FROM HERO TO SCAPEGOAT: THE MYTH OF THE SCAPEGOAT IN NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF RICHARD JEWELL AS BOMBING SUSPECT – A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

by

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(Under Direction the of Leara Rhodes)

ABSTRACT

In 1996, a bomb exploded in Centennial Olympic Park during a concert held as part of the celebration for the Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia. After initially being hailed in the press as a hero for his efforts to save lives during the moments following the bombing, security guard Richard Jewell emerged as a suspect in the FBI investigation of the bombing. The story was revealed in the press by the Atlanta Journal Constitution on July 30, 1996. What followed was an intense media investigation of a man who was not arrested or charged with any crime. This study examines the existence of the Scapegoat Myth as defined by Jack Lule, in the newspaper coverage of Richard Jewell. A textual analysis of 64 newspaper articles found in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and The New York Times forms the basis of this project. The findings show distinct patterns of the Scapegoat myth in the AJC coverage, and an overall sense of objectivity in the New York Times coverage.

INDEX WORDS: Richard Jewell, Centennial Olympic Park Bombing, Summer Olympics, Master Myths, Myth of the Scapegoat, Textual Analysis

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B.S., MIAMI 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

2005

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May 2005

DEDICATION

This thesis project is dedicated to my family who has always taught me the value of education. Without your love and support, none of this work would have ever seen completion. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to Tamara, whose support and understanding throughout this process has been unbelievable. Thank you for always understanding those nights I've had to spend with this project and for being the most important person in my life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank Dr. Rhodes, my major professor for guiding me from JRMC 8000 up through my thesis research. Thank you for understanding my move back to Atlanta and for your guidance and wisdom throughout this project. You worked with me as a first-year graduate student and now you are here for the final outcome. I would also like to thank Dr. Brooks and Dr. Griswold for working with me on this committee. Your words and your advice have been crucial to the shaping of this project.

Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Acosta-Alzuru, whose qualitative methods class was the inspiration for my project, and my desire to explore this type of analysis.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background and History

On July 19, 1996, the Centennial Olympic Games commenced in Atlanta, Georgia with the long-awaited Opening Ceremony. Boxing legend Muhammad Ali took part in the lighting of the Olympic torch, and millions of people from all over the world converged on the city to take part in the festivities. The games lasted from July 19 through August 4 and Atlanta was permanently changed when it was over. Millions of dollars came with the visitors, and the city became firmly planted with its status of "most prominent Southern city."

Media coverage of an event like the Olympics can be all-consuming. Especially within the home city of the games, coverage of all the venues, events and cultural activities spans around the clock. An event such as the Olympics combines sports, culture, and world events, and therefore newspapers, and electronic media flood audiences with coverage every four years. Coverage of such events survive long after the games are over, and especially with print media, the result is a lasting record of the events as they transpired. While it is thought that United States coverage of the Olympic Games is on the decline in recent years, coverage of the event when it occurs inside the country will typically be at the highest possible level. Additionally, the Olympic Games are more than just a sporting event. They are established to represent the best

possible combination of sport, politics, and culture, joining countries and regions across the globe.

Entering the Centennial Olympics, Atlanta and the United States were hoping performances by track and field stars such as sprinter Michael Johnson and a star-studded USA basketball team featuring players from the National Basketball Association would be the run-away highlights of the games. These Olympics, however, will forever be remembered for one turbulent incident on July 27, during a concert at Centennial Olympic Park. At approximately 1:19 a.m.,[1] a loud explosion interrupted a crowded event scheduled as part of the nightly cultural festivities. A bomb exploded in the crowd of people, spraying debris and shrapnel. It was initially reported by the Atlanta Journal and Constitution that at least four people were killed and at least 150 people were injured. Those figures were later reduced to two killed and approximately 100 injured.[2] Amid the chaos of the evening, emerged a hero in Richard Jewell, a security guard hired to work the venue. Jewell was credited with detecting a bag that may have had the bomb, and then evacuating hundreds of people from the area. This led to instant fame, as Jewell made the circuit of interviews, including a spot with Katie Couric on "The Today Show."

While the country's media elite were busy hailing Jewell as a hero of the moment for saving the lives of hundreds of people, an investigation was underway, that would very soon change the minds of everyone in the country. Atlanta Journal and Constitution intern Christina Headrick, who was assigned to stake out Jewell's northeast Atlanta apartment gave her paper the scoop of a lifetime just hours after the "Today Show" interview. Her discovery centered on the fact that three cars and several men in sunglasses were already there staking out the apartment

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[1] Atlanta Journal and Constitution. 27 July, 1996.
[2] Atlanta Journal and Constitution. 27 July, 1996. The statistics were changed in a later edition of that day's paper.

complex. Jewell, the hero of the moment was under investigation as a possible suspect in the bombing (Shepard, Alicia C., 1996). Miss Headrick's scoop would set off a national print and broadcast media circus, featuring daily reporting on the whereabouts and activities Mr. Jewell, a man who was never officially charged with any crime in connection to the bombing, and who just hours before the report was considered a hero by most.

During the height of the coverage in The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, led by crime reporter Kathy Scruggs and Olympic security beat reporter Ron Martz, the community and the rest of the country would learn anything and everything about the life history of Jewell, a part-time security guard. Questions about his character would be raised as well as the possibility of his checkered employment record with various law enforcement organizations. He would be painted as an overzealous security guard who wanted desperately to be famous, and who would seemingly stop at nothing to have a successful career as a police officer. The reporting that began as a scoop about a possible F.B.I. investigation into Jewell as a suspect spiraled into an indictment in the press on Jewell's character.

The Problem: Myth in news reporting

Richard Jewell, who was listed as a "person of interest" by the F.B.I. despite reports by his attorney that he was not a target in the bombing investigation,[3] and was eventually released settled lawsuits out of court with NBC Nightly News and with CNN regarding the coverage of his situation and the unfair treatment that followed. However, his reputation in the community where he resided and as a law enforcement officer were permanently damaged by the relentless coverage from all aspects of media. The media, especially local reporting from The Atlanta

[3] Atlanta Journal and Constitution. 31 July 1996.

Journal and Constitution, and their handling of this story raises serious questions about the ethics and methods used in the reporting of crime. By settling out of court with Mr. Jewell, NBC and CNN were indirectly acknowledging fault in the case (Grossman, Lawrence K. 1997). But the fact remains that much haste was made to report the name of a man who was not indicted by any branch of law enforcement on charges in connection with the bombing. According to Ron Martz, one of the lead reporters on the story for the AJC, the competition to break the story definitely played a role in the determination to report the possible investigation. "If we'd gotten beaten, we'd have been the laughing stock of the industry," Martz said (Shepard 1996). The AJC did not want to lose the scoop on a major story in their own city to another city's newspaper covering the Olympics.

Despite all explanations by the AJC and other news organizations, the fundamental question of journalism remains: Was this a news story? If the chief character involved in the story had not officially been charged with a crime, and if no law enforcement agent would go on record to confirm or deny that Jewell was even a suspect, what is there to report? Is it possible that Richard Jewell was established by the American media as a scapegoat in a terrible crime that was at the time unsolved? Did Jewell simply fit the requirements of a role in a media storyline? My thesis will attempt to answer these questions through a detailed textual analysis of the news coverage of the events surrounding the Centennial Olympic Park bombing of July 27, 1996, and the subsequent investigation of Jewell as a potential suspect in the case. Using Jack Lule's concepts of the "seven master myths in the news,"[4] I will attempt to determine to what extent the myth of the scapegoat as personified by Jewell existed in the reporting of this story in both the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and The New York Times.

The existence of such archetypal character in the story-telling of such a major event would help answer other questions regarding the event's newsworthiness, and as Lule says, about the role of news in society (Lule, 2001). Before an examination of the existence of myth in the reporting of the Richard Jewell story can take place, it is important first to examine the concept of myth as displayed through archetypal characters in the news.

One of the most important notions from Jack Lule's research in myth is that as a concept related to news, it does not need to be over-emphasized. It exists almost daily (2001, p. 15). The first step is to define both "myth" and "news." According to Lule, "they are patterns, images, motifs, and characters, taken from and shaped by the shared experiences of human life, that have helped structure and shape stories across cultures and eras" (2001, p. 15). He also points out that the mere existence of archetypal characters and archetypal stories are myths. Myth exists when these archetypal characters are used to represent "important social issues or ideals" (p. 15). They are archetypal stories that are crucial to the telling of the event and to the understanding of the event's role in society. Lule also refers to them as "eternal stories."

Central to the examination of the reporting of Richard Jewell is the myth of the "scapegoat." This archetypal character, as identified by Lule, is the embodiment of evil and guilt. This myth degrades and vilifies the character, who is someone that is "deemed to threaten the comfort of those in control or those who stray too far from accepted social practice" (p. 23). Criminals, radicals, and certain political activists are all cited by Lule as examples of the scapegoat in the news.

After establishing definitions of "myth" in news reporting, it is also important to point out that Lule defines, among the main roles of news in society, the job of enacting social dramas.

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[4] Jack Lule, writing in 2001 attempted to establish seven common archetypal characters that are

An important aspect of this concept is the importance of "story" in the news. The reporter needs the story to put the facts and records into a context, and to relate these facts to a large audience. Myth plays a part in this concept if the "story" aspect of the news becomes as important as fact themselves.

Why Richard Jewell?

This thesis project will explore the characterization of a formerly private citizen as a man who could be capable of committing a horrible crime against hundreds of innocent people. I will attempt to determine to what extent the existence of myth occurred in the reporting on Jewell as a potential suspect in the bombing at Centennial Olympic Park. I have chosen this particular incident for two reasons.

First, I believe that Jewell, who was initially treated by the American press corps as a hero for saving lives at the park, was predominantly treated as a villain throughout most press outlets. What reason did the press have, other than the desire and effort to be first to release a story, that Jewell would be convicted of such a crime? The initial story in the AJC was entirely un-attributed, and yet it spawned a nation-wide media feeding frenzy at the expense of an innocent man's reputation. Furthermore, Jewell was cast as the scapegoat by a press that was perfectly willing to run a series of stories before any sources ever went on record and before any charges were ever filed.

One year after the FBI investigation of Jewell as a possible bombing suspect, Marie Brenner, writing in Vanity Fair, profiled the experiences of Jewell and his mother, paying particular attention to the degree of media attention paid to the two people at their apartment

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present either daily or weekly in newspapers.

during the investigation (Brenner, 1997). Brenner had access to Jewell and learned in detail his side of the story that unfolded beginning on July 30, 1996. Included in the piece by Brenner is the explanation of Jewell's experiences in Habersham County and at Piedmont College as a security guard. This is especially noteworthy because Piedmont College President Ray Cleere initially contacted the Georgia Bureau of Investigation to discuss the possibility that Jewell needed to be investigated with regard to the bombing. Cleere had seen Jewell during the coverage of the bombing and his subsequent attempts to save lives at the park. According to Brenner, Jewell and Cleere disagreed very publicly on many occasions about the methods needed to secure the campus, and in particular about a student caught with drugs:

> Cleere had had a strong disagreement with Jewell when one of the students was caught smoking pot. Jewell wanted to arrest him; Cleere said no. Cleere, Brad Mattear recalled, "worried constantly about the image of the college" (Brenner, Marie, "American Nightmare – The Ballad of Richard Jewell," February 1997).

Brenner also refuted the belief that Jewell had sought attention and that he was a loner, describing many occasions when Jewell was close with friends. Also noted was the fact that AT&T had pushed Jewell into conducting interviews after the bombing.[5] According to Brenner, the telecommunications company encouraged Jewell to wear the AT&T logo during national interviews, despite Jewell's apprehension about appearing on camera.

Second, I believe that this story serves as the perfect example of the necessity of "story" in reporting of the news, regardless of newsworthiness. The media needed to make sense of a terrible event that occurred in the middle of the largest political, cultural, and sporting event in the world. Richard Jewell provided the story with its necessary archetypal character: the

scapegoat. The facts of the case were predominantly circumstantial. Jewell fit a profile and was the subject of an FBI investigation. Police and FBI then staked out his house, confiscated many of his personal items, and questioned him at length.[6] But Jewell was eventually cleared of any wrongdoing and because of the extent of the press coverage, was left to fight for his reputation and his future in law enforcement. The media industry should examine the case of Jewell and his close media scrutiny. While Lule says that the practice of myth in news happens almost daily, this case brings many questions as to the use of such reporting. Is it possible that a stricter adherance to the facts would have helped avoid such a situation?

