

Framing Terrorism: How the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* Portrayed Sami
Al-Arian in 2001

By

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“Malicious generalizations about Islam have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West; what is said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as a whole cannot now be said in the mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals, or Asians.”

—Edward Said

Abstract

This study examines the framing of Sami Al-Arian in 2001 by the local, mainstream Tampa Bay press, and compares this portrayal to the outcome of Al-Arian's 2005 trial. In the weeks after the 9/11 attacks, both the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* covered Al-Arian in a negative and stereotypical manner, in sharp contrast with the outcome of a 2005 trial that acquitted Al-Arian of the most serious charges of aiding known terrorists. The theoretical base of this paper is framing, stereotype, and the social construction of reality, and finds the way the press portrayed Al-Arian had a direct impact on the professor's life and career, despite never being found guilty.

Introduction

The first section of this chapter outlines the objectives and goals of this study. The second section of this chapter provides a brief history on Sami Al-Arian, the study's subject.

Central to framing theory is the idea the press helps individuals understand an increasingly complex world (Lippmann, 1922). The press organizes this complex world into manageable “strips of reality” (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Kuypers et al., 2001; Rachlin, 1998; Scheufele, 1999; Schutz, 1962 cited in Ryan, 2004, p. 363). This study examines the framing of Sami Al-Arian by two mainstream newspapers in Tampa Bay—the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Tampa Bay Times*¹—in the three months leading up to and following September 11, 2001. Al-Arian, a former University of South Florida professor, was a “controversial” figure after 9/11, when many accused him of having ties to terrorists. A textual analysis is used to show what words and phrases, metaphors, stock phrases, and frames each newspaper used while talking about Al-Arian, and what kind of portrayal the press created. For example, after 9/11, the *Tampa Tribune*, identified the Kuwaiti-born Al-Arian as a “Palestinian,” or a “Palestinian professor,”

¹ In 2001, the *Tampa Bay Times* was called the *St. Petersburg Times*. The name changed on January 1, 2012, and this study uses the current name of the paper.

while the *Tampa Bay Times* calls Al-Arian a “suspended professor” and “controversial figure.” Before 9/11, the *Tribune* included Al-Arian’s past, controversial statements in articles, such as “Death to Israel,” which Al-Arian said in Arabic at a conference in 1988, and again in 1990. During the time period studied, the *Tampa Bay Times* reprinted this controversial phrase as well. Newspaper coverage from 2001 was studied because two significant events that year revived public and press interest in Al-Arian: the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, and an interview Al-Arian gave on “The O’Reilly Factor.” Other significant events in 2001 include Al-Arian being put on paid leave the day after his Fox appearance due to angry phone calls, emails, and death threats. And, in December 2001, USF trustees voted to dismiss Al-Arian for disrupting the USF campus, safety concerns, and a significant drop in donations (Feller & Fechter, 2001).

The press coverage in 2001 influenced the public’s perception of Al-Arian as a terrorist supporter and sympathizer, even when, in 2005, Al-Arian was found not guilty of many of the counts against him. According to Gitlin (1980, 1994), news frames represent “persistent patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion that furnish a coherent interpretation and evaluation of events” (cited in Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003, p. 4). This study compares the 2001 press coverage to the outcome of Al-Arian’s trial, which found him not guilty on most counts, and a divided jury on the remainder of the charges.

Previous research finds press coverage of Muslims and Arab Americans changed after 9/11, with more Muslim and Arab sources included (as opposed to journalists and political experts commenting on Muslim and Middle East issues), and more stories on Muslim home life and religious customs as opposed to political leanings (Nacos &

Torres-Reyna, 2003). Another purpose of this study is to find if Al-Arian coverage reinforced the dominant post-9/11 frame, introduced by President Bush and promoted by the American press, which portrayed the attacks as a “Manichean battle of right versus wrong, morality versus immorality” (King & deYoung, 2008, p. 125). A central influence to this study is Edward Said, a Palestinian-American theorist who wrote “It is only a slight overstatement to say that Muslims and Arabs are essentially covered, discussed, and apprehended either as oil suppliers or potential terrorists” (Said, 1997, p. 28).

A brief history of Sami Al-Arian

Sami Al-Arian was born in Kuwait in 1958. Buckley (2002) provides an excellent summary of Al-Arian’s early years:

Al-Arian arrived at USF in 1985, by way of Kuwait and Egypt, Illinois and North Carolina.

He was born in Kuwait in January 1958, the son of Palestinian refugees. His parents had moved there a decade earlier, when the nation of Israel was born. Al-Arian says his mother's forebears trace their roots to Jerusalem, 1,400 years ago.

In Kuwait, Palestinians were officially labeled “foreign contracted labor,” which meant they could own no property or businesses, had few legal rights and could be expelled without warning.

Which is what happened to the Al-Arian family in 1966. Al-Arian says that when his father refused to become an informant for Kuwaiti intelligence, the government made him leave.

His family moved to Egypt, where neighbors thought he was wealthy. His dad ran a clothes and linens shop; the family lived in a two-bedroom apartment and owned a used Chrysler Plymouth. None of it mattered: They still couldn't be citizens.

In June 1967, when the Arab-Israeli war erupted, Gaza fell after three days. His grandmother, who around her neck still wore a key to the apartment she left behind 19 years earlier, was distraught. His father demanded near-silence in the apartment as he twirled the radio dial from station to station, desperate for news. For the first time, Al-Arian saw his father weep.

“It was like somebody had died in the house,” he says. “I realized that the Palestinian people were without power, without a voice.”

By 16, Al-Arian had a library of 1,500 books, and was reading Freud and Hemingway and Sartre. He spent hours discussing books and ideas with his best friend, Mazen Al-Najjar.

They dreamed of going to one of Egypt's top medical schools and thought their excellent grades would get them in. In fact, restrictions on how many Palestinians could enroll in these schools meant that Al-Arian and his friend had almost no chance.

Says Al-Arian: “The whole thing made me very, very angry.”

Instead of medicine, Al-Arian began studying engineering in Egypt, and, in 1975, moved to the United States to study at Southern Illinois University. Ten years later, he received a doctorate in computer engineering from North Carolina State University (Buckley, 2002). As a student during the 1980s, Al-Arian became a Palestinian activist. He

founded the Islamic Concern Project (ICP) in 1988, an umbrella group that included charities such as the Islamic Committee for Palestine. During the First Palestinian Intifada, or uprising, against Israel (1987-1993), the ICP raised money for Palestinian refugees, and held scholarly conferences. Al-Arian started teaching at USF's department of computer science in 1986. Over the next 15 years, he published 40 papers, was awarded more than \$1 million in research grants, and two teaching awards. In 1992, Al-Arian received tenure (McColm & Dorn, 2005). That year, he founded Temple Terrace's Islamic Academy of Florida, and served as an administrator for the school (Buckley, 2002). A passionate orator, some of Al-Arian's more controversial statements—such as “Death to Israel” were re-circulated by both the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times*. At an ICP conference in 1988, Al-Arian said, in Arabic:

God is One, Mohammed is our Leader, the Quran is our Constitution.
Struggling in the cause of God is our way. Victory to Islam, death to
Israel. Revolution, revolution until victory. March, march towards
Jerusalem. There is no deity but God. Mohammed is the messenger of
God. God is great. Victory to Islam. (Buckley, 2002)

At a 1991 speech, Al-Arian said “God cursed those who are the sons of Israel, through David and Jesus, the son of Mary ... Those people, God made monkeys and pigs.” And, at a Cleveland rally in 1991, Al-Arian said “Let us damn America, let us damn Israel, let us damn them and their allies until death” (Buckley, 2002). Al-Arian has defended his now-infamous statements, explaining he meant death to the Israeli occupation, not Israelis (Buckley, 2002). In 2002, Al-Arian said the following on a WMNF radio show:

Death to Israel, to us, it's like when President Reagan said, called the

Soviet Union the Evil Empire. What did he mean? Did he mean that every single Russian is an evil person? Of course not! He was talking about the system that was running the Soviet Union ...

And “Death to Israel” in Arabic, given to an Arabic group, they understand what it means. It’s death to the occupation, death to the system that has been chasing the Palestinians and making them dispossessed for over half a century, a policy of complete, complete dismantlement of their institutions ...

Morally, religiously, Islam is against the killing of any civilian, of any mother, of any father, of any ethnicity, and I do not support, you know, Palestinians being killed by the Israeli army. (Buckley, 2002)

Al-Arian created the World Islam Study Enterprise (WISE) in 1991. The think tank held several conferences and published journals before it folded in 1995. USF began partnering with WISE in 1992 as a way to expand university interest and expertise in Middle Eastern studies. Motivations include Tampa Bay’s rising Muslim population—estimated at 20,000 in 2001— and the first Gulf War command center at Tampa’s MacDill Air Force Base (McColm & Dorn, 2005). The U.S. government said WISE and ICP conferences were attended by known terrorists such as Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, who was convicted of organizing the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and Sheik Abdul Aziz Odeh, an Islamic Jihad leader. WISE also sponsored a talk by Hassan Turabi, a Sudanese scholar and politician many consider a terrorist (Buckley, 2002). Al- Arian, a permanent legal resident, applied to become a United States citizen in December 1993. In 1994, Al-Arian learned he passed the examination, but was never called for his swearing-in ceremony. Al-Arian sued

the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1995 for never being sworn in (Silverstrini, 2005).

Steven Emerson reported and produced a documentary shown on PBS in 1994 that identified Al-Arian as a leading U.S. fundraiser for Islamic terrorism. The documentary, “Terrorism Among Us: Jihad in America,” made many suspicious of Al-Arian’s Palestinian charities, and led to investigations by both the FBI and USF (Brink, 2001). In 1995—after the “Jihad in America” broadcast and the *Tampa Tribune*’s investigative series on Al-Arian, “Ties to Terrorists”—USF President Betty Castor suspended the university’s relationship with WISE. Castor hired William Reece Smith, an attorney, to investigate the USF-WISE relationship. Al-Arian was put on paid leave for two years during the investigation, which found no wrongdoing (Smith, 2006). The same year, former USF adjunct faculty member and WISE associate Ramadan Abdullah Shallah left the United States for the Middle East, and became head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. In November, the FBI seized documents from Al-Arian’s home and office, but never followed up with USF on results of the investigation. By 1998, Al- Arian was teaching again (McColm & Dorn, 2005). In 1997, Al-Arian’s brother- in-law, Mazen Al-Najjar, was jailed on secret evidence. Al-Najjar was involved with WISE and ICP, and the government accused him of courting known terrorists to attend talks in Tampa (Buckley, 2002). Al-Najjar was released in 2000, re-arrested on immigration charges in 2001, and deported to Lebanon in 2002 (Martin, 2003).

Leading up to the 2000 presidential election, six Muslim and Arab groups in the United States endorsed Republican candidate George W. Bush. During a debate, Bush said he opposed the use of classified evidence against individuals. Al-Arian, along with his wife and five children, posed for a photo with the candidate and Laura Bush during the March 2000

Plant City Strawberry Festival; the photo was re-printed by the press in 2003 after Al-Arian's arrest (Jacoby, 2003). Estimates found 20,000 Muslims in Florida voted for Bush in 2000 (Ashoff, 2001).

After September 11, 2001, Al-Arian was quoted in multiple articles in local papers as an Islamic leader and authority on the religion. Explaining Islam as a peaceful religion, Al-Arian spoke at prayer meetings and press conferences, and urged Americans to be tolerant and compassionate of their Muslim neighbors. Al-Arian's life changed a few weeks after 9/11, when he was interviewed on "The O'Reilly Factor," a Fox News Network talk show. On September 25, 2001, the day before the interview, Al-Arian spoke to an O'Reilly Factor producer, who asked him questions about the Muslim community after 9/11, past accusations of organizations he ran, and if he knew any of the 9/11 hijackers, who once lived in Florida (Buckley, 2002). The producer told Al-Arian he would speak with O'Reilly, but, given the five minute long segment, would only speak on the Muslim response to 9/11.

Instead, O'Reilly "grilled" Al-Arian on his alleged ties to the PIJ leader Shallah, and his past criticism of Israel. O'Reilly said:

All right. So now what we have here is you saying death to Israel. You're bringing a guy over here who gets paid by the good citizens of Florida and then goes back and becomes one of the lieutenants or generals of the Islamic Jihad, but you don't know nothing about it. Another guy sets up an interview with Osama bin Laden for ABC, and you don't know anything about that.

You know, Doctor, it looks to me like there's something wrong down there at the University of South Florida. Am I getting—am I getting

the wrong impression here? (“Transcript: O’Reilly Interviews Al-Arian in September 2001”)

According to Buckley (2002):

Al-Arian arrived at WEDU’s studios at 6 p.m. and fell into a chair. He didn’t even have time for makeup. O’Reilly, speaking into his earphone from Fox studios in New York, pounced immediately: Why had he called for “Death to Israel?” Why had Al-Arian given terrorists a platform? How could he not have known that one of his associates would go off to head the Palestine Islamic Jihad?

The interview ended with this exchange:

Al-Arian: “We’ve been—been looked at, and a judge—a judge has said that we are not a threat to national security.”

O’Reilly: “All right.”

Al-Arian: “Even the government itself said we’re not.”

O’Reilly: “Okay. All right, Doctor. I’d still shadow you. I’d go to Denny’s with you, and I’d go everywhere you went. We appreciate you coming on.”

