within dominant interpretive paradigms" (Hall, et al., 1978, p. 65). Hence, "the media's use of frames echoes the constraints under which the media operate" (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 76). The constraints placed on journalists are numerous (see Gamson, 1988; Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Hall, et al., 1978; Hanson, 1995; Jasperson, et al., 1998; Nelson, et al., 1997; Neuman, et al., 1992). To reinforce the semblance of order it perpetuates, news "must be timely, unambiguous, intense, predictable, culturally familiar--and precedented" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 45). In a world containing several billion people, there are only a miniscule



number of events or issues that can reasonably be covered by (in most cases) a small staff of professional journalists. Certain subjects/themes are emphasized over others. Time is almost never on a journalist's side; deadlines are imminent, weekend coverage unheard of, and breadth of scope is limited by both time/space constraints and the industry's commitment to "impartial" coverage. These factors contribute to a reliance on official sources and "news pegs" to construct the flow of a potential news story. Hence: "news concerns the *event*, not the underlying condition; the *person*, not the group; *conflict*, not consensus; the fact that '*advances the story*,' not the one that explains it" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 28). Such insights explain why, in these times of unprecedented cataclysmic potentiality, mass media news coverage features topics of little longitudinal relevance, importance or impact.

The media appears to be trapped in a cycle. Once a frame is established, it is difficult to construct a socially acceptable alternative definition that runs contrary to the original assessment. The initial framework "provides the criteria by which all subsequent contributions are labeled as 'relevant' to the debate, or 'irrelevant'...contributions which stray from this framework are exposed to the charge that they are not 'addressing the problem'" (Hall, et al., 1978, p. 59). The "first word" becomes paramount when the spin or frame of a story "can have dramatic consequences for how the issue is defined and what linkages are made between it and other issues" (Jasperson, et al., 1998, p. 210), especially since a majority of the information presented through the media occurs beyond the audience's scope of observation. "Like a scientific paradigm, frames persist until an overwhelming amount of discrepant information forces them to change. Even then, the old frame persists as an alternative picture of reality, and the debate

continues” (Hanson, 1995, p. 390), for “it is in the nature of a frame that it establishes the line for its own reframing” (Goffman, 1974, p. 575).

Framing has shaped society’s understanding of politics and the political process. Though there are undoubtedly positive aspects of framing, most scholars focus on its negative attributes, since mediated news programs can have a tremendous influence shaping public opinion. For instance, frame researchers have discovered that in the instances when politicians choose to speak about controversial issues, the media relays this information based on its impact to get the person reelected and not how well their position helps solve the problem. Overall, it is charged that the “democratic” media does not adequately provide a forum for presenting issues of general concern to society. Instead, “the words and deeds of elected officials are frequently portrayed as schemes to build or maintain popularity, embarrass the opposition, or otherwise secure power” (Nelson, et al., 1997, p. 224). Sadly, “many factors increasing the saliency of candidates are unlikely to enhance what the public knows about their stands on issues” (Campbell et al., p. 207).

In his remarkable book *Is Anyone Responsible*, Shinto Iyengar suggested:

The ability of citizens to exercise control over the actions of their elected representatives is generally regarded as *the* critical measure of democratic government...if voters fail to attribute responsibility to their leaders, elected officials have no incentive to address difficult issues” (1991, p. 140-141).

Viewers are discouraged from attributing responsibility for national issues to political actors, making politicians less accountable to the American public. Based on this consideration, the media is accused of propagating the agenda of the elite and powerful in an attempt to construct a national hegemonic ideology (see Baylor, 1996; Gitlin, 1980; Hall, et al., 1978; Iyengar, 1991). Assumptions that frames can influence public thought is neither a conspiratorial accusation nor an attempt to label the media as an overt agent of propaganda. Instead, “frames serve as bridges

between elite discourse about a problem or issue and popular comprehension of that issue...political elites devote considerable effort toward influencing not only *what* information gets on the air but *how* it is presented” (Nelson et al., 1997). Humanity remains mostly oblivious to the presence of frames, even though they help construct individual perceptions of the world.

Though it is impossible to gauge the exact level of influence, frames can be manipulative to trigger a response. “By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective” (Snow, et al., 1986, p. 464). Hence, the media can manipulate the way people understand the dynamics of a problem/issue and alter their final evaluation (see Jasperson, et al., 1998; Park & Kosicki, 1995). Essentially,

The media thus seem to ‘blind’ the audience to alternative interpretations of events and imply national consensus on issues by not offering opposing views. In theoretical terms, this means that one-sided coverage might function as ‘consensus heuristic’, which means that information regarding a certain issue may function as a clue to which viewpoints are valid or acceptable (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005, p. 413).

Framing has been linked to several other communication theories including agenda-setting (the tendency for people to cite the news as what constitutes the problems of society), priming effect (the process by which certain portions of media content are 'brought to the forefront' and certain other portions are relegated to the background), and the bandwagon effect in political campaigns (election coverage uses horse race analogies to focus on games aspects of the campaign over the issues).

There are an infinite variety of frame types, though some have proven more theoretically valuable than others. Iyengar’s study on frame types has concluded that the interpretation of a news event or issue is directly influenced on whether it is framed predominantly with an *episodic* or *thematic* frame (1991). According to Iyengar, episodic frames are news stories that explain

public issues or problems through the examples of “concrete events that illustrate news”

(1991, p. 14). The thematic frame, by contrast, “places public issues in some more general or abstract context and takes the form of a ‘takeout’ or ‘backgrounder’ report directed at general outcomes or conditions” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14). Audience effects to the above frame types will be discussed in later paragraphs.

There is no absolute or all-inclusive frame categorization. Researchers have identified frame types by specifying the parameters of study. One of the most dominant frames utilized in frame research has been the conflict frame. The conflict frame “refers to disagreement between individuals, institutions, or countries and emphasizes the points of divergence between conflicting parties” (De Vreese, et al., 2001, p.109). In perhaps one of the finest study of media framing, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) operationalized news frames into the five following categories (see also Kim, 2005): “(1) Responsibility frame, which presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group. (2) Conflict frame, which emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. (3) Human interest frame, which features a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. (4) Morality frame, which puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. (5) Economic consequence frame, which reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of its economic consequences” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95-96). Other frame types include the strategy frame (De Vreese, et al., 2001); the talk, fight, impasse and crisis frames (Jasperson, et al., 1998); and the control and consensus frame (Reese & Buckalew, 1995).

Frame research has produced some startling results, though all theoretical postulations are hesitant to label frames as a direct influence of behavior. Human rationality is too complex to allow frames to be as an absolute measure of media persuasion. Regardless, Iyengar reported “studies have shown that unobtrusive alterations in the wording or form of survey questions produce dramatic variations in opinions” (1991, p. 13). He cited an experiment where participants were split into two groups and asked a question about a controversial vaccine being administered to 100 infected people. One group was told the drug could save 75 lives; the others were told 25 people could die. When asked if the drug should be administered, “the structure of preferences was reversed even though the choices were identical” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 12).

The media’s decision to frame a story episodically or thematically can have a considerable effect on how individuals attribute responsibility to public officials. Episodic frames are more likely to elicit individualistic attributions of blame, while thematic coverage inspires societal attributions. Iyengar found television news (especially crime) relied almost exclusively on episodic frames in its newscasts. Iyengar saw this as a powerful form of social control, since episodic framing: 1) makes viewers more likely to consider individual punitive measures over social reform, 2) impedes electoral accountability, and 3) contributes to American audience’s failure to observe interconnections between issues (1991). He concluded episodic frameworks tended to elicit more response from conservatives and republicans. Though Iyengar contended that “people hold the government responsible to a greater degree when the news frame is thematic,” the mass media tend to ignore issues that cannot be reduced to a single event, hence social problems such as the degradation of the public education system and global environmental concerns are not likely to receive ample coverage (1991, p. 61). Because of their reliance on

episodic frames, researchers have charged the media “promote apathy, cynicism, and quiescence rather than active citizenship and participation” (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 391). This sentiment reflected the attitude of that study’s focus groups, who expressed “abundant evidence of cynicism about politics and government, belief in domination by big business, and the impossibility of working people like the group members to alter the terms of their daily lives” (1992, p. 81).

Framing research has been applied to many specific issues and events. Robert Entman compared two similar airline accidents and the ways they were covered in the U.S. media: the 1983 Korean Airlines Flight 007 destruction by a Soviet fighter pilot and the 1988 Iran Air Flight 655 downing by a U.S. ship (1991). Though both crashes were complicated events, a decision was made by the U.S. media to follow elite cues and portray one of the crashes as an attack (the Korean flight) and the other as a technical malfunction (the Iran flight). Media coverage of the Soviet-induced crash was more likely to humanize the victims and attribute blame to the nation’s leadership, going so far as to make it appear that the Russian pilots maliciously downed an obviously commercial flight. The media gave the Iran flight far less coverage, excluded any graphical representations that indicated wreckage or victims, and labeled the event as a technical malfunction. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz were six times more likely to be quoted on the Korean crash than the Iranian in the *Washington Post*; five times more in the *New York Times* (Entman, 1991). Entman commented:

The headline on the cover of this second issue read, "Why Moscow Did It" -- despite the information inside showing that "Moscow" did not...this example illustrates several properties of subverted contradiction and reveals how the dominant event schema can obscure contrary information...new material was not even presented as calling the frame into serious question...stray contrary opinions that expert readers might pick up from careful analyses are likely to possess such low salience as to be of little practical use to most audience members (Entman, 1991, p. 21-22).

Entman concluded that the media's heavy dependence on elite sources predictably led them to make frame-confirming data more salient in the news text—and to de-emphasize the contradictory data (1991).

Entman reached a similar conclusion when evaluating the media's coverage of Bill Clinton's Global Initiative, a national program designed to address the issue of racism and race relations. The Initiative was labeled as a failure in the media from the very start, with critical themes outnumbering the positive 15 to 8. The researchers found 45 percent of the articles labeled the program as languishing, poorly managed, or a failure (Entman and Bell, 2005). They labeled the failure of the Initiative as self-fulfilling and concluded:

To investigate the truth of the charge with specific respect to affirmative action would require a detailed investigation of the transcripts of the Initiative events, of which there were hundreds. Journalists did not undertake this investigation, instead relying heavily upon the unsupported charges of Initiative critics...to paint the entire Initiative negatively (Entman and Bell, 2005, p. 15).

Framing research has also been critical of the media's coverage of poverty and racial issues tensions. O. H. Gandy, Jr. insisted "the press prefers to present differences between the fortunes of whites and blacks in terms of the high probability of black loss" instead of the high probability of white success (1994, p. 47). Iyengar discovered that "episodic framing of poverty indirectly reduced people's support for social welfare programs and increased public approval of leaders committed to slashing such programs," (1991, p. 101) while confirming "attributions of responsibility for poverty and racial inequality...were subject to significant framing effects" (1991, p. 46-47). Conversely, affirmative action stories were almost exclusively thematic, making it difficult to gauge how the program benefited individual African-Americans. In another

study, Gamson found that injustice frames were evident in 85 percent of the discussions on affirmative action in white and interracial groups (1992).

Almost every important issue concerning American society is subject to media framing devices. Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Joseph N. Cappella (2000) criticized the media for granting opposition forces to health care reform a disproportionate amount of coverage. Their findings revealed that print and broadcast news reports gave 110 different names to a total of 27 different health care reform proposals, maximizing the potentiality for audience confusion. Instead of devoting time to explaining the different programs, the media linked Clinton's health care proposals with the growing Whitewater scandal. Hall and Cappella claimed "by framing health care reform speeches as strategic attempts to divert attention from Whitewater, reporters enhanced...understanding of neither" (2000, p. 331). No matter how framed, drug use is blamed on individuals, white crime on society (Iyengar, 1991).

Media coverage of the past two U.S. wars in Iraq has also exhibited a high frequency of framing. Reese & Buckalew (1995) argued that media coverage of Operations Dessert Shield and Storm made it difficult for the public to resist the drive to war. The media's "presentation of the Gulf War in terms of patriotic, technological, and euphemistic language, as opposed to dissent, error, and human loss, shaped public opinion about American involvement in the conflict" (Jasperson, et al., 1998, p. 207). Coverage of the modern war in Iraq demonstrates similar findings. Dimitrova and Strömbäck compared media coverage in Sweden and the United States and found: 1) the tone of war coverage was more negative in Swedish newspapers than in U.S. newspapers (though both were mostly neutral in tone), 2) more reliance on anonymous, military and official sources in the U.S. press, 3) infrequent use of the economic consequence frame and,



4) “statistically significant differences were found between articles that contained the military conflict frame and those that did not; specifically, stories that focused on military developments were more likely to be positive in tone” (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005, p. 411). Most disturbingly, the U.S. media practically failed to identify global opposition to the war. This is not an altogether uncommon occurrence. The next chapter will chronicle the relationship between social movements and the media, and how political dissent is dominantly framed.

## CHAPTER 3

### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND FRAMING THEORY

Democracy could not exist without informed public dissent. The American system of government is based on a system of checks and balances ensuring that no one political branch can achieve unrestricted power. Sometimes, the government is unable or unwilling to deal with particular social problems, and it becomes the responsibility of the general public to inspire both acknowledgment and action in these instances. Social movements exist to inform or change the public's perception on a given topic or issue, leading Goffman to refer to public protest as a "serious effort from below to disorganize a social occasion and deeply embarrass those in charge of it" (1974, p. 439). Even though social movements can provide a vital community service, their messages are often neglected from mainstream news consideration. This chapter will provide a brief history of the framing devices employed by the media to frame protest movements.

There are a large number of issues that elicit public concern or protest, as the following quote attests:

Respondents brought up a large number of concerns ranging from the specific— culvert repair, congestion on a major thoroughfare, street flooding, safety in the shopping malls, downtown ground-water contamination— to the universal— world peace, disarmament, the environment, economic competitiveness, moral decay, alienation, secularization, cultural diversity, and a lack of leadership in all levels of government (Iorio & Huxman, 1996, p. 101).

These concerns (and others) are commonly shared in both poll data and protest literature, though change is unlikely because the underlying thematic ramifications behind these causes challenge ideological values and institutions. The mass media perpetuates this cycle; thorough coverage of

public dissent is nonchalantly absent or critical in media outlets. This absence of balanced information provides the opportunity for social movements “to offer competing constructions of reality and to find support for them from readers whose daily lives may lead them to construct meaning in ways that go beyond media imagery” (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 391). A competition of ideas ensues; the conversion of individual minds to a certain philosophy motivates almost all discourse. There is a major difference how mass media and protest literature frame their information. Mass media frames are convenient and misleading, emphasizing conflict over thematic substance. Protest literature is far from fair and balanced; the subject matter’s absence from publicized intellectual debate ensures the format’s denouncement of all pretexts of impartiality. Oppositional source statistics or viewpoints are virtually nonexistent in protest literature. Protest literature assumes that, for reasons not limited to morality, ethics, health or environmental concern, the message propagated is “in the right” and implores majority support for implementation. Social movement literature often stresses “fundamental values such as justice, cooperation, perseverance, and the sanctity of human life...[however] the movement's most frequently idealized values were those associated with democracy, particularly the values of equality and liberty” (Snow, et al., 1986, p. 469).

Social movement messages must overcome a number of obstacles before achieving mass awareness, much less acceptance. In an individual’s construction of reality, public discourse relies on a number of sub-discourses, which include official, challenger (e.g., social movement), expert and general audience media (Cooper, 2002). “Message” discrepancies between these discourses can and do occur, which results in a frame dispute. Because of their prevalence, mass media frames often prevail over challenger frames. Furthermore, direct action and protest (even

nonviolent) are “regarded as dysfunctional to democratic rule” and thus negated or undermined in most commercial media outlets (Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995, p. 8). Social movements are powerless to dictate how their messages, goals or events are framed in a finished media product. This is alarming when considering “the positive or negative outcome of media attention largely depends on how media agents ‘frame’ movement goals and actions” (Baylor, 1996, p. 241). The mass media can limit the range and type of dissent available for public dissemination, contributing to a reinforcement of the status quo by absence of critique. Critics challenge this arrangement as being counterintuitive, arguing “the countertheme of popular democracy is all but invisible in media discourse, but is clearly the most important theme in popular discourse” (Gamson, 1992, p. 148). This leaves the question, how can change occur if the voice of dissent is denied public dissemination?

There are not many opportunities available to the public to transmit mass media messages, so social movements rely on journalists to a certain extent to present their cause. The media often limit public exposure to social movement messages in a number of routine manners. Though there are a large number of controversial issues that plague this civilization (refer to chapter 7), mass media protest coverage generally focuses on “specific acts of protest” and not “the issues that gave rise to the protests” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14-15). This exclusion limits the repertoire of experience that can be utilized by individuals to construct their perception of reality. Research has shown that “variation in mobilization capacity can be explained in part by the degree of congruence between media framing and movement framing of the issues involved. Congruence between the two framings facilitates movement mobilization, whereas divergence hinders it” (Cooper, 2002, p. 37). The media are hardly a “magic bullet” that uniformly

influences behavior equally among its audience members, though media content is often the only parameter available for an individual to evaluate an issue/event beyond their personal sphere of influence. Based on the conclusions of previous frame research on social movements, this chapter suggests that movements are often framed to minimize public engagement by focusing on episodic conventions of deviance rather than thematic explanations, or root causes, of the social problem.

Todd Gitlin's *The Whole World is Watching* provided an engaging account on how the media chose to frame the Student for a Democratic Society (SDS) movement to end the war in Vietnam. His research concluded that early print coverage of the SDS in *The New York Times* trivialized the movement's intentions, embellished (smaller) counterdemonstrations, and focused on internal dissension and marginalization. Protest attendance and the effectiveness of demonstrations were also undermined by the media's coverage. As popular sentiment against the war grew, Gitlin discovered the media employed a different set of frames to describe the movement. At first, SDS coverage 1) relied heavily on government and official quotes, 2) focused on the violent aspects of demonstrations and number of arrests, 3) drew attention to presence of Communists or Viet Cong flags at SDS demonstrations, 4) delegitimized the movement through the usage of quotation marks (i.e. "peace" march) and choice of graphical representation, and 5) called attention to right wing opposition to the movement. Because of these framing choices, Gitlin suggested "the media might have helped insulate the growing movement from its potential liberal allies," (p. 140) as cited in the following paradox: "as the antiwar movement grew in numbers throughout the late sixties, and as polls showed the population turning steadily against the war, the central organization of the New Left isolated

itself and disintegrated” (pg. 182-183). It should not be surprising that pro-war and official government viewpoints received far less scrutiny in the same time period.<sup>1</sup>

There are other challenges for a social movement to maintain a sympathetic and supportive audience. A social movement’s message is often sacrificed at the expense of deviant actions performed by individual protesters, which are often given bloated coverage. Ironically, these same actions are critical in attracting a widespread audience. Critics claim the mass media overstate “the seriousness of the event” and exaggerate “the violence and damage” that occur during “politically deviant events,” rather than provide a thematic symposium explaining the issues involved and their possible effects on human society (Undrakhbuyan, 2005, p. 8).

Terkildsen, et al. argue that once a social movement engages the media for publicity purposes, “the media’s subsequent actions are beyond the scope of their [the movement’s] control,” regardless if the movement’s mission, goals and actions are explicitly defined and supported by evidence (2000, p. 338). This exclusion of pertinent information can be explained by some of the limitations imposed on the profession of journalism discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed:

We find several kinds of judgments apparently made by journalists that filter into the news and, in turn, likely affect the movement’s ability to build consensus and mobilize participation. These we call journalists’ framing judgments, which journalists make in the course of selecting and conveying information about the movement. The judgments, we believe, are heavily influenced by elite sources and, it appears, by an underlying professional ideology ambivalent toward public participation: Although in theory supportive of mass involvement, the coverage suggests journalists harbor suspicions of mass movements once they organize to exert political power (Entman and Rojecki, 1993, p. 155).