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[5] This story was published by Brenner in the February 1997 issue of Vanity Fair magazine, and is currently available on the website of the author, www.mariebrenner.com.
[6] As reported by Kathy Scruggs in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, 1 August 1996.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Richard Jewell will serve as the main character in this case study on myth in news reporting. Jewell became the scapegoat in both the print and broadcast media after being investigated as a possible suspect in the bombing. Because of Jewell and his treatment in the press, the Atlanta Olympics and the subsequent coverage of the bombing aftermath becomes the backdrop for this study. Jewell was reported as a suspect in the bombing by the Atlanta Journal and Constitution on the basis of an anonymous source. He was never arrested or formally charged in the crime, and was exonerated by the FBI on October 26, 1996.[7] Yet the AJC, and soon hundreds of other media outlets already in Atlanta for the Olympics reported Jewell's name as being an official suspect in the bombing. Daily reports were filed on his story as reporters staked out Jewell's apartment in Northeast Atlanta. The investigation into the bombing and the subsequent press coverage of Jewell as a suspect became in many respects the biggest story of the Olympic Games. Therefore, the analysis of the literature surrounding this project begins with the press coverage and literature on the games and on the bombing.

[7] From Lou Hodges "Cases and Commentaries" in Journal of Mass Media Ethics 11(4), 1996.

Press Coverage of the Bombing and of the Investigation

The crowd was in attendance at Centennial Olympic Park on the night of the bombing to watch a concert as part of the celebration and festivities surrounding the games. Jack Mack and the Heart Attacks were performing when the explosion occurred. Andrew Kastner, the singer for the band told CNN that the band's sound engineer found a bag he thought was suspicious. After the engineer called police to warn them of the situation, security and police began to clear the venue as a precaution (Scruggs and Turner, 27 July, 1996). This action did not happen in time to remove everyone before the explosion, which hit at 1:19 AM and effectively put an end to the evening's festivities. Ron Rollins and Patrick Rini of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution reported initially that "at least four people" were killed and "at least 150 more" were injured (Rollins and Rini, 27 July, 1996). Later, these figures were reduced to two killed and 100 injured. Rollins and Rini further reported on the chaos and various injuries that followed the explosion. One eyewitness reported that uniformed security ran in to take control as soon as the bomb exploded. "Men in fatigues began to push us away and told us to run, run, run," said eyewitness Amanda Walatermire in the report (27 July, 1996).

Kathy Scruggs and Melissa Turner reported in a later edition of the AJC on July 27 that two victims were in fact killed by the blast. Alice Stubbs Hawthorne, 44, of Albany, Georgia was killed along with a Turkish journalist, Melih Uzonyol, 45, who died of a heart attack as a result of the explosion (Scruggs and Turner, 27 July, 1996). A lot of the additional reporting by the AJC on July 27 focused on the reactions by the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, and specifically on statements by ACOG Chief Executive Officer Billy Payne that the games would go on and that most events would resume on schedule. Additionally, ACOG Chief Operating Officer A.D. Frazier Jr, told the press that all venues would open on time that

Saturday (27 July, 1996). The resolve of the people of Atlanta and of the ACOG was the storyline for much of the coverage. Payne portrayed that sentiment in his various interviews to the press that day. He told Tom Brokaw of NBC Nightly News that Atlanta and the games would not let the explosion deter the celebration. "…The spirit here is so great, the people of Atlanta have embraced the people of the world…we must go on in the face of adversity" (Turner, 27 July, 1996). Scruggs and Turner also reported that this sentiment was echoed by the International Olympic Committee through director-general Francois Carrard. "The games will go on," he said (Scruggs and Turner, 27 July, 1996). Richard Yarbrough, managing director of communications for the Atlanta Olympics echoed that sentiment. Yarbrough was in charge of creating a plan for addressing the media on how to reopen the games. "Any delay because we couldn't get our act together would serve only to increase the media's frenzy and to make our collective jobs even more difficult (Yarbrough, 2000, p. 8).

Coverage of possible suspects for the crime began immediately as reports of the investigation and heightened security methods surfaced. While initial investigation efforts focused on the details of the explosion, the coverage in the AJC detailed that nothing and no specific group was being ruled out. Based on the nature of the bomb, containing nails, Scruggs and Martz reported on comments from Lloyd Burchette Jr, a security consultant who said "if there were nails in there, it was an anti-personnel device. It wasn't to destroy a building – it was to destroy people" (Scruggs and Martz, 27 July, 1996). Scruggs and Martz also interviewed an expert on hate crimes. Brian Levin a criminal justice professor at Richard Stockton College in New Jersey discussed that the bomber could be someone involved in an anti-government or militia group, or simply could be someone with a personal vendetta (27 July, 1996).

Until questions surfaced about the potential investigation of Richard Jewell, much of the reporting of the case focused on possible leads on this angle. Two men were questioned because of their ties to militia groups and because of their proximity to the blast at the time of the explosions. However, when the AJC and reporters received information from their anonymous source that Jewell, declared a hero just that weekend on national television for helping to save lives, was being investigated by the FBI, the nature and focus of the coverage shifted to the security guard, his whereabouts on the night of the bombing, and his history and background as a police officer and security guard throughout various parts of Georgia. The AJC printed the initial story on Jewell on July 30 from Martz and Scruggs as part of the Olympics Extra edition of the paper. Alicia Shepard pointed out also that the paper did not actually print a completely different edition of the paper just to add the Jewell story. At the time, this notion was widely reported. However, they did change the extra edition to include the story (Shepard, October 1996, p. 39). The AJC report, while un-attributed, led to the widespread reporting of the story throughout the media outlets of the country. According to Martz and Scruggs, Jewell was under investigation from the FBI because he matched a profile. "This profile generally includes a frustrated white man who is a former police officer, member of the military or police wannabe who seeks to become a hero" (Scruggs and Martz, 30 July, 1996). After this report, Jewell's life changed.

A much more in-depth discussion of the coverage of Jewell and the bombing investigation in the AJC and the New York Times will take place in the analysis chapter of this project. In addition to the coverage of the bombing and of Richard Jewell, it is necessary to examine the Olympics from past analyses and through past case studies in order to place the event in the context of its prominence in culture and society.

The Olympics in Society: Importance of the Games

Much of the relevance of the press coverage of Richard Jewell is found in the fact that the event happened during the Olympic Games, which was held in the United States for the first time since 1984. The modern Olympic movement began in Athens, Greece in 1896 with 14 countries competing in 43 events. This has expanded throughout the years to include 198 countries represented in the Sydney, Australia Olympics of 2000 competing in 300 events.[8] The impact on a local economy is significant, as is the opportunity for a given city to showcase itself on a global stage. Because of the international press that now surrounds the games, the host city will be on display to the world for two weeks. Therefore the competition to be awarded the right to host is fierce.

Tooey and Veal discuss the lengths various cities and countries reach to try to win the favor of the International Olympic.

> The site selection process is partly technical and partly political. The technical aspects concern the availability of suitable sporting facilities and other infrastructure, such as transport, accommodation, and security, and organizational capabilities of the would-be hosts (Tooey and Veal, 2000, p. 53).

The games themselves have become such an important event to local and national economies, that all aspects of politics and technology are considered. Many Olympic hosting bids are organized by local business groups who have the financial backing, as was the case in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics (p. 53). Burbank, et al. further discuss the importance of the Olympics through the Atlanta attempt to secure the winning bid. "Atlanta, the self-proclaimed capital of

[8] Figures printed in The Olympic Games: A social science perspective, and compiled by David Wallechinsky, 2000.

the New South, has been a city united by its desire for economic growth and driven by its penchant for self-promotion" (Burbank, et al., 2001, p. 87).

Atlanta also is an important example of the attempt of private business to work with the local government to win the bid for the Olympics. To this end, Burbank, et al. also discuss the construction of new venues in the city of Atlanta to increase the likelihood of success during the games:

> To the broad-stroke Olympic planners, the triangular sixty-plus acres needed for Centennial Olympic park were occupied by an underproductive assortment of small businesses, light manufacturing, and marginal housing (p. 106).

Payne and the rest of the organizing committee worked with new Atlanta mayor Bill Campbell to bring forth the construction of Centennial Olympic Park as the centerpiece of the auxiliary activities during the games. While the park was not part of the original plans during the bidding war for the games, it nevertheless demonstrated Atlanta's ability to successfully organize efforts for the Olympic bid. Similarly, the Salt Lake City bid attempt, geared toward the Winter Olympics of 2002 was successful in organization and proof of technological ability. However, the attempts by the Salt Lake City committee ended in scandals surrounding bribery of the IOC, which were revealed in 1998 (Burbank, et al. p. 135). The attempts by local and national economies to secure the bids are almost always centered on the additions to the local economy.

Tooey and Veal discuss the chief reasons for wanting to host being the increase in jobs and income to the city's local economy. "Economic impact is not concerned with profit and loss of the event itself, but with the effect of the event on jobs and incomes in the general local, regional or national economy…"(Tooey and Veal, 2000, p. 115). Even if the event does not turn out to be a major success, the impact on the economy is still significant. Additionally, the IOC

looks at the location of the event to determine whether the Olympics as a body can profit from the site. While Atlanta lacked in some of the transportation elements during the staging of the games, the fact that it was on the East Coast of the United States, the largest television time zone in the world, helped the city's cause (Roche, 2000, p. 155). Additionally, the fact that Atlanta is home to Coca-Cola, which is one of the biggest Olympic sponsors, helped the cause for Atlanta's bid. With Coca-Cola as a primary example of the business interests in Atlanta, private money funded a great deal of the Atlanta games.

The city also passed a $150 million bond issue to improve some of the infrastructure needed to successfully run transportation during the games. This was deemed necessary because some of the city's viaducts and overpasses were regarded as out of date and too dilapidated to host an event the magnitude of the Olympics (Burbank et al. 92). Despite problems stemming from transportation and from some of the traffic, the games left a lasting impact on Atlanta from an economic and developmental standpoint. There is little doubt that this kind of event transforms a region, raises the level of a city's status, and becomes the basis for intense press and public scrutiny throughout the world. It is for this reason that a bombing during this international event would take on the level of press attention that it did. A look at The Olympics as a news event further details this concept.

The Olympics as a News Event

Melvin Mencher of Columbia University defines seven factors that should determine the newsworthiness of a story: impact, timeliness, prominence, proximity, the bizarre, conflict, and currency (Grossberg et al. 1998, 327). With regard to Olympic coverage, and specifically the Atlanta Olympics of 1996, impact, timeliness, prominence and proximity all apply. Mencher

defines the concept of impact as "the significance, importance, or consequence of an event or trend" (p. 327). This concept increases with the amount of people involved. The 1996 Olympics estimated 10,000 participants and coverage from media outlets throughout the world.[9] Even in the United States with heavy media emphasis on the major pro sports leagues such as the National Football League and Major League Baseball, the Olympics as an event takes center stage when held in this country.

Mencher explains the concept of timeliness by determining how recent the event occurred. The more recent an event, the more newsworthy it would be to an audience (327). All aspects of the Atlanta Olympics, and especially the Centennial Park bombing qualify as newsworthy. This concept goes a long way toward also explaining the initial nature of the AJC bombing coverage, and the editorial decision to print the first story about Jewell as a possible FBI suspect. Martz discussed as much in the American Journalism Review story discussing the Jewell case in the media, describing that AJC editors felt they had to be first with the Jewell story (Shepard, October 1996, p. 39).

Mencher's explanation of "prominence" is discussed through the concept of the well-known individual (Grossberg et. al., 1998, p. 327). During this discussion of newsworthiness, it becomes hardest to place the character of Richard Jewell. Someone who is not a public figure, whose job is as a security guard, is not regarded as a person of prominence. However, the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the park bombing and Jewell being deemed a hero by local and national media organizations changed the story. In many cases, this determination of Jewell as a public figure was used as an excuse by CNN and NBC during lawsuits filed by Jewell. In reality, Jewell was known at the time because of interviews he conducted such as the

[9] From David Wallechinsky, as published in The Olympic Games: A Social Science Perspective,

one on the Today Show on NBC during the same day the AJC story broke on his name as a suspect.