Many agree Al-Arian did not make a convincing argument of his innocence, and, to an “anxious nation” nation recovering from the shock of 9/11 (Feller, 2001), the interview soon became a scandal. When Al-Arian returned to his home on the evening of September 26, he had a threatening message on his answering machine. USF’s College of Engineering received a death threat intended for Al-Arian the following afternoon. The threat closed the engineering building that day, and USF put Al-Arian on indefinite paid leave. USF President

Judy Genshaft maintained Al-Arian's suspension was not about "free speech" but "safety and disruption" on campus (Buckley, 2002). USF trustees recommended Al-Arian's dismissal in December 2001, and Genshaft sent Al-Arian a letter of intent to terminate the same day. Reasons for termination included Al-Arian not explicitly stating he was expressing his own views—and not the university's—during his Fox appearance, campus disruption and security concerns, a decrease in donations, and Al-Arian visiting the campus during his suspension though he had been told not to. In an emergency meeting held on January 9, 2002, the majority of the faculty senate voted against firing Al-Arian. Genshaft delayed Al-Arian's termination until August, when USF filed a lawsuit asking a court if it would object to USF firing Al-Arian (McColm & Dorn, 2005). In December 2002, a U.S. District Judge dismissed the case, saying the court does not give advice (Brink & Kumar, 2002). On February 20, 2003, Al-Arian was arrested, and the university fired him six days later. Al-Arian was indicted on 53 counts of terrorism for allegedly supporting the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, along with three co-defendants: Sameeh Hammoudeh, Hatim Naji Fariz and Ghassan Zayed (Silverstrini, 2005). In a June 2005 article, "Indictment Details Paper Trail," Silverstrini wrote:

They are accused in a 53-count indictment of helping organize and finance the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, one of the most violent terrorist organizations in the Middle East. Prosecutors say they served as the communications arm for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, spreading the word and raising money, fueling the cycle of suicide bombings.

The charges contrast with Al-Arian's public image. His advocacy for civil liberties and Palestinian causes earned him a national reputation as a human rights defender and a voice for understanding between

cultures. He was welcomed into the halls of Congress, briefed at the White House and photographed with presidents.

He campaigned for the election of George W. Bush and took credit for swinging enough votes in Florida to tip the balance in the 2000 election.

The entire time U.S. intelligence investigators were secretly monitoring Al-Arian's phone conversations.

If the indictment is to be believed, Al-Arian led two lives. It will be up to jurors to determine whether Al-Arian's public face was, as prosecutors contend, just part of the deception, or whether the charges represent, as Al-Arian claims, the persecution of a Muslim who champions views that differ from the U.S. government's.

According to Cockburn (2007), the trial was "instigated" by Attorney General John Ashcroft," whom Al-Arian referred to as "J. Edgar Ashcroft" in public speeches and opinion pieces. Ashcroft announced the indictment via a live press conference broadcast by CNN (Boehlert, 2005). Al-Arian was jailed in solitary confinement until the trial started (Cockburn, 2007). The trial was held in Tampa, with U.S. District Judge James Moody presiding. The prosecution spent five months presenting a large volume of evidence to the jury, including 80 witnesses, thousands of pages of printed evidence, and long excerpts of thousands of hours of recorded phone calls the government had collected since 1993 (Gerstein, 2005). More than 20 witnesses from Israel testified on Palestinian Jihad bombings, and other terrorist attacks (Gerstein, 2005). Judge Moody, however, did not allow the defense to mention the Israeli occupation nor treatment of the Palestinians (Cockburn, 2007). The defense did not call any

witnesses (Boehlert, 2005), citing the First Amendment (Fechter, Silverstrini, & Savino, 2005), and Al-Arian did not testify. Jurors deliberated for 13 days (Gerstein, 2005), ultimately moving to acquit Al-Arian on eight of the most serious counts, including conspiracy to commit murder, money laundering, and obstructing justice, and remained divided on nine other charges (Fechter, Silverstrini, & Savino, 2005). According to the *Tampa Bay Times*, after the trial, “Most jurors wanted to acquit Sami Al-Arian of the dozens of charges against him. Two jurors, and sometimes three, clung to their belief of his guilt” (Boehlert, 2005). According to Boehlert (2005), the trial’s outcome was covered significantly less than the 2003 indictment:

When then-Attorney General John Ashcroft personally announced the Al-Arian indictment on Feb. 20, 2003, in a press conference carried live on CNN (Ashcroft tagged Al-Arian the North American leader of Palestinian Islamic Jihad), the story garnered a wave of excited media attention. ABC’s “World News Tonight” led that night’s newscast with the Al Arian arrest. Both NBC and CBS also gave the story prominent play that evening. But last night, in the wake of Al-Arian’s acquittal, it was a different story. Neither ABC, CBS, nor NBC led with the terror case on their evening newscasts. None of them slotted it second or third either. In fact, according to TVEyes, the 24-hour monitor system, none of networks reported the acquittal *at all* ...

The story at least received cursory coverage on the cable news channels. CNN’s Wolf Blitzer correctly called the verdict “stunning.” Over at Fox News, which has been shadowing Al Arian for four years,

they put on a brave face. Bill O'Reilly looked glum talking to fellow Al-Arian-hater Steve Emerson, who has spent more than ten years telling anyone who would listen that Al-Arian is a criminal mastermind.

Al-Arian accepted a plea deal in May 2006, and pled guilty to one count of “helping associates of a terrorist group in the occupied territories of Israel with immigration matters” (Laughlin, 2009). The sixth section of the plea deal would become significant in the years to come, and stated:

If the Court accepts this plea agreement, the United States’ office for the Middle District of Florida and the Counterterrorism Section of the United States Department of Justice agree not to charge defendant with committing any other federal criminal offenses known to the United States Attorney’s Office or the Counterterrorism Section at the time of the execution of the agreement, related to the conduct giving rise to this plea agreement. (“United states of” 2006)

The government did accept the plea, and recommended Al-Arian receive the lightest permissible sentence, but on May 1, 2006, Moody imposed the maximum—11 additional months in prison and a deportation scheduled for 2007 (Cockburn, 2007). In October 2006, Virginia prosecutor Gordon Kromberg subpoenaed Al-Arian to testify in a grand jury investigation of a Muslim think tank. But Al-Arian refused, saying the subpoena violated his plea deal because prosecutors agreed that he would not have to testify again. Moody, however, ruled in favor of his transfer to Virginia because “the plea deal didn’t spell out that he didn’t have to testify” (Laughlin, 2009). An appellate panel and Virginia judge also disagreed with Al-Arian (Laughlin, 2009). On November 16, 2006, Al-Arian was held in contempt of court

for refusing to testify. Al-Arian went on a hunger strike in early 2007 to protest inhumane treatment in prison, which included “23- hour lockdown, in a roach and rat infested environment” (Cockburn, 2007). In September 2008, after nearly eight years in prison, Al-Arian was released on \$340,000 bail in Alexandria, Virginia (Laughlin, 2009). Al-Arian still faces contempt charges, but the case has been “postponed indefinitely so that the U.S. Supreme Court could consider the case” (Laughlin, 2008). Al-Arian remains under house arrest, and wears an ankle bracelet (Laughlin, 2008). Al-Arian’s daughter wrote a June 2012 essay, “When Your Father is Accused of Terrorism,” that was printed in *The Nation* and confirmed Al-Arian is still under house arrest.

Problem Statement

Press interest in Sami Al-Arian's potential links to known terrorists was re-ignited after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the professor's interview on the Fox News talk show "The O'Reilly Factor." According to Buckley (2002), "O'Reilly's audience saw thousands of pages of court documents and seven years of legal controversy truncated into a 991-word interview." This study will examine the similarities and differences in how the two mainstream newspapers in Al-Arian's hometown covered the developments. The study looks at all newspaper articles on Al-Arian in the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* printed between June 2011 through December 2011—three months before, and three months after 9/11. The press can help organize the news into a more manageable way for readers to understand the complex world around them. Newspapers are certainly not the only way people get their news, but print media was chosen for this study because it leaves more of a "paper trail" on the Internet than television. It is worth noting that in 2001, more people might have gotten their news from physical newspapers than in 2012, since social media was not yet developed.

The purpose of this study is not to determine if Al-Arian was helping raise money for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, but the differences in press portrayal before and after 9/11, as the terrorist attacks re-ignited public interest (and fear) in domestic terrorism and the might-be terrorists living among us. The words and phrases used by the two newspapers to portray Al-

Arian in 2001 will be compared to the outcome of Al-Arian's 2005 trial, which did not convict him of terrorist activity. Social construction of reality suggests that the press can create reality through what they report, and through repetition, might convince readers that a man accused of terrorism is in fact a terrorist—at least in their own understanding of reality. These accusations, myths, rumors, and representations matter, especially because Al-Arian would eventually be put on trial for terrorism. A study on the different portrayals of Al-Arian by two newspapers contributes to the idea the press reinforces stereotypes.

Finally, this study will fill a research void. There are no existing academic studies on Al-Arian press coverage, and only one doctoral thesis listed in the USF database mentions Al-Arian. Because Al-Arian was a tenured faculty member at USF, and because his story continues to draw national attention and criticism nearly 10 years after his acquittal, the case is well worth further examination and study.

Research Questions and Objectives

RQ 1: How did the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* cover Al-Arian in the three months leading up to 9/11 and the three months following 9/11?

- How is Al-Arian identified?
- Context: did the articles mention the World Islam Study Enterprise (WISE), the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Islamic Committee for Palestine/Islamic Concern Project (ICP); Mazen Al-Najjar, Tariq Hamdi, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, Osama bin Laden?
- Did the article say Al-Arian was never charged with a crime?
- What words, metaphors, Islamic terms, and stock phrases are used?

RQ 2: How did the Al-Arian coverage by the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* compare to the outcome of Al-Arian's 2005 trial?

Literature Review

The first section of this chapter defines framing theory and explains how the press helps individuals construct their own social realities. The second section examines the dominant post-9/11 frame promoted by President George W. Bush on the evening of the terrorism attacks, and explores common words, imagery, and metaphor world leaders and the press used when talking about terrorism. The third section discusses press coverage of Muslim Americans and Arab Americans before and after 9/11. The final section defines Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, and includes Jack Shaheen's "reel bad Arabs" theory on how consistent, negative film portrayal can influence real-life prejudices.

Framing

In his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, media theorist Walter Lippmann doubted individuals can make sense of the increasingly complex world around them (Williams, 2003). Lippmann wrote most of what people know about the world comes from second hand sources, such as the press (Nacos & Torres- Reyna, 2003).

Lippmann argued that people could not learn enough from the media to help them understand what is happening. They were, in his opinion, psychological and social barriers, including the problems of stereotyping, self-interest, censorship, and privacy, which prevent people from developing informed and accurate pictures in their heads ... (Williams, 2003, p. 31)

Framing helps a newspaper reader—or any type of media consumer— understand the immediate world by organizing events and other happenings into “strips of reality” (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Kuypers et al., 2001; Rachlin, 1988; Scheufele, 1999, Schutz, 1962 cited in Ryan, 2004, p. 363). Individuals construct frames by organizing new pieces of information in existing frames. These frames are often influenced by one’s education, prejudices, life experience, religious, and moral values, as well as the press. From these frames, an individual constructs social reality (Ryan, 2004).

Media frames provide the information and context to help individuals craft this reality (Ryan, 2004). News frames represent “persistent patterns of selection, emphasis and exclusion that furnish a coherent interpretation and evaluation of events” (Gitlin 1980, 1994, cited in Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003, p. 4). The press relies on existing frames to cover new events and issues, which means new developments are often covered in a way past, similar events were covered. Conventional media frames give meaning to events, provide context, and assigns order to complex problems by placing the newsworthy occurrence into a familiar category or storyline (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003). News frames use “key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images” when interpreting developments, and unconsciously promote some information, images, and pieces of information over others (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003, p. 10-11). Politicians and institutions recognize the media’s power to influence audiences, and compete for the media’s attention; research shows officials and professionals have an “advantage in this struggle because the media often privilege their symbolic narratives, in part because journalists so frequently use them as sources” (Koch, 1990, cited in Ryan, 2004, p. 365). By defining problems, the press often makes judgments and offers solutions. According to Gamson (1992), “those who frame issues must diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe” (cited in

Ryan, 2004, p. 364). Entman (1993) wrote frames “define problems ... diagnose causes ... make moral judgments ... and suggest remedies” (cited in Ryan, 2004, p. 365). Newswriting is thematic, with stories using plot devices and character developments.

Modern day news flows out of gigantic organizations, but it remains, as it always has been, human-created, more than the recording of the day’s events, but a human expression of hopes, fears, dreams, nightmares, successes, failures and many forms of human activity and inactivity ... *the result of human-created news is human created expression.*

(Dardenne, 1990, p. 1, emphasis added)

Post 9/11 Frame

Edward Said (1997) wrote Islam has replaced Communism as the “foreign devil” America ought to fear and fight against. The 9/11 terrorist attacks solidified this shift from Cold War paranoia to the “war on terror”—which defined friends and enemies of the United States (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003). Terrorism as a media frame helps construct reality (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003). President George W. Bush introduced the dominant post-9/11 frame in a televised speech the evening of 9/11 (King & deYoung, 2008). Frame characteristics include calling the attacks “evil, despicable acts of terror,” and explaining Americans were hated and targeted because of their “freedom and opportunity” (King & deYoung, 2008, p. 124). Bush used “evil” five times in his first statement describing the attacks, “repeatedly portraying the conflict as a war between good and evil which the United States was going to “eradicate evil from the world” and “smoke out and pursue evil doers, those barbaric people” (Kellner 2002, p. 144). The Bush administration promoted a dualistic fight, using “cowboy metaphors, calling for Osama bin Laden ‘dead or alive’” (Kellner, 2002,

p. 144). In an address to Congress on September 20, 2001, Bush said “Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” (cited in Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003, p. 15). This dualistic framing left little gray area. King and deYoung call the frame a “melodramatic ... Manichean battle of right versus wrong, morality versus immorality” (King & deYoung, 2008, p. 125).