Excluding a social movement’s primary “issue” in media discourse is not rare. Terkildsen, et al. revealed “the most striking pattern about the press’ portrayal of the pro-choice coalition during

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, Gitlin cites that on October 30, 1965, *The New York Times* gave an advance notice for a pro-war rally with instructions on where participants could meet on page 2. It had not given any notice to a pre-planned anti-war rally that had occurred two weeks earlier.

the pre- and post-*Roe* years was the absence of feminist organizations” (2000, p. 344). The researchers argued this exclusion delegitimized the accuracy of the media’s assessment of the multiple pro-choice coalitions. Since the media does not have the resources to cover every event, there are methods social movements can use to increase the possibility of coverage. Theatrical measures can be employed to attract media/audience attention with great success. Unfortunately, escalated media coverage is determined by how extreme and dramatic the event is, rather than by any message the protesters wish to convey (see Baylor, 1996; Undrakhbuyan, 2005). Flamboyant action strategies and novel spokespeople are popular in media sources, though the influx of this publicity can potentially alienate supporters of the cause by ignoring the movement’s positions.

Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki’s frame analysis of the nuclear freeze movement in the early 1980s supported Gitlin’s earlier conclusions. Gallup poll data from the time period showed public support for the freeze increased from 71 percent in 1983 to 78 percent in 1984, yet during that same time period the media declared the movement dead. The authors concluded:

The framing judgments made and deployed in the text by *The New York Times* and *Time Magazine* in freeze coverage reveal patterns that inhibited movement success. Neither the daily nor the magazine maligned the general goal of slowing the nuclear arms race, but they both consistently called into question the underpinnings of the mobilized mass pressure needed to induce genuine rather than symbolic government responsiveness (Entman and Rojecki, 1993, p. 172).

The researchers found the media’s reporting of the movement was selective (*The New York Times* made mention of public opinion a total of ten times in the 243 article sample), as exemplified by print media’s coverage of the Ground Zero Week demonstration in New York City in the spring of 1982. Entman and Rojecki claimed “the focus on education [at the protest] is lauded by both publications, but their coverage of the freeze events serves ironically not to educate readers about the substantive case made but about the carnival-like atmosphere of the

demonstrations” (1993, p. 163). Not only did the *NY Times* place great emphasis on crowd shenanigans, it failed to mention that the protest was the largest public demonstration in U.S. history [police estimates claimed 750,000 people attended; the media halved this estimate and cited the protest as the city’s (not nation’s) largest]. The *NY Times* also characterized the march as futile by emphasizing that the protesters marched past an “empty” United Nations, and devoted front page coverage almost exclusively to official sources. Consistent framing methods of the media reiterated that “freeze analysis emerges from emotion, not rationality,” and questioned “the movement's expertise while making no such assessment of administration officials” (Entman and Rojecki, 1993, p. 164). They concluded:

Even if polls show the public mostly supports the freeze proposal despite such coverage, this treatment delegitimizes mass participation in a political movement that would pressure leaders to respond more than symbolically; in this way the coverage also discourages the institutionalization (long-term survival) of the freeze movement. Media coverage helps to isolate the freeze movement from its wide political base and from public opinion, misrepresenting the public to itself (Entman and Rojecki, 1993, p. 167).

Despite the success of the Ground Zero Week demonstration, the movement withered without media attention. Nuclear policy discussions have almost disappeared from regular media coverage since the freeze movement.

According to frame researcher Tim Baylor, the American Indian Movement (AIM) experienced similar difficulties relating their agenda to the general public through mass media agents. AIM established a set of short-term and long-term goals in the form of a Twenty Point position paper. This document defined the organization’s concerns by outlining the legal relationship between the Federal Government and individual tribes, citing the U.S. Constitution and hundreds of treaties signed between the two parties, as fundamental to their grievances. Baylor revealed “this document received scant media attention and never became the basis for



understanding Indian actions” (1996, p. 8).<sup>2</sup> Baylor identified five frames that dominated the eleven-year sample of network television coverage of the movement: Militant, Stereotype, Treaty Rights, Civil Rights, and Factionalism, with 93 percent of the news segments using at least one of the five frames (1996).

The militant frame appeared 90 percent of the time in the sample and clearly dominated the movement’s media coverage; this frame “included any segment that labeled Indian protesters as ‘militant’ or where the focus was on violence and the breakdown of law and order” (Baylor, 1996, p. 3). AIM was labeled “militant” six times in CBS’s lengthy initial exposé of the group, regardless of the fact that the organization had existed for less than a year and “had not yet engaged in any of the major confrontations for which it would achieve notoriety” (Baylor, 1996, p. 3). AIM would have preferred frames that emphasized treaty and/or civil rights; repeated associations with violence or militancy within a social movement deter public support over an extended period of time (similar claims have been made to explain the disintegration of public support for the Black Panther Party). The treaty frame was used in only 17 percent of the news segments, regardless of its prominence in AIM literature and politics. It appeared that “the frames used by the TV news media were those with which they had the most familiarity” and “the grounding of Indian protest in treaty rights and sovereign status is not a common frame for either the media or the public. Nor does it easily lend itself to one or two minute news bites” (Baylor, 1996, p. 6).

---

<sup>2</sup> Citation page numbers from this journal article refer to the reprint available on-line at:  
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9607313904&site=ehost-live>

Baylor accused the media's coverage of AIM to be limited in scope. The unprecedented International Treaty Convention at Standing Rock Sioux reservation on June 8-16, 1974 (and several lesser political meetings) was completely ignored by all three networks. The same was true of the violent acts directed at members of the AIM movement (Baylor, 1996). In a three year period, a majority of the 61 violent deaths of Native Americans on the Pine Ridge Reservation between March of 1973 and 1976 were members of AIM. Baylor reported "these deaths resulted in the highest murder rate per capita of anywhere in the United States. Yet these deaths received no national news media coverage. However, the death of two FBI agents on June 25, 1975 on the Pine Ridge reservation received immediate media coverage" (Baylor, 1996, p. 6). Government interference also restricted media coverage of the AIM movement. The media were denied access to Wounded Knee during AIM's siege and had to rely on official press briefings. As a result, "one study examined 2,850 news stories in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and found that 78 percent came from routine channels including, official proceedings, government or agency press releases, and public officials" (Baylor, 1996, p. 2).

Official accounts are also favored in times leading to and during war. Several framing studies have been conducted on the media's coverage of Operations Desert Shield and Storm. Reese and Buckalew studied local television newscasts in Austin, TX to determine if the media supported government policy "in the face of a vocal and well-organized antiwar movement" (1995, p. 42). They reported that anti-war protest was framed in opposition to patriotism, and a threat to social order. The media's reliance on military sources allowed the military to frame the entire war in a format congruent within their objectives. The human cost of war is so polarizing that "established official sources critical to the war are relatively difficult to find" (Dimitrova &

Strömbäck, 2005, p. 411). Furthermore, the media can counter oppositional viewpoints by eliciting sympathy for the troops. Reese and Buckalew concluded “heroes emerge by facing worthy adversaries, which, given the speed of the U.S. victory, Iraq clearly was not” (1995, p. 55). “The environmental damage, ineffectiveness of the Patriot missiles, and the carnage of retreating Iraqi soldiers, to name a few, put the administration's presumed successes in a different light” (Reese & Buckalew, 1995, p. 41). The researchers found scant evidence of coverage devoted to these topics.

This trend was not as prevalent overseas. International coverage of the conflict was framed differently. Dimitrova and Strömbäck conducted a content analysis of both *The New York Times* and the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* and discovered that while the American newspaper closely followed the official government agenda, European coverage was more likely to include mention of opposition to the war. Protest and responsibility frames received less frequent coverage in *The New York Times* [5 percent and 2 percent] than in *Dagens Nyheter* [23 percent and 32 percent]. Furthermore, the *Dagens Nyheter* was more likely to report on anti-war protests held around the world, and discuss responsibility issues. The pair concluded that:

By selecting some aspects of war reality – such as military success – and ignoring other aspects – such as anti-war protest – the media text constrains audience interpretations. This is especially important in the case of international conflict where national media may engender different interpretations for the national audience. As a result, the public in one country may acquire quite different beliefs and attitudes toward the event compared with the public in another country exposed to different media coverage (Dimitrova and Strömbäck, 2005, p. 413).

These findings have been replicated in other studies on the Gulf War. In her research of the German peace mobilization against the United States invasion, Alice Cooper determined “framing of the Gulf War was more congruent with the peace movement’s framing package than with that of the government” (2002, p. 51).

Framing research has also examined the media's analysis of economic protest. The Seattle demonstration against the World Trade Organization summit in 1999 was one of the most significant American social movement events in recent history. Baasanjav Undrakhbuyan's study of the chaotic weekend protest found "that the media coverage of the WTO and the protest against the WTO dramatically shifted from focusing on the WTO agenda to the agendas of the protestors" as the event was unfolding (2005, p. 20). This transition in viewpoints did not emphasize the measures the protesters were demanding, rather the violence of the protest. Two weeks after the protest, almost half of the stories still alluded to the incidences of violence and not the underlying economic factors that contribute to the protest. Undrakhbuyan stated:

As Gitlin, Entman and Shoemaker & Reese explain, newspapers routinely made the WTO issues salient and excluded the representations of the protestors and their agendas. In the process of repackaging the WTO Summit and the protest, the newspapers directly or indirectly pushed forward the government policies for global trade and the interests of the multinational corporations for new markets. Since media has the power to keep their frames as the salient ones, they limited and excluded the agendas of the protestors (2005, p. 18).

It is simply never in the best interest of the hegemonic capitalistic media system to offer alternative solutions or frameworks that challenge the system's economic policy of capitalism.

Social movement framing research has concluded that the mass media is ineffective at framing social movement issues for intellectual public dissemination. The media's tendency to present protest issues using conflict frames discourages prolonged public support, and can even be used to justify police intervention. Disruption at public demonstrations does occur, however it is not wise to label protesters solely as perpetrators of violence and conflict. Consider the *agent provocateur*, as defined by Goffman:

The current manifestation of which can be observed in the police and government contributions to radical politics—now much publicized. As already suggested, the agent actively engages in minor offenses and in planning major ones, which not only gives him

something to inform on later, but also establishes his own cover by enabling him to share in the solidarity and mutual trust generated by those who conspire (1974, p. 477-478).

This does not suggest that undercover government officials have perpetrated every violent protest action; rather it raises serious questions about government's subversive attempts to fragment social movements in an already unsympathetic medium. Years after the event, CBS news reported that, according to Army sources, one out of every six demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago were undercover agents (Gitlin 1980). This stark revelation serves as a reminder on how limiting frames can be when defining or constructing a reality model. Instant assessment can prove to be uncompromisingly erroneous.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS AND THE SOA WATCH

It is imperative to expose injustice when it exists, and stand for reason and truth. The School of the Americas and its influence on American foreign policy in Latin America is relatively unknown to most of the U.S. population. I first became aware of the movement in the fall of 2005, when Common Ground, an Athens grassroots organization, offered a car pool service to the movement's annual November vigil in Columbus, GA. I embarked with a small constituency of concerned citizenry to the protest outside the gates of Fort Benning. Through active participation in the weekend's events I learned how American military policy in Latin American countries supported programs that contradict the ideal of freedom so many Americans cherish. The breadth of knowledge exhibited within the independent media astonished me. Its array of subject matter induced me to conclude that mass media agents impose categorical content limitations when providing coverage of social movement.

The School of the Americas opened at Fort Gulik, Panama in 1946, though it was originally named the Latin American Training Center. After three years, it became the Caribbean Training Center/School. The facility changed its name to the School of the Americas (SOA) in 1963. A clause in the 1978 Panama Canal Treaty recommended the school close by 1984 since it symbolized American support for militarism in the region. The SOA moved to Fort Benning in Columbus, GA and reopened its doors in early 1984. The former Panamanian site has since been converted into the Sol Meliá, an exclusive hotel resort.

According to *The New York Times*,<sup>1</sup> the SOA is the only American military training facility “that offers training exclusively in Spanish.”<sup>2</sup> The school trains 800-2,250 students a year, though soldiers from Haiti, Nicaragua and Cuba are excluded from participating. Topics of study over the years have included: combat, technical, commando, and support operations; military police and intelligence; psychological warfare; jungle operations; infantry tactics; combat medicine; logistics; commando and sniper training; and the use of grenade launchers, mortars and machine guns. The school conceded to recommendations from federal reports composed in 1995 and 1996 and added more human rights components to the curriculum, which included courses on democratic sustainment, civil military relations, and peace operations. School officials still maintain that all combat courses are available to U.S. and foreign soldiers at other Army installations. Table 1 provides a list of the school’s infamous graduates.

Critics of the SOA claim the school represents the worst aspects of American foreign policy. Some even accuse the school of teaching torture techniques to its students. According to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, SOA Public Information Officer Major Gordon Martel announced, “We’ve never taught murder, mayhem, torture or assassination at the School of the Americas.”<sup>3</sup> One year after this proclamation, the Pentagon announced that approximately 1,000 “improper instruction manuals” with “at least two dozen objectionable passages in six manuals” had condoned executions, physical abuse, extortion, false imprisonment, bribery, blackmail, threats and torture against insurgents.<sup>4</sup> These manuals were compiled from 1987 lesson plans

---

<sup>1</sup> The primary source statistics for all data in this chapter was culled from coverage of the School of the Americas in both *The New York Times* and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. This presentation is a composite sketch of the data the national media placed the greatest emphasis. Frames employed by SOA Watch will be included in the Results chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *The New York Times*, 11/18/99

<sup>3</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 7/15/95

<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, 10/6/96

that had been in use at the SOA since 1982, and distributed to units in Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala and Peru. The Pentagon announced it has destroyed all traceable copies of the manual save one.

A number of SOA graduates have been responsible for committing violent atrocities, yet school officials claim these actions are the result of a small minority of “bad apples.” SOA graduates have been linked to: the 1973 Chilean military coup that overthrew President Salvador Allende Gossens;<sup>5</sup> the assassination of El Salvadorian Archbishop Oscar Romero; the El Mozote (800 civilian deaths) and San Sebastian (10 civilian deaths) massacres; and the abduction, rape and murder of churchwomen Maura Clarke, Jean Donovan, Ita Ford and Dorothy Kazel in El Salvador on December 2, 1980; the 1992 killings of nine students and a professor in Peru; dozens of politically motivated executions in El Salvador and Peru; the organization of death squads in mid-1980’s Honduras; Guatemalan human rights abuses; and “the most serious acts” of lawless violence during the El Salvador civil war.<sup>6</sup> The social movement’s founding was inspired by the November 16, 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her 15-year old daughter in El Salvador. According to reports released by the United Nations, 19 of the 27 assassins have been confirmed as graduates of the School of the Americas.<sup>7</sup>

On the one-year anniversary of the Jesuit slaying, Father Roy Bourgeois, a Maryknoll priest and former naval officer, joined a dozen other people outside the gates of Fort Benning to protest the School of the Americas. Bourgeois and his colleagues formed SOA Watch, a

---

<sup>5</sup> A congressional study reported that 10 SOA graduates have gained control of Latin American countries through military coups or other undemocratic means, according to the May 2, 1999 edition of the *AJC*.

<sup>6</sup> A Truth Commission determined that 44 of 67 military officers responsible for the violence were graduates of the School of the Americas, as reported in *The New York Times* on December 13, 1993. The violence resulted in at least 6,000 deaths, though this death toll was listed in a separate article.

<sup>7</sup> *The New York Times*, 10/2/93



**Table 1: School of the Americas Graduates Listed in *NY Times* & *AJC*****Argentina**

General Roberto Eduardo  
Head of State Leopoldo Galtieri

**Bolivia**

General Hugo Banzer-Suárez

**Chile**

General Ernesto Baeza Michaelson  
General Augusto Pinochet

**El Salvador**

General Carlos Humberto Romero  
Roberto D'Aubuisson

**Guatemala**

General Romeo Lucas Garcia  
Col. Julio Roberto Alpirez

**Haiti**

Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier  
Michel Joseph Francois

**Honduras**

General Juan Alberto Melgar Castro  
General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez

**Panama**

General Omar Torrijos Herrera  
General Manuel Antonio Noriega  
Brig. General Ruben Dario Paredes

**Paraguay**

General Alfredo Stroessner

nonviolent movement that demanded the school be closed. Besides hosting a yearly weekend vigil in Columbus each November, Bourgeois and members of SOA Watch have actively participated in hunger strikes, government lobbying, and acts of civil disobedience to promote their cause. Early in the movement, Bourgeois (and three accomplices) infiltrated Fort Benning, climbed a tree outside a dormitory and played a recording of Archbishop Oscar Romero's final sermon (a plea for the military to lay down its arms delivered one evening before his assassination) over the before being arrested and charged with trespassing and impersonating an officer.<sup>8</sup> Bourgeois received an 18-month sentence from U.S. District Judge Robert Elliott, which began a long history of unsympathetic rulings against the movement. After his release, Bourgeois was arrested again (with fellow SOA Watch members Charles and Patrick Liteky) for trespassing onto the base and damaging property when the group dumped a mixture of blood and

<sup>8</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 6/20/1996

soil from the graves of murdered Salvadorans on several portraits and walls of the school.<sup>9</sup>

Arrest statistics such as these were common in the media's portrayal of the movement, as illustrated in Table 2.

**Table 2: Number of Vigil Protesters and Arrests<sup>10</sup>**

	<i>Estimated Number of Protesters</i>	<i>Estimated Number of Arrests</i>
1996	400	13-60
1997	-	500-601
1998	7,000	0
1999	8,000-12,000	65
2000	6,500	1,766
2001	10,000	84
2002	4,000	30
2003	8,000	30
2004	10,000-16,000	21
2005	15,000	8
2006	18,000	17

SOA Watch and its struggle against the School of the Americas was the subject of a short documentary film entitled "*School of the Assassins*," which was nominated for an Academy Award in 1995. The organization began gaining political allies, including Representative Joseph P. Kennedy 2<sup>nd</sup> (D-Ma), who drafted an amendment to a defense-spending bill that would have cut \$2.8 million in funding for the school in October of 1993.<sup>11</sup> The amendment was defeated 256-174.<sup>12</sup> In 1996, HR 2652, which called for the closure of the SOA, began to circulate in the

<sup>9</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 6/2/1991

<sup>10</sup> Crowd estimates were based on figures provided by *The New York Times* or *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* during November coverage of the vigil. When discrepancies occurred in the newspaper samples, the larger number was chosen. Such discrepancies were uncommon, except in 1999 and 2004, when significant differences were noticed between official and SOA Watch crowd estimates (the SOA estimate is larger in both instances).

<sup>11</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 10/2/93

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

halls of Congress. One year later, the House Appropriations Committee defeated a bill 23-21 that would have eliminated all U.S. Training grants to Latin American soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

Coverage of the SOA movement began escalating in the late 1990s. Five governing board members of the SOA Watch were arrested late September of 1997 for criminal trespass and destruction of government property. Mary Trotochaud, William Bichsel, Margaret Eilerman, Edward Kinane and Kathleen Rumpf were imprisoned for prying letters off the school's main gated and writing "School of Assassins" and "School of Shame" in there place.<sup>14</sup> The NAACP passed a resolution in November 1997 calling for the closure of the school, while several attempts at legislative action failed in both the House of Representatives and the Senate around this time period. In late 1997 the House defeated a bill 217-210 to limit funding to the school, while Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) withdrew a bill to close the school in order to gain co-sponsors (a total of 12 senators had signed).<sup>15</sup> By 1998, Rep. Kennedy had 129 co-sponsors for HR 611, a bill to close the SOA. A similar bill, S980, circulated the Senate in 1998. In September of that year, a congressional vote to eliminate \$750,000 of the school's budge was defeated 212-201.<sup>16</sup> One month after this vote, actor Martin Sheen led approximately 2,000 people onto the grounds of Fort Benning during the November vigil. The protesters were loaded on buses and escorted off the base; for the first time in the movement's history, no arrests were recorded.<sup>17</sup> Next May, several thousand protesters rallied near the White House in May.