Mencher's definition of "proximity" works in determining newsworthiness for both the Atlanta news and the national news. Mencher discusses that proximity can be judged by either "closeness of the occurrence to the audience…geographically…or in terms of the assumed values, interests, and expectations of the news audience" (327). For this reason, the Jewell story became a national issue. To further support Mencher's explanation of newsworthiness, Grossberg et al. add that "Presumably, the more categories or dimensions any potential news story fits, the more newsworthy it is" (Grossberg et al. 1998, p. 328). To this end, the coverage of a bombing during the Olympics in the United States covers a majority of Mencher's categories. The Olympics as an event are researched more specifically in other studies.

Tooey and Veal discuss the use of the media during the Olympics as a means for both publicity by the local host city and for propaganda by the IOC. They discuss that there are both positive and negative consequences to the growing television audience for the Olympics:

> The negative consequences of the alliance between television and the Olympic movement have caused some critics to question the influence of television networks, especially those from the USA, in applying pressure to schedule some Olympic events to boost their viewing audience… (Tooey and Veal, 2000, p. 123)

The determination that the Olympics were a news event, and not simply sports or entertainment ultimately led to the ability of broadcasters to air footage of the games free. After a film rights agreement was made with a London firm for the 1956 Melbourne, Australia games, American television networks objected, stating that the Olympics were in fact a news event. The ruling by

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2000.

the IOC was changed after this to allow each organizing committee to negotiate its own television contract (129).

Burbank, et al. discuss the impact of international media on the desire for the host city to gain the right to host the games. “Certainly, playing host to the Olympic games does bring the spotlight of global media coverage to the host city” (Burbank et al. 2001, p. 168). As discussed earlier, the host cities compete for a period of almost two years prior to hosting for the opportunity. This media focus on the games further confirms the Olympics as newsworthy in the categories established by Mencher.

Roche discusses the Olympics and other mega-events as types of “media events” designed to maximize coverage. “Television organizations typically consider that this kind of event requires a special type of production treatment; beyond the ordinary genres and categories of ‘news’ and ‘entertainment’” (Roche, 2000, p. 163). He further uses media-event analysis to discuss the media-as-witness to history concept. The mere presence of the international media to an event such as the Olympics adds the context of history (163). Roche also discusses the modern Olympic Games as a “multi-genre” event, that encompasses entertainment, sport, and news during the coverage. Coverage by both print and broadcast media is not limited to just the events, but all aspects of culture, entertainment and local information (165).

The analysis in this chapter places the Olympics, and specifically the Atlanta Olympics, in a context of newsworthiness. Also discussed are the events of the Centennial Olympic bombing that led to the coverage increase and the focus on Richard Jewell in the national media. Further discussions of the concepts of myth in news reporting and on the uses of myth in the coverage of Richard Jewell as a suspect are included in future chapters. Also discussed in future

chapters are the specific research questions of this project as well as the methodology of textual analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The facts of the case surrounding Richard Jewell's questioning by the FBI as a possible suspect in the Centennial Park Bombing, as well as the events leading up to the bombing establish the importance of the media's coverage of Jewell. In chapter two of this project, I attempted to set the scene for Richard Jewell's coverage by detailing the Olympics and the bombing through the coverage in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. The story printed in the July 30 Olympics Extra section of the AJC as reported by Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz directly led to the international media focus on Jewell as a suspect in the investigation. Chapter two also established the Atlanta Olympic bombing and the coverage of Richard Jewell as newsworthy based on the guidelines for newsworthiness according to Melvin Mencher. The bombing and the Jewell coverage satisfies newsworthiness in terms of "impact," "timeliness," "prominence" and "proximity." The media around the country chose to cover Jewell as a suspect from every angle, every day.

This decision was made despite the fact that he was not formally charged in the investigation and was not arrested by any branch of law enforcement. The nature of this coverage will be analyzed to determine the extent to which concepts of myth, specifically the myth of the scapegoat, existed in the reporting of the story. This chapter focuses on the concepts of myth in news reporting and on the origins of archetypal characters as they are used in storytelling. It is first necessary to establish the concept of myth in storytelling, as described by Jack Lule.

Myth and Archetypes

Jack Lule has constructed a significant body of research with regard to myth in the news. Using the concept of eternal or "archetypal" stories, Lule's DailyNews, Eternal Stories divides the concept of myth in news reporting into seven master myths (Lule, 2001, p. 11). Lule discusses that these "master myths" can be found in newspapers throughout the country on almost a daily basis. Myth, as defined by Lule, is not an opposite or direct contrast to news. Rather, it is used in news reporting to enhance storytelling:

> Myth is not a false belief. Myth is not an untrue tale. To compare news and myth does not suggest that news regularly passes down untrue stories of doubtful origins. It does not suggest that news is inherently false, biased, slanted, spun, or spindled (p. 15).

Whereas the popular definition of myth is something that is untrue, Lule explains that it is simply a device to aid storytelling. News is fact and truth. Myth is simply a device to explain these truths in a way that adds universal appeal. The master myths come from Lule's extensive study of Psychologist Carl Jung and of the philosopher Eliade (p. 16). It is from Eliade in particular that Lule links myth in storytelling to universal archetypes. Archetypes, then, are characters that are universal. They are passed down from generation to generation, and from culture to culture.[10]

Lule goes further to explain myth as an essential part of human storytelling. Myths are eternal stories because they too cross cultures, generations, and societies. News, he explains, is not always told with archetypal stories. Often news is just told through basic inverted pyramid

[10] This explanation by Lule of the derivation of the archetypes is central to his examination of "myth" as it exists in news coverage.

reporting.[11] "Myth enters the picture when these stories represent important social issues or ideals….Myths are archetypal stories that play crucial roles"(p. 15). He describes the method of using repeated story patterns to report the news. Eternal stories such as of disaster and triumph, of crime and punishment are stories that appear frequently, and sometimes daily in news stories (p. 19). Lule's seven master myths as identified and analyzed in the book are "the victim," "the scapegoat," "the hero," "the good mother," "the trickster," "the other world" and "the flood." While other myths and archetypal characters exist in news reporting, these seven "master myths" appear most frequently, according to Lule.

First, the "scapegoat" myth centers on a figure in the news that helps play an important social role in society. "The scapegoat, who embodies evil and guilt often helps fulfill that role. Myths of the scapegoat tell in dramatic fashion what happens to those who challenge or ignore social beliefs" (p. 23). The goal of the scapegoat myth is to tell a story of a person in the news through ridicule and through degrading that person. Those who deviate from the norm, such as a political activist or a radical are treated as scapegoats in this myth. Criminals and alleged criminals can also be treated as scapegoats (p. 23). Here, blame is laid for wrongdoing, regardless of the deservedness of the character in question. This archetype as used in the reporting of Richard Jewell is the focus of the project.

Lule further establishes the scapegoat myth and the corresponding archetypal character through its comparison with this previously discussed "social norm":

> It upholds the 'social charter' of a group. It protects and proclaims core values and central beliefs. Indeed, some scholars of myth, such as Joseph Campbell,

[11] Journalistic writing practice of leading with the most important information at the beginning of the story.

> suggest that a primary function of myth is to bend and shape individuals to the prevailing beliefs of a particular society (p. 23).

Lule further discusses the origins of this particular myth in specific Native American and African tribes. The "scapegoat" would symbolize an evil being, and would be cast out of the tribe. With regard to news coverage, the scapegoat doesn't necessarily have to embody evil. But it does represent guilt, and often takes the place in news coverage of the actual guilty party. As previously mentioned, a radical or activist could be treated in the press as a scapegoat, but this myth can also be used to give the explanation for crimes, and to imply blame. Like all other myths and archetypal characters, Lule points out that this myth is used as a means of storytelling in the news. It helps the reporter add a universal appeal to his or her subject (p. 23). For purposes of comparison, definitions of other master myths and archetypes are crucial to the analysis of this project.

The "victim" as archetype exists in most news stories that add a human element to tragedy. This myth seeks to show examples of courage and bravery in the face of death:

> Plans, careers, dreams, and lives can be shattered in an instant by a lightning Strike, a rare disease, a betrayal. Life must be lived in the presence of death. Myth confronts death. Myth turns death into sacrifice (p. 22).

Examples of the "victim" myth in news reporting can be found in the 2004 news coverage of the tsunami disaster in the Asian Pacific.[12] The attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, produced many examples of the "victim" myth in the news reporting.

The "hero" myth, according to Lule, is one of the most popular and most often used myths in life and in the news (p. 23). Heroes are needed in society to show that people can be

successful. "The news produces and reproduces the timeless pattern: the humble birth, the early mark of greatness, the quest, the triumph, and the return" (p. 23). Sports figures, movie stars and world leaders can all be the center of "hero" myth news coverage. The 1998 race to break the homerun record in baseball between Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa is a recent example of "hero" myth in sports reporting.

Lule describes the "trickster" myth in a similar manner to the myth of the scapegoat. The trickster is also held up to public contempt and scorn. This myth in news coverage often reflects on people who are looked on as "crude and stupid." Lule explains, "news too often tells stories of crude, contemptible people, governed by seemingly animal instincts, who bring ridicule and destruction on themselves" (p. 24). This is often an outspoken public figure, a brash sports star or musician for instance, who is portrayed as senseless in action and speech by news reports. According to Lule, this archetypal character comes from Native American tribes and from Africa.

The "flood" myth is a story that is featured during the reporting of many natural disasters. Much of this myth focuses on disasters that humble populations and force people to recognize forces beyond their control. The flood myth in news, Lule explains, "reminds humans of the humbling power of nature. The humbling can be horrible and yet oddly comforting" (p. 25). Recent examples of the "flood" myth existed during the coverage of the Asian tsunami of 2004. Lule's establishment of the seven master myths, along with studies of archetypal characters have been the focus of other studies in news and in entertainment.

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[12] Although, the coverage of the tsunami also shows examples of the myth of the flood, as later explained.

Myth in News and Entertainment

Acosta-Alzuru uses female archetypes in her analysis of the Venezuelan telenovela "El Pais de las Mujeres." She explains that the show's head-writer deliberately established the predominant archetypes of Venezuela for the female characters (Acosta-Alzuru, 2003, p. 279). The show uses these archetypes to tell stories of women confronting society's notion of women. In this way, Acosta-Alzuru demonstrates the use of archetypes in storytelling for entertainment purposes in a similar manner as archetypes in the news. "Throughout 'El Paîs,' women struggle with and resist the dominant Venezuelan view that women are defined by the men they are with" (p. 279). In "El Paîs," each female character represents an ideal such as sensibility and rebelliousness. Acosta-Alzuru explains that this type of storytelling is used in this case to portray a sense of feminism in the characters and therefore helps reveal the show's message to the audience.

Tell examines Kenneth Burke's essay "Four Master Tropes" in terms of rhetoric and word choice. Burke's essay, published in 1941, examined argumentation and epistemic use of language with regard to metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony (Tell, 2004, p. 33). Tell notes that metaphor, according to Burke, is a device "intended to provide new perspectives" (p. 37). This concept of metaphor is essential to understanding myth and archetype. According to Tell's analysis of Burke's theory, the literary device used to compare two unlike things is essential to understanding story structure. In news reporting, the storytelling element uses myth to put different perspectives on the story. Burke's analysis of the four tropes lend merit to the notion that narrative is important to the story in news.

Lule also examines archetypes in the coverage of the Mike Tyson rape trial. Lule explains that the story-lines for the trial, as reported in the papers, depicted certain qualities about Tyson and his accuser that would not only be considered archetypal stories in the news, but also have racist implications. Lule demonstrated in the study that coverage of Tyson's trial used the archetypes of African Americans as both animal savages and as being helpless victims in order to portray the story to the readers. The textual analysis of the news coverage of Tyson in this study "actually drew from just two, crude, dehumanizing and – paradoxically – opposing archetypes for African Americans (Lule, 1995, p. 177). This coverage is important because it demonstrates the use of archetypes in the news to cover a high-profile rape trial and shows how this can be damaging to public perceptions of race and of sex.