What was not noted was that the dominant right-wing and Bush administration discourses, like those of bin Laden and radical Islamists, are fundamentally Manichean, positing a binary opposition between good and evil, us and them, civilization and barbarism. It is assumed by both sides that “we” are the good and the “other” is wicked, an assertion that Bush made in his incessant assurance that the “evildoers” of the “evil deeds” will be punished and that the “evil one” will be brought to justice, implicitly equating bin Laden with Satan himself. (Kellner, 2002, p. 142)

Kellner explains Islamic extremists use a Manichean approach as well, and do not distinguish between the American government, people, policies, or institutions (Kellner, 2002). Islamic terrorists fights against “American evil,” and “the monstrosity of the actions of killing innocent civilians shows the horrific consequences of totally dehumanizing an ‘enemy’ deemed so evil that even innocent members of the group in question deserve to be exterminated” (Kellner, 2002, p. 146). In a 2004 study, “Framing the war against terrorism,” Michael Ryan examined editorials from the top 10 American newspapers from September 12, 2001, to October, 7, 2001 (the first day of American military action in Afghanistan), and found war was promoted as the inevitable means to end terrorism. In the 104 editorials examined, not one writer argued against military action in Afghanistan, nor

offered an alternative. Criticism of the war was outside the media's frame (Ryan, 2004). Past terrorism attacks, such as the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the Oklahoma City bombing, and attacks on U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were treated as "criminal investigations" (Ryan, 2004, p. 363). Declaring war against an idea—terrorism—and not a nation was "risky," and created a "new kind of war" (Ryan, 2004, p. 364). Past wars have identified sides and have a clear narrative, but in the war on terror, we're unsure of whom the enemy is, and how we can fight against it (Steuter & Wills, 2010). Bush, with the help of sympathetic world leaders, created a strong narrative that framed the East and West as "polar opposites" (Ryan, 2004, p. 379).

Demonized in 71 editorials, Mr. bin Laden was corrupt, murderous, ruthless, cowardly, and hated, and Mr. Bush was brave and beloved. Terms such as "patriotic," "heroic," "tolerant," and "generous" were used to describe Americans and their allies (adding somewhat later the "good" Arabs). Such codes as "cowardly," "vicious," "jealous," and "extremist" were used to describe everyone else. (Ryan, 2004, p. 376)

In "The vermin have struck again," Steuter and Wills (2010) examine the Western media's tendency to use "dehumanizing metaphor" when talking about the enemy. These metaphors often describe terrorists as animals or diseases, and the press mirrors the military's subjective and dehumanizing imagery of the enemy as "infestation, cancer, corruption, and spreading decay" (Steuter & Wills, 2010, p. 153). Language is very important during war and periods of conflict, but "has little to do with disseminating information" (Steuter & Wills, 2010, pp. 152-153). Enemy-construction theorists, including Philip Knightly (1975), Edward Said (1997), and Debra Merskin (2004), have written:

Language is not reality but construct, something conditioned and assembled, put together from fragments of information and observation and shaped by the contexts of their assembly. Therefore, through the metaphors we choose and reiterate, we “make” enemies. History offers many fertile examples of how enemies are made into the Other, dragged symbolically backwards down the evolutionary ladder until they are no longer seen as human, but an insect or animal, germ or disease. This dehumanization fuels the kind of prisoner abuse documented at Abu Ghraib, furthers the cycles of offense and retaliation, and binds the imagination into adversarial patterns that work against the creativity required to break free of the cyclical violence central to the perpetuation of the war on terror. (Steuter & Wills, 2010, p. 153)

Metaphor, while helping the reader understand events, can also “distort what is perceived” (Steuter & Wills, 2010, p. 164). Common enemy metaphors and themes used by the press covering the war on terror include hunting, terrorist hideouts as animal habitats, beasts, vermin, weasels, snakes (especially vipers), spiders, cockroaches—as well as viruses and cancers that must be totally eradicated (Steuter & Wills, 2010). Public figures use these enemy metaphors, too—former French President Nicholas Sarkozy has called Muslims immigrants “scum” and “gangrene,” *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd has referred to terrorists as “cockroaches (Steuter & Wills, 2010). In the days following the 9/11 attacks, Middle East Forum Director Daniel Pipes wrote about “sudden jihad syndrome”—the potential for all “Islamists” to be “killers” (Pipes, 2006).

In “Imag(in)ing September 11,” King and deYoung examine the consequences of challenging a dominant frame. Ward Churchill’s essay, “Some people push back,” was written shortly after 9/11 but re-discovered in 2005 (cited in King & deYoung, 2008). Churchill wrote “what we [America] have done” is the reason for the terrorist attacks, not “who we are” as a nation (Churchill, 2003). The essay was “distilled” down to a soundbite—with Churchill calling the “technocrats” who worked at the World Trade Center “little Eichmanns” (King & deYoung, 2008) By opposing the mainstream frame, Churchill was viewed as a “bigoted terrorist supporter”—many called for Churchill’s firing, and eventually all aspects of his personal and professional life were scrutinized—even the authenticity of his Native American heritage (King & deYoung, 2008).

Reactions of moral outrage also contained expressions of anger and disgust directed toward the University of Colorado for elevating Churchill to the ranks of the faculty. The university was roundly castigated in several *Post* news and op-ed pieces for failing to follow its own procedures and standards in hiring and promoting Churchill, for repeatedly ignoring complaints about his behavior and scholarship, and for ignoring his counterframing Internet essay for three years. (King & deYoung, 2008, p. 131)

Looking for a reason to fire him, the University of Colorado carefully reviewed Churchill’s articles and speeches (King & deYoung, 2008).

Muslims in the News Before and After 9/11

Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003) discuss the framing of Muslim Americans before and after September 11, 2001. Citing Iyengar (1991), the authors wrote terrorism coverage in the

1980s was event-driven and narrow, not all-encompassing (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2003). These narrow stories hold individuals accountable, while thematic stories blame society and public policy. Research on African American press portrayal is useful to understanding how minority groups are covered, and researchers found the press “highlight the extraordinary at the expense of what is routine of everyday life” (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2003, p. 136), leading non-African-Americans—especially whites—to think of the group as a stereotype.

Before 9/11, Nacos and Torres-Reyna found journalists often served as sources for commenting on Muslim and Arab events; after 9/11, more Muslim American voices were included in news stories. Post-9/11 news articles on Muslims were more positive in the year leading up to 9/11, and these articles frequently discussed the home lives and religious customs of Muslim Americans—not their political views (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2003). Nacos and Torres-Reyna conclude the 9/11 attacks changed the way the American press reported on Muslim and Arab American affairs, shifting from stereotypical to more comprehensive coverage. More stories in formats including analyses, letter to the editor, and columns, were written on Muslim and Arab Americans and given prominent placement.

Edward Said’s “Orientalism,” Shaheen’s “Reel Bad Arabs”

I am not saying that Muslims have not attacked and injured Israelis and Westerners in the name of Islam. But I am saying that much of what one reads and sees in the media about Islam represents the aggression as coming from Islam because that is what “Islam” is. Local and concrete circumstances are thus obliterated. In other words, covering Islam is a one-sided activity that obscures what “we” do, and highlights instead what Muslims and Arabs by their very flawed nature are. (Said, 1997, p.

xxii)

I am not saying an Arab should never be portrayed as the villain. What I am saying is that almost all Hollywood depictions of Arabs are bad ones. (Shaheen, 2003 p. 176)

Edward Said's theory of "Orientalism" comes from his 1978 book of the same name. In his 1997 book, *Covering Islam*, Said wrote, "It is only a slight overstatement to say that Muslims and Arabs are essentially covered, discussed, and apprehended either as oil suppliers or potential terrorists" (Said, 1997, p. 28). According to Said, "human density" was missing from portrayals and reporting of Arab and Muslim life, and these "crude, essentialized caricatures ... make that world vulnerable to military aggression" (Said, 1980). And, in *Covering Islam*, Said writes "Islam" is a superficial term, part-fictional, all-encompassing and created by the West to use when talking about the Muslim religion, Arabs, Persians, Middle Eastern countries, fundamentalists, and terrorists. "Islam" is used as a "form of attack"; the press use "Islam" and "fundamentalism" interchangeably, leading readers to believe the two are the same thing. There are more than two billion Muslims worldwide (Jones, 2011), and, according to Said (1997), no label ought to speak for such a large and widespread community. Only 12 percent of the world's Muslim population is Arab, and, in terms of geography, the Arab world is one and a half times larger than the United States (Shaheen, 2003). Said is critical of those reporters and academics that cover the Islamic world but cannot speak Arabic, Persian, or other Middle Eastern language. The press has a dangerous practice of using centuries-old religious history to explain present phenomena. Individuals, societies and cultures are too complex for declarations such as the

“Shi’a penchant for martyrdom” or the “Persian proclivity” (Said, 1997, p.ii, lxvii). Said attributes some of the inherent fear and distrust of Islam to the history of Muslim and Arab conflicts; unlike India and China, the Islamic world never “submitted completely to the West.” (Said, 1997, p. 5). Negative views of Islam exist because governments, the media and other powerful institutions embrace them—negative stories on Islam are far more frequent than actual terrorist attacks and uprisings (Said, 1997).

Jack Shaheen has analyzed more than 900 Hollywood films with Arab/Muslim characters, and found the film industry promotes similar stereotypes today—the “insidious ... Arab”—as a century ago (Shaheen, 2003, p. 172). These films use repetition as a “teaching tool,” and Shaheen asks the reader to consider how this “defamation” and continued use of negative Arab/Muslim stereotype affects “honest discourse and public policy” (Shaheen, 2003, p. 173). Shaheen argues if 62 percent of Americans have never met a Muslim, these “fictional narratives matter” and “have the capacity to alter reality” (Shaheen, 2012)

Because Hollywood has a global reach, viewers around the world see films that reinforce Arab/Muslim myth and stereotypes. A cause and effect relationship exists between media and real-life: in the aftermath of the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City, Arabs were initially blamed for the terror attack, and more than 300 hate crimes resulted (Shaheen, 2003, pp. 174-175). Shaheen found the villain as a popular and reoccurring character in films with Muslim or Arab characters. These Arab villains often abduct, rape, or kill fair-skinned Western women; are depicted as savage and inhumane; and called “swine,” “dogs,” and “monkeys” (Shaheen, 2003).

In the 2000 film *Rules of Engagement*, Shaheen describes a scene with American

troops firing and killing Yemeni men, women and children—and writes no World War I, II or Korean War films have depicted the “slaughter” of children. American audiences reportedly gave the scene a standing ovation:

Some viewers applaud marines gunning down Arabs in war dramas not necessarily because of cultural insensitivity, but because for more than 100 years Hollywood has singled out the Arab as our enemy. Over a period of time, a steady stream of bigoted images does, in fact, tarnish our judgment of a people and their culture (Shaheen, 2003, p. 177).

To learn about Palestinians through Hollywood films—most made in the 1980s and 1990s—is “both dangerous and misleading” (Shaheen, 2003, p. 186). Palestinians are portrayed as “normal”—not “innocent victims and Israelis as brutal oppressors”; refugee camps are neither seen nor discussed (Shaheen, 2003, p. 186). Shaheen concludes Hollywood filmmakers do not know what they are doing, or know exactly what they are doing when it comes to disseminating negative Arab stereotypes. Over the past 30 years, Hollywood stereotypes for most racial and ethnic groups has decreased, while Arab stereotypes have increased in number—likely due to the 1991 Gulf War and the 1993 World Trade Center bombing (Shaheen, 2003). Both lead “some Americans to believe all Arabs are terrorists and do not value human life as much as we do.” Shaheen suggests Americans thought of Arabs as “clones” of Hussein and bin Laden (Shaheen, 2003, p. 189). Five percent of the 900 films analyzed did not include a negative Arab villain, which “debunk[ed] stale images” and “humaniz[ed] Arabs” (Shaheen, 2003, p. 192). Muslim representation has changed since 9/11, with Muslim characters becoming the “chief bogeys of our most paranoid fantasies” (Shaheen,

2012). Americans are paranoid-prone, and perhaps most fearful that terrorists are not living overseas but among us (Shaheen, 2012). Shaheen writes television shows such as 24 and NCIS perpetuate the Arab-as-terrorist myth, making the “profiling, imprisonment, extradition, torture, and even death of these one-dimensional characters more palatable.” Smear campaigns launched by Limbaugh, Beck, Emerson, and Pipes reinforce the myth mainstream Muslim have extremist ties (Shaheen, 2012).

Methodology

This study examines the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times*' news coverage of Sami Al-Arian in the three months leading up to September 11, 2001, and the three months following 9/11. A combination of historical and textual analyses was used to determine the different ways the local press portrayed Al-Arian before and after the terrorist attacks, since Al-Arian was a public figure accused of terrorist ties long before 2001. Attention was paid to the use of word choice, metaphor, and imagery. Then, this press portrayal was compared to the outcome of Al-Arian's 2005 trial.

The *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* were chosen because they were the two largest, local papers serving Tampa Bay in 2001. Al-Arian had a past, contentious relationship with the *Tampa Tribune*, and refused to speak with the reporters from the paper after Al-Najjar's 2001 arrest, calling their coverage "fascist" (Meadows, 2001). The *Tampa Bay Times* printed 29 articles on Al-Arian during the period studied, and the *Tampa Tribune* printed 23 articles. The articles were gathered by searching "Sami Al-Arian" on the Lexis Nexis and News Bank databases.

Any duplicate articles, such as from a different paper edition, were counted and analyzed a single time. One article listing the sale of Al-Arian's house was not included. This study examined news articles only, and it is worth mentioning both the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* printed multiple editorials, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor during this period, with varying degrees of support for the USF professor (or USF President Judy

Genshaft). The *Tampa Tribune* also printed editorials from Al-Arian (“Al-Arian: Media McCarthyism,” October 7, 2001) and Genshaft (“Controversy demands that university balance freedom and security,” October 14, 2001).

It is possible another researcher might find different themes and conclusions when reading these articles, which is why the text analysis counted certain words and phrases, to use number figures to back up the thematic findings. To establish consistency, the researcher asked the same set of questions of every article:

RQ 1: How did the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* cover Al-Arian in the three months leading up to 9/11 and the three months following 9/11?

- How is Al-Arian identified?
- Context: did the articles mention the World Islam Study Enterprise (WISE), the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Islamic Committee for Palestine/Islamic Concern Project (ICP); Mazen Al-Najjar, Tariq Hamdi, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, Osama bin Laden?
- Did the article say Al-Arian was never charged with a crime?
- What words, metaphors, Islamic terms, and stock phrases are used?