In late July of 1999, the House of Representatives voted to withhold recruitment money for the SOA by a vote of 230-197, marking the first financial setback in the history of the

---

<sup>13</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 7/11/97

<sup>14</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 1/18/98

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 9/19/98

<sup>17</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and *The New York Times*, 11/23/98

school.<sup>18</sup> The bill would have cut 10 percent of \$20 million in funding if the money had not later been restored in conference committee. A large crowd of people risked arrest at that year's November vigil, when more than 1,000 protesters (of the 3,100-4,800 who marched on the base) refused to board buses prepared to cart them off the premises.<sup>19</sup> Lead marchers pulled red paint from under their robes, poured it on themselves and played dead. Later that year, Charles Liteky and Manuel Whitfield were arrested for delivering two coffins to the school.<sup>20</sup> A 2000 bill introduced in May by Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass) to close the school was defeated 204-214 after heavy lobbying from the Army, Pentagon and Clinton administration officials.<sup>21</sup> The 2000 November vigil was similar to the previous years, though many more arrests were recorded.

After years of poor publicity and growing public backlash, the Pentagon announced that the School of the Americas would close its doors and re-open as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHISC) in mid-January of 2001.<sup>22</sup> As a result, the Department of Defense (and not the U.S. Army) assumed jurisdiction over the WHISC. The name change did not deter the diligence of SOA Watch<sup>23</sup> (who claimed the name change superficial). The vigil immediately following the school's name change was directly effected by the 9/11 tragedy. City officials ordered the vigil be moved to Golden Park baseball stadium, located several miles away from the base, due to concern raised by the recent terrorist attacks.<sup>24</sup> SOA Watch protested the decision; they were successful in court to block the injunction. The group conducted a victory march to the base, where a new fence topped with barbed wire was

---

<sup>18</sup> *The New York Times*, 7/30/99

<sup>19</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/22/99

<sup>20</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 12/13/99

<sup>21</sup> *The New York Times*, 5/20/00

<sup>22</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 12/15/00

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/15/01

installed at the main gate to discourage public infiltration. Protesters could no longer easily enter the base, and the number of fences separating the two factions has increased over the years. The fences have instrumental in decreasing the number of annual arrests, even though protest numbers continue to increase.

The SOA Watch weekend vigil has followed a similar format over the past several years. Numerous workshops and nonviolent training sessions are conducted at the Columbus Convention Center on the Friday prior to the demonstration. The next day, protesters congregate outside the gate of Fort Benning, where the street is closed to accommodate the demonstration. A large stage is erected, and a long row of tables are arranged in an orderly fashion down the right side of the road for organizations to share various protest literature. Throughout the day, various speakers, musicians and civilians share messages of hope, pain, anguish, suffering and outrage. The festivities conclude with an outdoor pageant performed by the volunteer “puppetistas.” They enact mini-dramas (with the help of volunteers) inspired by SOA atrocities, replete with colorful imagery and large elaborate costume pieces.

The playfulness of Saturday’s festivities evaporates on Sunday, when SOA graduates hold a solemn march and mock funeral procession to commemorate victims of militaristic violence. Marchers hold crosses with the names of men, women and children from Argentina, Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Venezuela, Bolivia, Haiti and other Latin American countries that have suffered under oppressive military regimes. Traditionally, protesters deciding to cross the line and be arrested do so during this large procession.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODS

A comparative contextual analysis was conducted on two separate print medium samples: protest literature collected at the 2006 November SOA Vigils in Fort Benning and two mass media newspapers. An attempt was made by the author to collect every piece of free literature available during the official activities of the 2006 vigil 1) outside the gates of Fort Benning, 2) at various programs, seminars and events held at the Columbus Convention Center, or 3) at other locations hosting events featured in the official schedule of events. Protest literature included postcards, information sheets, pamphlets, newspapers, newsletters or any printed correspondence available for public dissemination at the weekend vigil.<sup>1</sup>

The mass media sample includes all articles in both *The New York Times* and *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that were found on a Lexus-Nexus search of “School of the Americas” and included any mention of social opposition towards the American military school. Mass media coverage of the social movement ranged from June 22, 1991 through February 1, 2007 for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* sample; *The New York Times* featured articles from May 28, 1993 through April 30, 2006. *The New York Times* was chosen for its prominence in the field of journalism; the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* for its proximity to Columbus, GA.

---

<sup>1</sup> Digital media is excluded from the study, though free DVDs were available from one table during the 2006 SOA Vigil. It was cost inhibitive for the vendor to give away every title he had available for free, however he was content to allow both *Loose Change: Second Edition* and *Mysteries Part One: Demolitions* be taken without charge. Both DVDs explore various 9/11 “conspiracy” theories that hypothesize the destruction of the World Trade Center was aided by explosives devices. Points of contention with the media’s analysis of the disaster include the seemingly inexplicable destruction of Building 7 of the World Trade Center, unconfirmed reports of explosions in the basement of both Towers, lack of video confirmation or significant airplane debris from either the Pentagon or Flight 72, and other claims that presuppose the upper levels of the United States government perpetrated, aided or covered-up the 9/11 attacks for economic and political reasons.

The coding sheet is included in Appendix A. All content was analyzed to observe the frequency, context and structure of SOA-related coverage to determine similarities and discrepancies of coverage, and how the movement was framed in the mass media. A comparative analysis was chosen for this research because:

Comparing media narratives of events that could have been reported similarly helps to reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text. Unless narratives are compared, frames are difficult to detect fully and reliably, because many of the framing devices can appear as "natural," unremarkable choices of words or images. Comparison reveals that such choices are not inevitable or unproblematic but rather are central to the way the news frame helps establish the literally "common sense" (i.e., widespread) interpretation of events (Entman, 1991, p. 6).

This framing research differs from previous frame analysis because it compares a mass media product with an "unmediated" content sample. Public protests offer the rare opportunity to gather information on a variety of unfamiliar topics, and this research seeks to determine if comparing literature from opposite ends of the mediated spectrum can effectively identify the frames employed by each side.

The content of the protest literature sample was scrutinized to determine reoccurring themes and subject matter to serve as a point of comparison to the mass media sample. It was the ambition of this author to compile a comprehensive list of all protest issues mentioned in the sample to expose controversial information deemed irrelevant by mass media standards; this research will serve as forum for the many ideas that threaten the dominant ideology perpetuated by the mass media. It is hoped this information will inspire at least one individual to begin fighting for an appropriate social cause (there are no shortage of worthy causes in these Interesting Times).

Based on an extensive review of theoretical framing discourse, this study addresses five research questions to explore the framing of the “Close the SOA” movement:

**R1.** What were the most popular frames that different media employed in reporting the “Close the SOA” movement?

**R2.** : How visible is news about the School of the Americas in the mass media?

**R3.** How did the coverage of the movement vary across independent and corporate news print media?

**R4.** Did mass media frames change over time?

**R5.** What issues were featured in protest literature yet had minimal coverage in mainstream press?

Based on these following research questions, I propose the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1:** The framing of the movement will vary dramatically in mass media and independent coverage of the event. The media will frame the movement sparsely in an episodic structure, emphasizing conflict (regardless of its nonviolent principle) and the viewpoint of government (over movement) sources. The protest literature will frame their issues in a more thematic manner, offer solutions to the problem, attest blame, rely less on official sources, and attempt to incite public engagement.



## CHAPTER 6

### RESULTS

There were noticeable differences of frame usage employed by the mass media and protest literature samples in their coverage of the School of the Americas movement. This chapter will identify the most popular frames used by each sample, reveal the extent of coverage the social movement has received, and discuss the variance of coverage between the samples and over time. This data analysis, as with all analyses of this nature, is limited by individual bias, though every attempt was made to ensure empirical replicability.

Important statistical information is presented in Table 3<sup>1</sup>. Each mass media sample was broken into a sub-set to isolate news stories from editorials and letters for separate statistical consideration; protest literature that specifically mentioned the School of the Americas protest was also sub-categorized. Although there is no adequate measure to determine the appropriate frequency of coverage for any issue or event, the data suggested that the School of the Americas social movement has not received a large amount of mass media exposure. Most of the SOA protest coverage was buried far from the front page; the sixteen-year movement averaged less than one article a month in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, with even fewer articles appearing in *The New York Times*.

Despite these findings, it would be statistically inappropriate to suggest mass media coverage of the School of the Americas social movement has been negative in tone. On the contrary, the coverage genuinely appeared to favor the school's closing. Mass media coverage (if

---

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in brackets following percentage figures in this chapter (i.e. 72 percent [43]) indicate percentages of the news sub-set when statistically relevant.

and when it occurred) overwhelmingly supported the social movement. A surprising 54.2 percent [35.7] of *The New York Times* sample and 41.5 percent [29.7] of the *AJC* articles were for the school's closure, as opposed to 16.7 percent [14.3] and 10.2 percent [6.3] against. The distribution of positive, negative and neutral source statistics also mirrored these findings. This does not suggest the media's portrayal of the movement has been entirely beneficial. This analysis suggests that several framing techniques were engaged to limit the movement's long-term political impact.

The hypothesis, which was based on previous frame research outlined in chapter 2, was supported in all instances; the scant coverage of the SOA social movement was predominantly framed in an episodic manner, whereas the opposite was true in the protest literature sample.

**Table 3: Episodic Frame vs. Thematic Frame Usage**

	<i>AJC</i>	<i>AJC:</i> News	<i>NY Times</i>	<i>NY Times:</i> News	Protest Lit	Protest Lit SOA
<b>Sample Size</b>	147	111	48	28	173	32
<b>Average Word Count</b>	342	396	575	812	----	----
<b>Episodic Frame</b>	73.5%	89.2%	60.4%	85.8%	22%	21.875%
<b>Thematic Frame</b>	10.2%	8.1%	10.4%	7.1%	55.5%	37.5%
<b>Mention of Arrests</b>	51%	63.1%	27.1%	39.2%	5.2%	15.62%
<b>Jesuit assassination</b>	27.2%	32.4%	29.2%	32.1%	0.6%	3.2%

Episodic framing, which Iyengar attested leads to individual over societal attributions of blame, was almost four times more likely to appear in mass media news articles than protest literature; thematic coverage was at least three times (and up to 7 times) more likely to be featured in the protest literature sample. In addition, there were several episodic framing conventions regularly employed by the mass media. More than 25 percent of the articles in both mass media samples were published in November, the annual date of the protest. Thematic coverage of the movement during this time period was even less likely than indicated above; *The New York Times* never featured a thematic interpretation of the movement in the month of the vigil. By providing a

majority of its focus on the actual event and not its underlying causes, media coverage often buried anything but the most surface motivations for the protest. Instead, the mass media coagulated the movement's "message" into specific events, people, or relics of the past, the most infamous being the assassination of six Jesuit priests and two women associates. True, this moment inspired the movement's creation, however it also became a liability when, at the apex of the movement's coverage, the media began criticizing the movement for placing too much emphasis on past, and not present, injustices (regardless if it was their journalistic limitations that excluded this information from public consideration). The Jesuit assassination was highlighted with greater frequency in November news stories, which suggests the media's correlation of the vigil with past events.

The prominence of arrest reports (and subsequent trial coverage) in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* cannot be overstated. As indicated in the third chapter, arrest reports can delegitimize a social movement since repeated association with lawlessness is bound to detract public support. Based on the history of the mass media's framing of social movements, it came as no surprise that crowd arrests were one of the most common reoccurring episodic framing devices used to frame the movement. For instance, *AJC* reporter Richard Whitt's pre-coverage of the 1999 vigil warned of "unspecified 'high risk' actions that could lead to arrest and prosecution,"<sup>2</sup> actions he would eventually label as an "act of defiance" in his follow-up report.<sup>3</sup> Subtle condemnation was even more apparent in the *AJC* immediately following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Eight days after the tragedy Bill Osinski reported "a small percentage of the

---

<sup>2</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/14/99

<sup>3</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/22/99

protesters went so far as trespassing” at the vigil.<sup>4</sup> In the *AJC*, protesters were four times more likely to be labeled as “arrested” than “nonviolent”.<sup>5</sup> Arrest photographs were a significant proportion of the media’s visual coverage of the movement. On November 23, 1999, the *AJC* published a photograph (the same picture had appeared the previous day in *The New York Times*)<sup>6</sup> that depicted a masked protester lying motionless in the street, as seen from the point-of-view of the arresting officer. A similar arrest photo was included in the *AJC* on November 24, 2003. A picture of the action that resulted in the prosecution of Mary Trotochaud and other SOA Watch members accompanied a thematic essay about the movement’s history and agenda.<sup>7</sup>

Arrest statistics helped reinforce the significant presence of conflict frames. The results for several news frame categories (as conceptualized by Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) are listed in Table 4. On a general level of interpretation, these percentages confirm the limitations imposed by episodic framing. As the table indicates, both mass media samples were always more likely to use a conflict frame when describing the protest movement (though some forms of conflict frames were common in the protest literature sample). Strong headline verbiage, such as the *AJC* headlines “Training School Assailed”<sup>8</sup> and “Training school run by Army assailed”<sup>9</sup> were often included in post-vigil analyses to embellish aspects of conflict. In contrast, the protest literature sample was more likely to offer solutions to the problem, outline how the problem affected people, use adjectives and personal stories to elicit reader response, and dictate how people should behave. These frame types found within the protest literature sample share

---

<sup>4</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/18/01

<sup>5</sup> A protester had an equal chance of being labeled in positive or negative terms in the *New York Times* sample.

<sup>6</sup> *The Times* article was a clear anti-protest piece. Its other graphic featured a school cadet being congratulated.

<sup>7</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 1/18/98

<sup>8</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/17/96

<sup>9</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/23/98

embellish thematic characteristics of coverage. With the exception of the cost or degree of expense, the economic consequences frame was rarely employed by any of the samples.

**Table 4: Percentage of Popular Frame Types Found Within Each Sample**

Does the story suggest:	<i>AJC</i>	<i>AJC:</i> News	<i>NY Times</i>	<i>NY Times:</i> News	Protest Lit	Protest Lit: SOA
<b><i>Responsibility Frame:</i></b>						
Government Alleviate?	38.8%	33.3%	39.6%	25.0%	33.5%	34.4%
Government Responsible?	32.7%	31.5%	68.8%	60.7%	50.9%	65.6%
Offer Solution?	57.1%	52.3%	47.9%	39.3%	82.1%	81.3%
Someone responsible?	72.8%	71.2%	77.1%	71.4%	64.7%	71.9%
Urgent Action?	17.7%	18.0%	47.9%	46.4%	41.0%	43.8%
<b><i>Conflict Frame:</i></b>						
Disagreement?	81%	81.1%	95.8%	96.4%	71.7%	71.9%
Reproach?	76.9%	73.0%	95.8%	92.9%	60.1%	62.5%
Multiple Sides?	44.9%	53.2%	31.3%	42.9%	4.0%	0%
Winner/Losers?	1.4%	1.8%	2.1%	3.6%	2.3%	0%
<b><i>Human Interests:</i></b>						
Human Face?	19%	25.2%	25.0%	35.7%	17.9%	25.0%
Adjectives/Personal?	12.2%	8.1%	22.9%	21.4%	49.1%	34.4%
People Affected?	28.6%	27.9%	27.1%	25.0%	61.8%	59.4%
Private Lives?	5.4%	7.2%	22.9%	32.1%	5.2%	6.3%
<b><i>Morality Frame:</i></b>						
Morals?	23.1%	23.4%	20.8%	17.9%	37.6%	18.8%
God/Religion?	53.1%	59.5%	39.6%	39.3%	31.8%	31.3%
How to Behave?	22.4%	16.2%	20.8%	28.6%	60.1%	56.3%
<b><i>Economic Frame:</i></b>						
Financial Losses?	19.7%	20.7%	4.2%	7.1%	12.7%	3.1%
Financial Gains?	4.1%	3.6%	0%	0%	5.8%	3.1%
Cost/Degree of Expense	19.0%	15.3%	27.1%	21.4%	35.3%	31.3%
Economic Consequences for?	5.4%	5.4%	4.2%	7.1%	21.4%	15.6%
Economic Consequences vs.?	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.9%	0%

As predicted, government and military sources provided a substantial proportion of the mass media's source statistics, whereas three-fourths of the protest literature's cited references were either mailing addresses, telephone numbers, e-mail addresses or web pages. Two-thirds of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution's* news stories contained source statistics from either official or military sources; the same was true for 57.1 percent of *The New York Times*. Besides Father Roy Bourgeois, the mainstream media (especially *The New York Times*) routinely ignored any other voices from within the social movement. Bourgeois and other movement leaders accounted for only 7.7 percent of the *NY Times* total source statistics, though a more accurate assessment is 6

percent since 16 of the 35 total movement quotations were attributed to Ryan Nunkel, a student activist highlighted in a lengthy November 11, 2001 article entitled “The Making of a Student Activist” (which briefly mentions the School of the Americas protest). Eve Tidwell, organizer of the oppositional rally God Bless Fort Benning Day, was another protest organizer quoted within this small sample.

While *The New York Times* neglected to provide many quotes from within the social movement, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* framed the vigil in the voice of its founder, Father Roy Bourgeois. The *AJC* mentioned or quoted Bourgeois in 69.4 percent of the news sample; he was responsible for 22.3 percent of the total number of quotes. This large number of attributions does not imply that his coverage was entirely uncritical. One *AJC* feature story<sup>10</sup> on Bourgeois began with the following sentence: “He was once a patriotic small-town boy,” which could be taken to imply that individuals protesting the government are unpatriotic. In another article, the *AJC* used the lingo of the very institution he was condemning (“but for now, at least, Bourgeois’s army is on the offensive”)<sup>11</sup> to describe the social movement’s growing political impact. Bourgeois’s arguments were often dispelled with the “bad apple” frame, in which military officials claims the school should not be judged by the actions of a minority of its graduates. This frame appeared in 17.7 percent of *AJC* articles and 12.5 percent of the *NY Times*.

Most of the charts and graphs were supportive of the movement (they often depicted past atrocities or notorious graduates of the school), however many of the photographs were of little benefit to the movement. As previously mentioned, arrest photographs were popular, though other photographs also hindered the movement. In one of the movement’s first articles, the *AJC*

---

<sup>10</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 06/20/96

<sup>11</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/14/99

printed a small photograph of several soldiers conducting a rescue mission on the cover. The caption first draws attention to the soldier's heroics before mentioning the organized protest of their training facility.<sup>12</sup> Blatant graphical discrepancies were most notable in the November 14, 1999 edition of the *AJC*, which ran four separate articles on the impending SOA vigil. All three cover photographs (F1) featured cadets of the school. *AJC* photographs also tended to visually misrepresent total protest attendance numbers.<sup>13</sup> Common detrimental media photography practices observed by Gitlin and others were found within the mass media sample; there were pictures devoted to the ridiculous (the face of a clown)<sup>14</sup> and potentially unruly (a motorcycle gang)<sup>15</sup> aspects of the protest.