In another study that is pertinent to the theory behind my project, Feldstein and Acosta-Alzuru examine the use of the "scapegoat" myth in newspaper coverage of an attack on an Argentinian aid group. As stated previously in this chapter, the myth of the scapegoat centers on a character, or group of people that are ridiculed, and shunned from society. This archetypal myth places focus on a character or group that is seen as deviating from normal society (Lule, 2001, p. 23). In the study, non-Jewish Argentinians are seen as innocent victims who were killed along with the Jews, which were the target at the aid association. "The symbolic transference of the burden is accomplished when non-Jews are represented as innocent victims of the attack. In Consequence, a shadow of doubt is cast over the innocence of the Argentinian Jews" (Feldstein and Acosta-Alzuru, 2003, 165). The analysis of the coverage also indicates that Argentian Jews are distinguished from the rest of Argentinians and therefore isolated.

Foust examines the syndicated courtroom show "Judge Judy" to determine the existence of the 'tough mother" myth. This archetypal character, according to Foust, "is a mythical female

public figure emerging analogically from the temperance movement" (Foust, 2004, p. 271). According to Foust, the main character Judge Judy Sheindlin portrays the myth of the tough mother during an age when another potential "tough mother" in Hillary Rodham Clinton is chastised in the press as being abrasive. The Judge Judy persona on television uses this myth to tell the story of each case with Judy acting as the scolding, abrasive voice of reason. Foust further explains that this "tough mother has a special ethos as a public reformer because a lusty pursuit of power and money has tainted the scene she travels into" (p. 275). The study also examines the scapegoat myth as portrayed by the defendants in her court that appear on the show (Foust, 2004, p. 271). "Judge Judy's verbal assaults may normalize scape-goating against neo-conservative villains who come before her bench" (Foust, p. 271).

Myth is also evident in the realm of political news. Klope discusses the myth of the "victim" in the analysis of a political speech by President Ronald Reagan. Klope argues that the myth of the victim existed in Reagan's attempt in an October 27, 1983, speech to lay blame for the Grenada and Lebanon events on Soviet actions.[13] "The concepts of myth and victimage are useful in the analysis of Reagan's address because of the specific nature of the crisis he faced" (Klope, 1986, p. 337). Reagan used the crisis in Lebanon to paint the picture of Americans as victims who needed to retaliate. The concept of the victim is used often in political news to explain tragedies, as discussed earlier through analysis by Lule.

Lule analyzes the New York Times coverage of the month following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. In the attempt by the newspaper to help the reader make sense of a terrible tragedy, certain "eternal storylines" were frequent throughout the coverage (Lule, 2002, p. 275). Lule examined the evidence of "the end of innocence," "the victim," "the heroes," and

"the foreboding future" (p. 280). "End of innocence" myths began on the day after the attacks with stories comparing New York prior to the attacks with the city the day after. According to Lule, "the end of innocence is a mournful myth, reserved for times of great crisis and loss" (p. 282). The "victim" myth, Lule explains, was used in personal profiles of the victims of the attacks. An important part of this myth is "that the victim represents society and its individuals" (p. 282). These profiles tended to make sure readers knew it could have been anybody in the towers. Lule explains the "hero" myth through coverage of public officials such as New York Mayor Rudy Guiliani and President George W. Bush, and through coverage of rescue workers at the site of the towers. Finally, Lule explains the myth of the "foreboding future" through analysis of editorials and stories that discussed future in the world with terrorists. "Editorials portrayed a frightening and foreboding world in which the country was faced with unimaginable terror and attacks" (p. 285).

Human interest stories and financial merger stories also use myth to report their news. Fursich examines the existence of the myths of "birth" and "marriage" in the news coverage of the Daimler-Benz and Chrysler merger of 1998. In this case, Fursich argues that the myth of the story comes largely from the public relations handling of the deal. The two corporations needed to present a successful public image in order to gain favorable coverage of the deal. The study "interrogates the omissions and exclusions created by myths in news narrative by evaluating how the myth of marriage reduced the possibilities for reporting a global topic" (Fursich, 2002, p. 354). Fursich explains that this kind of storytelling in the reporting of the merger localized the story for a specific market of readers and eliminated the possibility of discussing the problems behind two major automobile companies merging. Fursich questions the degree to which

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[13] The speech was given after 250 U.S. marines were killed in Lebanon on October 23. Two

accuracy is maintained when myth is used in reporting the story. As used in this reporting, according to Fursich, "it meant a failure to help readers understand the global relevance of this merger" (Fursich, 2002, p. 354).

Ehrlich examines the 1960s CBS news segment "On the Road" with Charles Kuralt. This was a frequent segment on the nightly newscast anchored by Walter Kronkite, and would typically end the newscast. Kuralt's reports, as Ehrlich discusses, bore a sharp contrast to news about Vietnam and other tough news stories of the 1960s (Ehrlich, 2002, p. 328). The entire segment was based on "eternal stories" that helped a mass audience look into the lives of such people as a canoe-maker from Minnesota or a judge from Michigan who quit to go fishing fulltime (p. 332). Kuralt used myths of "the good mother" and "the other world" among the master myths of Lule to tell stories of America. The "other world" myth, according to Ehrlich, is evident during reports on "class and race" especially (p. 333).

Lule argues that one of the main roles of the news involves setting the public agenda (Lule, 2001, p. 35). Because of this role for the media, myth and the archetypal characters are often used to tell these stories. The previous research shows a pattern of the use of myth as it pertains to all aspects of the news. This approach to reporting and narrative writing is geared toward relating the large and small stories to the reader in a universal way. The next chapter of this project will examine the process and method by which I will apply myth in news-reporting to my topic, discussing Richard Jewell's press coverage.

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days after the attack, U.S. forces invaded Grenada.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

The role of the media in society has evolved over the past several decades. Because of the expanding capacity from technology, the choice in media is no longer limited to the Big Three news networks ABC, NBC, and CBS. 24 hour cable networks such as CNN and the expansion of the internet have made news coverage and information more accessible than ever. Though newspaper circulation is dwindling, papers like the New York Times are still considered the national paper of record. Because newspaper coverage still holds importance, this project focuses on coverage of Richard Jewell as a suspect in the 1996 Centennial Olympic Park bombing in Atlanta. A textual analysis approach will compare the coverage of this event through the Atlanta Journal and constitution with coverage in the New York Times. The concept of textual analysis and the justification for its use begins with a discussion of Stuart Hall.

Textual Analysis

The use of textual analysis is a method of qualitative communication research. Using this approach, according to Lindlof and Taylor, "the researcher interacts with data on the page or the computer screen and tries to make conceptual sense of these layers upon layers of discourse and social action (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, 209). Cultural Studies is a category of analysis that includes methods such as textual analysis. Meaning in this kind of analysis is derived from shared cultural norms. According to Hall, "language is the privileged medium in which we

'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged" (Hall, 1997, p. 1). Using this theory, Hall explains that language is vital and "central to meaning" in analysis. Hall's analysis uses a circuit of culture to explain the relationship between meaning and language. This circuit pattern shows a symbiotic relationship between participants in a message by using language as the medium to achieve meaning (p. 1).

This approach to meaning, according to Hall, requires the notion that meaning is constantly changing, and being exchanged through language (p. 3). Hall goes further to explain the use of language in a representational system:

> Language in this sense is a signifying practice. Any representational system Which functions in this way can be thought of as working, broadly speaking, according to the principles of representation through language (p. 5).

In this sense, the meaning of a particular message is dependent on both the sender and receiver. Language is dependent on the culture and on production and circulation. Representation then, as further explained by Hall, is tied into the uses of language. Hall explains, "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (p. 15). This concept allows the researcher to use interpretive approaches to analyze meaning in text.

The discussion of representation and language leads Hall to the discussion of the media's manufacturing of "consensus" and of the establishment in media research of an ideology through hegemony (Hall, 1982, p. 85). The concept of hegemony in research theory implies a dominance in thought through, as Hall describes, "cultural leadership" (p. 85). The discussion of ideology and of hegemony in the media is important because it helps establish the origins of meaning in the various messages in media. At the heart of this theoretical discussion is an examination of

ownership interests in media corporations. Does the media have its own interests? What interests play a role in making editorial considerations? Hall's examination of this ideology leads to the examination of texts through the use of textual analysis. This methodology has influenced the research and direction of other projects in the field of communications research.

Lester-Roushanzamir and Raman used textual analysis to discuss the nature of news coverage aimed at children in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution during the 1996 Olympics. This project attempted to examine the existence of a dominant discourse in the coverage of the Olympics through the "News for Kids" series in the Atlanta newspaper during the Centennial Olympic games. This section was designed to present the various activities and events surrounding the Olympics in a context that would make sense to young readers. The project examined a newspaper trend aimed at bringing young readers back to newspapers. Sections like "News for Kids" is an attempt by papers to reverse a negative trend that began in the 1960s of a decline in young readership.

The researchers chose textual analysis as the methodology for research and explained in their justification that "textual analysis differs from content analysis in that it is an interpretative method which allows the research to take account of all aspect of content (including omissions)" (Lester Roushanzamir and Raman, 1999, p. 702). Much like Hall, Lester-Roushanzamir and Raman also discuss the notion that textual analysis "links conditions of production and reception to the analysis of content" (p. 702). The method used in this case begins with initial perceptions of the text and concludes with examinations of specific categories and patterns as established by the researchers.[14] Lester-Roushanzamir and Raman also explain that

[14] In the case of Lester-Roushanzamir and Raman's project, the text identified was the section "News for Kids." The examination looked for the use of various literary devices such as

> textual analysis does not deny that multiple readings are possible, nor does it imply that individual journalists/editors intend the discourse. Textual analysis, as a post structuralist method, identifies relationships between structures in the society and structures in particular locations" (p. 704).

In the case of this project and other textual analysis-based project, the structures are determined from the texts and from the reporting. The results found that reporting in the "News for Kids" section objectified other countries by polarizing the coverage and pointing out why the other countries to be visiting the Atlanta area were different than the United States. Also the researchers note that textual analysis "identifies discursive strategies and therefore audiences themselves can use their awareness of those strategies to become more critical readers" (p. 711). Because of this notion, textual analysis allows researchers and readers to further examine texts that previously had concrete definitions.

Fursich and Lester examined the "Science Times" section of the New York Times through a textual analysis approach. While science news has been examined many times in communications research, this report adds to the dialogue by answering questions about the cultural significance of science journalism. Fursich and Lester attempt to explain the cultural significance of the medium by analyzing it through the cultural approach as used by James Carey. They explain that Carey "accentuates the connection between communication and com unity/communion" (Fursich and Lester, 1996, p. 25). This kind of analysis is used to help the researcher understand the importance of community and of gaining meaning through interpretation rather than using the transmission model of sender-receiver in communication research. Fursich and Lester chose this section for their study in part because of the

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metaphor, simile, and allusion (p. 703). The text becomes the evidence by which researchers

demographic that reads the New York Times, which has on average a higher education level than most papers (p. 28).

This study also justifies the use of textual analysis through the explanation by Hall that language helps define meaning. By this method, according to Fursich and Lester, "the interpretation of the chosen articles is always done in the context of the complete reading" (p. 29). The researchers in this study also attempted to determine the kind of reader preferred by "Science Times" and on what the differences in positions taken were between scientists and "non-scientists" (p. 29). Because of the limited amount of text available,[15] photos and graphics were also examined.

This discussion of textual analysis and of meaning in language establishes the need in my study to use this method in the examination of newspaper coverage of Richard Jewell as Olympic bombing suspect. Because textual analysis is a post-structuralist method from the cultural studies approach, it is necessary now to examine the origins of cultural studies beginning first with Marshall McLuhan and meaning-making in media.

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examine existence of these patterns.

[15] Science Times is published weekly, and this study spans eleven weeks of coverage.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

When Richard Jewell awoke on the morning of July 30, 1996, the first event on his schedule was an interview with Katie Couric on NBC's "The Today Show." What he did not know was that a newspaper was about to announce to the world that he was being named as a prime suspect in the bombing at Centennial Olympic Park that occurred early Saturday morning on July 27. As previously discussed, the newspaper coverage of Richard Jewell as an FBI suspect, as shown through the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and the New York Times, is the focus of this project. The analysis of the coverage in this chapter uses a textual analysis approach as developed by Stuart Hall to allow for interpretation of the text through an examination of meaning.