RQ 2: How did the Al-Arian coverage by the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* compare to the outcome of Al-Arian’s 2005 trial?

Findings

The first section of this chapter discusses how the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* identified Al-Arian during the time period studied. The second section examines the context of the articles, and the third section identifies frames and analyzed word choice, metaphor, and stock phrases. The fourth section identifies differences in Al-Arian coverage by the two papers, and the final section compares the press portrayal to the outcome of the trial.

Identification

This section examines how Al-Arian was identified by the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Tampa Bay Times* both before and after 9/11. “Identification” includes how Al-Arian was described on first or second mention in the article, such as “USF professor” or “controversial employee” (Feller, 2001).

Table 1: Identifications that the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* used to describe, define, and identify Al-Arian from June 2001 to December 2001

Newspaper	June 2001-September 10, 2001 identification and frequency	September 11, 2001-December 2001 identification and frequency
<i>Tampa Tribune</i>	University of South Florida engineering professor (3)	No identification (1), Activist and University of South Florida professor (1), USF engineering professor (1), University of South Florida professor (6), Palestinian professor (1), controversial employee (1), professor (4), former head of a now-defunct Islamic think tank at USF (1), engineering professor who founded two organizations that have come under federal scrutiny (1), engineering professor (1), controversial University of South Florida professor (1), Al-Najjar's brother-in-law (2), University of South Florida computer science professor (1), Tampa resident (1), brother-in-law of a man suspected of being linked to terrorists (1), suspended engineering professor (1), outspoken professor (1), computer science professor and Islamic activist (1)
<i>Tampa Bay Times</i>	University of South Florida professor (2), nationally known activist on Palestinian issues (1), tenured University of South Florida professor who is a national leader on Arab and Muslim issues	Administrator and University of South Florida professor (1), a community leader and principle Islamic academy (1), leader in the Tampa Bay Muslim community (1), USF professor (7), USF professor of engineering (2), a computer engineering professor and nationally known activist on Palestinian issues, computer engineering professor (2), tenured professor (1), computer science professor (1), professor (3), leader in the local Muslim community (1), professor of computer sciences (2), once ran a think tank linked to suspected terrorists (1), Al-Najjar's brother-in-law (2), No identification (1), suspended professor (5), a controversial figure (1), legal permanent resident (1), civil engineering professor (1), engineering professor, professor

In the months leading up to 9/11, the *Tampa Tribune* identified Al-Arian primarily as a USF professor. In the first article following 9/11 that included Al-Arian as a source, the

Tribune identified Al-Arian only by his name, which suggests Al-Arian was well-known enough to not identify him by his job title or societal position (Morelli, 2001). Another article after 9/11 identified Al-Arian as an “activist.” Following Al-Arian’s September 27, 2001, appearance on “The O’Reilly Factor,” the *Tribune* identified Al-Arian as a “controversial University of South Florida professor,” “Palestinian professor,” “controversial employee,” “outspoken professor,” and “a computer science professor and Islamic activist.”

Similar to the *Tampa Tribune*, in the months leading up to 9/11, the *Tampa Bay Times* identified Al-Arian most often as a “University of South Florida professor.” Al-Arian is also referred to as “a nationally known activist on Palestinian issues,” and a “tenured University of South Florida professor who is a national leader on Arab and Muslim issues.” After 9/11, in addition to his position at USF, the *Times* identified Al-Arian as one of the “founders of an Islamic school and community center,” a local Muslim leader, and a “nationally known activist on Palestinian issues.” Following Al-Arian's interview on “The O’Reilly Factor,” the *Times* articles identified Al-Arian as “a University of South Florida professor with ties to Palestinian terrorists,” a “leader in the local Muslim community,” “who once ran a USF think tank linked to suspected terrorists,” a “controversial figure at USF since he helped found the World and Islam Studies Enterprise,” a “legal permanent resident,” and “suspended professor ... whom federal authorities have linked to terrorists.”

Overall, the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* used similar words and phrases to identify Al-Arian. The *Tampa Tribune*, on one instance, calls Al-Arian a “Palestinian professor.” Throughout the articles, “Palestinian” is often accompanied by “Islamic Jihad” or “terrorist,” and by calling Al-Arian a “Palestinian professor,” the *Tribune* places Al-Arian one step closer to terrorism. After Al-Arian’s infamous O’Reilly appearance,

the *Tribune* called Al-Arian a “controversial professor,” while the *Times* favors “the suspended professor” as an identification. The *Times* identifies Al-Arian by his status—on paid suspension from the university—while the *Tribune* describes how Al-Arian is perceived—controversial.

Context

News stories on Al-Arian in the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* both included contextual information on past accusations and connections to both suspected and known terrorists. The subjects listed below appeared most often in the Al-Arian articles, both before and after 9/11. Some of the organizations, such as WISE and ICP, have never been proven to have a terrorist link. Contextual references, such as the PIJ and Osama bin Laden, are known terrorists/terrorist organizations.

- The World Islam Study Enterprise (WISE): The think tank Al-Arian founded in the early 1990s that partnered with USF from 1992-1995. The university ended the relationship with WISE when Al-Arian was accused of funding terrorism. (Not a known terrorist organization; indirect link to terrorism.)
- Islamic Concern Project/Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP): An umbrella organization Al-Arian started during the first Palestinian Intifada. ICP said they raised money for the Palestinian cause—not the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, as the government accused them of—and held academic conferences. (Not a known terrorist organization; indirect link to terrorism.)
- Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ): The U.S.-designated terrorist group that former USF professor and WISE administrator Ramadan Abdullah Shallah was named leader of in 1995, just a few months after leaving USF and the U.S. (Known terrorist

organization.)

- Mazen Al-Najjar: Al-Arian's brother-in-law who was jailed for three and a half years on secret evidence that allegedly tied Al-Najjar to terrorist activity. (Suspected of terrorism, but never convicted.)
- Tariq Hamdi: Worked for WISE in the early 1990s. As a freelance journalist, Hamdi helped ABC News arrange an interview with Osama bin Laden in 1998. (Never accused of terrorism, but scrutinized for arranging the bin Laden meeting.)
- Ramadan Abdullah Shallah: Leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. (Known terrorist.)
- Osama bin Laden: Leader of Al Qaeda, the terrorism group that took responsibility for the 9/11 attacks. (Known terrorist.)

Table 2: Contextual references and frequencies in the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* from June 2001 to December 2001

	<i>Tampa Tribune</i>	<i>Tampa Bay Times</i>
WISE	9/23 (.39)	9/29 (.31)
PIJ	11/23 (.47)	14/29 (.48)
ICP	7/23 (.30)	3/29 (.10)
Al-Najjar	11/23 (.47)	14/29 (.48)
Hamdi	3/23 (.13)	5/29 (.17)
Shallah	9/23 (.39)	8/29 (.27)
bin Laden	5/23 (.21)	8/29 (.27)
Al-Arian never charged/convicted of a crime	11/18 (.61)	13/21 (.66)

A final question asked if the article explicitly stated if Al-Arian was never charged/convicted of a crime. Findings suggest both newspapers mentioned the past accusations with a similar consistency. Perhaps the most significant finding is both news organizations explicitly wrote Al-Arian had never been charged nor convicted of a crime about 60 percent of the time, meaning the remaining articles do not say Al-Arian is legally innocent of the very serious charges against him.

The contextual references were included in articles both before and after 9/11. Both the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Tampa Bay Times* referenced Al-Arian’s past “links” to terrorism. The numbers find the *Tampa Tribune* was more likely to include a reference to the ICP and Shallah than the *Tampa Bay Times*, and the *Times* referenced bin Laden slightly more than the *Tribune* in their Al-Arian coverage. Overall the *Tampa Bay Times* mentioned Al-Arian was never charged nor convicted with a crime slightly more frequently than the *Tampa Tribune*.

This study is qualitative in nature, and these numbers only make up a small part of the Al-Arian story. The numbers are worth mentioning, in part, because the theoretical base of this study—the social construction of reality— suggests news frames represent “persistent

patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion that furnish a coherent interpretation and evaluation of events” (Gitlin, 1980, 1994, cited in Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003, p. 4). The press coverage of Al-Arian in 2001 emphasized his past links to terrorists, and, in the case of Hamdi, a loose connection to the mastermind of 9/11—Osama bin Laden. Through these repetitions and emphasis, the press portrayed Al-Arian as a suspicious character. By repeatedly linking Al-Arian to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, or terrorist leader Ramadan Shallah, readers might understand Al-Arian to be a terrorist in their own concept of reality. Since Al-Arian was not on trial for terrorism, the press might have selected a more positive contextual fact to balance out their coverage—such as former interim USF president William Reece Smith Jr.’s report to Betty Castor. According to McColm & Dorn (2005), Smith’s report to USF president Castor “found nothing seriously at fault” (p. 166) with the university-WISE relationship, and is “perhaps the most comprehensive source on Al-Arian’s activities before 1996” (p. 175). This report is only mentioned in two articles throughout the time period analyzed.

Frame Analysis

During the textual analyses, the researcher noted words or phrases that used subjective language, such as the statement “O’Reilly grilled Al-Arian,” (Fechter, 2001) instead of the writer saying O’Reilly questioned Al-Arian about his past association with terrorists. Any metaphor detected was noted, such as “Information is our weapon and our strength” (Feller 2001), which implies militarism and evokes war rhetoric. The Islamic terminology noted does not include the names of organizations, such as the “Palestinian Islamic Jihad” or the “Muslim Student Association,” and instead tracks the use of words such as “Muslims,” “Arabs,” “jihad,” and “hijab,” to name a few. The complete text analyses are available in Appendixes 4 and 5.

Frame 1: War rhetoric and dehumanizing metaphor

The set of pre-9/11 articles use far less metaphor and imagery than the articles following 9/11, which often use war imagery and rhetoric. In a June 2001 article in the *Tampa Bay Times*, “Professor’s son ejected from D.C. meeting,” Aschoff writes Abdullah Al-Arian has become “entangled in an investigation into terrorists.” This web imagery is an example of the enemy-construction used by the national press after 9/11. According to Steuter and Wills (2010), these dehumanizing metaphors are often variations on hunting and beasts, depicting terrorist hideouts as animal habitats, and equating terrorists with disease and vermin that must be totally eradicated. There are very few instances of metaphor in imagery in the two week period after 9/11 but before Al-Arian’s O’Reilly interview. Both papers quote a local Muslim leader as saying terrorists “don’t belong to the human race” (Bearden, 2001, Persaud, 2001)—another instance of dehumanizing metaphor. Persaud’s article, “Bay area Muslims lament toll of terrorism” reinforce the dominant and dualistic post-9/11 frame (King & deYoung, 2008): “While the nation braces for war, Muslim leaders hope for peace” (Persaud, 2001).

Examples of the *Tampa Tribune*’s “harsh” language includes USF receiving an “avalanche of e-mail and telephone calls” (Fechter, 2001); O’Reilly “grilled” Al-Arian on his “past association with a terrorist” (Porter, 2001); campus security not being “slashed” despite current budget cuts (Feller, 2001). An article, “USF, Al-Arian can’t shake publicity,” describes the “furor over terrorism,” the “spike in angry emails and calls to USF,” and Al-Arian putting campus security in “jeopardy.” An article printed on November 15, 2001, “Bay area students’ words echo Mideast suspicions,” said several Muslim teens interviewed by the *Tampa Tribune* “reject U.S. foreign policy.” These American Muslim teens are portrayed as the “other”: “Revealing nothing but her small hands, young face, and mature eyes, Farah’s

attire—the traditional hijab— professes her religion, Islam. Though at first blush she looks shy, she speaks boldly about politics.” (Tugan, 2001)

Other articles, such as “Al-Najjar arrested,” use what King & deYoung (2008) call “cowboy rhetoric” to reinforce the dualistic post-9/11 frame, with Tugan describing a “showdown between the government and a Palestinian researcher” (Tugan, 2001). The *Times* used much less war imagery after 9/11, and word choice and metaphor reflects safety and security more so than terrorism.

Most of the war rhetoric used was attributed to a source, as seen in “Ashcroft: U.S. will win Al-Najjar case”: “Attorney General John Ashcroft expressed confidence Tuesday that the government would prevail in its five-year effort to deport Mazen Al-Najjar” (Jacoby, 2001). Another example is USF President Judy Genshaft quoted as saying “USF understands that the nation is engaged in a long- term effort to prevail over terrorism, and that all institutions have a role to play” (Klein & Nguyen, 2001). At times, the *Tampa Bay Times* uses subjective language, too, calling Bill O’Reilly “vitriolic,” and describing how the Fox News host “grilled” and “pressed” Al-Arian during the interview (Lush, 2001).

Frame 2: Islamic terms

In these pre-9/11 articles, the *Tampa Bay Times* is more careful than the *Tampa Tribune* when explaining what Al-Arian has been accused of in the past, with the *Times* writing “Al-Arian, ICP, and WISE, a US-affiliated think tank also founded by Al-Arian, have also been the subjects of a six year federal investigation for alleged ties to Middle East terrorists” (Aschoff, 2001), while the *Tribune* writes Al-Arian “disavows any involvement with terrorists” (Fechter 2001), and writes Al-Najjar is a “Palestinian researcher suspected of supporting terrorists” (Fechter, 2001). Leading up to 9/11, the *Tampa Tribune* mentions the

“Islamic Jihad,” refers to “spiritual leaders” and “jihad,” and calls Al-Najjar a “Palestinian researcher.” The *Tampa Bay Times* uses more neutral phrases, such as “Middle Eastern terrorism,” “intifada,” and “Palestinian advocacy group.”

After the 9/11 attacks, but before Al-Arian’s O’Reilly interview, both newspapers used fewer Islamic terms. The *Tampa Tribune* used phrases such as “Muslim leaders,” the “Koran,” “American Muslims,” “Islamic terrorist leader,” “Arab militants,” and “Islamic Jihad.” The *Tampa Bay Times* used phrases such as “Islamic communities,” “Muslim schools,” “anti-Arab incidents,” “jihad,” and “relatives in the Middle East.” After the O’Reilly interview, the *Times* called WISE an “Islamic think tank” (as opposed to a “USF-based think tank”), and refers to “Middle Eastern terrorists,” and “Arab militants” (Klein & Nguyen, 2001).