There were also unique instances in *The New York Times* when an incorrect name was attributed to the school. When the press first announced the school was to close and re-open, the School of the Americas was referred to as: 1) the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (its real name), 2) the Center for Inter-American Security Cooperation, and 3) the Defense Institute for Hemisphere Security Cooperation. References to the Center for Inter-American Security Cooperation occurred in two consecutive issues prior to the school's re-opening,<sup>16</sup> so it is a plausible assumption that the school's name had not been finalized at that point. However, the *NY Times* referred to the school as the Defense Institute for Hemisphere Security Cooperation before and after its re-opening,<sup>17</sup> even when they correctly reported the institution's name<sup>18</sup> within this same time span. This factual inconsistency hardly mirrors the

---

<sup>12</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 10/2/93

<sup>13</sup> See *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*: 8/17/96, 11/23/98, 7/31/99, 11/20/00, 11/18/01, and 11/23/03

<sup>14</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/22/04

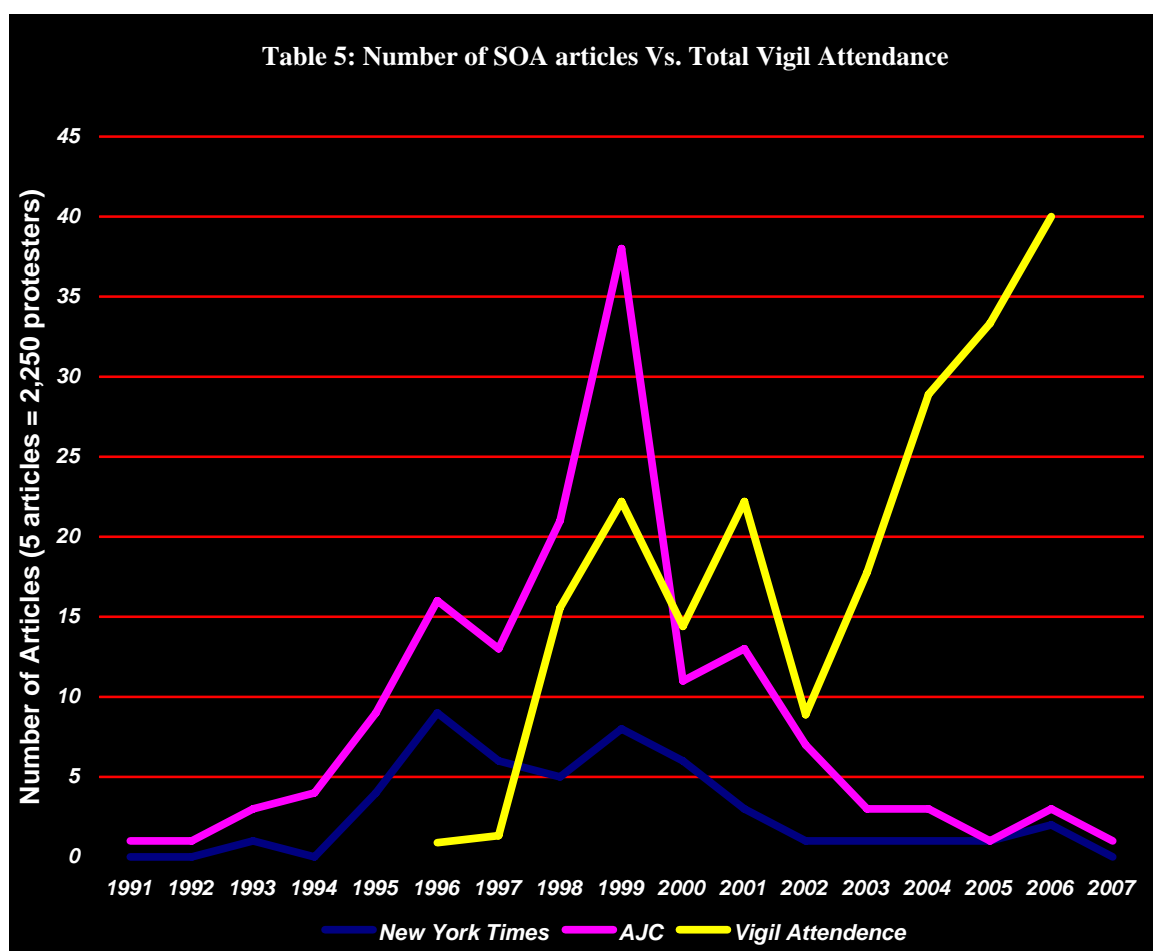
<sup>15</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/21/04

<sup>16</sup> *The New York Times*, 11/19/99 and 11/21/99

<sup>17</sup> *The New York Times*, 5/20/00 and 9/15/02

<sup>18</sup> *The New York Times*, 6/41/01

magnitude of discrepancy discovered in the research of Jamieson and Cappella (2000), however it is important to note that the *NY Times* made no effort to correct the mislabeling in future editions.<sup>19</sup> The misprints coincided with an abrupt decline of SOA mass media coverage, as illustrated in Table 5. These factors might be interpreted as a subtle media smokescreen to promote confusion and apathy.



As Table 5 indicates, coverage for the movement peaked in 1999 and plummeted one year later; both papers continue to devote a miniscule amount of coverage to the SOA movement despite the fact the annual attendance for the vigil has grown to record numbers in recent years.

<sup>19</sup> Four articles within *The New York Times* sample had appended corrections; it was not an uncommon occurrence. Most of the corrections involved the identification and rebuttal of individual cadets at the School of the Americas.



What inspired this sudden lack of media interest? Even before the school changed its name in 2001, *The New York Times* was anxious to editorially frame the protest as irrelevant by associating the protest with events long past, while labeling the school as a reformed institution committed to human rights courses. This framework is demonstrated in many instances. For example, Malcolm Bell expressed indignation over the way the *NY Times* edited a letter<sup>20</sup> he authored condemning the school. Bell claimed the edited version of his letter, which read “last year the disclosure of training manuals used at the school in the 1980s established that, well, maybe they lied before, but now they have truly dropped torture and murder from the curriculum”<sup>21</sup> had misconstrued his point that “it is hard to believe the [Defense] department when it now tells us that those subjects are no longer taught at the school.”<sup>22</sup> Comments that the school will continue to “face the same old protests”<sup>23</sup> and that “the protests have grown, even as the crimes committed by the school’s graduates recede into the past”<sup>24</sup> illustrated how *The New York Times* wished to deflate the relevance of the protest by emphasizing past atrocities over present concerns.

One of the most interesting frames discovered in the sample involved the syntax of the phrase “Latin America.” The term was used often in both the *AJC* (73.5 percent) and the *NY Times* (77.1 percent) to neutrally designate the geographic region that includes Mexico, Central, and South America. The term was used far less often to associate the region with political violence or turmoil in the mass media sample (in other words, the phrase “Latin America” was not used as a qualifier for social unrest or protest). The *AJC* used this problematic context in only

---

<sup>20</sup> *NY Times*, 11/3/97

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> *NY Times*, 11/5/97

<sup>23</sup> *NY Times*, 5/20/00

<sup>24</sup> *NY Times*, 11/22/99

6.1 percent of its coverage, while the *NY Times* failed to use it at all. The opposite was true in the protest literature sample, where 20.2 percent of the sample associated the phrase “Latin America” with either violence or suffering. Only an additional 1.8 percent of the protest sample used “Latin America” exclusively as a geographical indicator; the protest literature sample was far more likely to attribute regional problems with the specific countries that experienced them (countries not limited to Colombia, El Salvador, Panama, Nicaragua, Argentina, Haiti and Guatemala).

One important aspect of frame analysis is determining what relevant information is excluded from the sample. The specific identification of American corporations facing public protest is one such obvious exclusion. *The New York Times* article entitled “Hacktivism”<sup>25</sup> mentioned the protesters willingness to fight corporate interests, yet failed to label any specific corporations the group was protesting. A similar instance occurred in the *AJC*,<sup>26</sup> which reported Mary Trotochaud was concerned with corporate policies in Latin America, but never felt compelled to list any of them by name. This tendency to blame corporations generally was repeated in other news stories as well, including the aforementioned “The Making of a Student Activist.” Another example of information exclusion occurred in the *AJC*,<sup>27</sup> who reported “Army Col. Richard Downie and his staff sat down and responded to stinging questions about the school’s human rights record.” What exactly were these stinging questions? The article never revealed this information; the next paragraph made no mention of the cross-examination, offering instead a quote by Col. Downie explaining the motivating factors behind the institution’s implementation of human rights modules.

---

<sup>25</sup> *NY Times*, 10/31/98

<sup>26</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 1/14/99

<sup>27</sup> *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 11/17/02

The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* printed multiple editions of several articles, providing a unique opportunity to measure framing differences. The September 26, 1996 *Journal* edition of the *AJC* excluded the strongest anti-SOA sentiment expressed in the entire article, which was delivered by Rep. Martin Meehan. An account discrepancy occurred on November 17, 1997, in which the *Constitution* edition claimed all protesters from a previous demonstration were released without charges, while the *Journal* edition stated all but 28 were released and some (including Roy Bourgeois) were charged with trespassing. A quote supporting the school and a list of countries affected by SOA graduates (Haiti, Mexico, Honduras, Colombia, Chile and Guatemala) were excluded from the May 2, 1999 *Metro* edition. One of the most significant differences of information presentation occurred on November 21, 1999. The *Home* edition's second paragraph read as follows:

It was a scene that has been repeated annually for 10 years as the protestors seek an end to the training of Latin American soldiers and police at the school in combat and terror tactics. Many SOA graduates have been implicated in atrocities, the protestors said.

Compare this wording with that of the *Journal* edition:

The school trains Latin American soldiers and police in combat and terror tactics. And many SOA graduates have been implicated in atrocities, protestors said.

The *Journal* edition clearly made a stronger accusation. The rest of the story was verbatim in both issues, however the ordering differed. The *Journal* edition followed with an emotionally charged personal description of the El Mozote massacre (as told by a survivor); the *Constitution* edition pushed this heartbreaking account towards the article's conclusion and replaced it with several neutral comments from movement organizers about their nonviolent principles.

Research Question 3 wished to determine differences in coverage between independent and corporate news print media. As suggested by the hypothesis, the framing of the SOA social

movement varied in mass media and independent coverage of the event. The mass media framed the movement sparsely in an episodic structure, emphasizing conflict and the viewpoint of military and government sources. The protest literature framed issues in a more thematic manner, offered more solutions to alleviate the problem, attested blame with greater frequency, lacked official source statistics, and attempted to incite public engagement. The thematic approach of the SOA protest literature led to its multiple associations with other protest issues, as illustrated by Table 6. As the table indicates, both the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and *The New York Times* framed the social movement primarily as a human rights issue, with torture being the second most common framing variable. It is true the SOA protest literature employed these same frames with regularity; however the results indicate the protest sample associated a more thorough variety of grievances with the social movement than the mass media.

Mass media coverage was limited in scope. Besides the human rights and torture, no other issues had repeated associations with the vigil in the mass media sample (though *The New York Times* did frame the SOA as a Cold War relic in 25 percent of its coverage). Compared to the protest literature sample, the mass media sample appeared to exhibit a certain level of factual complacency when covering the movement; the status quo was maintained by re-emphasizing early frame decisions of the movement rather than exposing its evolving social agenda. For example, the 2006 vigil program provided information on a wide range of topics not embellished in the media's coverage (see last column of Table 6). This list of grievances included variables completely absent from media coverage of the protest movement (CAFTA, fair trade, military spending), while issues such as war, economics, union/labor, the Iraq invasion, corrupt media, and others were much more likely to be addressed in the protest literature sample.

**Table 6: Issues Associated with the School of the Americas Protest (by % of mention)**

<b>Issue:</b>	<b>AJC Entire Sample</b>	<b>AJC News</b>	<b>NY Times Entire Sample</b>	<b>NY Times News</b>	<b>Protest Lit Entire Sample</b>	<b>Protest Lit SOA</b>	<b>SOA Vigil Program</b>
<b>CAFTA</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.9%	9.375%	No
<b>Civil Rights</b>	4.8%	6.3%	4.2%	7.1%	6.9%	6.25%	Yes
<b>Cold War</b>	4.8%	4.5%	20.8%	25%	2.9%	0%	No
<b>Corporation</b>	1.4%	0.9%	10.4%	14.3%	22%	18.75%	Yes
<b>Debt</b>	0.7%	0%	0%	0%	7.5%	3.125%	Yes
<b>Economics</b>	1.4%	0.9%	6.3%	10.7%	37%	34.375%	Yes
<b>Education</b>	2.7%	2.7%	4.2%	3.6%	17.9%	6.25%	Yes
<b>Environment</b>	0.7%	0.9%	4.2%	7.1%	21.4%	12.5%	Yes
<b>Fair/Free Trade</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	6.4%	3.125%	Yes
<b>Genocide</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.7%	3.125%	No
<b>G.W. Bush</b>	3.4%	2.7%	0%	0%	12.7%	12.5%	No
<b>Health Care</b>	0.7%	0.9%	0%	0%	16.2%	6.25%	No
<b>Human Rights</b>	46.3%	47.7%	58.3%	75%	37%	46.875%	Yes
<b>ILEA</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.2%	6.25%	No
<b>Immigration</b>	0%	0%	2.1%	3.6%	7.5%	9.375%	No
<b>Iraq War</b>	3.4%	6.3%	4.2%	7.1%	20.2%	21.875%	Yes
<b>Media</b>	0%	0%	4.2%	0%	11%	15.625%	Yes
<b>Military</b>	8.8%	6.3%	2.1%	3.6%	27.7%	28.57%	Yes
<b>Military Recruiting</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	9.2%	18.75%	No
<b>Military Spending</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	16.2%	15.625%	Yes
<b>“Neo” politics</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	4.26%	12.5%	No
<b>Nonviolence</b>	9.5%	11.7%	10.4%	16.7%	26%	12.5%	Yes
<b>Oil</b>	0.7%	0%	0%	0%	8.7%	9.375%	No
<b>Palestine</b>	0.7%	0.9%	0%	0%	6.4%	6.25%	Yes
<b>Peace</b>	9.5%	10.8%	10.4%	17.9%	35.3%	28.125%	Yes
<b>Police</b>	4.8%	6.3%	18.8%	28.6%	8.1%	15.625%	No
<b>Racism</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	15%	15.625%	Yes
<b>Sexuality</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	6.9%	9.375%	No
<b>Taxes</b>	2.7%	0.9%	8.3%	7.1%	9.2%	12.5%	Yes
<b>Torture</b>	29.9%	30.6%	39.6%	25%	17.9%	34.375%	Yes
<b>Union/Labor</b>	2.7%	2.7%	4.2%	7.1%	16.28%	31.25%	Yes
<b>US Government</b>	6.1%	5.4%	10.4%	7.1%	39.3%	50%	Yes
<b>War</b>	6.1%	8.1%	4.2%	7.1%	37%	37.5%	Yes
<b>Women’s Rights</b>	0.7%	0.9%	2.1%	3.6%	20.8%	12.5%	Yes
<b>Worker’s Rights</b>	1.4%	1.8%	4.2%	7.1%	15%	18.75%	Yes

The School of the Americas social movement was framed differently in the protest literature sample than in its mass media counterparts. The cover of the official schedule of events

and stage program identified the event as a “vigil and nonviolent direct action to close the School of the Americas and to change the racist system of violence and domination” (Return to Life: Stand up for Justice for the People of the Americas, 2006); SOA Watch provided a resource sheet with detailed information outlining: 1) the consequences of being arrested, 2) individual rights, 3) stereotypical targets for police harassment, 4) questions to ask if police begin interrogation, and 5) important legal information. A lawyer’s phone number was given with instructions to write it down on a body part in marker in case of arrest or detention. SOA Watch also provided a pamphlet for those who wished to make monthly credit card donations to the organization.

Organizers of the November vigil were hopeful that the newly elected Democratic Congress would secure the passage of H.R. 1217—The Latin America Military Training Review Act of 2005, which calls for the suspension of operations at the School of the Americas. Besides handing out business cards with contact information for the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress and other online resources, SOA Watch distributed lobby packets to help aid public interaction with the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress. This seventeen-page packet ([www.soa.org/legislative](http://www.soa.org/legislative)) is a testament to how the social movement’s message was overlooked in mass media coverage. A concise history of the SOA Watch legislative campaign is included in the packet; more thorough than any of the mass media news articles on the subject, which often excluded bill names and other pertinent historical information. Helpful tips for contacting legislators and detailed note-taking resources were also provided in the packet, as well as a detailed list of talking points (ironically, most of these were geared towards dispelling common mass media frames). The packet provided several more

recent examples of SOA graduates terrorizing the people of Latin America,<sup>28</sup> and challenged the effectiveness of the school's human rights courses. The literature listed three previous human rights abusers (Colonel Francisco del Cid Diaz of El Salvador, Captain Filmann Urzagaste Rodriguez of Bolivia and Colombian police officers Captain Dario Sierro Chapeta, Lt. Col. Francisco Patino Fonseca and Captain Luis Benavides Guancha) that have attended WHISC as students in the past few years.

Several other organizations also circulated literature on H.R. 1217. The InterReligious Task Force on Central America distributed postcards for protesters to sign and mail to Senator-elect Sherrod Brown of Ohio to gain his support for closing the SOA. UAW Region 1 Veteran's Council passed a resolution (which they had printed and available for those who asked) that called for the passage of H.R. 1217. The organization 1,000 Grandmothers also publicly demanded the closure of the SOA, while the Anti-Authoritarian Caucus distributed literature announcing a meeting held during the vigil to help envision new methods of direct action to close the school. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) also marched for the closing of the SOA. SDS was primarily interested in protesting Plan Colombia, which they reported has supplied the Colombian government with 800 U.S. ground troops, 500 mercenary contractors, and billions of dollars in military aid. SDS also opposed kidnappings and assassination attempts conducted by the CIA, including an attempt on Venezuelan President Chavez's life in 2002.

Several independent news media outlets documented the SOA struggle. The Region 1 Action Line (UAW newsletter) provided a photocopy of their article about the 2004 SOA

---

<sup>28</sup> Included in this list are members of the Gulf Drug Cartel "The Zetas". According to Mexican authorities, at least one-third of the original members were trained at the SOA. Another SOA grad, John Fredy Jimenez, was arrested for the murder of Archbishop Isaias Duarte in March, 2002. Two other graduates, Army Commander in Chief Efraim Vasquez and General Ramirez Poveda, helped lead a failed 2002 coup in Venezuela.

protest. Another article originally published in the 2004 edition of *People's Weekly World* was also available at the vigil. The article reported that Father Roy Bourgeois had met with Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez to request that his country consider withdrawing all troops from the SOA. Chavez agreed; Argentina and Uruguay also complied shortly thereafter, with Bolivia promising to a gradual withdrawal. The article also informed its readership about delegations that SOA Watch sends to Latin American countries. Concerns were raised that there may be hidden SOA mini-schools in Latin America (Manta, Ecuador was listed as a possible location) where inhumane military practices are taught. Literature advertised the documentary *Años*, which chronicles the life of Archbishop Oscar Romero. On March 23, 1980, Romero delivered a radio homily pleading with the government to stop their violent repression. He was shot through the heart the next day at mass and died as a result.

The SOA protest was associated with issues that transcended its Latin American roots. Atlanta Palestine Solidarity distributed literature that compared U.S. military influence in Latin America to this country's unilateral support for Israel and repression of the displaced settlers of Palestine. Similar connections were drawn to the United State's involvement with the overthrow of the democratically elected president of Haiti, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide. A one-sheet essay entitled "SOA-The Haitian Case" recalled a September 11, 1988 incident when the parish church of Aristide (who had yet to be elected the nation's ruler) was attacked by a mob led by SOA alumnus Franck Romain. Aristide managed to barely escape with his life; fifty bystanders were not as fortunate, while 77 were wounded. The responsible parties bragged on national television how they would eventually kill Aristide. The coup that ousted Aristide from power was led by SOA graduates Michel Francois, Raoul Cedras and Philippe Biamby. The literature stated that



Aristide claims “the crime of which I stand accused is the crime of preaching food for all men and women.”<sup>29</sup>

There are many victims of the SOA that are not mentioned in mass media coverage. SOA Watch claimed the school is the Pentagon’s way of controlling the people of Latin America and their resources, citing the January 3, 1981 assassination of labor organizers Mike Hammer, Mark Pearlman, and Rodolfo Viera by two SOA graduates in El Salvador as an example of militaristic injustice. Veterans for Peace News announced that SOA graduate Brigadier General Hector Jaime Fandino Rincon murdered eight civilians in the Colombian peace community of San Jose de Apartado. Torture victim Patricia Isasa, once a detainee in an Argentinean concentration camp, gave a presentation at the vigil about her experiences.

It is clear that there were significant differences in the way the SOA movement was framed in the mass media and protest literature samples. The question remains: how did the protest literature sample cover and explain other issues of social protest? The next chapter will answer the final research question by reviewing the issues, topics and concerns of the protest literature sample.