In this chapter, I examine the coverage in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and the New York Times through an overview of the reporting. I will look at the general themes existing and examine the frequency of these themes through the repetition of specific words and phrases. In the second phase of analysis, I examine the existence of the "scapegoat myth"[16] in the coverage of both newspapers. Finally, I will examine the differences in the coverage of Richard Jewell between the AJC and the New York Times, as a means to examine the approaches of two different news organizations, one being the local paper for the 1996 Olympic Games, and the

other being considered the national paper of record. Overall, I examined 48 items from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, using a combination of news stories, editorials and Opinion columns. I examined 16 items from the New York Times, focusing on the news coverage of the bombing and of Richard Jewell as a suspect. A total of 64 stories are examined for this analysis, spanning in time from July 29, 1996 through August 30, 1996. While Jewell was not actually exonerated by the FBI until October 26, 1996, this month spans the main focus of the coverage by both newspapers, and is therefore the focus of this project.

Coverage of Richard Jewell as Suspect: An Overview

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

The media coverage of Richard Jewell as an FBI suspect began with the July 30 Olympics Extra edition story by Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. This story, printed on the front page above the fold, titled "FBI suspects 'hero' guard may have planted bomb," used unnamed sources to explain that Jewell was a focus of the federal investigation, and most importantly, that he fit a profile of a "lone bomber" (1996, July 30, "FBI suspects hero guard may have planted bomb," Scruggs and Martz). Scruggs and Martz also reported that investigators were examining the 911 call tapes from the night of the bombing to determine if it was Jewell's voice that made the call to dispatchers warning of the bomb. But the most important aspect of this story was the notion that Jewell fit the FBI profile. "This profile generally includes a frustrated white man who is a former police officer, member of the military or police 'wannabe' who seeks to become a hero" (1996, July 30). The notion that

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[16] As previously explained, the concepts of myth in news reporting come from the work and research of Jack Lule.

Jewell fits an FBI profile would be a common theme to the reporting of Jewell's case throughout the remainder of the coverage.

Overall, 48 articles, editorials or opinion columns were examined from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. Jewell was referred to as being a "suspect" or that "police believe" he may have planted the bomb in 43 of the 48 articles. The notion that Jewell fits the FBI profile of a lone bomber or that he was a gun buff was mentioned in 14 articles. The notion that he was "once believed" to be a hero on the night of the bombing was mentioned in 18 of the 48 articles. The vast majority of these story patterns originated with the July 30 story from Scruggs and Martz. One of the more interesting story patterns that originated from the first story on July 30 is the report that Jewell was seeking fame and would be willing to do anything to achieve this. The co-authors of the initial story pointed out that Jewell became a celebrity in the media because of his acts from the bombing on July 27[17]:

> Jewell has become a celebrity in the wake of the bombing, making an appearance this morning at the reopened park with Katie Couric on the Today Show. He also has approached newspapers, including The Atlanta Journal-Constitution seeking publicity for his actions (1996, August 21, "Polygrapher had cleared two felons, Martz and Torpy).

The idea that Jewell sought publicity for his heroic actions appeared in eight of the 48 stories during the coverage. This is important to the analysis of the coverage because it is factually inaccurate. Jewell never personally approached any media outlets. His employer AT&T

[17] Kent E. Walker, listed as a staff writer, was given a contribution credit on the Scruggs/Martz story. In fact, Marie Brenner, writing in her analysis of the Jewell case for Vanity Fair magazine, reported that Walker was the first to report the information that Jewell sought publicity.

approached the AJC among other papers on his behalf (Martz and Torpy, 1996, p. 1C).[18] Brenner reported in her Vanity Fair article that this publicity was made despite Jewell's apprehension about appearing as special or as a hero (Brenner, 1997).

Richard Jewell's experiences in laws enforcement in Habersham County and as a security guard at Piedmont College in Demorest, Georgia were featured as part of 19 of the 48 stories in the AJC, making this another of the important story patterns in the Jewell case. Because the president of Piedmont College reported concerns about Jewell to law enforcement officials after seeing him on television, this story pattern was a major focus of the AJC's coverage of Jewell and his background. According to Scruggs and Martz, President Ray Cleere of Piedmont College called the Georgia Bureau of Investigation after seeing Jewell on news coverage. Jewell worked at the college as a part-time security guard, and ran into difficulties with the president when he was moved to full-time status. In the Scruggs and Martz story on July 31, Cleere described his concerns about Jewell. "'His behavior here had been a little erratic,' Cleere said. 'He had been very sporadic and we felt he needed to be checked out further'" (1996, July 31, "Heron denies planting bomb," Scruggs and Martz).[19] Cleere went on to describe Jewell as someone who was too involved in his work, and that he didn't fit in at the small college.

Maria Elena Fernandez expanded on this notion in a story printed on August 1, 1996 in the AJC, when she added interviews of Piedmont College students who'd reportedly had run-ins with Jewell on campus. All depictions from the students interviewed portrayed Jewell as being belligerent and being on a "power kick." The sub-header for the article, "A bad man to cross on his beat" also adds to the building story of Jewell as a man obsessed with police work

[18] This was part of the story "Polygrapher had 'cleared' two felons," printed August 21, 1996.
[19] While Scruggs and Martz are listed as the authors of this story, Maria Elena Fernandez, Kent E. Walker and Christina Headrick are listed as contributors to the piece.

(Fernandez, 1996, p. 15A). The reporting here adds to the AJC story line of Jewell as obsessed cop, and is repeated throughout the coverage of Jewell.

The other major fact in Richard Jewell's background that became a major story pattern during the reporting was the subject of Jewell's arrest in May 1990 in Dekalb County, Georgia on charges of impersonating a police officer (1996, August 1, "Park bombing: The FBI gathers evidence," Martz).[20] This would be a felony charge in Dekalb County, but Jewell pled down to a misdemeanor. The Dekalb arrest was mentioned in 12 of the 48 stories. This information initially was used to attempt to ascertain why Jewell was hired as a security guard at the Olympics in 1996 despite having a misdemeanor on his record in 1990. The charge didn't necessarily preclude him from working security, whereas a felony would have kept him off the squad (1996, August 1). The information on this arrest was used later in stories to add to the notion of Jewell as an overzealous cop who was not stable.

In addition to the reporting of Jewell, the coverage in the AJC included numerous institutional editorials and opinion columns. Generally Op-Ed columns allow for more freedom for the writer to express opinions, and this forum added in the AJC added to the portrayal of Jewell as an attention-seeking failed police officer, who most likely committed this crime. In particular, columnist Dave Kindred uses two different columns to describe numerous reasons that Jewell could likely be guilty. In his column "Strange turn of events: A hero becomes a fool," Kindred discusses all the reasons that Jewell is an outsider to the law enforcement community, and that all the television interviews look very different when viewed with the knowledge of Jewell's new status as a suspect (1996, July 31, "Strange turn of events," Kindred). Kindred even refers to Jewell's weight problem in his column. "Saturday's hero looked like a

workaday guy who'd eaten too many doughnuts and sat too long in one place" (1996, July 31). The column attempts to accomplish the notion suggested in the title: Make Richard Jewell appear as a fool. Kindred goes further to cast guilt on Jewell in his August 1, 1996 column, "A long wait in the shadows after his moment in the sun" (1996, August 1, "A long wait in the shadows," Kindred). Here, Kindred compares the investigation of Jewell to the investigation several years earlier of convicted serial killer Wayne Williams. The description by Kindred of Jewell waiting outside his apartment while agents searched his belongings is established for comparison:

> Once upon a terrible time, federal agents came to this town to deal with another suspect who lived with his mother. Like this one, that suspect was drawn to the blue lights and sirens of police work. Like this one he became famous in the aftermath of murder (1996, August 1).

While comparing Jewell to a convicted serial killer, he also adds a story pattern to the coverage of Jewell, discussing the fact that Jewell, a grown man, lives with his mother. This fact is discussed four additional times during the coverage of Jewell by the AJC.

Overall, the AJC coverage of Richard Jewell as a possible suspect relies heavily on the patterns established by the first story from Scruggs and Martz. The story patterns of Jewell as an FBI suspect, Jewell fitting a profile of a "lone bomber," Jewell seeking publicity for his heroic act, and Jewell's pattern of behavior in past security and law enforcement jobs, especially at Piedmont College, are used most often in the reporting. The editorials and opinion columns added to the story created by AJC of Jewell and of his background. An overview of the coverage of Jewell in the New York Times shows a different set of patterns in the writing and a different style in the reporting.

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[20] This arrest detail was reported in many of the stories on Jewell, but the Martz story on August

The New York Times

While most major newspapers around the country led with the Richard Jewell story in response to the Atlanta Journal and Constitution story on his being a suspect, The New York Times placed the story first Jewell story on July 31 in Section B on p. 6. This decision not to place the story on the front page above the fold was a noticeable difference from the rest of the coverage in the country. Kevin Sack, reporting on the story, explained that the "Atlanta Journal" named Jewell as the lead suspect in the federal case (1996, July 31, "report of a hero-turned-suspect," Sack).[21] Because it came one day later than the AJC story, Sack added many details to the story about Jewell and about the nature of the investigation that were absent from the reporting in the story by Scruggs and Martz. Another characteristic of the first Times story, in addition to placement, was the length. The Sack story reported a combination of facts and events from several stories in the AJC. Additionally, because Sack was not breaking the story to a national audience, the specifics of the case were written more gradually revealed over the course of the first several paragraphs. Sack was also able to add description of the team of media covering the story in both print and television journalism:

> For hours through the afternoon and early evening, network television replayed videotapes of the guard, who had been portrayed as a hero for supposedly first noticing a knapsack containing the bomb and beginning to move to safety people attending a concert early Saturday in Centennial Olympic Park (1996, July 31).

1, 1996 focused on it as a reason he may have been denied certain security credentials.

[21] Sack's story "Report of a hero-turned-suspect rivets attention in Atlanta" was run in Section B of the New York Times on July 31.

This reporting also uses the story pattern of Jewell as originally being considered a "hero." The story by Sack also added details about Jewell's past in law enforcement, and with Piedmont College.

Overall, 16 stories from the New York Times are examined for this project, which is a much smaller sample than the 48 stories from the AJC. This is due to the fact that the New York Times coverage was of a much smaller volume than the AJC, which was the local newspaper during the 1996 Olympics. Some differences in the handling of the Jewell story by the New York Times are evident in the reporting of certain details. Because nearly every story reported was intended solely to add information specifically about Jewell, and about the investigation into the bombing, some of the sources used and angles taken are different than that in the AJC. For instance, because the Times coverage came from their National Desk, the need existed to explain the demographics of the neighborhood where Jewell lived and where the press now occupied large amounts of space:

> The complex, in a middle-class section of northeast Atlanta that has become popular with Hispanic and Asian immigrants, was overrun with reporters on Tuesday after Mr. Jewell emerged as a suspect" (1996, August 1, "Federal agents in Atlanta comb guard's apartment," Sack).

The August 1 article by Sack also contributed to the story patterns of Jewell as overzealous security guard and of Jewell's arrest in Dekalb County for impersonating a police officer. The Times coverage always attributed these notions about Jewell to the coverage by other media outlets, especially the AJC. Moreover, this type of coverage by the Times was less frequent than that in the AJC.

Sack's August 1, 1996 story highlighted many of the basic facts about Jewell and the investigation, and also pointed out that a lot of the potential charges against Jewell were dependent on finding actual evidence during an FBI search of his apartment. Among details in this story were the statement by the FBI that "their ability to press charges depended heavily on the success of today's search" (1996, August 1). While the Times coverage highlighted more specific details regarding the overall investigation, as opposed to simply Jewell, another story pattern that developed for the coverage in the Times was the notion of ethics questions being raised during the news coverage. Frank Bruni, reporting on the news coverage wrote that much of the coverage in the news stemmed from the first story printed by the AJC on July 30. "The story in The Times described how so much of the television coverage of the bombing investigation Tuesday evening had been dominated by the Atlanta paper's identification of Mr. Jewell as a suspect" (1996, August 1, "News reports' naming of bomb suspect raises ethics issues," Bruni). Also discussed in this article is the fact that Jewell's name was revealed at all by the coverage in the AJC, which goes against many standards of reporting names of suspects who have not yet been charged in a crime. Bruni wrote, "Several editors and producers said that in a world without the pressures of matching the news that others are disseminating, they would not have named Mr. Jewell or written so extensively about him" (1996, August 1). Sack contributed to this story pattern in an August 2, 1996 story, quoting then FBI director Louis Freeh, on the guilt or innocence of a suspect whose name is revealed:

> 'It certainly doesn't mean that person is guilty of anything,' Mr. Freeh said without mentioning Mr. Jewell by name. He added, 'We regret many times in these investigations that people's names surface as suspects who are later proven

> not to be connected.' (1996, August 2, "No arrests imminent in Atlanta bombing," Sack).