Frame 3: Stock phrases

The *Tampa Tribune* re-printed controversial statements made by Al-Arian in the 1990s, both before and after 9/11. In two of the three articles written before 9/11, the *Tribune* repeated the phrase the ICP is the “active arm of the Islamic Jihad movement” (Fechter, 2001). The *Times* did not reference the ICP being the “active arm,” “death to Israel,” or any other of the repeated phrases, instead quoting Al-Arian’s son—who had been escorted out of a White House meeting — as saying “I thought this period of our life had passed” (Ashoff, 2001), and “I was guilty of being my father’s son” (Ashoff, 2001). During this two week period after 9/11 but before Al-Arian’s O’Reilly interview, neither newspaper re-printed Al-Arian’s controversial stock phrases, such as “Death to Israel.” Of the 19 articles printed by the *Tampa Tribune* after the 9/11 attacks and O’Reilly interview, six included past, controversial statements by Al-Arian, such as “Death to Israel,” and O’Reilly calling USF a “hotbed of support for Arab militants” (Feller & Fechter, 2001) and “what is going on at the University

of South Florida, a state-funded institution?” (Fechter, 2001). The *Tampa Bay Times* re-printed Al-Arian’s “Death to Israel” stock phrase in two of the 29 articles examined in this study. Both were printed after Al-Arian appeared on “The O’Reilly Factor.” The *Times* does, however, refer to O’Reilly accusations more often than the *Tribune*, re-printing statements such as “With all due respect, I appreciate you coming on the program, but if I were the CIA, I’d follow you wherever you went” (“Overheard,” 2001).

Frame 4: Muslims after 9/11

After the 9/11 attacks, Al-Arian was quoted many times by both papers as a source and voice for the Tampa Bay Muslim community. In a *Tampa Tribune* article printed on September 17, 2001, Al-Arian said “We must come together as one community, a community that looks at tragedy and says ‘we must overcome it’” (Morelli, 2001). The article, “Tolerance, hope urged at diverse gathering,” said prayer meetings hosted in churches and temples around the country were not “unusual,” implying this service, held at a Tampa mosque was. The article also seemingly unites and divides by saying “Americans from all walks of life came together,” but notes the great differences within the crowd, writing “Pastors in collars sat next to Muslim women dressed in elegant frocks and scarves”—again evoking “the other.”

The *Tampa Tribune* highlighted the local “backlash” against Muslims, Arabs, and people who appeared to be, while the *Tampa Bay Times* minimized this sort of coverage. An article printed on September 19, “Muslims encouraged to report threats,” said local Muslims had received “hate-driven calls” and were the “targets of fellow Americans’ rage.” Events after 9/11 in Tampa Bay included “shots fired at a Brooksville mosque, car and garage door painted with graffiti, their children being taunted in schools” (Bearden, 2001). The *Times*,

however, downplayed these fearful responses, writing the Tampa “backlash” was not as intense as other area of the country, such as in Chicago, where “nearly 300 tried to mob a Muslim school” (Persaud, 2001).

Differences in coverage

The most significant difference in *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* coverage appears in the word choice, metaphor, and stock phrases used by each writer and news organization. Overall, The *Tampa Tribune* used more Islamic terms than in other stories, as well as war-charged language and metaphors. Controversial stock phrases, such as “Death to Israel” were re-printed frequently in the Al-Arian articles as background information and context—the *Times*, in general, stayed away from this sort of context and accusations. The *Tampa Tribune* links Al-Arian closer to terrorism than the *Tampa Bay Times*, with the *Times* usually mentioning federal agencies have accused Al-Arian’s charities of terrorist ties, not Al-Arian himself.

The *Tampa Bay Times* printed a preview for a panel discussion at USF St. Petersburg on terrorism and the Middle East. The *Tampa Tribune* did not print a notice of the event, which included Al-Arian as one of the speakers, but was postponed after the intense response to Al-Arian’s interview on “The O’Reilly Factor.”

2001 coverage versus 2005 trial

Compared to the outcome of the 2005 trial, local, mainstream press coverage was negative, stereotypical, and suspicious of Al-Arian. On December 6, 2005, a Tampa jury found Al-Arian not guilty on the most serious counts against him, and deadlocked on the rest of the charges. The jury found Al-Arian not guilty of: Conspiracy to Murder or Main Persons at Places Outside the United States, three counts of offense of Use of the Mail or

Any Facility in Interstate or Foreign Commerce, three counts of Providing Material Support to a Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, and two counts of Obstruction of Justice.

The jury was deadlocked on the following charges: Conspiracy to Conduct or Participate in the Conduct of an Enterprise through a Pattern of Racketeering Activity, Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to a Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, Conspiracy to Make and Receive Contributions of Funds, Goods, or Services to, or for the Benefit of Specially Designated Terrorists, two counts of Offense of Use of the Mail or Any Facility in Interstate or Foreign Commerce, three counts of Money Laundering, and an Attempt to Procure Citizenship or Naturalization Unlawfully.

Discussion

Many interpreters of the First Amendment of the United States find the press' right to free speech as a separate, protected entity: "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ..." Throughout the country's history, the press has more often than not acted as the fourth estate—a check on the government, a separate voice and opinion, especially for the underserved. In the weeks following September 11, 2001, the American press was more closely aligned to the government—research shows none of the mainstream newspaper editorials objected to the U.S. declaring war on Afghanistan (Ryan, 2004). The press' allegiance to the government was, perhaps, in part because of the shock of the largest attack on American soil.

The Sami Al-Arian scandal emerged during this unique time. Al-Arian's story was unique, too—accusations of his "ties to terrorism" were made in the mid-1990s and never confirmed. The 9/11 attacks renewed the public's suspicions, and his appearance on "The O'Reilly Factor" fanned the flames, turning rumors and circumstantial evidence into a sentence—Al-Arian was put on leave from the university, and eventually arrested by federal agents. This study looks at a small slice of the Al-Arian story, but the three months after 9/11 sealed Al-Arian's fate in the public sphere. Al-Arian's television appearance changed the way the Tampa Bay newspapers talked about Al-Arian, and the press' tone switched from neutral to suspicious. After Al-Arian's O'Reilly interview, the local press was overwhelmingly suspicious of Al-Arian, and re-printed many of Al-Arian's past controversial statements from

the 1980s and 1990s, such as “Death to Israel.” During this time, the press brought little new information to the public sphere, and relied on these old accusations. A major finding for the period studied was, for both newspapers, only about 60 percent of the articles explicitly said Al-Arian was innocent, little more than half the time the press did not say Al-Arian had never been charged or convicted with any crime. This matters, because in our country, one is innocent until proven guilty.

In *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*, Daniel Boorstin explains the press is responsible for creating pseudo-events—news stories that create a “thicket of unreality” more so than the “facts of life” (Boorstin, 1980, p. 2). Pseudo-events are created by the need to fill a daily newspaper with news, and fueled by the fact elections, scandals, accidents, and natural disasters do not happen every day. The press circulates material accepted as “news” every day, and according to Boorstin, “successful reporters” are those who “find” stories to print on slow news days. Boorstin also writes the media abuse their power to print, and report on events not necessarily newsworthy to replace the “lack of spontaneous events” (Boorstin, 1980, pp. 8-9). Pseudo-events are created by the same reporters who plan to write about them; pseudo-events are successful if they are widely disseminated. In short, pseudo-events create “fact,” and the press perpetuates these facts.

It is a fact Al-Arian was suspected of terrorism, but Boorstin’s theory offers some clues on why Al-Arian has remained a suspicious and contentious character in the years following his acquittal of the most serious charges against him. In the case of Al-Arian, both the *Tampa Bay Times* and *Tampa Tribune* repeated what they knew about Al-Arian following his O’Reilly interview, and relied on little new information when talking about Al-Arian. Using subjective words, Islamic terms, and past damning stock phrases, both portrayed Al-Arian as

more of a terrorist than a man not charged with any crime. Four years after 9/11, Al-Arian was not convicted of any terrorism charges, but, because of this continued attention, Al-Arian has never been truly free. Media theorists have found the press often mirrors public sentiment; after 9/11, the American public was very suspicious of outspoken activists with Middle Eastern roots. Additional theory finds that the press can reinforce the government's agenda, because the press relies frequently on government representatives as sources of information. Just as the press acts as the fourth estate, the press ought to provide additional voices and viewpoints, even when the public sentiment is more or less universal. In 2001, the Tampa Bay press covered Al-Arian in a similar way they covered him in the past, repeating his long-ago uttered damning stock phrases. Objective coverage, or at least a change in tone, might have changed the way Al-Arian was treated by the government and accepted by the public. Al-Arian didn't change in 2001—the world changed and, in turn, the public's perception of Al-Arian changed. Ultimately, Al-Arian was never found guilty because evidence against him was circumstantial.

Conclusion

Al-Arian's name appeared in the mainstream Tampa Bay press consistently since the early 1990s, whether as a spokesperson for Tampa Bay's Islamic community, or the subject of an FBI investigation into his alleged role as terrorist fundraiser. Al-Arian was a complex public figure before 9/11—the *Tampa Bay Times* alone had nearly 100 articles about Al-Arian, or that include Al-Arian as a source, before 9/11. Simmering for years on the back burner, the Al-Arian controversy exploded in the weeks (and months and years) following 9/11. The public and the press had more than enough reason to warrant a further look into Al-Arian's past—fundamental terrorists from the Middle East had just committed the most violent act on American soil in the country's history. A five-minute interview on a right-leaning talk show, however, ended up changing Al-Arian's life forever. The public's response to Al-Arian's interview included calls for his firing, deportation, and even death. Al-Arian was placed on an indefinite, paid leave by USF the day after his interview, and Al-Arian never returned to the classroom. Following the O'Reilly interview, the press mirrored the public's distrust of Al-Arian, and, through stereotypical coverage, portrayed him as more of a terrorist than a man worthy of being innocent until proven guilty. Both newspapers reprinted controversial statements that Al-Arian had made a decade earlier, such as "Death to Israel," and, to varying degrees, used generic and dehumanizing metaphor that portrayed Muslims as "other." In 2005, a jury acquitted Al-Arian of the most serious counts, including conspiracy to commit murder, money laundering, and obstructing justice, and remained divided on nine other charges (Fechter, Silverstrini, & Savino, 2005). The prosecution spent

five months presenting a large volume of evidence to the jury, including 80 witnesses, thousands of pages of printed evidence, and long excerpts of thousands of hours of recorded phone calls the government had collected since 1993 (Gerstein, 2005). The defense did not call any witnesses (Boehlert, 2005), citing the First Amendment (Fechter, Silverstrini, & Savino, 2005), and Al-Arian did not testify. According to the *Tampa Bay Times*, after the trial, “Most jurors wanted to acquit Sami Al-Arian of the dozens of charges against him. Two jurors, and sometimes three, clung to their belief of his guilt” (Boehlert, 2005).

This “belief of his guilt” is the heart of the study. Cockburn (2007) writes the Al-Arian case was the first, post-9/11 show trials. Attorney General John Ashcroft announced Al-Arian’s 2003 indictment on live television, and the national press excitedly disseminated the news. Boehlert (2005), found Al-Arian’s acquittal and the deadlocked jury were hardly reported on at all, speculating had the jury found Al-Arian guilty, the press would have had a more enthusiastic response. Because the Al-Arian verdict was not as widely reported, Al-Arian’s fate remains somewhat of a mystery, both in his former hometown and beyond. Was Al-Arian deported? What ever happened to him? As it turns out, Al-Arian is no more free in 2012 as 2008. Though not in prison, Al-Arian wears an ankle bracelet and is under house arrest in his daughter’s Virginia home. The contempt of court charge looms, and the trial is indefinitely postponed.

After 9/11 and Al-Arian’s O’Reilly interview, the press had an opportunity to portray Al-Arian fairly—he hadn’t been arrested or indicted for any crimes, and the “charges” against him were accusations from the mid-1990s. The public perception of Al-Arian changed more after 9/11 than any event in Al-Arian’s life. Instead of questioning O’Reilly’s accusations, the press was suspicious of Al-Arian, too, and portrayed him

negatively. Little more than half of all articles on Al-Arian during the time frame studied, by both newspapers, mentioned that Al-Arian never committed or was charged with a crime. This means that for the other forty percent or so of articles mentioning Al-Arian during the studied time period, the reader did not know Al-Arian did not have a criminal past, and was left to draw his or her own conclusion. On many occasions, both the *Tampa Tribune* and *Tampa Bay Times* re-printed Al-Arian's controversial statements, such as "Death to Israel," with little more context than a sentence or two. The articles often jump back and forth between the early 1990s and the present (2001), and don't clearly mention Al-Arian has apologized for those past statements, and explained the Arabic translations were taken out of context. In fact, a feature article giving Al-Arian the chance to tell his side of the story, and appear more human than a controversial USF employee, wasn't printed until the spring of 2002.