---

<sup>29</sup> [www.haitiaction.net](http://www.haitiaction.net)

## CHAPTER 7

### “UNMEDIATED” FRAMES – ISSUES IN PROTEST LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a composite forum for the reoccurring issues, themes and topics found within the protest literature sample. The previous chapter clearly demonstrated that the content of SOA protest literature was not limited to closing the school, or, on a much broader level, improving Central and South American foreign military policy. Generally, protest literature is unique in that it can be assumed that its contents accurately reflect the particular frames the social movement wishes to convey. An environment of planned dissent attracts many voices, concerns and agendas. This chapter makes no assumptions on the validity of the claims presented;<sup>1</sup> it serves as a conduit of the information provided by the protest literature sample. Topics include concerns war, human rights, world peace, nonviolence, Latin American issues, corporate greed, environmental concern, women's issues, torture, worker's rights, George W. Bush, the “War on Terror,” the dangers of nuclear weapons, mass media shortcomings, military enrollment, Haitian rights, debt cancellation, Palestinian resistance, voting alternatives, and the overthrow of the U.S. government. The topics are arranged in order of statistical relevance and sorted by source.

The abolition of war was the most popular subject in the literature available at the School of the Americas protest. The current war in Iraq had claimed over 3,000 U.S. lives (75 percent of

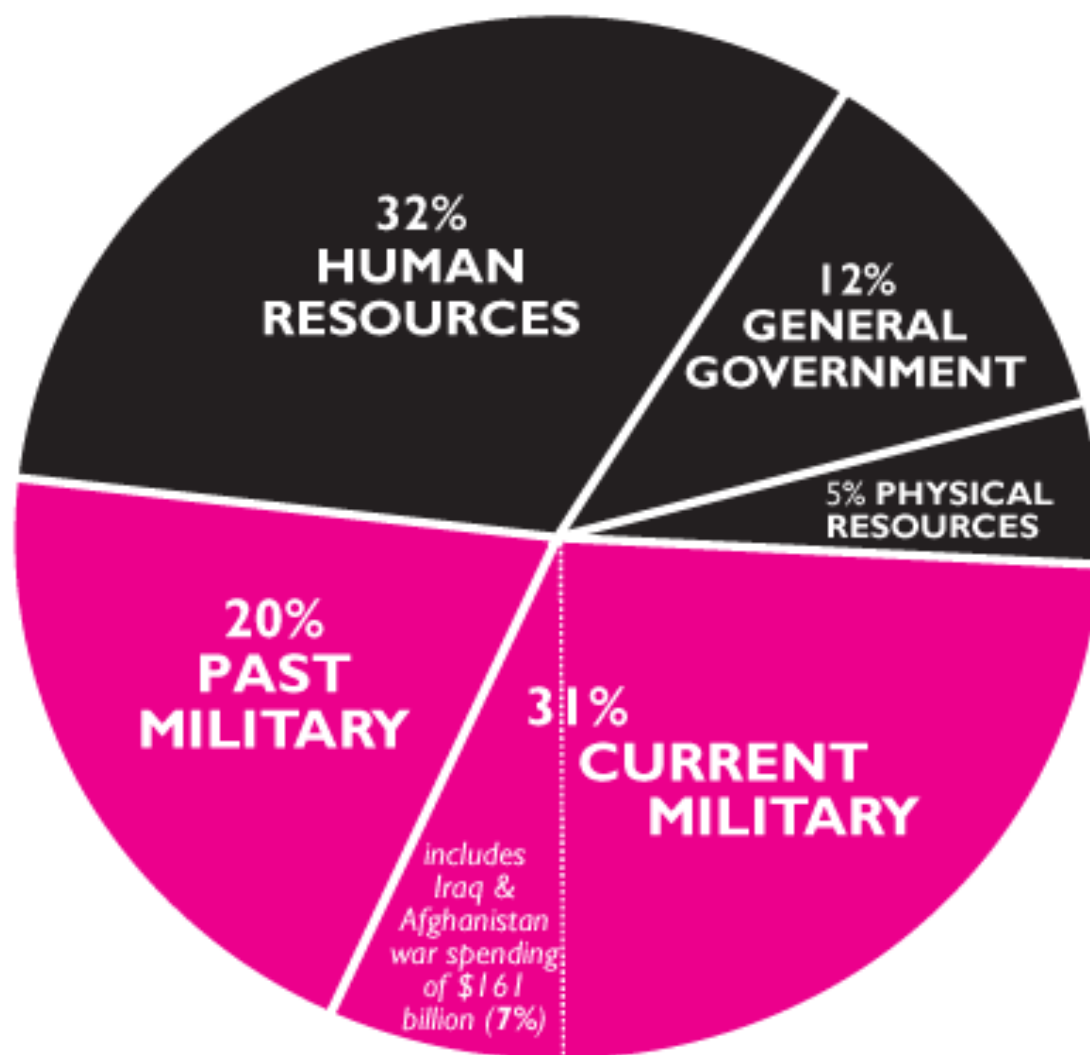
---

<sup>1</sup> In the spirit of the protest literature sample, this chapter will not contain many standard citations. This decision is totally consistent with the sample population. Over 76 percent of the sample's average six source statistics were addresses, phone numbers, email addresses or online sites. All source material in this chapter will be identified within the text as accurately as possible. All organizations mentioned in this chapter have information available online; a complete list of online source material is available in Appendix A.

the dead were twenty years old or younger) when the 2006 vigil occurred, with 21,000 American soldiers wounded and 650,000 Iraqi casualties. The price tag for the Iraq War exceeds \$400 billion a month, costing the average household \$2,200. Figure 1 is a pie chart of the 2008 United States budget provided by the War Resisters League at the vigil. Over 50 percent of U.S. tax dollars is allotted to pay for present and past military operations. The chart indicated that past and present wars command an exuberant financial burden on American taxpayers, yet the Alachua Green Party pamphlet “Why they hate the U.S.” (adapted from the graphic novel *Addicted to War: Why the U.S. Can’t Kick Militarism*) decried the true costs of war remain hidden from American society. The literature criticized our government for its militaristic diplomacy that exclusively supports its own interests at the expense of other countries, in both the past (i.e. the seizure of Mexico and near-extinction of the Native Americans) and present. The pamphlet revealed that the United States continued to stockpile a massive collection of nuclear weapons after the conclusion of the Cold War, assuring its status as the world’s lone global superpower. The pamphlet also charged our government with funding its greatest modern “enemies”: Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden. The literature claimed our nation’s dependence on oil, support for corrupt Middle Eastern regimes, military might and punitive economic sanctions (against the people of Iraq, Cuba and others) motivated the 9/11 terrorist acts. The literature charged Bush’s resulting “War on Terror” continues to drive this country into astronomical debt.

The movement literature offered a multitude of solutions to protest the current war in Iraq. The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC) distributed several pamphlets and their newsletter “More than a Paycheck” on federal income or telephone tax

resistance for those who wish to withhold their tax dollars from funding the war. This act of nonviolent civil disobedience has historic roots; in his *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, Henry David Thoreau stated “If a thousand people were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the state to commit violence and shed innocent blood”.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 1: 2008 United States Federal Budget Pie Chart**

Source: [www.warresistersleague.org](http://www.warresistersleague.org)

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.warresisters.org/wtr\\_complicity.htm](http://www.warresisters.org/wtr_complicity.htm)

NWTRCC (pronounced “new-trick”) was quick to point out that most tax resisters are not audited and do not go to jail unless documents have been falsified, though collection agencies might be employed to collect the debt. NWTRCC recommended writing the IRS to explain your motives for refusing payment, and to donate the proceeds to charity or significant cause.

Voices for Creative Nonviolence announced “The Occupation Project”: an eight week program of sustained nonviolent civil disobedience that began on February 5, 2007 in observation of the 4<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Colin Powell’s 2003 United Nations speech that justified this country’s invasion of Iraq. These actions were scheduled to occur at the legislative offices of government officials who have refused to make a public pledge on the war. Protesters risked arrest in these nonviolent actions; Voices of Creative Nonviolence suggested individuals read the names of deceased soldiers while tolling a bell for each one. Some social movements are trying to change the very structure of democratic government. The Campaign for a U.S. Department of Peace sought to create a high-ranking position: the Secretary of Peace. This person would serve on the President’s cabinet and offer nonviolent strategies for ending conflicts, plus make recommendations about addressing the root causes of war. This campaign is based on H.R. 1673, a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Dennis Kucinich (D). Voices for Creative Nonviolence have also held lengthy fasts to draw awareness to the economic sanctions and military actions in Iraq.

A booklet distributed by the Human Rights Resource Center reprinted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an amendment ratified by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. The thirty articles of the declaration guarantee all humans have: a right to equality; freedom from discrimination; right to life, liberty and personal security;

freedom from slavery; freedom from torture and degrading treatment; right to recognition as a person before the law; right to equality before the law; right to remedy by competent tribunal; freedom from arbitrary arrest and exile; right to fair public hearing; right to be considered innocent until proven guilty; freedom from interference with privacy, family, home and correspondence; right to free movement in and out of the country; right to asylum in other countries from prosecution; right to a nationality and the freedom to change nationality; right to marriage and family; right to own property; freedom of belief and religion; freedom of opinion and information; right of peaceful assembly and association; right to participate in government and in free elections; right to social security; right to desirable work and to join trade unions; right to rest and leisure; right to adequate living standard; right to education; right to participate in the cultural life of the community; right to a social order that articulates these rights; community duties essential to free and full development; and freedom from state or personal interference in the above rights. None of these human rights were embellished in the mass media sample, despite their reliance on this frame to explain the vigil.

There were several peace groups attending the vigil, including Cobb for Peace. The Georgia Peace and Justice Coalition attempted to coordinate information between various peace movements with their online database. Christian Peacemaker Teams sent delegations to participate in nonviolent protest, while Engage offered workshops, classes and resources for creative nonviolence. Grandmothers for Peace spoke out against nuclear weapons and global militarism. Student Peace Action Network (SPAN) distributed literature on building and sustaining local protest groups. SPAN is committed to end the physical, social and economic violence cause by U.S. militarism home and abroad; they offered grassroots training and

government lobbying tips. Religious groups represented at the SOA Vigil include: the Sisters of Providence (or Saint Mary-of-the-Woods), Call to Action, the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, Presbyterian Church (USA) Washington Office, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Maryknoll Father or Brother, Maryknoll Lay Missioners, The Catholic Worker, and The Catholic Radical.

As it is to be expected, a fair portion of the protest literature dealt with issues relevant to Latin American citizens. Colombia was by far the most cited Latin American country; it was mentioned by name in 18.5 percent of the sample. Colombia Solidarity and the Colombia Action Network decried U.S. military involvement in their country. Since 2000, the United States has sent almost \$5 billion<sup>2</sup> in military aid to Colombia, making it the third largest recipient of foreign aid. The organizations denounced Plan Colombia, a multinational effort to eliminate the coca crop by toxic fumigation. They claimed the initiative: destroys vegetation, displaces indigenous people, and targets poor farmers in the south while ignoring plantations in the wealthier north. The Colombia Support Network supported a nonviolent, negotiated resolution to the conflict in Cambodia.

Witness for Peace advocated for the defeat of the U.S. Colombia Free Trade Agreement (it passed earlier this year). Opposition to the agreement has been as high as 98 percent against in the country. There are concerns that, without tariffs, the United States will flood Colombian markets with American produce, undercutting local rice, corn, and cotton farmers. Bean, dairy and chicken farmers would also face uncertain futures. There are fears that this might lead to more farmers turning to coca and poppy to turn a profit. Witness for Peace offered opportunities for vigil participants to accompany delegations to Colombia to witness the economic realities of

---

<sup>2</sup> Witness for Peace claims this amount to be \$4 billion (over 80% military), while Fellowship of Reconciliation provides \$3.5 billion as an estimate.

globalization in the region. “Days of Prayer and Action for Colombia,” a Witness for Peace delegation, is scheduled for May of 2007. Other destinations of travel included Nicaragua, Venezuela and Mexico. Christian Peacemaker Teams and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) also sent nonviolent delegations to Colombia. FOR sponsored Pedaling for Peace, a 10-day bicycle journey from Boston to DC conducted by Janice Gallagher and Fedelma McKenna to raise awareness about Colombia’s economic hardships. FOR reported there are currently 3 million internally displaced people in Colombia, with more than 40,000 dead due to armed conflict since 1990. The Beehive Collective had the most creative display at the demonstration: an enormous panoramic illustrated narrative entitled *Plan Colombia*. The narrative was part of the Coloring Book Project, a detailed learning guide devoted to artistically conveying the history and effects of Plan Colombia, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, and Plan Puebla Panama.

Reprints of national news articles concerning Colombia were also distributed. Photocopies of four articles featured in *The Kansas City Star* detail incidences in which military forces inflicted civilian casualties. Paramilitary forces killed 36 people in El Salado in July of 2000. The police ignored the attack. One month later, six school children were gunned down in Pueblo Rico. Army officials claimed they were caught in the crossfire with rebel forces, though witnesses dispelled this claim. The nation’s capital, Bogotá, saw two incidences of multiple homicides in November of 2001. Twelve villagers were shot after paramilitaries claimed they were leftist guerillas. Two weeks later, five Indian activists were murdered. None of the above articles mentioned arrests. *The Los Angeles Times* ran a front-page article on September 18, 2006 about a nonviolent community in Colombia facing an uncertain future.



El Salvadorian interests were represented by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), who sought membership for their Emergency Response Network. CISPES reported there is a large amount of opposition to the US-Dominican Republic-Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in the region. The trade agreement was passed in 2005 by a vote of 217-215 in Congress, making it the closest trade vote in the history of the House of Representatives. Implementation has proven difficult in Central America, where large street protests have erupted. Violent resistance by police is not uncommon; two protesters were killed in April of 2005. U.S. military aid to the area has increased since the passage of CAFTA, making El Salvador the second largest recipient of military training in Latin America. CISPES reported the United States plans to introduce a new “SOA” in El Salvador entitled the International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA). CISPES encouraged people to tell Congress not to approve funding.

The CISPES publication *El Salvador Watch* reported on a violent protest that occurred on July 5, 2006. Riot police were stationed at the main entrance of the El Salvador National University, awaiting a student march demanding reduced bus fare. When police officers began to violently apprehend two youths, protesters started throwing rocks at the officers. Cops began firing rubber bullets and tear gas. A protester pulled out an M-16 and fired at police, killing two and injuring nine. The military promptly occupied the school for the next four days, dispersing protesters with an armed helicopter and ground-level firefighting. Government officials promptly labeled the protesters terrorists, which led to the passage of an “anti-terrorist” law that criminalizes building occupations, street blockades and common protest tactics. CISPES conducted “Alternatives to Empire,” the 4<sup>th</sup> Latin America Solidarity Conference in Chicago on

April 14-15 of 2007. Topics included free trade, immigration, sweatshop labor, and farmer rights.

Several organizations were interested in helping rebuild Guatemala after years of civil war. The Santa Elena Project of Accompaniment (SEPA) worked for peace and justice in post-war Guatemala, and sought human rights “accompaniers” for the Mayan community of Santa Elena. An accompanier gives villagers peace of mind to rebuild their lives; violence is less likely to be directed at international visitors. Amnesty International demanded General José Efraín Ríos Montt of Guatemala stand trial for crimes of genocide, terrorism, torture and illegal detention. The Guatemala Solidarity Project sent a delegation to Guatemala this past January.

Most of Latin America’s impoverished or war-ravished countries had issue-specific literature devoted to their plights. In Nicaragua, the Federation for the Integral Development of Peasant Farmers (FEDICAMP) developed “Let the Rivers Run.” FEDICAMPS asked for monetary donations to either purchase 15 trees (\$36.00) or a cistern (\$300-\$500), a large device that converts precipitation into potable drinking water. The Nicaragua Network distributed literature protesting the nomination of Robert Gates as Secretary of State, while Witness for Peace announced the Inter-cultural Teen Delegation to Nicaragua occurring later this June. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo are mothers of the “disappeared” in Argentina, individuals kidnapped by military officers. Public protest is forbidden in the country, so the mothers began meeting in the Plaza de Mayo for half an hour on Thursdays, circling the park wearing white handkerchiefs on their heads to raise awareness of their grievances.

The Venezuela Solidarity Network (VSN) protested the video game *Mercenaries 2: World in Flames* ([www.mercs2.com](http://www.mercs2.com)) by Pandemic Studios. The game’s premise involved a

terrorist organization that is intent on destroying the country's oil company. Pandemic Studios recently received an infusion of cash from Elevation Partners, a group that includes U2's Bono. VSN encouraged the public to contact both Elevation Partners and Pandemic Studios to express disapproval of the game's realistic depiction of Venezuela burning in flames. The similarly-named Mexico Solidarity Network is dedicated to the struggle for democracy, economic justice and human rights on both sides of the Mexican border.

Corporations were often cited as being responsible for some of the world's worst problems. Coca-Cola was named most often (14.3 percent of all articles protested corporations) due to complaints about the company's stance on organized labor in Colombia. "Killer Coke" critics claimed the soft-drink manufacturers discouraged unionization and were complacent when organizer's lives were threatened. Many union leaders and members of Sinaltrainal, the bottler's Colombian union, have been tortured or murdered. In 1996, paramilitary forces assassinated its leader Isidro Gil.<sup>3</sup> Witnesses say the murderers had previously appeared in the plant with the plant's manager Aristos Milan Mosquera, an avid anti-union sentimentalist. Shortly after Gil's murder, the Sinaltrainal union hall was burned down. Sinaltrainal members were verbally threatened to leave the union. Coca-Cola has denied the charges, regardless of the fact that the murders undeniably took place. The union has since ceased to exist.

Drummond Company, Inc., an Alabama-based coal company, is also charged with indirect suppression of organized labor in Colombia. Drummond closed a large portion of its coal plants in the United States in 1995 and relocated to South America. The union Sintralmienergetica and its leaders were pushing for better employee wages in the coal plants. In March of 2001, union president Valmore Locarno and vice president Victor Hugo Orcasita were

---

<sup>3</sup> His wife would meet the same fate four years later.

forcefully taken off a company bus by paramilitary forces. Locarno was immediately killed, while Orcasita was kidnapped, tortured and eventually murdered. Seven months later, the union's new president Gustavo Soler met a similar fate. All three gentlemen had made requests to Drummond to remain at the mines for fear of safety. Even though their concerns were mirrored by DAS (the Colombian government's intelligence service) their requests were refused. Drummond has never been explicitly linked to any of these crimes.

The Green Party criticized the economic policies and labor practices of Wal-Mart. It is the world's largest corporation, having surpassed Exxon-Mobil in recent years. Each year over \$220 billion is spent there, with profits exceeding \$7 billion annually. Despite this large margin, the average full-time employee earned only \$15,000 a year. Part-time employees made even less. Wal-Mart claimed 70 percent of its workforce is full-time, but the company considered 28 hours a week constituted a full-time schedule. Health care is only available to employees with two years of experience, though expensive premiums make most employees opt out (only 38 percent choose coverage). Turnover rate averaged 50 percent a year, with many stores having to replace 100 percent of its workforce annually. Wal-Mart is opposed to unionization and has a history of sexual discrimination. In addition, the corporation prohibited the disclosure of any of its factory names or addresses, increasing the likelihood of sweatshop labor practices (an accusation shared by the Campaign for Labor Rights). Opponents claimed that Wal-Mart undercuts local business prices and forces them out of business, which leads to the elimination of three local jobs for every two menial jobs Wal-Mart creates.

The War Resisters League distributed literature denouncing the "Merchants of Death," a group of corporations consisting of PR Firms, weapons manufacturers, campaign contributors,

oil and “reconstruction” companies that are engaged in war profiteering practices with the current administration. Dick Cheney’s Halliburton and its history of successful no-bid contracts in Iraq are fairly well documented in both mass media and protest literature; the list also included Alliant Tech Systems (ATK), KBR, The Rendon Group, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Bechtel, GE and the Carlyle Group. The War Resisters League offered speakers to discuss the impact of corporate war profiteering. One of the current projects for the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) is the New York Campaign for Telephone Justice. According to the organization, Verizon/MCI had a monopoly on phone service to the prisons of New York, Prisoners are only allowed to call collect, and are charged 6.3 times more than the average customer. The New York State Department of Correctional Services received a 57.5 percent kickback, and thus far has made over \$175 million in profits. A woman affected by the policy stated her children could only talk to her father once a week because of the cost, which added \$400-\$500 a month to her phone bill. The CCR launches social campaigns and “pursues groundbreaking, high impact litigation to stop the government and corporate abuses all over the world.”