The Times' adherence to this story pattern of explaining that Jewell is not simply guilty because his name has been revealed shows a difference in the overall themes of the reporting as compared to that in the AJC.

In nearly every Times story regarding the bombing investigation and that of Jewell, it is mentioned that Jewell is just one of several suspects in the case, and that he has not been charged with any crime. Ronald Smothers adds to this pattern in the lede paragraph of his story on August 5, 1996:

> Federal agents are continuing to focus on a security guard but are still insisting that he is just one of a number of possible suspects in the pipe bombing at Centennial Olympic Park more than a week ago (1996, August 5, "Guard gets new scrutiny in Atlanta bombing," Smothers).

This inclusion contributes to the Times coverage that points out Jewell's innocence, while at the same time covering the news in the story that all other news outlets in the country put the focus on in August of 1996.

Another noticeable difference from the New York Times coverage as compared to that in the AJC is the general absence[22] of the analysis of Jewell's employment history and the descriptions of his behavior by former employers and colleagues. Also absent from the majority of the Times coverage is the notion that Jewell fit an FBI profile of the "lone bomber" and was therefore the prime suspect in the investigation. The absence of these story patterns that exist in the AJC coverage are evident in the New York Times story patterns that investigate the media

coverage of Jewell. Rick Bragg, reporting on the "trial in the press" of Jewell on August 26, 1996 described Jewell's lawyers in the case as "going on the offensive" in attempting to win back Jewell's reputation (1996, August 27, "Focus on bomb suspect brings tears and a plea," Bragg). Jewell's mother Barbara gave a press conference with the aid of the lawyers asking for help from President Clinton in attempt to get her son pardoned. Bragg further explained:

> Although Mr. Jewell still remained in the background of the push to clear his name, the news conference was a solid sign that Mr. Jewell's layers were taking the offensive in an unusual case that has raised substantial questions about the naming of a suspect before an arrest is made or formal charges are filed (1996).

Overall, the reporting by Bragg on the nature of the media surrounding Jewell's story illustrates a pattern by the times that sets there coverage apart from the AJC. The Times coverage in general avoided many of the story patterns that were present in the AJC, such as the descriptions and reporting of Jewell's employment background in law enforcement in Habersham County, his arrest for impersonating a police officer in 1990 in Dekalb County, and his fitting of a profile "lone bomber." The next section of this analysis on the coverage of Richard Jewell examines the existence of the "myth of the scapegoat" during the coverage.

The Myth of the Scapegoat in the Coverage of Richard Jewell

Jack Lule's "Seven Master Myths" are used to examine the news coverage in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and the New York Times of Richard Jewell as a suspect in the 1996 Centennial Olympic Park Bombing (2001). From the master myths in news reporting, Lule describes the myth of the scapegoat as having the following characteristics: depicting evil and

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[22] Details on Jewell's background appear in the first Times article by Sack on July 31, at the end

guilt upon a character in the story, holding up this character to ridicule within the story, holding the character up to degradation and depicting him or her as deviating from normative social values in society, and laying blame in this character regardless of actual guilt. An examination of the coverage of Richard Jewell as suspect finds many examples of the aforementioned aspects of the myth of the scapegoat.

As mentioned in the overview of the AJC coverage in this chapter, the July 30, 1996 story by Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz that revealed Richard Jewell as a suspect in the bombing planted the seeds for most of the coverage of this event that followed in news outlets across the country. Contained in this story also are the beginnings of the portrayal of Jewell as Scapegoat in the investigation of the Olympic bombing. One of the first indicators of a scapegoat portrayal is the association of Richard Jewell with evil and with guilt. This occurs through the repeated reference to Jewell as a prime suspect in the bombing case, and through describing him as fitting an FBI profile of the lone bomber. Scruggs and Martz reported, "Richard Jewell, 33, a former law enforcement officer, fits the profile of the lone bomber" (1996, July 30). In addition to the explanation that this profile is possibly a "frustrated white man, who is a former police officer," the story then describes Jewell's actions during the bombing, and the background behind his hiring as a security guard for the Olympics. The Scruggs and Martz initial story discuss that he sought news organizations, and had a desire for publicity, in attempt to call his motives into question (1996). Scruggs and Martz did not cite any named sources in the reporting of their initial story.

Scruggs and Martz refer to Jewell in connection with the bombing in a story on July 31, 1996, which adds to the depiction that he is connected to the crime:

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of the coverage about the AJC revealing his name as a suspect.

> The security guard who is suspected of planting a pipe bomb that killed two and injured more than 100 spectators was interviewed by FBI agents for at least two hours Tuesday and released (1996, July 31, "Hero denies planting bomb," Scruggs and Martz).

This association of Jewell with the details of the crime further cement the notion that he may in fact be guilty of the crime. At no point in this story did Scruggs and Martz mention the fact that Jewell had not officially been charged with a crime. This fact is reported by Scruggs and Martz through the quoting of Jewell's attorney, Watson Bryant, who stated that Jewell was in fact not a suspect. "'He is not a target. He had nothing to do with this except be a hero" (1996, July 31). The description in the July 31 story of FBI agents arriving to speak with Jewell and his mother further adds to the image of Jewell's guilt. "Minutes later, a car with two FBI agents drove up. They asked Jewell to open the door and entered the apartment for about 15 minutes" (1996, July 31). The descriptions of FBI staking out the apartment varies in length during the course of the coverage, as does the reference to Jewell as being a suspect. Macon Morehouse and Kent E. Walker on July 31, report, "On Tuesday, Jewell's flirtation with fame took a sharp turn when FBI officials said they suspected he may have planted the bomb" (1996, July 31, "Change of fortune," Morehouse and Walker). Morehouse and Walker used the angle of comparing Jewell's current position as a suspect to his previous position as a hero. Rarely from July 30 to August 1 do any of the stories point out up front that Jewell hasn't been charged with a crime or officially arrested.

A second aspect of the Myth of the Scapegoat is that the coverage holds the character up to ridicule for his or her actions. The AJC coverage accomplishes this through the examination of Jewell's past law enforcement experiences as a Sheriff's Deputy in Habersham County,

Georgia and as a security guard at Piedmont College in Demorest, Georgia. Kent E. Walker reported on July 30 that his past experiences were a part of the FBI believing he could fit their profile of a "lone bomber." This story combines the notion that Jewell is a suspect with the notion that he had conflicts in his previous employment experiences:

> Investigators now say that he may be a hero wannabe who planted the bomb so he could discover it later. While he will talk about his days as a Habersham County deputy sheriff, he did not mention that he left the job under a cloud (1996, July 30, "Bomb suspect had sought limelight, press interviews, Walker).

At this point in the investigation of Jewell by the AJC, descriptions of the security officer's personality and character are taken from then Piedmont College President Ray Cleere, who first alerted the GBI that Jewell should be investigated. Cleere's experiences with Jewell at Piedmont college are used by the AJC to paint the picture of a man whose behavior on the job had been "erratic" and sometimes too aggressive. "'His behavior here had been a little erratic,' Cleere said. 'He had been very sporadic and we felt he needed to be checked out further.'" The comments from Cleere set off the entire investigation of Jewell, and ultimately led to the media scrutiny.

Morehouse and Walker write about the same comments from Cleere, adding the notion that Jewell was known for "writing long police reports for minor incidents and rushing out to investigate everything" (1996, July 31). The entire description of Jewell from the AJC coverage follows this pattern of commentary provided by Cleere and other people who associated with Jewell at Piedmont College. Each description points out that Jewell may have been "too aggressive" in his police work. Christy Oglesby and Maria Elena Fernandez referred to the possibility that Jewell was a "badge-wearing zealot," echoing again the comments of Cleere

(1996, July 31). The story described by Cleere was that Piedmont College was not the right place for Jewell.

Fernandez reported again about Jewell's background at the small college on August 1, 1996 through a series of interviews with Piedmont College students. The entire story uses the interviews as evidence of Jewell's character, which is described as one of aggression and anger. Fernandez, who calls Jewell a "loner and gun enthusiast" in the story, other examples of holding him up to ridicule and pointing out his deviation from the norm, describes the interactions between Jewell and students in the interviews:

> 'He was very macho and he could get very belligerent. I've seen him go from calm to angry back to calm and back to angry in a manner of seconds, (sic)' said Piedmont College junior Nikki Lang, 20' (1996, August 1, "A bad man to cross on his beat," Fernandez).

Fernandez also included quotes from students who described his constant presence. Patrick Young, who was a graduate of the college adds, "'He wouldn't even be on duty and he'd be here patrolling the area. And he had a very bad temper'" (1996, August 1). Another student hinted in the story that the possibility of violence was there with Jewell:

> "You couldn't challenge his authority in any way," said freshman Mike Nance, 20. "He wouldn't smack you or anything, but he would definitely get very upset and get on your case" (1996, August 1).

As mentioned previously, the background of Jewell in Habersham County and especially at Piedmont College, whose president first told the GBI of Jewell's past, is mentioned 19 times out of 48 articles. These descriptions, while taken from people who knew Jewell at the college, add no facts or evidence that Jewell planted the pipe bomb on July 27.

Another aspect of the Myth of the Scapegoat is that the reporting or coverage portrays the character as deviating from social norms and hold him or her up for degradation because of these deviations. This is a variation of the story patterns that hold the character up for ridicule. An example of reporting that accomplishes this exists in Chick Ludwig's story on August 1, 1996, in the AJC reports on Jewell as a "gun buff." This reference comes from "friend" according to Ludwig, but is not cited by name. Ludwig was reporting on the television coverage of the Jewell case, and citing NBC's coverage:

> 'NBC Nightly News' broke the news that FBI agents had searched a North Georgia cabin that once was used by Jewell. NBC also interviewed a friend of Jewell's who said the suspect was a gun buff' (1996, August 1, "In TV glare: hair salon, cabin, pals," Ludwig).

The friend on the television report, according to Ludwig, announced that Jewell collected a lot of guns. The NBC news coverage in question also broadcast a story on the "hero syndrome," which goes along with the reporting of Jewell fitting a profile. The mention of Jewell as a gun buff is specifically brought up by Ludwig to comment further on Jewell's background. The ideas that Jewell was involved with guns and ammunition are related to FBI investigations into the possibility that Jewell may have had experience with ammunition. In fact, toward the end of the Jewell investigation, it was reported that a former colleague at Piedmont College was questioned to determine if Jewell ever looked up recipes for making bombs while at the college.

Maria Elena Fernandez reported that Chris Simmons, a 21-year old senior at Piedmont College, and a former co-worker of Jewell's with the security department, passed a lie detector test he was given by the FBI to determine if Jewell was using the internet at school to find out information on homemade bombs:

> 'They were basically working off of rumors,' Simmons said. 'A student had said…that I helped (Jewell) gain access to the internet and that I had confronted a teacher about the making or production of a bomb" (1996, August 24, "After the games, Jewell ex-coworker passes polygraph," Fernandez).

The story by Fernandez marked one of the final investigations by the AJC into the background of Jewell.