According to Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003), press portrayals of Muslim Americans after 9/11 found articles on Muslims were more positive after 9/11 than before the terror attacks, and these articles discussed family lives and Muslim values, rather than political leanings. Al-Arian is an exception to this finding. The mainstream Tampa Bay press portrayed Al-Arian as suspicious at best, a terrorist at the worst. Years later, a Tampa jury was unable to prove Al-Arian was guilty of aiding terrorists. The Al-Arian coverage reinforced the dominant, dualistic post-9/11 frame of East versus West, and strengthened the post-Cold War frame outlined by Said (1997), who wrote Muslim extremists were the new enemy to fear and fight against. At times, this suspicious coverage came down to the words, phrases, and metaphors used. Shaheen (2003) wrote the repetition of negative stereotypes and characters can alter reality, even if the

characters are fictional. Ultimately, this narrow coverage reflected the existing stereotype that, “to most, Islam was nothing but trouble” (Said, 1997, p. xv).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Complete List of Articles Analyzed

Tampa Tribune:

- “Tampa links cited in bombing trial,” Michael Fechter, June 10, 2001
- “White House boots man with Tampa ties,” Michael Fechter, June 29, 2001
- “Al-Najjars denied political asylum,” Michael Fechter, July 20, 2001
- “Tolerance, hope urged at diverse gathering,” Keith Morelli, September 17, 2001
- “Muslims encouraged to report threats,” Michelle Bearden, September 19, 2001
- “Fox news program links USF to terrorists,” John Vaughan, September 28, 2001
- “USF puts professor on leave for safety,” Michael Fechter, September 29, 2001
- “Arab, Muslim leaders request more public education on Islam,” Birusk Tugan, September 29, 2001
- “Colleges handle security in own ways,” Ben Feller, October 1, 2001
- “Activists protest delay of panel's terror talks,” Lynn Porter, October 4, 2001
- “Local Muslims back U.S. action, fear harm to innocent Afghans,” Birusk Tugan, October 8, 2001
- “USF, Al-Arian can't shake publicity,” Ben Feller, October 30, 2001
- “Al-Najjar arrested,” Birusk Tugan, November 25, 2001
- “Supporters want freedom for Al-Najjar,” Liz Bleau, November 26, 2001
- “Analyst: Paper outlines ‘subversive action,’” Michael Fechter, December 1, 2001
- “Students, don’t close book on campus safety,” Ben Feller, December 10, 2001
- “Al-Arian: U.S. policy persecutes Muslims,” Andrew Meadows, December 10, 2001
- “USF to weigh Al-Arian’s future,” Ben Feller and Michael Fechter, December 19, 2001
- “USF decides to fire Al-Arian,” Ben Feller and Michael Fechter, December 20, 2001
- “100 days,” Jim Sloan and Patty Ryan, December 20, 2001
- “USF firing has ivory towers rattling,” Ben Feller, December 21, 2001

Tampa Bay Times:

- “Ex-Tampa resident’s name resurfaces in bombing trial” Susan Aschoff, June 3, 2001
- “Professor’s son ejected from D.C. meeting,” Susan Aschoff, June 29, 2001
- “Secret evidence critics lose patience,” Susan Aschoff, September 1, 2001
- “Tampa’s Muslims brace for backlash,” Susan Aschoff, September 1, 2001
- “Tampa Muslims resume their routines nervously,” Babita Persaud, September 18, 2001
- “Bay area Muslims lament toll of terrorism // Leaders call for justice, not war,” Babita Persaud, September 19, 2001
- “USF to sponsor forum on terrorism; Mideast,” none, September 26, 2001
- “TV leads USF to look at safety,” Tamara Lush, September 28, 2001
- “Professor suspended after TV appearance,” Barry Klein and Dong Phuong Nguyen, September 29, 2001
- “Overheard,” none, October 1, 2001
- “Muslim students emerge concerned,” Barry Klein and Lane DeGregory, October

Appendix 1 (Continued)

1, 2001

“Newsy return for ‘Tampa Bay Week,’” Eric Deggans, October 7, 2001

“Firestorm leaves professor uncowed,” Graham Brink, October 7, 2001

“In diverse Muslim community, views on U.S. air strikes vary,” Babita Persaud, October 10, 2001

“Angry e-mails block USF professor’s return,” Stephen Hegarty, October 11, 2001

“The week in review,” none, October 14, 2001

“Central Asia’s role against terrorism explored,” none, October 17, 2001

“For Al-Najjar’s family, uncertainty returns,” Deborah O’Neil, November 26, 2001

“Ashcroft: U.S. will win Al-Najjar case,” Mary Jacoby, November 28, 2001

“Overheard,” none, December 3, 2001

“USF trustees to hear report on Al-Arian,” Barry Klein, December 19, 2001

“Freedom sought for Al-Najjar,” Mary Jacoby, December 20, 2001

“USF to dismiss Al-Arian,” Barry Klein, December 20, 2001

“Al-Arian firing compels many to take sides,” Babita Persaud, December 21, 2001

“Critics of Al-Arian firing see parallels to segregation,” Stephen Hegarty, December 22, 2001

“Week in review,” none, December 23, 2001

“Overheard,” none, December 24, 2001

“A gallery of 2001,” none, December 30, 2001

Appendix 2: Tampa Tribune Articles and Al-Arian's "Criminal Past"

Headline	Date	Does the article say Al-Arian v never charged/convicted of a crime?
Tampa links cited in bombing trial	06/10/01	Yes
White House boots man with Tampa ties	06/29/01	Yes
Al-Najjars denied political asylum	07/20/01	Yes
Tolerance, hope urged at diverse gathering	09/17/01	N/A
Muslims encouraged to report threats	09/19/01	N/A
Fox News program links USF to terrorists	09/28/01	Yes
USF professor put on leave for safety	09/29/01	Yes
Arab, Muslim leaders request more public education on Islam	09/29/01	N/A
Colleges handle security in own ways	10/01/01	No
Activists protest delay of panel's terror talks	10/04/01	Yes
Local Muslims back U.S. action, fear harm to innocent Afghans	10/08/01	Yes
USF, Al-Arian can't shake publicity	10/30/01	No
USF final warning increases tension over Al-Arian's leave	11/02/01	Yes
Bay area students' words echo Mideast suspicions Muslim teens reject U.S. foreign policy	11/15/01	N/A
Al-Najjar arrested	11/25/01	No
Supporters want freedom for Al-Najjar	11/26/01	No
Analyst: Paper outlines "subversive action"	12/01/01	No
Students, don't close book on campus safety	12/10/01	No
Al-Arian: U.S. policy persecutes Muslims	12/10/01	No
USF to weigh Al-Arian's future	12/19/01	Yes
USF decides to fire Al-Arian	12/20/01	Yes
100 days	12/20/01	N/A
USF firing has ivory towers rattling	12/21/01	Yes

Appendix 3: Tampa Bay Times and Al-Arian's "Criminal Past"

Headline	Date	Does the article say Al-Arian was never charged/convicted of a crime?
Ex-Tampa resident's name resurfaces in bombing trial	06/03/01	Yes
Professor's son ejected from D.C. meeting	06/29/01	Yes
Secret evidence critics lose patience	09/01/01	Yes
Tampa's Muslims brace for backlash	09/12/01	Yes
Tampa Muslims resume their routines nervously	09/18/01	N/A
Bay area Muslims lament toll of terrorism//Leader call for justice, not war	09/19/01	No
USF to sponsor forum on terrorism; Mideast	09/26/01	N/A
TV leads USF to look at safety	09/28/01	Yes
Professor suspended after TV appearance	09/29/01	Yes
Overheard	10/01/01	Yes
Muslim students emerge concerned	10/01/01	N/A
Newsy return for 'Tampa Bay Week'	10/06/01	N/A
Firestorm leaves professor uncowed	10/07/01	Yes
Overheard	10/08/01	No
In diverse Muslim community, views on U.S. air strikes vary	10/10/01	N/A
Angry e-mails block USF professor's return	10/11/01	No
The week in review	10/14/01	No
Central Asia's role against terrorism explored	10/17/01	N/A
For Al-Najjar's family, uncertainty returns	11/26/01	N/A
Ashcroft: U.S. will win Al-Najjar case	11/28/01	Yes
Overheard	12/03/01	No
USF trustees to hear report on Al-Arian	12/20/01	Yes
Freedom sought for Al-Najjar	12/20/01	Yes
USF to dismiss Al-Arian	12/20/01	Yes
Al-Arian firing compels many to take sides	12/21/01	No
Critics of Al-Arian firing see parallels to segregation	12/22/01	No
Week in review	12/23/01	Yes
Overheard	12/24/01	No
A gallery of 2001	12/30/01	N/A

Appendix 4: Tampa Tribune’s Word Choice

Headline; Date	Word choice	Islamic terms	Metaphor	Repeated/stock phrases
Tampa links cited in bombing trial; 06/10/01	-Al-Arian “disavows any involvement with terrorists” -Al-Arian calls bin Laden's fatwa unIslamic: Threatening “innocent Americans or innocent people of any nationality” violates religious tenants. “They are not only counterproductive politically, but more importantly, such acts are immoral, irreligious, and anti-Islam. The members of the Tampa Bay Muslim community, who are proud Americans, condemn such threats and killings in the strongest possible terms.”	-Tampa-based Palestinian charity -Islamic movements -Islamic Jihad spiritual leader -Muslim and Palestinian community in Tampa -Jihad -Allah-willing -anti-Islam -Tampa Bay Muslim community	None.	-ICP the “active arm of the Islamic Jihad movement”
White House boots man with Tampa ties; 06/29/01	-Secret Service “ordered” Abdullah Al-Arian to leave White House meeting	-Muslim -Muslim leaders -Islamic Jihad terrorist group	None.	None.
Al-Najjars denied political asylum; 07/20/01	-“a Palestinian researcher suspected of supporting terrorists doesn't qualify for political asylum” -Najjar's “ordered deported” in 1997 -“the final deportation order against the couple stands” -Al-Najjar “freed” after three and a half years in custody	-Palestinian researcher -the Jihad -Palestinian cause -Islam -Palestinians -Palestinian positions -Israeli-Palestinian peace process	“Other”: “The couple's three American-born daughters are U.S. citizens not subject to the court action”	ICP “active arm” of Islamic Jihad