Over 21 percent of the literature expressed general environmental concerns. GlobalAware.org and the Green Party both offered guidelines for being ecologically conscious. The Green Party was responsible for a majority of the protest literature dedicated exclusively to environmental concerns. They listed several reasons to “go green,” which included an absence of corporate political investors, opposition to the invasion of Iraq since day one, a restructuring of U.S. energy policy, national health insurance for all Americans, living wages, strong unions, and a halt on the war on drugs. A Green Party of Philadelphia pamphlet provided instructions for calculating the weekly cost of owning a car, and offered suggestions on how to manage without

one. The political party presented several suggestions for reducing personal impact on the environment. Their national referendum included: 1) Retrofitting every home and building in the land in an effort to create jobs and save power, 2) Constructing a modern train system, 3) Offering incentives for tinkers, inventors and scientists to formulate efficient energy policies, 4) Hosting a national brainstorm to help people get informed about fuel cells, biomass, solar, wind, geothermal and other abundant clean energy sources, and 5) “Ride with Pride” – a program that offers zero-interest loans, cash rebates and trade-ins on energy saving vehicles. The Green Party claimed auto manufacturers have already designed affordable cars that consume 138 miles per gallon.

Just over 20 percent of the literature was concerned with feminism and women’s issues. The most prominent feminist organization at the event was Code Pink, a women-initiated grassroots and social justice movement working to end the war, stop new wars, and redirect resources into healthcare, education and other life-affirming activities. Most literature concerning women’s issues involved health. An anonymous leaflet informed of South Dakota’s recent statewide ban on abortion, and mentioned efforts of eleven other states (Georgia included) to adopt similar measures. The Capital Terminus Women’s Health Initiative distributed literature to promote G-spot ejaculation, stating the resulting fluid is not urine and no cause for embarrassment. Another pamphlet urged women to pee after sex to reduce the chances of contracting chronic urinary tract infection. A guide to the reusable menstrual cup was provided by [www.kristacups.com](http://www.kristacups.com). The Atlanta independent feminist bookstore Charis also distributed a pamphlet informing protesters about books available for perusal and purchase.

The subject of torture was evident in 17.5 percent of the sample. The United States has illegally detained uncharged prisoners at Guantánamo Bay since 9/11, an act decried by global leaders such as Kofi Annan, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Lord Chancellor Charles Falconer. The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) has also protested this detention; the organization was responsible for *Rasul v. Bush*, George Bush's landmark 2004 defeat in the Supreme Court. The court ruled that detainees of Guantánamo Bay should be afforded due process of law in American courts, though the Administration still has not complied with this ruling. CCR called for the ending of "rendition", a process that involves moving detainees abroad (to Egypt or Syria for instance) to be tortured. CCR also provided a booklet containing the biographies of several Guantánamo Bay prisoners they claimed are innocent. International Day to Shut Down Guantánamo, a day of nonviolent civil disobedience, was held on January 17, 2007.

The Torture Abolition and Survivors Support Coalition International (TASSC) provided most of the protest literature on the subject of torture. TASSC represents 70 countries and called for the repeal of the Military Commission Act of 2006 and the end of military assistance, training, and arm sales to governments that practice torture (Amnesty International claims over 117 countries practice torture). The organization accused the U.S. government of breaking a 1996 statute (18 USC 2340 et seq.) that makes torture a felony. It cited the case of Mr. Dilawar, an Afghan war prisoner who died from repeated blows to the leg (the coroner stated his leg was "pulpified"). Religious organizations devoted to torture issues included No2torture [grassroots initiative launched by the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)] and the National Religious Campaign Against Torture. This group protested the ineffectiveness of the McCain Amendment, a federal law that makes torture illegal. The group claimed that, when signing the amendment into law,

President Bush implied he was not bound by it in his role as commander in chief. Concern was also raised that this legislation permitted evidence obtained by torture to be used in a court of law. The Program for Torture Victims ([ptvla.org](http://ptvla.org)) and The Center for Victims of Torture both provided assistance for torture victims.

An emphasis on worker rights appeared in 15 percent of the sample. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) was often cited in protest literature as a successful social movement. Produce pickers earned 40-50 cents for every 321 pound bucket of tomatoes picked, which meant 2.5 tons a day needed to be picked in order to make minimum wage. CIW lobbied Taco Bell, who agreed to a penny per pound raise. A similar agreement is now being sought with McDonalds, who refuses to comply. CIW, an organization consisting mostly of Mexican, Guatemalan and Haitian farm workers, claimed that workers in Florida do not have the right to organize. Some workers are held against their will, and others toil in sweatshop conditions. Socialist/Labor Union newspapers concerned with worker's rights included *Fight Back*, the Workers World Party publication *Worker's World*, and *Hasta La Victoria!*, published by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (FLOC).

George W. Bush and his policies were a popular protest topic. World Can't Wait blamed Bush for lying, waging an illegitimate war, torturing people, adopting theocratic principles, suppressing scientific findings that do not fit our economic model, and limiting the options for women to have an abortion. They advocated "the whole disastrous course of this Bush regime must be STOPPED" and called for his immediate impeachment. Political pundit Lyndon LaRouche, Jr. expressed similar sentiments, predicting a global economic breakdown due to Bush administration. The Alachua Green Party made several accusations of Bush's



administration. Their pamphlet claimed there was no credible evidence that weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, nor was there a connection linking Al-Qaeda to the Iraqi government. Furthermore, none of the 9/11 terrorists were from Iraq. The United States attacked Iraq regardless. The Green Party stated the invasion appeared to be completely motivated by economic purposes. After 1991, Iraq became the United State's second largest Middle Eastern oil supplier. Since the invasion, American forces have controlled Iraqi oil fields. The profits directly benefit corporate interests (Halliburton and others mentioned earlier), while Iraq's infrastructure remains devastated. On the subject of devastation, 3.5 percent of the sample was critical of the Bush administration's response to Hurricane Katrina. Common Ground Relief, a volunteer organization offering assistance to families devastated by the storm, distributed literature explaining the current situation in New Orleans and their mission to rebuild the community.

Many aspects of Bush's "War on Terror" were called into question. CCR distributed literature on the State Secrets Privilege— a common-law evidentiary privilege of the executive branch to refuse the need to produce evidence on grounds that secret information harmful to national security or foreign interests of the United States would be disclosed. This caveat essentially allows the executive branch to dictate to the federal courts what cases it can and cannot hear. The CCR reported the Bush administration has used this privilege more than any previous president. A reprint of an essay by W. David Kubiak (executive director of 911truth.org) entitled "A belated strategic initiative to turn the world around" challenged the official account of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and outlined how "this one lie" empowered numerous subsequent offenses that have pushed this world closer to global disaster. Physicians

for Social Responsibility offered an alternative to the “War on Terror”: SMART Security (a Sensible, Multilateral, American Response to Terrorism). The organization’s platform included measures to strengthen international institutions, prevent terrorism/future wars, abolish nuclear weapons, and change budget priorities.

Financial burdens of Bush’s “War on Terror” drew heavy criticism. It costs: \$14,000 to make one cluster bomb, \$1 million to build one Tomahawk cruise missile, and \$2.1 billion to construct one stealth bomber. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan cost over \$5 billion a month and are funded by federal tax dollars (see Figure 1). NWTRCC estimated that approximately 3 percent of all federal taxes are being used for the war in Iraq. Each day the U.S. government spends \$165 million on military operations while 60,000 people die of starvation worldwide.

The danger of nuclear weapons was advocated in 11.6 percent of the protest sample. The Muslim-Christian Initiative on the Nuclear Weapons Danger reported that eight countries possess nuclear weapons: the U.S., USSR, France, China, Israel, India and Pakistan; North Korea might also possess nuclear weapons. NWTRCC stated this year’s nuclear weapons budget is 130 percent larger than it was 10 years ago. The United States has spent more than \$5.5 trillion dollars on nuclear weapons since the beginning of the nuclear age (about \$98 billion a year of tax dollars). According to NWTRCC, the Bush administration has undermined the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Nevada Desert Experience revealed the United States has over 10,000 nuclear warheads. Over 5,000 warheads are deployed to terrorize the world; 100 warheads are sufficient to destroy the entire world. The organization conducts an interfaith pilgrimage from Las Vegas to the Nevada nuclear Test Site each March, where acts of nonviolent civil disobedience occur. The site, which

rests on land previously stolen from the Western Shoshone Nation, is the most bombed location in the world. Each year, an Alternative New Year's Celebration and Peace Gathering is conducted at Trident Base, site of more weapons of mass destruction than any other place on Earth.

A small body of the protest sample was devoted to the debilitating effects of depleted uranium (DU), or uranium-238. Nukewatch reported that DU was first used in Operation Desert Storm in 1991. DU is a component of armor piercing shells, which explode and burn on impact, leaving behind radioactive dust. DU poisons the air, water and soil and can be poisonous if inhaled or ingested. It has a radioactive half-life of 4.5 billion years and is chemically toxic to humans at any level of contact. DU has the potential to generate significant medical consequences if it enters the body. Not only does DU significantly increase the chance of cancer, but the Royal Society of England announced soldiers who inhale or swallow high levels of DU can suffer kidney failure within days. The UN classified this radioactive substance as an illegal weapon of mass destruction, and Iraqi sites where DU ammunition was used were 100 times more radioactive than other battle sites. Vietnam Veterans Against the War linked DU sickness with Gulf War Syndrome and predict a higher number of inflictions resulting from the current war.

The mass media were criticized in 11 percent of the protest literature sample. Realmedianews.com offered alternative perspectives and cohesive coverage of national and international events. The Complete Coverage Campaign called for the mainstream media to report on the civilian crisis in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 1996, UNICEF proclaimed that 90 percent of the casualties of modern military action are civilians. The Prometheus Radio Project

challenges corporate control of our nation's radio waves via the Telecommunications Act of 1996. Prometheus helps neighborhood stations apply for a license and begin operation. They offer a resource center, organize radio conferences, and help build radio stations across the globe. After repeated nonviolent civil disobedience (i.e. pirate radio), the FCC created allotment for non-commercial radio stations for the first time in its history: the Low Power FM (LPFM) radio service. Despite empirical data suggesting otherwise, corporate interests claimed the LPFM radio service disrupts commercial stations with static interference. These charges have bogged down the implementation of licenses; only a fraction of the licenses offered under the initiative have been issued.

Almost 10 percent of the protest sample offered advice to individuals considering military enrollment. The American Friends Service Committee National Youth and Militarism Program recommended military applicants not to make quick decisions, to bring a witness, consider moral feelings about war, get a copy of enlistment agreement, talk to veterans, try community service first, and get all promises in writing. There is no "period of adjustment" in the armed forces. They warned the largest amount of money announced in advertisements (\$70,000) is only offered to GIs who take jobs that the Army has trouble filling. To undermine the notion of job security, critics cited that President Bush II has cut veteran's benefits during the War on Terror. Statistics suggested armed force morale is low. The Department of Defense's 2005 Status of Forces Survey of Active-Duty Members revealed only 47 percent of enlistees in first term were satisfied with their pay and way of life, while only 39 percent said they were likely to stay in the military. Inequality exists in the ranks, as evident by "Surviving Militarism,

Racism and Repression: An Emergency Preparedness Kit for LGBT & Queer Youth” and several other pamphlets provided in-depth analyses on the subject of military recruitment.

Questionable tactics employed by military recruitment officials were revealed by the protest literature sample. Many organizations reported the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 contained an amendment that requires educational facilities that receive federal assistance under ESEA to provide military recruiters with personal information of all students (name, address, telephone number) unless the child’s parents have advised the local educational agency not to do so; the necessary forms for opting out were available at the vigil. Students themselves can choose not to take the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), a military test given in many schools. This exam provides the military with personal information; it serves no useful civilian purpose. The Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO) advised all recruits to read Section C.9b of the enlistment agreement, which states “your status, pay, benefits and responsibilities in the military can change without warning and regardless of any promises in your agreement.” All individual civil liberties are suspended when enlisting in the armed forces.

America’s controversial relationship with the nation of Haiti was discussed in 8.7 percent of the protest literature sample. C.I.A. agents and SOA graduates assisted with a bloody coup that forced democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide into exile and initiated a reign of prolonged violence. According to Human Rights Accompaniment in Haiti (Hurah, Inc.), the nation attracted few international visitors in recent years because of the palpable climate of fear. Hurah, Inc. estimated military forces have killed an estimated 8,000 people, including two large massacres at Grand Ravine. In August of 2005, police and machete wielding civilians shot

and hacked 50+ innocent supporters of Aristide and later bragged of their deeds on national television. Fifteen police officers were arrested and eventually set free. A little over a year later, 21 more people were killed at Grand Ravine under similar circumstances. Hurah, Inc. and AUMOHD, a Haitian nonviolent organization, sought volunteers to accompany human rights workers. Volunteers accompany human rights activists in a hope to deter violence, though they are at risk of being kidnapped or worse. Organizations such as the Institute for Justice & Democracy in Haiti and the Haiti Action Committee demanded the release of political prisoners. The Institute helped free both Fr. Gerard Jean-Juste and former Prime Minister Yvon Neptune, while the Committee called for the release of Rene Civil, a grassroots activist with Haiti's Lavalas movement and supporter of President Aristide.

There are social movements dedicated to debt cancellation of the world's poorest countries. Haiti, the poorest country in its hemisphere, is projected to pay \$220 million in debt service, more than twice the amount they'll spend on education, health, roads, the environment, water and infrastructure combined. Eighty percent of Haiti's population lives below the poverty line. H.R. 888, introduced June 22, 2006, by Rep. Maxine Waters (D), urged the World Bank, IMF, and IDB to cancel Haiti's debt. A majority of Haiti's debt is odious, accrued under the Duvalier family dictatorships. According to a reprint of a *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* available at the protest, \$21 billion of Haiti's debt is owed to France from 1825. Haiti agreed to take out a loan from a French bank and pay French plantation owners for their "loss of property" in an effort to receive global diplomatic recognition.

Debt issues were not limited to Haiti; 7.5 percent of the sample mentioned debt or debt cancellation. Jubilee USA demanded debt cancellation for the countries of Bolivia, Guyana,

Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Jubilee USA contended most of the debt is odious since banks willingly lent the money to undemocratic or illegitimate regimes. The organization remarked that there were instances when banks would lend money with no consideration of the environmental impact such loans would have on indigenous communities. For instance, a majority of Nicaragua's debt was incurred under the Somoza family military regime. Somoza's reign was marked by political repression of media and forces opposing his regime, bad economic conditions, and embezzlement. As a result, he was forced to flee the country in 1979. Regardless of his record, banks granted him \$321.6 million in loans. Jubilee USA provided postcards to send to the House of Representatives demanding debt cancellation to poor African and Latin American nations. Successful debt relief has doubled school enrollment in Uganda, provided three extra years of schooling for Honduran children, vaccinated half a million children in Mozambique, and provided resources to combat the AIDS epidemic in several African nations. Debt cancellation is not entirely risk-free. In 2005, the World Bank and IMF offered debt cancellation to 21 countries. However, in order to qualify, each country had to agree to the privatization of their water and electricity. Spending cuts for healthcare and education were also stipulated.

Over six percent of the sample was concerned with the Palestinian resistance to occupation of their lands. Critics accused the United State media of neglecting Israel's violent oppression of the area's native inhabitants. [Tuwani.org](http://Tuwani.org) provided information about the Palestinian cave dwellers of the South Hebron Hills and their struggles with Israeli military officers. The AFSC distributed a resource newsletter for people interested in learning about the Palestinian social movement to reclaim their stolen land. The U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli

Occupation voted to make its Caterpillar campaign one of its national priorities. The movement blamed Caterpillar for selling tractors to Israel, where they retrofitted with weapons by the Israeli military and used to destroy Palestinian homes and olive trees. The tractors have destroyed at least 12,000 Palestinian homes; 70,000 people were left homeless as a result. The tractors have claimed the lives of 132 Palestinians.

The Green Party provided literature outlining alternative methods to elect government officials. Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) guarantees that all politicians who win their election receive a majority vote (Bill Clinton won with a majority of votes in only one state). Voters are allowed to rank the candidates for each race, indicating their order of preference. If no single candidate has a majority after the initial count, candidates at the bottom of the spectrum are eliminated, and the second choices of their votes are resubmitted until a clear majority for one candidate emerges. This method is used to elect members of the Australian Legislature, the President of the Republic of Ireland and the Mayor of London. This system of voting upholds the one person, one vote format of the Constitution, and limits the “spoiler” effect of third party candidates. Voters are given more options in voting preferences, and it is cost effective since it eliminates run-off elections. The Green Party also endorsed “Clean Elections,” in which candidates are required to collect a set number of \$5 donations from the general public to qualify for public election funding. This method would limit corporate influence over elections, and force politicians to interact with the constituents they hope to represent.

A small minority (1.7 percent) of the population sample called for overthrow of capitalism and/or the United States government. The *Revolution: The Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA* is a communist newsweekly available in the United States. Chairman



Bob Avakian criticized the direction of American policy and recommended a worker-led revolution. *The Militant*, a Socialist newsweekly, shared similar sentiments. The Capital Terminus Collective produced the newsletter *Anarchist Atlanta*, which links every U.S. war to business interests. The publication stated, “we believe in the emancipation [of] the international working class from capitalism and the state.” Violent resistance is never mentioned outright in any of these publications.

As a concerned citizen, I implore all readers to please conduct further research on any issue outlined in this chapter that caused concern or angst. All are invited to attend the United States Social Forum in Atlanta, GA from June 27-July 1, 2007. This event, the first of its kind in this great nation, is organized by the World Social Forum (WSF), which has brought together individuals and organizations committed to social, environmental and economic justice across the globe. The forum commences with a parade, performances, film fest, arts, crafts, classes and workshops. After several days of information sharing, consensus building, and strategizing, the organizers envision a joint action or demonstration. It is the perfect opportunity for any individual to understand the issues and concerns that face the emerging global community.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The goal of this research was to examine the differences in framing techniques employed by mass media agents and movement organizations in an effort to determine how information is presented for public dissemination. As indicated in previous chapters, the hypothesis was supported: substantial framing differences were noticed between the two samples. The importance of “first words” was noticed in both mass media samples. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution’s* “first word” on the subject, an arrest report of Roy Bourgeois, established the framework of coverage for the entire movement; 84.7 percent of all *AJC* news stories mentioned either arrests or Bourgeois (or both). *The New York Times* framed the vigil as a human rights issue from Day 1 without ever defining what constitutes human rights. Common frame archetypes (identified in the research of Iyengar, Gandy, Semetko and Valkenburg, and others) also occurred with great frequency in the mass media sample. Most alarming was the press’s dominant use of episodic framing to cover the movement, which research has concluded is likely to elicit individualistic (rather than societal) attributions of blame. This subversive form of social control undermines efforts that promote social reform, the goal of SOA Watch and most other social movements.

The research results mirrored findings of previous social movement frame analyses. As reported by Gitlin, photographs often misconstrued attendance numbers, arrest reports were commonly featured, and official sources outnumbered public ones in the mass media sample. Even though the tone of the coverage was unexpectedly positive in the mass media, the use of

episodic frames minimized the potentiality for mass public support or action. Furthermore, coverage of the movement experienced a drastic decline in coverage over the past six years despite record attendance numbers; Entman and Rojecki reported similar findings about media's coverage of the nuclear freeze in the 1980s. In contrast, the SOA protest literature sample relied less on quotations as source statistics, associated a much wider range of issues with the movement, and offered more solutions to solve the problem.

The mass media characterized the protest actions as irrelevant to current political realities, and downplayed the movement's accusations by labeling them as attacks of the institution's sordid past. A supposed lack of concrete instances of current militaristic violence relieved the media of its duty to expend coverage. This complacency on the part of the media is not limited to this single social movement. As the protest literature sample indicated, there are a large number of relevant social concerns that have yet to be framed in mass media coverage. If the "unbiased" media chooses to neglect issues it cannot frame to reflect hegemonic ideals (i.e. - the health hazards of depleted uranium, the effects of free trade on rural South American workers, innovations in voting systems, or US-aided atrocities targeting democratically elected officials in Haiti), how can the general public be expected to trust the message the media chooses to convey?