A final element present in the Myth of the Scapegoat is the idea that blame is laid on the character, often regardless of evidence that the blame is warranted. This idea is present throughout the coverage of Jewell, and is especially prevalent during the coverage of Jewell in the Op-Ed pages of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. Dave Kindred wrote two opinion columns, providing commentary on the Jewell investigation. As previously mentioned, a columnist paid to provide opinions in the context of news, and to add context to the coverage, chose to add to the notion that Jewell could very well be guilty of planting the bomb at Centennial Olympic Park. In his first column regarding Jewell on July 31, Kindred added to nearly all of the story patterns that were already established by the reporting of the story. He added to the "ridicule" of a man seeking fame and fortune, saying, "We know he was Saturday's hero. He told us so" (1996, July 31). This was added despite the fact that Jewell seeking out the media after his heroism later turned out to be erroneous.[23] He added to the notion that Jewell was attempting to become a hero, and therefore fitting a profile for the investigation. As previously mentioned in this chapter, Kindred pointed out the possibility that Jewell regretted no longer being a police officer, and wanted this badly to become a member of a law enforcement

[23] As previously mentioned, Jewell never officially sought the media, offering interviews. His employers, AT&T did this on his behalf. The Brenner article in Vanity Fair (1997) even discussed the fact that Jewell was apprehensive about receiving any attention for his acts.

team again. He points this out specifically during the discussion of Jewell using the word "we" in interviews:

> We? Somehow, this temporary security guard goes on international television and moves from being a man with no real job – "I" – to being part of the Olympics' massive security force of real police officers – "We." He even says, 'I just hope we catch the people who did it'" (1996, July 31).

The discussion in this section of the column adds especially to the picture being portrayed by the AJC that Jewell was "desperate" to be a police officer again.

Most importantly, Kindred's column adds to the notion that Jewell played the part of a "fool." The title of the column, "Strange turn of events: A hero becomes a fool" sets the tone for this depiction. The theme of the column is the possibility that a Hero was really a Fool. Kindred, as mentioned previously, refers to Jewell's weight problem, holding him up to further ridicule. He concludes the first column by describing what is going to happen to Jewell as a result of the investigation, and continues the story pattern of Jewell as "fool":

> Whatever, we know this certainly: Every nuance of every sentence he has spoken aloud since Saturday morning will be studied. Every detail of his life will be examined. Soon enough, we will know if he is Saturday's hero or Saturday's fool (1996, July 31).

While the reporting of the story of Jewell under investigation by the FBI contains elements of the Myth of the Scapegoat, the opinion columns by Kindred further highlight these story patterns.

In contrast, while the New York Times coverage picks up on the story patterns that were initially reported by the AJC, the elements of Jewell as a Scapegoat are almost always balanced

with the fact that he has not been charged with a crime. Kevin Sack, the Times reporter assigned to the story explains:

> Separately, Federal law-enforcement officials said in interviews that the guard was among the suspects in the bombing, but that they did not have sufficient evidence to charge him with a crime. They cautioned that there were other suspects (Sack, 1996, July 31, p. 6B).

This is indicative of the coverage from Sack and the rest of the Times reporting, which does add elements of the Scapegoat characteristics to its portrayal of Jewell, but almost always in the context of the overall reporting on the investigation.

The New York Times, in terms of original material, lacked the themes of Myth of the Scapegoat that were present in the coverage by the AJC. Much of the Times coverage of Richard Jewell was presented in the context of one person being part of a larger investigation, which represents a major difference in the coverage. As mentioned previously, the Times coverage, with Kevin Sack as the lead reporter, commented on the AJC coverage and used the Atlanta paper as the source and reasons for the investigation of Jewell. Because of this, the various representations Myth of the Scapegoat through the coverage of Richard Jewell are absent from the reporting by the New York Times.

The New York Times reporting samples for the analysis of the Richard Jewell story show objectivity because they have placed the investigation of Jewell within a context. The Times, reporting as an outside media outlet,[24] reported on the overall story, which was the FBI investigation into the bombing of Centennial Olympic Park during the Summer Olympics. The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, because they had a much higher volume for the coverage of

Jewell, placed his investigation into a defined story pattern. This pattern, the Myth of the Scapegoat, developed immediately with the breaking story by Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz, who revealed that Jewell was a suspect. The extensive investigation into Jewell's background further established the aspects of the Scapegoat Myth and, while providing background into a person who had been established in the national media as a hero, succeeded in portraying Richard Jewell as a man who had all the qualities of a guilty man.

[24] This is compared with the AJC, which was the primary newspaper of Atlanta, the host city for the Olympics.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

This project analyzed the newspaper coverage in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and in The New York Times of Richard Jewell as a suspect in the 1996 bombing at Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta. The analysis was conducted to determine the existence of the "Myth of the Scapegoat" during the coverage. The Atlanta Journal and Constitution was selected for this project because it was the local newspaper for the Olympics and the bombing incident in 1996. The New York Times was selected because it is considered to be the national paper of record, and to add a national coverage comparison to the AJC. The different approaches to storytelling and reporting used by both newspapers are compared in this project in order to form the comparisons. After examining 48 articles from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and 16 articles from The New York Times, several observations and differences have been observed.[25]

Myth of the Scapegoat in the Coverage of Richard Jewell

Four separate elements of Lule's definition of Myth of the Scapegoat were examined in the news coverage: The depiction of the character as being evil or having guilt, the holding of the character up to ridicule, the depiction of the character as deviating from the norm, and laying blame on the character. Because the AJC and the July 30 story by Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz provided the beginning of the news coverage on Richard Jewell, it also provided the beginning of

the story patterns that form the Scapegoat Myth as examined by Richard Jewell. The New York Times coverage followed the stories in the AJC from a national perspective, and contained far less overall coverage of Richard Jewell by comparison. Times coverage also contained fewer examples of the Scapegoat Myth in the coverage. However, while the examples of the myth in the Times coverage are of smaller amount, a discussion of each individual element of the myth helps provide a comparison in the coverage.

Depiction of the character as being evil or possessing guilt

When the AJC first revealed that Richard Jewell was a suspect in the bombing, he was already a known figure because of his actions on the night of the bombing that helped clear spectators from the area. However, Jewell was not officially charged with a crime or arrested during the investigation. Ordinarily, a suspect in a crime would not be revealed by name without first being officially charged with the crime. The AJC, in this case, chose to reveal Jewell's name and to report on the fact that a man who had been considered a hero previously was now being questioned in the bombing. Richard Jewell was portrayed during this coverage as potentially being guilty of the crime of planting a bomb in Centennial Olympic Park. This type of reporting began with the story on July 30, 1996, by Scruggs and Martz. Much of this story covered Richard Jewell as "fitting a profile of a lone bomber" (1996, July 30). To accurately prove that Jewell fit this profile,[26] the AJC stories, as well as the FBI investigation, would need to prove that Jewell was indeed a "frustrated" person, and one who sought fortune and publicity. This poses several problems within the context of news coverage.

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[25] As previously stated, the date parameters of the project are July 30, 1996, through August 30, 1996. These dates are used for both papers, as the main timeline of the coverage of Jewell.

News reporting must contain standards of objectivity while reporting the facts. The reliance on story techniques and patterns found in myths, especially when applied to depicting a person as having certain characteristics affects the objectivity of the reporting. The use of phrases and words like "frustrated" and "seeks to become a hero" shows subjectivity and requires substantial evidence to prove. This profile was established by the FBI, and was freely reported by the AJC in association with Richard Jewell's name. This attempt to paint Jewell as having the qualities of this FBI profile, along with the suggestion by Piedmont College President Ray Cleere that Jewell be investigated, led to an extensive search by the AJC into Jewell's background throughout the coverage.

Another aspect of the coverage by the AJC that contributed to the portraying of Jewell as being potentially guilty is simply the frequent reporting of Jewell as being "suspected of planting a pipe bomb" (1996, July 31). As discussed in Chapter Five, this idea was reported in various forms in 43 of the 48 examined AJC articles. This reporting began again with the July 30 Scruggs and Martz story, and continued especially during the first week of coverage. This notion that Jewell was "suspected" was initially countered by Jewell and his lawyers who insisted in the stories that Jewell was not being investigated as a suspect in the case. In the first story by Scruggs and Martz, no named sources were used to corroborate the notion that Jewell was officially a suspect. But the reporting of Jewell as being "suspected" by authorities adds to the notion that he may have guilt in the case. Because this part of the report existed, the AJC established guilt as a possibility with Jewell.

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[26] As mentioned in Chapter Five, the profile of the "lone bomber" is of a "frustrated" man who "seeks to become a hero" (1996, July 30).

Holding the Character up to Ridicule

During the first week of August in 1996, the Olympic Games were ending in Atlanta, and the FBI investigation of Richard Jewell was finding no evidence that he was connected to the Centennial Olympic Park bombing of July 27. But the investigation was thorough, including every aspect of Jewell's life and background. The AJC covered every moment of the investigation, with special attention paid to the search of Jewell's apartment located on Buford Highway in Atlanta. While the investigation was failing to turn up evidence that Jewell was connected to planting the bomb, the AJC coverage was examining the security guard's background in law enforcement and his experiences at Piedmont College prior to the Olympics. This background coverage was contributing to the notion that Jewell was an overzealous cop, who was too aggressive, a notion that allowed the AJC coverage to hold Jewell up to ridicule.

In Chapter Five, the role of Piedmont College President Ray Cleere in the Jewell investigation is discussed. The AJC coverage of Cleere's comments about Jewell began the research into the security guard's background and also the beginning of the element of coverage that held Jewell up to ridicule. In Kent E. Walker's story on July 30, Cleere's discussion with the FBI became known (1996, July 30). Used by Cleere in this article, and reported as evidence of Jewell's character by Walker are words like "erratic" and "aggressive," to describe his on-the-job behavior as sporadic" (1996, July 30). This is another example where the coverage of Jewell in the AJC resorts to strictly anecdotal evidence from people who had no knowledge of the actual bombing to describe Jewell's character. This description of Jewell's past job performances helps the AJC continue to build the story of a man who could be capable of planting the bomb, and the details of Jewell from writing "epic police reports" for small incidents to wanting to investigate

"every incident" all continue the subjective analysis of Jewell's character that succeed in holding him up to ridicule.

Furthermore, an examination of Cleere's comments, as well as descriptions of his work, and comments from Piedmont College students who were reprimanded by Jewell show this subjectivity, lack concrete evidence that Jewell may have planted the bomb, and succeed only in further holding him up to the ridicule that often exists in the Scapegoat Myth. The report from Christy Oglesby and Maria Elena Fernandez on July 31 described Jewell through the comments of these students as being a "badge-wearing zealot" (1996, July 31). At no point are any of the comments from the students and from the administration at Piedmont College direct evidence that Jewell had anything to do with the bombing, and yet they succeed adding to coverage that ridicules the security guard and portrays him as a scapegoat.

Perhaps the most glaring example of coverage of Richard Jewell that holds him up to ridicule is the contribution from columnist Dave Kindred. Kindred's columns make light of Jewell's weight problem, point out that Jewell, a 33-year old man, lives with his mother in an apartment, and portrays him as a man who foolishly wants to be a part of a police force again (1996, July 31 and August 1). As previously discussed, the goal of an Opinion-Editorial column is to take a point of view in the news and defend it using fact and logic. Kindred's columns take the point of view that Jewell, formerly considered a hero, fits a pattern of guilt, and would look very foolish should he be convicted.

Deviating from Social Norms.

The third aspect of the Scapegoat Myth as examined in this project is the notion that the character is seen as deviating from social norms and is degraded because of this. An example of

this theme in the AJC coverage is the notion that Jewell was a "gun buff," an effort to make him appear on the fringe of society, and perhaps somewhat dangerous. Chick Ludwig's reference to Jewell's hobby comes from an unnamed "friend" in the story, which actually comes from an NBC Nightly News report (1996, August 1). The report, which also discusses the media's description of something referred to as the "hero syndrome," further serves to depict Jewell as fitting a profile, and adds to the AJC's background investigation that sets Jewell apart from the rest of society. The entire investigation of Jewell as potentially being a "gun buff" once again provides no evidence that he was involved with planting the bomb on July 27, and reports no development in the FBI investigation.

The very notions that Jewell could be an "overzealous" police officer or that he could be "on a power trip" adds to the story element that Jewell is deviating from normal society (1996, July 31)[27]. The investigation into his arrest in Dekalb County in 1990 for impersonating a police officer also adds to this idea. These portrayals of Jewell as fitting the profile of the lone bomber succeeded in the AJC only in making Jewell appear out of the ordinary. At the same time the coverage of Jewell's background was taking place on the pages of the AJC, none of the investigations by the FBI were uncovering evidence that the one-time hero guard was connected to the bombing.