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Tolerance, hope urged at diverse gathering; 09/17/01</p>	<p>-“Americans from all walks of life came together Sunday” -prayer meetings across US not “unusual,” but meeting in an Islamic space is -“Pastors in collars sat next to Muslim women dressed in elegant frocks and scarves.” -400 people “cram” into a space meant for 250</p>	<p>-Muslims - Muslim women -Islam</p>	<p>-Al-Arian reinforces one single community: “We have come together as one community, a community that looks at tragedy and says ‘we must overcome it’”</p>	<p>None</p>
<p>Muslims encouraged to report threats; 09/19/01</p>	<p>-“profane or harassing phone calls” -police/Muslim leaders urge those harassed to call law enforcement to “keep track of all incidents, provide security to those threatened and go after the perpetrators” -“The hijackers who commandeered the jet airliners and steered them into the World Trade Center and Pentagon are believed to have been Muslims” -some Muslims the "targets of fellow Americans' rage" -“hate-driven calls”</p>	<p>-Muslims -Muslim leaders -Koran -American Muslims</p>	<p>-Tampa Bay Muslim Alliance chairman said terrorists “don't belong to the human race” -Source quoted said he would give his blood for the U.S.</p>	<p>-Proud to be American</p>
<p>Fox News program links USF to terrorists; 09/28/01</p>	<p>-USF holding emergency board meeting -Al-Arian's appearance “startled plenty of Americans”</p>	<p>-Islamic terrorist leader -Arab militants -Islamic Jihad</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>-“hotbed of support for Arab militants” -“If I was the CIA, I'd follow you wherever you went” -“a very disturbing situation”</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>USF professor put on leave for safety; 09/29/01</p>	<p>-Al-Arian “placed” on “paid leave” -“avalanche of e-mail and telephone calls” -Al-Arian “faced rigorous questioning” on O’Reilly’s show -Shallah “assumed command” -Federal agents “raided” Al-Arian’s home in 1995, “seized videotape” -grilled -Genshaft quote: “Should he violate this requirement [speaking for self, not USF, during interviews] we shall take the strongest possible action”</p>	<p>-Palestinian professor -Middle East -Jihad’s leader -Jihad -Islamic Palestinian movement -Jihad -mujahidin -martyred -Palestine -holy war -islamic jihad -jihad activist</p>	<p>Militaristic rhetoric in Genshaft’s quote.</p>	<p>-“Jihad is our path. Victory to Islam. Death to Israel” -“What is going on at the University of South Florida, a state-funded institution?” -“the latest operation carried out by the two mujahidin who were martyred for the sake of God” -“true support to the jihad effort in Palestine so that operations such as these can continue” -“active arm of the Islamic jihad” -“Let us damn America, let us damn Israel. Let us damn their allies until death”</p>
<p>Arab, Muslim leaders request more public education on Islam: 09/29/01</p>	<p>-subheadline; “Ignorance blamed for backlash, hatred” -“backlash” -Arab and Muslim leaders “blamed talk shows for inciting hatred toward Muslims and called for an end to the rhetoric” -“not all Muslims are Arab” -“we, Muslim Americans, condemn the attacks, and we are part of this country”</p>	<p>-Arabs and Muslims -Muslim-Americans -Islam -not all Muslims are Arab -Koran -Muslim community -Muslim Americans</p>	<p>Comparisons made to civil rights movement.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Colleges handle security in own ways: 10/01/01</p>	<p>-universities are students homes, “and, these days, it is the security of that home that has come to dominate the thoughts of many families” -USF police spokesperson said USF is being kept safe by “heightened awareness,” “making sure doors and drawers are locked, abandoned cars are checked, rumors get addressed, and parents find answers”</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>-Militaristic, war rhetoric: “there’s been no central command order on security” (Bill Edmonds, state university spokesperson) -"Information is our weapon and our strength” (Klingebiel, USF police spokesperson);</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Activists protest delay of panel's terror talks: 10/04/01</p>	<p>-“The university put Al-Arian, former head of a now-defunct Islamic think tank, on paid leave Friday.” -small group of protestors “joined St. Petersburg's Coalition for Peace and Social Justice protest of what the group sees as the university’s removal of and attempt to silence Al-Arian” -Al-Arian put on leave for his “protection”; university received an “avalanche of e-mail and telephone calls, including several death threats” -O’Reilly “grilled” Al-Arian “on his past association with a terrorist”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Islam -Jihad -Israel</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>“Jihad [holy war] is our path. Victory to Islam. Death to Israel.”</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Local Muslims back U.S. action, fear harm to innocent Afghans; 10/08/01</p>	<p>-“Leaders of the local Muslim community expressed full support for Sunday's U.S.-led military action but voiced concern for innocent Afghans who might be killed.” -Local Muslim leader said “all” American Muslims support the U.S. going after the terrorists -Muslim community “surprised” bin Laden took some responsibility -Al-Arian said bin Laden praising attacks “pretty disgusting”</p>	<p>-local Muslim community -innocent Afghans -Muslims in the United States -Arabic speakers -Middle Eastern deli -Al-Jazeera -As-Salaam Aleykum -kashkaval cheese or daily baked pita bread -Islamic community -Islam -Arabic and math teacher -Middle East</p>	<p>Sources reinforce war rhetoric (hopes “they catch the guy [bin Laden] or kill him”; don't want innocent Afghans hurt) -Bush said in recent address U.S. against terrorists and harborers, not Islam</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>USF, Al-Arian can't shake publicity; 10/30/01</p>	<p>-“the furor over terrorism” -Al-Arian story “fresh to an anxious nation” -NBC program “prompting another spike in angry emails and calls to USF” -“The ‘Dateline’ piece, built on a letter and videotape involving Al-Arian, challenged his assertions that he disavows terrorism” -Al-Arian: if one or two of those making threats are arrested, the university will return to “normal” -“Al-Arian emphasized that an internal review ordered by former USF President Betty Castor found no wrongdoing” -Al-Arian has placed USF security “in jeopardy”</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>Heightened awareness, vigilance</p>	<p>No.</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>USF final warning increases tension over Al-Arian's leave; 11/02/01</p>	<p>-Al-Arian given “final warning”; “their [Al-Arian and Genshaft] communication is closer in tone to combative than cooperative” -“second and final warning” -But school spokesman Michael Reich said a repeat offense could trigger disciplinary action; -Al-Arian: “I believe that protection comes from God” -“the school underscores its argument that the engineering professor’s presence jeopardizes the safety of people around him”</p>	<p>None</p>	<p>War rhetoric</p>	<p>None.</p>
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Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Bay area students' words echo Mideast suspicions; 11/15/01</p>	<p>-subheadline: "Muslim teens reject U.S. foreign policy" -lede: "Revealing nothing but her small hands, young face and mature eyes, Farah's attire - the traditional hijab - professes her religion, Islam. /Though at first blush she looks shy, she speaks boldly about politics." -"they voiced a deep-rooted suspicion of the U.S. government, especially its Middle East policy" -"Most are first-generation Americans, born in the United States. But when introducing themselves, they emphasize prefixes - Palestinian-American, Pakistani-American and so on."; "Yasmeen and Laylan said they believed the attacks had a positive effect: They led people to learn more about Islam and the Middle East."; feel our pain;</p>	<p>-traditional hijab -Islam -young Muslims -Middle East -Middle East policy -Arabs -mosque -Arabs and Muslims -Palestinian-American -Pakistani-American -Al-Qaida -Islam and the Middle East -Arabs and Muslims -Palestinian women and children -Israel over the Palestinians -Israel -Arabic manuals -bad Muslims -Muslim, Iraqi and Kurdish -Middle East experts -Middle East history -Arab -Muslims -hijab</p>	<p>American Muslim teens portrayed as "the other"; don't believe bin Laden is to blame, think U.S. government is behind attacks</p>	<p>"They don't hate America, they hate the policy"</p>
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Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Al-Najjar arrested; 11/25/01</p>	<p>Lede: “a showdown between the government and a Palestinian researcher” (cowboy metaphor) -“rekindled” -O’Reilly appearance “rekindled allegations of terrorist links in Tampa” -“ties to terrorist organizations” -Nahla Al-Arian: “Everyone is very upset...The whole community is devastated”</p>	<p>-Palestinian researcher -Palestinian -Middle East -Islamic studies group -Palestinian charity -Islamic Jihad -Middle East</p>	<p>-Cowboy metaphor</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Supporters want freedom for Al-Najjar; 11/26/01</p>	<p>-Al-Arian: Tribune “always treats us as suspects” -Al-Arian is “on paid leave from the University of South Florida after an appearance on a national television talk show in September sparked renewed allegations in Tampa of his having links to terrorism”</p>	<p>-Palestinian researcher -Muslim students -Middle East -stateless Palestinian</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Analyst: Paper outlines "subversive action"; 12/1/01</p>	<p>-Lede:"The outline envisions a vast covert intelligence operation spread throughout the United States. It describes an organization with everything from a team of researchers engaged in academic studies to groups that get military training" -article about an outline found in Al-Arian's home in 1995 -leads with outline found in 1995 -"retreat" (war rhetoric): "the arrest showed that investigators have not retreated from their assertion that the Tampa resident is connected to terrorists" -Najjar detained until the U.S. government "execute[s] a final deportation order" -documents "seized" -Al-Arian said newspaper is biased against him specifically and Muslims in general -"The charity [ICP] held annual conferences and occasional rallies with speeches by the spiritual leader, paid homage to its martyrs and featured Jihad symbols on stage"</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Arabic outline -Jihad attack in Israel -Muslims -Jihad's founding -Zionist and Christian organizations -the pillars of Islam and the Islamic movements -Islamic Jihad -Jihad -the Jihad -Occupied Territories -Middle East -stateless Palestinian -Jihad's spiritual leader -martyrs -featured jihad symbols</p>	<p>-war rhetoric</p>	<p>-ICP called "the Jihad's active arm"</p>
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Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Students, don't close book on campus safety; 12/10/01</p>	<p>-“In the three months since terrorists shocked America, Sgt. Mike Klingebiel has noticed people became more willing to embrace the message of crime prevention at the University of South Florida” -“don't get complacent” -USF's “focus on security remains higher than normal. Students are aware, if not anxious, about living in a time of war and bioterror threats. And Professor Sami Al-Arian remains on paid leave after his national television interview in September revived charges he is connected to terrorism.” -“security won't be slashed a penny”</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>Remaining vigilant.</p>	<p>None.</p>
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Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>Al-Arian: U.S. policy persecutes Muslims; 12/10/01</p>	<p>-“The Israeli government, not Palestinians, is the real terrorist in the Middle East, and U.S. policy unfairly persecutes Muslims, according to the brother-in-law of a man suspected of being linked to terrorists” -“Al-Arian, a Palestinian put on paid leave by USF after a post-Sept. 11 network appearance prompted campus security concerns” -local Amnesty international chapter called the “arm” of the worldwide organization -“government has eschewed civil rights as part of its witch hunt for terrorists” -“By persecuting Arab-Americans and Muslims, those who perpetrated the attacks have won” (Al-Arian) -Al-Arian “refused to speak with The Tampa Tribune after his speech, calling the paper ‘fascist’” -“rounding up”</p>	<p>-Muslims -Palestinians -fundamentalist Islamic Jihad -a Palestinian -Arab-Americans -pure, innocent Israelis</p>	<p>Dualism. Israel versus Palestine (“pure Israelis”).</p>	<p>None.</p>
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Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>USF to weigh Al-Arian's future; 12/19/01</p>	<p>-“recent turmoil” -“grilled” (after Al-Arian was grilled on Bill O’Reilly's national television show” -“USF previously defended Al-Arian” -writer says Al-Arian not talking to Tribune because of “unfair treatment” (not direct quote) -“Federal agents say the think tank and a related charity Al-Arian ran were fronts for the Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine.”</p>	<p>-terrorist -Islamic Jihad -Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine -Muslims -Israeli government furthers terrorism</p>	<p>-USF letter gave Al-Arain a “final warning”</p>	<p>-1991 videotape speaker introducing Al-Arian calls ICP the “active arm of the Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine” -Al-Arian letter seeks support for the “jihad effort in Palestine”</p>
<p>USF decides to fire Al-Arian; 12/20/01</p>	<p>-Genshaft “fired” Al-Arian because he had “disrupted USF profoundly and failed to disassociate his inflammatory political views from the school” -“oust” -“campus safety and academic freedom collide during a new atmosphere of war” -“Al-Arian has caused USF harm on almost every front” -controversy “triggered” by Al-Arian's appearance on O’Reilly’s show -O’Reilly “revived accusations the professor condones terrorism” -Weatherford said firing a tenured professor the “academic equivalent of the death penalty” -“USF could face a tough fight as it walks a line of targeting not Al-Arian’s views but the effect those views have had”</p>	<p>-Muslim community - Sidebar "at a glance chart": -Palestinian intellectuals -Islamic Jihad movement -Palestinian causes -Palestinian intifada -Islamic Jihad member -Islamic thought and political theory -Islamic Jihad spiritual leader -Islamic Jihad -Middle East peace efforts -jihad -mujahidin</p>	<p>Multiple instances of war imagery.</p>	<p>-ICP the “active arm of the Islamic Jihad movement in Palestine” -Emerson documentary calls ICP the “primary support group in the United States for Islamic Jihad” -“the two mujahidin [warriors] who were martyred for the sake of God” -“hotbed of support for Arab militants” -“death to Israel”</p>

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<p>100 days; 12/20/01</p>	<p>-“Day 18: USF Professor Sami Al-Arian is put on paid leave after his appearance on a television program the Fox News program ‘The O’Reilly factor’ draws a rash of threatening e-mail and telephone calls”</p>	<p>None</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>USF firing has ivory towers rattling: 12/21/01</p>	<p>-firing an outspoken professor -Genshaft, trustees, and Jeb Bush “are lauding academic freedom as they defend the firing” -“While some USF boosters rejoiced that the school severed itself from a man accused of supporting terrorism, others said it weakened its academic position” -past history, accusations “came back with a vengeance” when Al-Arian went on O’Reilly’s show -Genshaft says academic responsibility and duty important, too -Genshaft: our professors sometimes “spark controversy”; “if this were about the freedom accorded faculty in their research and teaching, we would be honor-bound to fight to protect academic freedom” -“Genshaft said she did what she believed to be right, and the school will move forward. The course ahead will involve more debate about freedom.”</p>	<p>-Islamic activist</p>	<p>-war rhetoric -defending freedom</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5: Tampa Bay Times' Word Choice

Headline; Date	Word Choice	Islamic terms	Metaphor	Stock Phrases
<p>Ex-Tampa resident's name resurfaces in bombing trial; 06/03/01</p>	<p>-Lede: "A man who worked for a political organization in Tampa nine years ago has surfaced in the trial of four men convicted Tuesday of conspiring with international terrorist Osama bin Laden to bomb two U.S. embassies in Africa." -"arranged" 1998 interview with bin Laden -"USF-affiliated think tank" -"Al-Arian, ICP and WISE, a USF-affiliated think tank also founded by Al-Arian, have been the subjects of a six-year federal investigation for alleged ties to Middle East terrorists." -Al-Najjar held on secret evidence "linking him and the Tampa organizations to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad" -"Hamdi, a U.S. citizen"; says he is "no friend to terrorists" (paraphrased quote); master's degree from Hartford Seminary -"federal investigation ignited" when Shallah became PIJ leader -Al-Arian and Al-Najjar "support the Palestinian cause but deny any terrorist activity"</p>	<p>-Palestinian advocacy group -Palestinian cause -first intifada, or uprising, of Palestinians against the Israeli occupation</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>n/a</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Professor's son ejected from D.C. meeting; 06/29/01</p>	<p>-Abdullah Al-Arian "kicked out" of a White House meeting</p> <p>-His father is Sami Al-Arian, a nationally known activist on Palestinian issues who has been accused by the U.S. government of supporting Middle East terrorists.</p> <p>-his uncle Al-Najjar held on "secret evidence alleging membership to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad"</p> <p>-"The elder Al-Arian has been to the White House complex four times in four years without incident. He is lobbying for for passage of a bill to ban the use of secret evidence against immigrants like Mazen Al-Najjar and is president of the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom. He is a tenured professor at USF who teaches computer engineering."</p> <p>-80 percent of Muslim voters picked Bush</p>	<p>-Muslim leaders</p> <p>-Palestinian issues</p> <p>-Middle Eastern terrorists</p> <p>-Muslim advocacy groups</p> <p>-Muslim voters</p> <p>-Muslim-based groups</p> <p>-Muslims</p>	<p>"entangled in an investigation into terrorists"; web imagery</p>	<p>A. Al-Arian: "For some reason, I felt this period in our life had passed"</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Secret evidence critics lose patience; 09/01/01</p>	<p>-“ties to terrorists” -source calls secret evidence “un-American” -In closely contested states like Florida, where an estimated 20,000 Muslims voted for Bush, the community's support proved critical. -Al-Arian said “if he [Bush] knuckles under pressure ... then we have a problem” -“secret evidence alleging ties to Middle East terrorist groups”</p>	<p>-Muslim- and Arab-Americans -Jewish groups -national Arab and Muslim groups -Middle East conflict -Muslims -Middle East terrorist groups -terrorist attacks in the Middle East -Arab, Muslim and other groups -Mecca -Muslim and Arab leaders -Arab and Muslim issues - Muslim leaders -Muslims - Jewish groups -Christian Arab-Americans</p>	<p>“When speculating what Bush will do, these developments are the tea leaves to be read, said George Salem, board chairman of the Arab American Institute in Washington, D.C., and an influential Republican fundraiser ... he and others say more than tea leaves are due”</p>	<p>“I was guilty of being my father's son,” the younger Al-Arian said.” -“I thought this period in our life was over.”</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Tampa's Muslims brace for backlash; 09/12/01</p>	<p>-“linked to terrorists” -“A sheriff's deputy was posted at the entrance and mosque members walked the grounds.” -“Islamic’ on school buses covered up with cardboard” -“For Tampa's Islamic community, the anxiety is heightened because two of the founders of an Islamic school and community center, Sami Al-Arian and Mazen Al-Najjar, have been linked to known terrorists.”</p>	<p>-Muslim school -mosque -Islamic community -Islamic school and community center</p>		<p>God Bless USA; Death to Terrorists</p>
<p>Tampa Muslims resume their routines nervously; 09/18/01</p>	<p>-child asks “are we going to war?” -“Last week, fears of a backlash caused both Muslim schools in Tampa, Universal Academy and Islamic Academy, to close, but Monday signs that life was returning to normal were evident.” -“Muslim women who wear the head scarf required by their religion were the target of shouts and taunts” -in Chicago “nearly 300 tried to mob a Muslim school”</p>	<p>-Muslim schools -Arab incidents -Muslim women -Muslim leaders -Muslim neighbors -Muslim schools -relatives still in the Middle East</p>	<p>-return to normalcy -innocent civilians -justice</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Bay area Muslims lament toll of terrorism//Leaders call for justice, not war; 09/19/01</p>	<p>-“umbrella organization” -Nagamia: terrorists are “mischief mongers” and “people who really don't belong to the human race” -jihad means struggle - “refugees” “fled” Afghanistan - Tampa Bay's Muslim population estimated at 20,000 -“For Tampa's Islamic community, anxiety is heightened because two of the founders of an Islamic school and community center, Sami Al-Arian and Mazen Al-Najjar, have been accused of having links to terrorists, which they deny.”</p>	<p>-Muslim leaders -Muslim community -anti-Muslim incident -hijab -Islam -jihad -mosques -Islamic school and community center</p>	<p>-dehumanizing metaphor used when talking about terrorists -dualistic lede: “while the nation braces for war, Muslim leaders hope for peace” -justice</p>	<p>-“Please respect our women”</p>
<p>USF to sponsor forum on terrorism; 09/26/01</p>	<p>-USF to “host a panel discussion on terrorism and the Middle East last week”</p>	<p>-terrorism and the Middle East</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>TV leads USF to look at safety; 09/28/01</p>	<p>-O'Reilly "vitriolic," "grilled" and "pressed" Al-Arian -"general level of anxiety since the September 11 attacks" -"The result: phone calls to the university from angry viewers and from parents of USF students wanting assurances their children were safe." -"the host grilled USF professor Sami Al-Arian about bringing a man suspected of being a terrorist leader to Tampa." -"accused by the U.S. government of supporting Middle Eastern terrorists" -(no mention of death threats)</p>	<p>-Muslim extremists -Arab militants -activist on Palestinian issues -Middle Eastern terrorism -Islamic think tank -jihad movement -Palestinian advocacy group</p>	<p>-anxiety -safety</p>	<p>-"What's going on at the University of South Florida, a state-funded institution" -"If I was the CIA, I'd follow you wherever you went" -"We have been involved in intellectual-type activity," Al-Arian told O'Reilly. "We brought dozens of people. All of them are intellectual type. You're going to get the apple - a bad apple or two, but that - if you focus on them, you get one conclusion." -"we were shocked like everyone else in the world (when Shallah) became the leader of the jihad movement. Everyone who knew him here at the University of South Florida, everyone who</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