Frames critical of the hegemonic economic ideal were routinely ignored in media coverage. As a result, the general public was unable (and in some cases unwilling) to formulate an opinion on topics ignored in this outlet. As Jasperson, Shah et al. conclude "this strongly suggests the importance of adopting a theory that considers media influence both in terms of (a) the quantity of coverage and (b) the characterization of the issue, or the attributes that journalists

choose to make salient in their coverage. In this way, both quantity (agenda setting) and quality (framing) are important pieces of a comprehensive explanation of media influence on aggregate opinion” (Jasperson, et al., 1998, p. 219). It is a highly speculative claim, but media coverage of the SOA movement has been limited to the point that a large proportion of the population are still completely unaware of the SOA movement, even in the state of Georgia. Does this suggest that public protest is obsolete? Absolutely not. Though hegemonic mass media outlets are closed to public manipulation, independent media provides an arena for alternative frameworks of knowledge to challenge the dominant paradigm. The power rests in individuals to seek these voices out.

There were several limitations of this research. LexisNexis does not perform searches on community newspapers, indirectly leading to the exclusion of the *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer* from this study. Time restraints did not permit an analysis of this local newspaper; key editions printed around on or around the date of vigil were missing from the University of Georgia library archives. The *Ledger-Enquirer* would have undoubtedly provided more coverage of the vigil, even if it was expected to be biased towards the military’s perspective. Even if the parameters of the study were expanded, content analyses provide useful but limited knowledge; focus groups would have been helpful to gauge the public’s awareness of the event. Future frame research should make a better effort to incorporate independent media sources into the analysis. The identification of any dominant framework provides valuable information on the way society attempts (through agents of communication) to influence individual behavior.

The media plays a major role in shaping public opinion. Though journalists have access to more resources than ever before, media and government manipulation prevails in the routine

structuring of news, thus the public remains inadequately informed about pertinent societal issues. Iyengar lamented “television news may well prove to be the opiate of American society, propagating a false sense of national well being and thereby postponing the time at which American political leaders will be forced to confront the myriad economic and social ills confronting this society” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 143). This cataclysmic windfall draws empirically closer everyday. The world is in a period of unprecedented upheaval; as long as mass media frames offer fractionalized portions of information, few people will have the necessary information to survive the re-conceptualization of everyday life resulting from degrading economic, environmental, and political conditions.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baylor, T. (1996). Media framing of movement protest: The case of American Indian protest. *Social Science Journal*, 33(3), 241-256.
- Baysha, O., & Hallahan, K. (2004). Media framing of the Ukrainian political crisis, 2000-2001. *Journalism Studies*, 5(2), 233-246.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E. & Stokes, D. E. (1966). *Elections and the political order*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Cooper, A. H. (2002). Media framing and social movement mobilization: German peace protest against INF missiles, the Gulf War, and NATO peace enforcement in Bosnia. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41(1), 37-81.
- DeVreese, C. H., Peter, J., & Semetko, H. A. (2001). Framing politics at the launch of the Euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the news. *Political Communication*, 18(2), 107-122.
- Dimitrova, D., & Strömbäck, J. (2005). Mission accomplished? Framing of the Iraq war in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *International Communication Gazette* (Formerly *Gazette*), 67(5), 399-417.
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran Air. *Journal of Communication*, 41(4), 6-28.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Entman, R. M., & Bell, C. (2005). The media's place in the denial of race. *Conference Papers – International Communication Association*, 1-34.
- Entman, R. M., and Rojecki, A. (1993). Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the U.S. anti-nuclear movement. *Political Communication*, 10(2), 155-173.
- Gamson, W. A. (1988). The 1987 distinguished lecture: A constructionist approach to mass-media and public-opinion. *Symbolic Interaction*, 11(2), 161-174.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18(1), 373-393.

- Gandy, O. H., Jr. (1994). From bad to worse: The media's framing of race and risk. *Media Studies Journal*, 8(3), 39-48.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis : An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University of Press. 1974.
- Graber, D. A. (2000). *Media power in politics* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the state: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London, England: The Macmillian Press Ltd.
- Hanson, E. C. (1995). Framing the world news: The times of India in changing times. *Political Communication*, 12(4), 371-393.
- Iorio, S. H., & Huxman, S. S. (1996). Media coverage of political issues and the framing of personal concerns. *Journal of Communication*, 46(4), 97-116.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Jamieson, K. H., & Cappella, J.N. (2000). The role of the press in health care reform debate of 1993-1994. In D. A. Graber (Ed.), *Media power in politics* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition, pp. 327-336). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Jasperson, A. E., Shah, D., Watts, M., Faber, R. J., & Fan, D. (1998). Framing and the public agenda: Media effects on the importance of the federal budget deficit. *Political Communication*, 15(2 ), 205-224.
- Jenkins, J. C., & Klandermans, B. (1995). *The politics of social protest: Comparative perspectives on states and social movement* (Vol. 3). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kim, K. S. (2005). Framing American politics: A content analysis of television news coverage for the state of the union address in 2004. *Conference Papers— International Communication Association*, 1-32.
- Nelson, T. E., Oxley, Z. M., & Clawson, R. A. (1997). Toward a psychology of framing effects. *Political Behavior*, 19(3), 567-583.
- Neuman, W. R., Just, M.R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

- Reese, S. D., & Buckalew, B. (1995). The militarism of local television: The routine framing of the Persian Gulf War. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12(1), 40-60.
- Return to life: Stand up for justice for the people of the Americas!. (2006). *2006 SOA Vigil Schedule of Events*, SOA Watch.
- Semetko, H.A., & Valkenburg, P.M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 93-109.
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481.
- Terkildsen, N., Schnell, F. I., & Ling, C. (2000). Interest groups, the media, and policy debate formation: An analysis of message structure, rhetoric, and source cues. In D. A. Graber (Ed.), *Media power in politics* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition, pp. 337-348). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Undrakhbuyan, B. (2005) Media framing and the legitimization of political alignment: The coverage of the WTO and the protest. *Conference Papers— International Communication Association*, 1-27.



## APPENDIX A

### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON-LINE

A large percentage of the protest literature contained online sources statistics. The following is a complete listing of all online source statistics procured from the protest literature sample. They are listed in alphabetical order.

#### **WEBSITES:**

<http://americas.irc-online.org>  
<http://hdr.undp.org/statistics>  
<http://killercoke.org>  
<http://laymissioners.maryknoll.org>  
<http://middleeast-se.afsc.org>  
<http://society.maryknoll.org>  
<http://stopthewall.org>  
<http://tuwani.org>  
[www.8thdaycenter.org](http://www.8thdaycenter.org)  
[www.911truth.org](http://www.911truth.org)  
[www.1000grandmothers.net](http://www.1000grandmothers.net)  
[www.adbusters.org](http://www.adbusters.org)  
[www.allianceforfairfood.org](http://www.allianceforfairfood.org)  
[www.afgj.org](http://www.afgj.org)  
[www.afsc.org/middleeast](http://www.afsc.org/middleeast)  
[www.afsc.org/youthmil.htm](http://www.afsc.org/youthmil.htm)  
[www.americaspolicy.org](http://www.americaspolicy.org)  
[www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)  
[www.amnestyusa.org/international\\_justice](http://www.amnestyusa.org/international_justice)  
[www.atlanta4palestine.org](http://www.atlanta4palestine.org)  
[www.art-us.org](http://www.art-us.org)  
[www.beehivecollective.org](http://www.beehivecollective.org)  
[www.bicusa.org](http://www.bicusa.org)  
[www.bicyclecoalition.org/map](http://www.bicyclecoalition.org/map)  
[www.bobavakian.net](http://www.bobavakian.net)  
[www.campaignwindow.com/galmca](http://www.campaignwindow.com/galmca)  
[www.cacradicalgrace.org](http://www.cacradicalgrace.org)  
[www.cispes.org](http://www.cispes.org)  
[www.ccr-ny.org](http://www.ccr-ny.org)  
[www.cctpp.org](http://www.cctpp.org)  
[www.charisbooksandmore.com](http://www.charisbooksandmore.com)

[www.ciponline.org](http://www.ciponline.org)  
[www.cispes.org](http://www.cispes.org)  
[www.cispes.org/ilea](http://www.cispes.org/ilea)  
[www.citizen-soldier.org](http://www.citizen-soldier.org)  
[www.ciw-online.org](http://www.ciw-online.org)  
[www.cleanclothes.org](http://www.cleanclothes.org)  
[www.clrlabor.org](http://www.clrlabor.org)  
[www.coalitionforjustice.net](http://www.coalitionforjustice.net)  
[www.coalitionofwomen.org](http://www.coalitionofwomen.org)  
[www.cobbforpeace.org](http://www.cobbforpeace.org)  
[www.codepink4peace.org](http://www.codepink4peace.org)  
[www.columbiasolidarity.org](http://www.columbiasolidarity.org)  
[www.columbiasupport.net](http://www.columbiasupport.net)  
[www.comdsd.org](http://www.comdsd.org)  
[www.commongroundrelief.org](http://www.commongroundrelief.org)  
[www.CompleteCoverageCampaign.org](http://www.CompleteCoverageCampaign.org)  
[www.Congress.org](http://www.Congress.org)  
[www.cpt.org](http://www.cpt.org)  
[www.cta-usa.org](http://www.cta-usa.org)  
[www.cvt.org](http://www.cvt.org)  
[www.declarationofpeace.org](http://www.declarationofpeace.org)  
[www.dopcampaign.org](http://www.dopcampaign.org)  
[www.drummondwatch.org](http://www.drummondwatch.org)  
[www.dvrpc.org/transporation/commuter/transitchek.htm](http://www.dvrpc.org/transporation/commuter/transitchek.htm)  
[www.eappi.org](http://www.eappi.org)  
[www.easybuenosairescity.com/biografias/madres1.htm](http://www.easybuenosairescity.com/biografias/madres1.htm)  
[www.eclac.cl](http://www.eclac.cl)  
[www.electronicintifada.net/new.shtml](http://www.electronicintifada.net/new.shtml)  
[www.endtheoccupation.org](http://www.endtheoccupation.org)  
[www.EngageNonviolence.org](http://www.EngageNonviolence.org)  
[www.epinet.org](http://www.epinet.org)  
[www.eurodad.org](http://www.eurodad.org)  
[www.fairvote.org](http://www.fairvote.org)  
[www.federationofchristianministries.org](http://www.federationofchristianministries.org)  
[www.fightbacknews.org](http://www.fightbacknews.org)  
[www.firstamendmentcenter.org](http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org)  
[www.forcolombia.org](http://www.forcolombia.org)  
[www.forusa.org](http://www.forusa.org)  
[www.futurechurch.org](http://www.futurechurch.org)  
[www.gapeace.org](http://www.gapeace.org)  
[www.gators.to/~ncfgp](http://www.gators.to/~ncfgp)  
[www.georgiapeace.org](http://www.georgiapeace.org)  
[www.GlobalAware.ca](http://www.GlobalAware.ca)  
[www.GlobalAware.org/affluence](http://www.GlobalAware.org/affluence)  
[www.gp.org](http://www.gp.org)

[www.gpop.org](http://www.gpop.org)  
[www.grandmothersforpeace.org](http://www.grandmothersforpeace.org)  
[www.groups.yahoo.com/group/CTC-Study](http://www.groups.yahoo.com/group/CTC-Study)  
[www.HaitiAction.net](http://www.HaitiAction.net)  
[www.HaitiJustice.org](http://www.HaitiJustice.org)  
[www.hanguponwar.org](http://www.hanguponwar.org)  
[www.holylandtrust.org](http://www.holylandtrust.org)  
[www.hrusa.org](http://www.hrusa.org)  
[www.humanrightswatch.org](http://www.humanrightswatch.org)  
[www.hurah.revolt.org](http://www.hurah.revolt.org)  
[www.iacenteratlanta.org](http://www.iacenteratlanta.org)  
[www.iadb.org](http://www.iadb.org)  
[www.icahd.org](http://www.icahd.org)  
[www.igc.org/colhrnet](http://www.igc.org/colhrnet)  
[www.ijdh.org](http://www.ijdh.org)  
[www.iraqpledge.org](http://www.iraqpledge.org)  
[www.irtfcleveland.org](http://www.irtfcleveland.org)  
[www.isna.net](http://www.isna.net)  
[www.ivaw.net](http://www.ivaw.net)  
[www.jimhightower.com](http://www.jimhightower.com)  
[www.jubileeusa.org](http://www.jubileeusa.org)  
[www.killercoke.org](http://www.killercoke.org)  
[www.kristacups.com](http://www.kristacups.com)  
[www.laborrights.org](http://www.laborrights.org)  
[www.laborrights.org/press/scared081301.htm](http://www.laborrights.org/press/scared081301.htm)  
[www.landmarkcases.org](http://www.landmarkcases.org)  
[www.larouchepac.com](http://www.larouchepac.com)  
[www.lasc.org](http://www.lasc.org)  
[www.LASolidarity.org](http://www.LASolidarity.org)  
[www.lawg.org](http://www.lawg.org)  
[www.LeaveMyChildAlone.org](http://www.LeaveMyChildAlone.org)  
[www.machsomwatch.org](http://www.machsomwatch.org)  
[www.mandateforpeace.org](http://www.mandateforpeace.org)  
[www.maryknoll.org](http://www.maryknoll.org)  
[www.MaryknollLayMissioners.org](http://www.MaryknollLayMissioners.org)  
[www.mediaspace.vesana.com](http://www.mediaspace.vesana.com)  
[www.mci-nwd.org](http://www.mci-nwd.org)  
[www.mexicosolidarity.org](http://www.mexicosolidarity.org)  
[www.mfso.org](http://www.mfso.org)  
[www.myspace.com/capitalterminus](http://www.myspace.com/capitalterminus)  
[www.myspace.com/realmedia](http://www.myspace.com/realmedia)  
[www.NCRonline.org](http://www.NCRonline.org)  
[www.networklobby.org](http://www.networklobby.org)  
[www.NevadaDesertExperience.org](http://www.NevadaDesertExperience.org)  
[www.newprofile.org](http://www.newprofile.org)

[www.nicanet.org](http://www.nicanet.org)  
[www.nisbco.org](http://www.nisbco.org)  
[www.nlcnet.org](http://www.nlcnet.org)  
[www.no2torture.org](http://www.no2torture.org)  
[www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org)  
[www.nrcat.org](http://www.nrcat.org)  
[www.nswas.org](http://www.nswas.org)  
[www.nukewatch.com](http://www.nukewatch.com)  
[www.nwtrcc.org](http://www.nwtrcc.org)  
[www.nyspc.net](http://www.nyspc.net)  
[www.oberlinsepa.org](http://www.oberlinsepa.org)  
[www.objector.org](http://www.objector.org)  
[www.OpticalRealities.org](http://www.OpticalRealities.org)  
[www.paceebene.org](http://www.paceebene.org)  
[www.palestinemonitor.org](http://www.palestinemonitor.org)  
[www.palsolidarity.org](http://www.palsolidarity.org)  
[www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)  
[www.pbiousa.org](http://www.pbiousa.org)  
[www.pcusa.org/washington](http://www.pcusa.org/washington)  
[www.Peace-Action.org](http://www.Peace-Action.org)  
[www.peacetaxfund.org](http://www.peacetaxfund.org)  
[www.pedalingforpeace.org](http://www.pedalingforpeace.org)  
[www.petitionspot.com/petitions/GrandRavine](http://www.petitionspot.com/petitions/GrandRavine)  
[www.phillycarshare.org](http://www.phillycarshare.org)  
[www.pinr.com](http://www.pinr.com)  
[www.planet.ed/~alastah](http://www.planet.ed/~alastah)  
[www.plannedparenthood.com](http://www.plannedparenthood.com)  
[www.pmwatoh.org](http://www.pmwatoh.org)  
[www.Presbyepeacefellowship.org](http://www.Presbyepeacefellowship.org)  
[www.projectyano.org](http://www.projectyano.org)  
[www.prometheusradio.org](http://www.prometheusradio.org)  
[www.psr.org/smartsecurity](http://www.psr.org/smartsecurity)  
[www.ptvla.org](http://www.ptvla.org)  
[www.radiofreenashville.org](http://www.radiofreenashville.org)  
[www.rapproachement.org](http://www.rapproachement.org)  
[www.recallsanity.org](http://www.recallsanity.org)  
[www.refusersolidarity.org](http://www.refusersolidarity.org)  
[www.revcom.us](http://www.revcom.us)  
[www.RealMediaNews.com](http://www.RealMediaNews.com)  
[www.rhr.israel.net](http://www.rhr.israel.net)  
[www.saveroe.com](http://www.saveroe.com)  
[www.seccion22snte.org.mx/cnte/principios\\_cnte.htm](http://www.seccion22snte.org.mx/cnte/principios_cnte.htm)  
[www.sisterparish.org](http://www.sisterparish.org)  
[www.SistersofProvidence.org](http://www.SistersofProvidence.org)  
[www.sldn.org](http://www.sldn.org)

[www.solomonresponse.org](http://www.solomonresponse.org)  
[www.sprawlbusters.com](http://www.sprawlbusters.com)  
[www.usleap.org](http://www.usleap.org)  
[www.soaw.org](http://www.soaw.org)  
[www.soaw.org/legislative](http://www.soaw.org/legislative)  
[www.soawatch.org/](http://www.soawatch.org/)  
[www.splc.org](http://www.splc.org)  
[www.stopcafta.org](http://www.stopcafta.org)  
[www.StudentPeaceAction.org](http://www.StudentPeaceAction.org)  
[www.sustaincampaign.org](http://www.sustaincampaign.org)  
[www.sweatfree.org](http://www.sweatfree.org)  
[www.taayush.org](http://www.taayush.org)  
[www.tassc.org](http://www.tassc.org)  
[www.telephonejustice.org](http://www.telephonejustice.org)  
[www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com)  
[www.theparentscircle.com](http://www.theparentscircle.com)  
[www.ThePeaceAlliance.org](http://www.ThePeaceAlliance.org)  
[www.troopsoutnow.org](http://www.troopsoutnow.org)  
[www.twincitiesvfp.org](http://www.twincitiesvfp.org)  
[www.umn.edu/humanrts](http://www.umn.edu/humanrts)  
[www.unitedforpeace.org](http://www.unitedforpeace.org)  
[www.usasocialforum.org](http://www.usasocialforum.org)  
[www.vcnv.org](http://www.vcnv.org)  
[www.veteransforpeace.org](http://www.veteransforpeace.org)  
[www.votecobb.org](http://www.votecobb.org)  
[www.vvaw.org](http://www.vvaw.org)  
[www.walmartyrs.org](http://www.walmartyrs.org)  
[www.warresisters.org/merchants\\_death.htm](http://www.warresisters.org/merchants_death.htm)  
[www.warresisters.org](http://www.warresisters.org)  
[www.warresisters.org/piechartFY2008.pdf](http://www.warresisters.org/piechartFY2008.pdf)  
[www.warresisters.org/smod](http://www.warresisters.org/smod)  
[www.warresisters.org/wtr](http://www.warresisters.org/wtr)  
[www.warresisters.org/youth](http://www.warresisters.org/youth)  
[www.what-i-see.blogspot.com](http://www.what-i-see.blogspot.com)  
[www.wilpf.org](http://www.wilpf.org)  
[www.witnessforpeace.org](http://www.witnessforpeace.org)  
[www.witnesstorture.org](http://www.witnesstorture.org)  
[www.witnesstorture.org/what\\_you\\_can\\_do](http://www.witnesstorture.org/what_you_can_do)  
[www.wola.org](http://www.wola.org)  
[www.womenspeacepalestine.org](http://www.womenspeacepalestine.org)  
[www.workers.org](http://www.workers.org)  
[www.workersrights.org](http://www.workersrights.org)  
[www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)  
[www.worldcantwait.org](http://www.worldcantwait.org)  
[www.yeshgvul.org/english](http://www.yeshgvul.org/english)