As mentioned before, the idea that Jewell lives with his mother was mentioned in the press coverage by the AJC. Dave Kindred mentioned this in his column describing the "fallen hero" on August 1, and it was mentioned in the coverage four times in 48 articles. Each time this fact is mentioned, it adds to the story pattern of Jewell deviating from the standards of society.

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[27] The article referenced here is "Security guard had reputation as zealot," written by Oglesby and Fernandez, July 31. However, many of the early articles on Jewell in the AJC discuss the possibility that he was overly aggressive, or that he was perhaps a zealout.

Placing Blame on the Character

As examined in Chapter Five, Dave Kindred's columns on July 31 and August 1 succeeded in portraying Richard Jewell as being capable of committing the crime in question on July 27. The context and angle chosen by Kindred added to the story lines established by the news reporting, and further portrays Jewell as foolish or ridiculous. More specifically, Kindred helps to place blame on Jewell in the August 1 column by comparing the security guard to Wayne Williams, a serial killer found in Atlanta years earlier. The column portrayed Jewell as waiting outside his apartment while the FBI agents searched all of his belongings. While this scene was reported on 14 times in the AJC beginning with Kent E. Walker on July 31, Kindred took the story further by adding comparisons to a man who was found guilty of murder and is now on death row (1996, August 1). That Kindred was supported in his comparison by a reporter who had covered both events, further served to place blame on Jewell:

> Ken Hawkins remembers. A free-lance photographer who covered Williams and now works this story, he said, "Did you see the FBI take those little vacuum cleaners into Jewell's apartment? It's exactly what they did with Wayne Williams. And, like this one, there were at Williams' place all day" (1996, August 1).

The overall message from this text is that if the FBI just looks hard enough, they will find what they need to arrest Jewell. The fact that they are camped out at his apartment for several hours at a time indicates to the AJC reporters that they know something is there, it is just a matter of finding what they need.

The coverage of the stakeout at Jewell's apartment, an ongoing investigation by the FBI that featured the vigils from unmarked cars, the removal of many of Jewell's personal items by

agents, and the extensive search of Jewell's apartment, spanned more than a week in the pages of the AJC. The collective sum of the reporting on the FBI investigation creates a major news event and cements the image in the mind of the public that Jewell is hiding something, and that the FBI agents will find what he is hiding. This is the overall message of the coverage as reported in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. The elements of the Scapegoat Myth can all be added up during the one-month duration that is the focus of this project.

The New York Times Coverage

As discussed in Chapter Five of this project, the coverage of Richard Jewell by most major news outlets followed the breaking story by Scruggs and Martz in the AJC on July 30, 1996. This story was picked up initially as a national story because it happened during the Summer Olympic Games within the United States, and because nobody initially had any solid ideas with regard to who committed the crime. But when the Olympics ended, the coverage by media outlets outside of the Atlanta area[28] was dependent on major developments occurring in the FBI investigation. The first major development in the investigation was the revelation that Jewell had become a suspect, a fact that increased in newsworthiness because he appeared nationally as a hero who saved lives on July 27 during the bombing.

Because of these factors, the New York Times, like many other national news organizations concentrated on the story during the remainder of the Olympics. But from the start, the Times coverage de-emphasized the revealing of Jewell as a suspect much more than other news outlets. As previously discussed, the Times story on Jewell did not appear on Section

[28] For example, The New York Times.

A, Page One, "above the fold."[29] Kevin Sack's story on July 31 was printed on page 6 of Section B, a section devoted to "national news" (1996, July 31, "report of a hero-turned-suspect rivets attention in Atlanta, Sack). The fact that the Times chose to place the story on page 6 of the front section as opposed to page one, above the fold is significant. It didn't allow the hype of national news buzz to dictate its own editorial policies. The Times made the decision to write the story based on the reports coming from the investigation, and to include the fact that the AJC had led the news scoop, and had initially reported that Jewell was a suspect. While Sack's reporting, following the informational leads of the AJC story from the previous day, cited that Jewell was being investigated, the context was very different than that in the AJC. Sack's story put the focus immediately on media and news coverage of the Atlanta event, describing the effect of the story being run in the AJC. While the first story in the Times includes many of the same facts detailed in the AJC coverage, including the details about Jewell's experiences in Demorest, Georgia at Piedmont College, the main focus remained on the media coverage and on the overall FBI investigation.

With each story in the Times, in particular those reported by Kevin Sack, it is mentioned early in the article that Jewell had not been charged with a crime, and had not been placed under arrest. In fact, Frank Bruni's story on August 1, 1996, used the angle of ethics violations by the other news outlets covering the story (1996, August 1, "news reports' naming of bomb suspect raises ethics issue," Bruni). The fact that Jewell was named at all in a press report without actually being charged with a crime was the subject of the story. Bruni compared the responses to the story of the Poynter Institute for Media Studies with those of AJC assistant-metropolitan editor Rochelle Bozman and found major differences in philosophies. These differences found

[29] A story that appears above the fold on page one is visually the most prominent story in the

by Bruni also highlight the different philosophies for reporting the Jewell story as exhibited by the New York Times coverage and The AJC coverage.

Bozman used the fact that Jewell's name was already in the public realm, and that it would eventually get out that he was a suspect, as a reason to publish his name in the first report on July 30 (1996, August 1). On the other side of the issue, Jim Naughton, president of the Poynter Institute, was troubled by the notion of printing the name of a man who was not accused of a crime:

> "I'm from the old school: You don't accuse someone of a crime until you have pretty good reason to do so," Mr Naughton said. "I don't know that this guy did it, and we ought to be all troubled by that possibility" (1996, August 1).

This polar approach to the printing of Jewell's name, a man who was not charged in the bombing of Centennial Olympic Park, illustrates the differences in the approaches practiced by the two newspapers in this project. While the AJC chose to lead the nation in revealing that Jewell was a suspect, The New York Times chose much great caution, only explaining the situation involving Jewell in the context of the rest of the FBI investigation.

As mentioned previously, the focus on Richard Jewell as a newsworthy story nationally, decreased for the Times when the Olympics ended. Therefore, the other major difference between the AJC coverage and the Times coverage is the almost complete elimination by the Times of coverage of Jewell's background and work history. Some aspects of what the AJC reported is included in the Times Coverage. But by and large, the New York Times coverage is limited to discussion of the investigation by the FBI. If the FBI searched Jewell's apartment, this is included. If the FBI fingerprinted Jewell, this is included. Not once did the Times send

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paper.

reporters to Piedmont College in Demorest, Georgia to interview students Jewell had arrested. Not once did the Times discuss the details of Jewell's "lengthy" arrest reports at Piedmont College, or refer to him as "overzealous" other than in mentioning that he fit the FBI's profile of the "lone bomber."[30]

The Richard Jewell Case as a Lesson: What Not to Do

Because of the events of July 27, 1996, Richard Jewell had an opportunity to save lives. He moved dozens of people away from a pipe bomb that ultimately exploded at Centennial Olympic Park shortly after 1 AM, killing two people. His acts, thanks to the persistence of his employer AT&T, found a national audience. Jewell was hailed by the likes of Katie Couric on The Today Show as a hero. When Jewell's story was reversed because of advice to the FBI from his former employer at Piedmont College, his image as the hero, and his life were forever changed. Jewell became the source of intense media scrutiny, led by the revealing of his name in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution as a suspect in the bombing. The AJC story led to round-the-clock surveillance of Jewell's apartment by the media during his investigation, and to an examination into Jewell's background that created the image in the public's mind that Jewell fit a profile created by the FBI of a "lone bomber." Jewell was never ultimately charged with any crime, and was exonerated by the FBI at the conclusion of the investigation.

The coverage of the investigation by the AJC was both excessive and misleading. Media Studies groups such as the Poynter Institute concluded that the AJC coverage violated several journalistic principles of ethics, including the naming of a suspect in an investigation without an arrest or a formal charging. The overall picture created by the AJC coverage of Jewell was of a

[30] And this occurred because of the FBI officially naming Jewell as fitting a profile.

man who fit a profile and who had all the qualities of a guilty man. The story patterns in the reporting created the Scapegoat Myth as demonstrated through the character of Jewell. While intense media coverage is not unique to the Jewell investigation, the tactics used by the AJC and the resulting damage caused to an innocent man are unique. Jewell was established as the primary suspect by the AJC, despite reports from the FBI and other law enforcement agencies that he had nothing to do with the planting of the bomb.

In future media events, the Richard Jewell investigation should not be forgotten for several reasons. First, the AJC succeeded in portraying an innocent man as being potentially guilty through the use of story tactics that depicted Richard Jewell as the central character in the Scapegoat Myth. The sources for the initial story from Kathy Scruggs and Ron Martz were never named. If more attention had been paid to the details of the investigation, it is possible that this kind of situation would not have happened.

Second, reporters should be held to a higher degree of assuredness when revealing the name of a suspect who has not been arrested. The AJC used as an excuse to reveal Jewell's name, the simple fact that he was already known, and that somebody would find out eventually. Jewell was known because his employers pushed him into television interviews for his acts of heroism during the bombing. Aside from that, he was a private citizen, trying to earn a living in law enforcement. If legitimate news sources had used this same excuse , for example, during the coverage of the Kobe Bryant rape trial in 2004, it is possible that the name of Bryant's accuser would have been printed prior to the trial. As it stood, the accusers name was available on various internet sources. But adhering to journalistic ethics in this case meant that mainstream newspapers and broadcasting companies refrained from printing the name of a woman who could have potentially been the victim of a rape, pending the outcome of a trial.

Finally, mass media and the reporting of news is a competitive business. It is important to realize that all major newspapers and all major broadcasting companies compete with each other in major markets and locations for advertising dollars, and circulation money. Intense pressure exists for news outlets to "scoop" the competition and be the first to break a major story. But there should be an equal amount of pressure for the sources and the reporters to be accurate. It is useless to be the first reporter to break a story if the story turns out to be baseless. Richard Jewell was the suspect in an FBI investigation into the bombing of Centennial Olympic Park during the Atlanta Olympics. But he was never charged with the crime that officials now believe was committed by Eric Rudolph, who sits in jail today. Jewell was left to pick up the pieces of his private life and to attempt to earn a living again in his chosen profession, security and law enforcement. Thanks to the coverage provided by the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, this task was very difficult after July 30, 1996.

There are a number of reasons that other scholars researching journalism and social science would benefit from reading this study. First, the concept of myth in news reporting occurs, as Lule says, almost daily. This is a style of storytelling that uses archetypes to put the characters in the news into a global perspective. Sometimes, as evidenced by the case of Richard Jewell, myth allows the story to move past fact and into the realm of distortion. Second, if there is a public service responsibility of journalists, the coverage of an innocent man who appears to be guilty through the aide of the press is a clear example of journalism failing that public service. Third, this Spring, the actual bomber, Eric Rudolph, who was captured in rural North Carolina, confessed to the Atlanta Olympic Bombing. This revelation puts the story, and even Richard Jewell back in the news. Future examinations of Jewell and of his case against media organizations can benefit from the research begun here.

In future research, I would like to seek primary source information by conducting a series of interviews with the surviving principle journalists involved with the coverage of Richard Jewell at the Atlanta Journal and Constitution. Specifically, I would conduct interviews with Ron Martz, Maria Elena Fernandez and Kent E. Walker. I believe this would help to determine the extent to which reporting of the facts of a news story were influenced by the pressure to keep readers interested in a situation that began to lose interest as a valid news story. Kathy Scruggs, who was the lead reporter on the AJC's coverage of Richard Jewell, died in 2001 of a morphine overdose.[31]

Additionally, I would like to examine the existence of Master Myths in sports reporting, specifically of the Kobe Bryant rape trial in 2004, and of the overall nature of the coverage of professional athletes such as Terrell Owens. I believe this type of examination of sports coverage would serve to help improve the accuracy and fairness of the coverage of athletes in the mainstream media

[31] Scruggs' death after a long battle with depression and alcohol abuse is chronicled in Doug Monroe's story on Eric Rudolph in the April 27, 2005 issue of Creating Loafing Atlanta.

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APPENDIX A

The following is a chronological list of articles used in the analysis of the Richard Jewell coverage:

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution:

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