				knew him personally, was extremely surprised.” -“I’d still shadow you. I’d go to Denny’s with you, and I’d go everywhere you went. We appreciate you coming on (the show).”
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Professor suspended after TV appearance: 09/29/01</p>	<p>-“A University of South Florida professor linked several years ago to suspected terrorists was put on paid leave Friday after his appearance on a network television show raised concerns about campus safety.” -“remove” Al-Arian -university “inundated” with “threatening phone calls and emails” -“grilled” -Genshaft: “USF understands that the nation is engaged in a long-term effort to prevail over terrorism, and that all institutions have a role to play” -at least one “death threat” -emergency meeting -“I will maintain this university as a safe and secure learning environment. This is why Dr. Al-Arian is being removed from our campus” -“Not only did the producers lie about the purpose of the interview, but most of what the host said was old news, inaccurate, irrelevant, bigoted and most importantly, lacked time frame and context,” Al-Arian said. -“Keep Al-Arian off campus”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Middle Eastern terrorists -Arab militants -Islamic Jihad -Middle East</p>	<p>-War rhetoric -safety and security</p>	<p>-“hotbed of support for Arab militants” -“victim of terrorism perpetuated by journalists” -“guilt-by-association exercise”</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Overheard; 10/01/01</p>	<p>“unproven allegations” -“linking” -“With all due respect, I appreciate you coming on the program, but if I were the CIA, I'd follow you wherever you went.” “- Bill O'Reilly of the Fox Cable Network to University of South Florida professor Sami Al-Arian on unproven allegations that a think tank he ran was a front for Islamic terrorists. O'Reilly's comments, linking Al-Arian to Islamic terrorists, prompted death threats against Al-Arian last week.”</p>	<p>-Islamic terrorists</p>		<p>“With all due respect, I appreciate you coming on the program, but if I were the CIA, I'd follow you wherever you went.”</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Muslim students emerge concerned; 10/01/01</p>	<p>-“Even with unlimited resources, schools can't filter out all potential evil, says Kenneth Gerhardt” -“I see a lot of anger, a lot of aggression from our country's leaders. People are looking for a quick, easy fix to fight terrorism. They're talking about closing our borders, changing things that America was founded on” (USF dean of int affairs) -“backlash”</p>	<p>-Muslim students -Middle Eastern student -Muslim student leaders -Muslim scarf -hijab -Allah -Muslim women -Egyptian parents -Lebanese descent -Muslim students -Arabic -Muslims -Muslim students -Middle Eastern students</p>	<p>-campus safety -tolerance -safe zones</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Newsy return for 'Tampa Bay Week': 10/06/01</p>	<p>-“grilled on alleged past links to terrorists” -Ruth: “he had to know that (TV appearance) would have an inflammatory effect of the campus” -“threats and criticism” -USF “placed” Al-Arian on leave</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>Safety</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Firestorm leaves professor uncowed: 10/07/01</p>	<p>-“terrorist ties and controversial speeches” -“Fallout from the show was swift and unrestrained. More than 1,000 e-mails and phone calls poured in to the university.” -“at least two ‘threatened Al-Arian's life” -“The allegations of terrorist ties and controversial speeches raised on Bill O'Reilly's show aren't new. Several have been investigated by the FBI and an independent investigator retained by the university. No charges were filed.” -“assassination” -Al-Arian’s wife and five children - and his dad, who lives in Egypt - are all American citizens. Al-Arian's citizenship application remains in limbo.” -Wake up and smell the jet fuel, folks,"one e-mailer wrote. "This is war. Get rid of him now!” -“no indications that USF was a terrorist hotbed or that WISE was a terrorist front”</p>	<p>-Muslim faith -politics in the Middle East -Palestinian movement -Palestinian cause -issues facing the Middle East -Muslim faith -young Palestinians -Arab leaders -Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies professors -terrorist group in the Middle East -experts on Islam and the Middle East -Islamic Jihad -Arab scholar -Palestinians -Palestinian cause -Muslim faith</p>		<p>“Victory to Islam. Death to Israel”</p>
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Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Overheard: 10/08/01</p>	<p>“And with all due respect, Mr. Ibish, you know bubkes.” -“Fox News Channel host Bill O'Reilly to Hussein Ibish, communications director for the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Ibish appeared on O'Reilly's show to criticize his grilling of Sami Al-Arian, a University of South Florida professor with ties to Palestinian terrorists.”</p>	<p>-Palestinian terrorists</p>		<p>None.</p>
<p>In diverse Muslim community, views on U.S. air strikes vary; 10/10/01</p>	<p>-“he [bin Laden] didn't clean his hands of the blood” -“Islam means peace” -“We pray to God for peace on earth” -“Will we be sitting in the back of the bus? Is there going to be a Muslim water fountain?” -Muslims promoted peace after 9/11, now Al-Arian says “ample time has been given”</p>	<p>-Muslim community -diverse Muslim community -Arabic-labeled products -Middle Eastern cafes -Arabic-language news -Muslim women -Muslims -a Sudanese Muslim -Muslim water fountain</p>	<p>-Segregation -Intelligence versus military action</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Angry e-mails block USF professor's return; 10/11/01</p>	<p>-“the university continues to receive angry e-mails regarding his links to alleged terrorists” -“Genshaft: the number of e-mails ‘isn't subsiding, and the death threats are not subsiding either. Some people have made this their crusade.’” -ties -links to alleged terrorists -grilled -USF “the target”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Palestinian terrorists</p>	<p>-Crusade -Security</p>	<p>-“You know, Doctor, it looks to me like there's something wrong down there at the University of South Florida. Am I getting the wrong impression here?”</p>
<p>The week in review; 10/14/01</p>	<p>-“the university continues to receive angry e-mails regarding his links to alleged terrorists” -“Genshaft: the number of e-mails ‘isn't subsiding, and the death threats are not subsiding either. Some people have made this their crusade.’” -ties -links to alleged terrorists -grilled -USF “the target”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Palestinian terrorists</p>	<p>-Crusade -Security</p>	<p>“You know, doctor, it looks to me like there's something wrong down there at the University of South Florida. Am I getting the wrong impression here?”</p>
<p>Central Asia's role against terrorism explored; 10/17/01</p>	<p>-talk doesn't include Al-Arian: “who once ran a USF think tank linked to suspected terrorists, was put on paid leave. University officials said his appearance on a network TV show had generated threats that raised concerns about campus safety.” -“current campaign against terrorism” -“the panel on Central Asia will examine Pakistan's support for the Taliban and its chances of being dominated by a fundamentalist ideology”</p>	<p>-Middle East - Taliban</p>	<p>Campus safety</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>For Al-Najjar's family, uncertainty returns; 11/26/01</p>	<p>Lede: "Fedaa Al-Najjar called home from work Saturday afternoon to say hello to her three daughters and her husband, Mazen Al-Najjar. What she heard horrified her. Her children, ages 6, 11, and 13, were crying and pleading for her to come home. Their father left more than an hour earlier and had not come back." -"secret evidence the government says links him to terrorism" – "stateless Palestinian" -"these kids are orphans without their father" -"Al-Najjar has overstayed his student visa and has been fighting deportation since 1996."</p>	<p>-Ramadan -stateless Palestinian</p>	<p>-Fighting deportation -arrest a "nightmare"</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Ashcroft: U.S. will win Al-Najjar case; 11/28/01</p>	<p>-"Attorney General John Ashcroft expressed confidence Tuesday that the government would prevail in its five-year effort to deport Mazen Al-Najjar"</p>	<p>-Palestinian terrorists -a Palestinian -suicide bombings in Israel</p>	<p>-war rhetoric (government will prevail)</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Overheard; 12/3/01</p>	<p>"The stress levels right now are very high. They once again have to deal with their father and husband being taken away.... Things can't get much worse."</p>	<p>-Palestinian terrorists</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>USF trustees to hear report on Al-Arian; 12/20/01</p>	<p>-“ties to terrorists” -“grilled” -“possible action against suspended professor” -“banned from USF” -“current troubles”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -front for Middle Eastern terrorists -young Palestinians who rose up against Israeli occupation</p>	<p>Security</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Freedom sought for Al-Najjar: 12/20/01</p>	<p>-“deportable aliens” -“national security threat” -“Judy Genshaft said she would move to fire Al-Arian because controversy surrounding the allegations of his terrorist ties has disrupted university operations.”</p>	<p>- A Palestinian and longtime Tampa resident</p>	<p>“Other” reinforced: -permanent legal resident noncitizen -stateless Palestinian</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>USF to dismiss Al-Arian; 12/20/01</p>	<p>-“ties to terrorists” -“banned from campus” -Genshaft said she “will move immediately to fire suspended professor” -“insubordination” -“barred from setting foot on campus” -“Al-Arian has denied supporting terrorism and has condemned the Sept. 11 attacks. But he has been a controversial for the past 15 years, speaking often in support of Palestinians who are fighting what they consider to be Israeli occupation.” -“secret evidence alleging membership in Islamic Jihad” -O'Reilly said Genshaft's firing "cowardly" -“alleged terrorist ties”</p>	<p>-Palestinians - -Israeli occupation -Islamic think tank -Middle eastern terrorists -Islamic Jihad -leaders in the local Muslim community -Muslims and non-Muslims</p>	<p>Muslims and non-Muslims have been treated unfairly</p>	<p>-“Victory to Islam. Death to Israel.”</p>
<p>Al-Arian firing compels many to take sides; 12/21/01</p>	<p>-Al-Arian's firing “split the campus and community” -“federal authorities have accused of having ties to Palestinian terrorists” “lynched academically” -“grilled” -“but some students and professors condemned USF president Judy Genshaft's decision” -Al-Arian tied to terrorists, local muslim peace group has ties to Al-Arian; monkey court</p>	<p>-Palestinian terrorists -a Muslim group with ties to Al-Arian -Palestine, his homeland</p>	<p>Dualism: community “split” over Al-Arian decision.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

<p>Critics of Al-Arian firing see parallels to segregation; 12/22/01</p>	<p>-“fire” -“variation on a theme that harkens back to segregation” -“whom federal authorities have said has links to terrorists” -“That association led to a flurry of hateful and threatening e-mails and telephone calls to the university” -“campus disruption” -“climate of fear on campus” -Genshaft: dean of engineering characterized his department as “ground zero”</p>	<p>No Islamic terms.</p>	<p>Security concerns, “ground zero”</p>	<p>No.</p>
<p>Week in review; 12/23/01</p>	<p>-“move immediately to fire suspended professor” -“banned” from USF campus after O'Reilly appearance -O'Reilly show “report[ed] on his ties to terrorists - allegations he has vehemently denied - elicited hundreds of angry phone calls to USF and at least a dozen death threats.” -emergency senate meeting -employment “compromises campus security, disrupts the university's orderly operation, alienates alumni, and damages fundraising”</p>	<p>-Islamic think tank -Middle Eastern terrorists -Muslims and non-Muslims</p>	<p>Security threat. MSA student quoted: “A lot of students - Muslims and non-Muslims - feel that he had been treated unfairly” (dualistic)</p>	<p>None.</p>

Appendix 5 (Continued)

Overheard; 12/24/01	-“The Constitution guarantees his right to free speech, but it doesn't insulate him from the consequences of that speech.” University of South Florida president Judy Genshaft, who has ordered the firing of suspended professor Sami Al-Arian, whom federal authorities have linked to terrorists.”	None	None	None
A gallery of 2001; 12/30/01	-“USF suspends professor Sami Al-Arian after appearance on Bill O'Reilly show.”	None	None	None