[www.youth4peace.org](http://www.youth4peace.org)

[www.youthandthemilitary.org/orgs.htm](http://www.youthandthemilitary.org/orgs.htm)

[www2.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jstiglitz/cost\\_of\\_war\\_in\\_iraq.pdf](http://www2.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jstiglitz/cost_of_war_in_iraq.pdf)

## APPENDIX B

## CODING SHEET

**1. ARTICLE TYPE** 1=news story 2=editorial 3=letter to editor 4=art review 9=protest literature  
**2. YEAR:** 3=1990 4=1991 5=1992 6=1993 7=1994 8=1995 9=1996 10=1997 11=1998 12=1999  
 13=2000 14=2001 15=2002 16=2003 17=2004 18=2005 19=2006 20=2007

**3. DATE:** List in format MM/DD/YY

**4. NAME OF NEWS MEDIA:** 1=New York Times 2=Atlanta Journal Constitution 9=Protest  
 Lit

*If answered 9 on previous:*

**5. NAME/ORGANIZATION OF PROTEST LIT:** List

**6. TYPE OF NARRATIVE:** 1= protest sheet of paper 2=newspaper/newsletter 3=protest  
 pamphlet 4=protest postcard 5=protest scrap 6=national newspaper article on SOA

**7. NUMBER OF PAGES:** List

**7B. ARTICLE NUMBER** (if more than 1): List

**8. PROTEST CONTENT:** (Protest Sample Only) 1=Yes 2=No

**IS THE LITERATURE PROTESTING FOR/AGAINST?:**

**9. SOA** 1=yes 2=no

**10. Torture** 1=yes 2=no

**11. 9/11** 1=yes 2=no

**12. Abortion (For)** 1=yes 2=no

**13. Afghanistan War** 1=yes 2=no

**14. AIDS** 1=yes 2=no

**15. Artic Drilling** 1=yes 2=no

**16. CAFTA** 1=yes 2=no

**17. Capitalism** 1=yes 2=no

**18. Child Labor** 1=yes 2=no

**19. Civil Disobedience** 1=yes 2=no

**20. Civil Rights** 1=yes 2=no

**21. Class Issues** 1=yes 2=no

**22. Coal** 1=yes 2=no

**23. Cold War** 1=yes 2=no

**24. Consumerism** 1=yes 2=no

**25. Corporation** 1=yes 2=no

*Only answer 25B if answered yes on 25*

**25B. LIST CORPORATION(S)**

**26. Death Penalty** 1=yes 2=no

**27. Debt** 1=yes 2=no

**28. Depleted Uranium** 1=yes 2=no

**29. Direct Action** 1=yes 2=no

**30. Disarmament** 1=yes 2=no

**31. Draft** 1=yes 2=no

- 32. **Drugs** 1=yes 2=no
- 33. **Economics** 1=yes 2=no
- 34. **Education** 1=yes 2=no
- 35. **Elections/Voting** 1=yes 2=no
- 36. **Energy** 1=yes 2=no
- 37. **Environment** 1=yes 2=no
- 38. **Extinction** 1=yes 2=no
- 39. **Fair/Living Wages** 1=yes 2=no
- 40. **Farmer's Rights** 1=yes 2=no
- 41. **Fair/Free Trade** 1=yes 2=no
- 42. **Foreign Policy** 1=yes 2=no
- 43. **FTAA** 1=yes 2=no
- 44. **G8** 1=yes 2=no
- 45. **Genetic Seeds/Patenting** 1=yes 2=no
- 46. **Genocide** 1=yes 2=no
- 47. **Gentrification** 1=yes 2=no
- 48. **George Bush** 1=yes 2=no
- 49. **Globalization** 1=yes 2=no
- 50. **Global Warming** 1=yes 2=no
- 51. **Health Care** 1=yes 2=no
- 52. **Human Rights** 1=yes 2=no
- 53. **Hurricane Katrina/Rita** 1=yes 2=no
- 54. **IDB** 1=yes 2=no
- 55. **ILEA** 1=yes 2=no
- 56. **IMF** 1=yes 2=no
- 57. **Immigration** 1=yes 2=no
- 58. **Impeach** 1=yes 2=no
- 59. **Iraq War** 1=yes 2=no
- 60. **Land Mines** 1=yes 2=no
- 61. **Latin America (problem)** 1=yes 2=no
- 62. **Local Problems** 1=yes 2=no
- 63. **Media** 1=yes 2=no
- 64. **Military** 1=yes 2=no
- 64. **Military Recruitment** 1=yes 2=no
- 66. **Military Spending** 1=yes 2=no
- 67. **NAFTA** 1=yes 2=no
- 68. **Neo-liberal/Neo-conservative** 1=yes 2=no
- 69. **Nonviolence** 1=yes 2=no
- 70. **Nuclear Power** 1=yes 2=no
- 71. **Nuclear Waste** 1=yes 2=no
- 72. **Nuclear Weapons** 1=yes 2=no
- 73. **Oil** 1=yes 2=no
- 74. **Palestine** 1=yes 2=no
- 75. **Patriot Act** 1=yes 2=no
- 76. **Peace** 1=yes 2=no



- 77. Police/Police Brutality** 1=yes 2=no
- 78. Political Prisoners** 1=yes 2=no
- 79. Poverty** 1=yes 2=no
- 80. Preemptive Attacks** 1=yes 2=no
- 81. Prison Reform** 1=yes 2=no
- 82. Privatization** 1=yes 2=no
- 83. Revolution/Anarchy** 1=yes 2=no
- 84. Sexuality Issues (Bi, Gay, Queer, etc.)** 1=yes 2=no
- 85. Slavery** 1=yes 2=no
- 86. Socialism** 1=yes 2=no
- 87. Social Justice** 1=yes 2=no
- 88. Surveillance** 1=yes 2=no
- 89. Sweatshop Labor** 1=yes 2=no
- 90. Taxes** 1=yes 2=no
- 91. Terrorists** 1=yes 2=no
- 92. Unemployment** 1=yes 2=no
- 93. Union Rights** 1=yes 2=no
- 94. US Government** 1=yes 2=no
- 95. Vietnam War** 1=yes 2=no
- 96. War** 1=yes 2=no
- 97. War on Terror** 1=yes 2=no
- 98. Water** 1=yes 2=no
- 99. Welfare** 1=yes 2=no
- 100. Wiretapping** 1=yes 2=no
- 101. Women's Rights** 1=yes 2=no
- 102. Worker's Rights** 1=yes 2=no
- 103. WTO/World Bank** 1=yes 2=no
- 104. Abu Ghraib** 1=yes 2=no
- 105. Afghanistan (location)** 1=yes 2=no
- 106. African nations** 1=yes 2=no
- 107. Asian nations** 1=yes 2=no
- 108. Argentina** 1=yes 2=no
- 109. Bolivia** 1=yes 2=no
- 110. Bosnia** 1=yes 2=no
- 111. Brazil** 1=yes 2=no
- 112. Caribbean** 1=yes 2=no
- 113. Central America** 1=yes 2=no
- 114. Chiapas** 1=yes 2=no
- 115. Chile** 1=yes 2=no
- 116. China** 1=yes 2=no
- 117. Colombia** 1=yes 2=no
- 118. Costa Rica** 1=yes 2=no
- 119. Croatia** 1=yes 2=no
- 120. Cuba** 1=yes 2=no
- 121. Dominican Republic** 1=yes 2=no

- 122. East Timor 1=yes 2=no
- 123. Ecuador 1=yes 2=no
- 124. El Salvador 1=yes 2=no
- 125. France 1=yes 2=no
- 126. Grenada 1=yes 2=no
- 127. Guantánamo Bay 1=yes 2=no
- 128. Guatemala 1=yes 2=no
- 129. Guyana 1=yes 2=no
- 130. Haiti 1=yes 2=no
- 131. Honduras 1=yes 2=no
- 132. India 1=yes 2=no
- 133. Indonesia 1=yes 2=no
- 134. Iran 1=yes 2=no
- 135. Iraq (location) 1=yes 2=no
- 136. Israel 1=yes 2=no
- 137. Italy 1=yes 2=no
- 138. Kashmir 1=yes 2=no
- 139. Latin America (location) 1=yes 2=no
- 140. Mexico 1=yes 2=no
- 141. Middle East 1=yes 2=no
- 142. Nicaragua 1=yes 2=no
- 143. Nigeria 1=yes 2=no
- 144. North Korea 1=yes 2=no
- 145. Panama 1=yes 2=no
- 146. Paraguay 1=yes 2=no
- 147. Persian Gulf 1=yes 2=no
- 148. Peru 1=yes 2=no
- 149. Puerto Rico 1=yes 2=no
- 150. Russia/USSR 1=yes 2=no
- 151. Rwanda 1=yes 2=no
- 152. Serbia 1=yes 2=no
- 153. South Africa 1=yes 2=no
- 154. South America 1=yes 2=no
- 155. South Korea 1=yes 2=no
- 156. United States 1=yes 2=no
- 157. Uruguay 1=yes 2=no
- 158. Venezuela 1=yes 2=no
- 159. Vietnam (location) 1=yes 2=no

**160. LITERATURE'S PURPOSE:** 1=to inform about an issue 2=to illicit response 3=money  
4=to inform about an organization 5=to inform about protest literature 6=to cover an event 7= to offer an opinion (op/ed/letter)

**161. DOES THE LITERATURE ASK FOR MONEY?:** 1=Yes (donation/membership) 2=no  
3=yes (selling something)

**162. ARE OPINIONS/EDITORIALS EXPRESSED WITHIN A FACTUAL FRAMEWORK?** 1=yes 2=no

**163. ADVERTISEMENTS?:** 1=yes 2=no

**164. BILINQUAL?** 1=yes 2=no

**165. ARE THERE *SOURCE STATISTICS*?** 1=yes 2=no

**166. POSITIVE?** 1=yes 2=no

**167. Total # Positive**

**168. NEGATIVE?** 1=yes 2=no

**169. Total # Negative**

**170. NEUTRAL?** 1=yes 2=no

**171. Total # Neutral**

**172. ADDRESS?** 1=yes 2=no

**173. Total # Addresses**

**174. ANONYMOUS?** 1=yes 2=no

**175. Total # Anonymous**

**176. CELEBRITY?** 1=yes 2=no

**177. Total # Celebrity 177B. List celebrity (mention or quote)**

**178. CHART/GRAPHIC/PICTURE?** 1=yes 2=no

**179. Total # Charts/Pictures**

**180. EMAIL?** 1=yes 2=no

**181. Total # Email**

**182. FOREIGN GOVERNMENT?** 1=yes 2=no

**183. Total # For. Government**

**184. MILITARY?** 1=yes 2=no

**185. Total # Military**

**186. MOVEMENT LEADERS/MEMBERS?** 1=yes 2=no

**187. Total # Movement 187B. List movement members**

**188. OFFICIAL?** 1=yes 2=no

**189. Total # Official**

**190. ONLINE?** 1=yes 2=no

**191. Total # Online**

**192. PRESIDENT?** 1=yes 2=no

**193. Total # President**

**194. PUBLIC?** 1=yes 2=no

**195. Total # Public**

**196. ROY BOURGEOIS?** 1=yes 2=no

**197. Total # Roy 177B. Roy mention (not including quotes)**

**198. TELEPHONE NUMBER?** 1=yes 2=no

**199. Total # Telephone**

**200. TOTAL NUMBER SOURCE STATISTICS**

**201. Dominant Tone:** 1=positive 2=negative 3=neutral

**202. Frame:** 1=episodic 2=thematic 0=other/don't know

**203. Does the literature suggest that the government can alleviate the problem?** 1=yes 2=no

- 204. Does the literature suggest that the President/Government is responsible for the issue/problem?** 1=yes 2=no
- 205. Does the story offer solutions for the problem/issue?** 1=yes 2=no
- 206. Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?** 1=yes 2=no
- 207. Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?** 1=yes 2=no
- 208. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?** 1=yes 2=no
- 209. Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?** 1=yes 2=no
- 210. Does the story refer to multiple sides of the problem or issue?** 1=yes 2=no
- 211. Does the story refer to winners and losers?** 1=yes 2=no
- 212. Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?** 1=yes 2=no
- 213. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?** 1=yes 2=no
- 214. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?** 1=yes 2=no
- 215. Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?** 1=yes 2=no
- 216. Does the story contain any moral message?** 1=yes 2=no
- 217. Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?** 1=yes 2=no
- 218. Does the story offer special social prescriptions about how to behave?** 1=yes 2=no
- 219. Is there a mention of financial losses now or in the future?** 1=yes 2=no
- 220. Is there a mention of financial gains now or in the future?** 1=yes 2=no
- 221. Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?** 1=yes 2=no
- 222. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing a course of action?** 1=yes 2=no
- 223. Is there a reference to economic consequences of not pursuing a course of action?** 1=yes 2=no
- 224. Does the school make an argument claiming the students that commit atrocities are “bad apples” or a minority of the student body?** 1=yes 2=no
- 225. What name is given for the institution? List**
- 226. Was there mention of arrests or court proceedings?** 1=yes 2=no
- 227. Was there mention of the assassination of six Jesuit priests?** 1=yes 2=no
- 228. Were protesters portrayed in the literature?** 1=yes 2=no

*Answer 227B only if yes was answered on 227*

**228B. How were the protesters portrayed?** 1=civil organized protestors  
 2=violent protestors 3=rowdy but peaceful protestors/arrested 4=supportive protestors  
 5=growing number 6=regular people 7=defiant 8=ill-informed/old/wrong 9=neutral  
 10=nonviolent

## APPENDIX C

## ORIGINAL INTRODUCTION

*The following section served as the original introduction in rough drafts of this research project. It is heavily inspired by the style of Erving Goffman's Frame analysis.*

----

We're waiting for someone to save the day. In the beginning first impressions induce the most significant impact. I wanted to make this document important in every conceivable manner. There are ideas that require a forum, and human consequences that deserve reconsideration.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Human beings exhibit a genuine lack of omnipotence regardless of individual efforts to prove otherwise (though some know more about nothing than others).<sup>1</sup> It is conveniently misleading for individuals to construct an interpretation of reality based exclusively on personal observation, empirical knowledge, social norms, and exterior influences. Perspectives, no matter how acute, are limited to a miniscule number of environmental stimuli and spheres of influence. With this scant knowledge breadth of knowledge, people adapt to the expectations of their codified reality, which provides an apt explanation as to why headhunters don't rove the aisles of shopping malls and professional athletes did not migrate across the Bering Strait. Communication evolved through conceptualizing common externalities into definable realities. An attempt to construct reality (or organization of chaos) into understandable parts has been referred to as a "framing" in select academic literature.

---

<sup>1</sup> This author included, with countless hours of research to prove it.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Frames serve no master; there are no shared experiences- only words that imply them. Reality is formulated through routine and repeat; the routines of today are based on the whims of yesterday until tomorrow can no longer sustain this repetition. The subtle wormhole begins to understand and rejoices in strawberry nothing. Seemingly incoherent sentences (poems, movies, images, emotions, tastes, thoughts, statements, experiences...) can evoke significant individual meaning of little relevance to the greater general population (helter skelter). Words are both powerful and meaningless; only the individual can decide. In a quest for answers, scientists define the absolute, theologians ponder obsolete doctrine and young girls write (mostly) poor poetry all in an effort delineate the maximum maxim, a defining definition, an absolute answer to life, the universe and every relevant in between. All words fall well short of this goal. Fact and fiction are the same coin, and money is the root of all evil. Truth is a serum that has never cured; language a placebo that constructs false perceptions of commonality. Reality is simply not willing to conform to the hopes, plans or daydreams of mere mortals, no matter how entertaining or just. How do frames apply to a reality that is falling apart?

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Machines do not require artificial intelligence to render humanity obsolete, we're doing quite nicely by ourselves. Environmental systems are on the brink of failure; syntax errors ignored/aborted/rebooted, as we continue to lead comfortable deaths. Drive to work to the morning sounds of global warming. Take a nice deep breath of depleted uranium. Enjoy a swim in mercury-invested waters. Savor the taste of subtle contamination in everything edible. Watch a television set, volley and serve thought manipulation. March to the trumpeting fanfare of carbon monoxide smoke emitted from anxious

autos waiting to accelerate from red to green. Green means go; green must go. It is not just the cynics who are worried anymore.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Consumerists are trained to avoid all instincts necessary to functional wilderness survival. A microwave cannot corner and skin a wild rabbit, and fields don't get plowed with can-openers and Tupperware. Cultures of supermarket narcoleptics hunt and forage for undisclosed foodstuffs. We bury fertility under concrete and subdivisions, complain of gas prices but fuck the ozone. Our leading industries are on the brink of collapse. Energy, transportation, food production, commerce, and our fresh water supply are all in jeopardy. The components of normal, everyday life in the future is unfathomable to the modern mind; no framework exists that can convey the effects of catastrophic environmental policies fueled by corporate culture. A concept of future human reality is completely indefinable.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Humanity is assuredly fallible, and nothing proves this point better than cash, capital or coin. Monetary worth supersedes the intrinsic value of every ecological constituent, regardless if this contrived "value" is encapsulated in a vessel where none previously existed. Biodiversity cannot thrive under such conditions, for human agents are the exclusive beneficiaries of the system. Capital implies ownership, thus plants, animals and natural formations are excluded from participation. This egotistical impulse undermines ecological sustainment by defining all nonhuman<sup>1</sup> agents as "resources" fit for subjugation and exploitation. There are no designated boundaries to limit capitalistic gain; biocentric deviants are almost encouraged to exploit natural resources and claim ownership of any available natural entity. Capitalism is the major factor behind the current ongoing degradation of the Earth's eco-system.

---

<sup>1</sup> Slavery is, of course, an exception. The condemnable act of slavery broadens the level of exploitation to certain members of the human race, often distinguishable by race, creed, culture or nationality.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. America the Beautiful framed as obscene.

Ocean boundaries protect us from the retribution of international justice, while climate and might controls our neighbors. We captured this land and displaced its original, ecologically stable inhabitants. A late start in the resources game ensured industrial dominance. As these resources near depletion, military violence (easily hidden from a distant public eye) ensures acquisition from remote locations. The permanence of our weapons ensures victory, no matter how many enemies our consumption creates. We win or everyone loses.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. Communication is ambivalence. How can one idea/word/sentence/paragraph/chapter/section/book/volume encapsulate true meaning? Assumptions motivate ideas, ideas formulate into facts, and facts evolve into belief regardless of any or all contradictions. The "facts of life" for any individual can be based on untruths. Science, for one, has no room for God in its calculations, and presupposes that Intelligent Design lacks that very quality. Yet there are more subtle tools of persuasion that limit the playing field of rational discourse. Family. Friends. Media. Peers. Strangers. The dog that just won't stop barking. Billions of facets comprise each person's total picture of "the way things are." There isn't a single vision of the world that is shared by more than one person. Regardless, we continue to place our stock in these crippling ideas.

We're waiting for someone to save the day. This researcher wishes to accomplish five things with this essay: 1) to review the history of frame research and study, 2) to identify the mass media characteristics of framing social movements, 3) to provide a history of the annual School of the Americas protest at Fort Benning, GA, 4) to determine differences in framing techniques employed by the mass media and social movement literature of the SOA movement, and 5) to expose issues and concerns within the protest literature sample that impact human



survival, yet are generally absent from mass media coverage. The goal of this paper is to inspire any and all who read it to examine their role in the ecological slaughter of this world and question the basic assumptions of modern society. Questions are important to ask in this day and age; silence is fast becoming an unacceptable answer. How has the world been framed for you? How do you frame the world? What needs to be done?

We're waiting for answers, fears or some higher power to lead us through these dark days of war, greed and decadence. We chase history to become the ones to end it. We have grown up under the threat of complete instant annihilation from the moment of birth. It is time to question face value. If we, as rational human beings, are willing to consider that things are not as we have always believed them to be, perhaps we would be more willing to concede to initiating change. Is it a human's right to destroy the earth? We need to change almost everything. We need changes. We need to change. We need change.

Time is running out. What are we waiting for?