

**Wrapping the News in the Flag:  
Use of Patriotic Symbols by U.S. Local TV Stations  
After the Terrorism Attacks of September 11, 2001**

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The September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon fostered a powerful wave of public displays of patriotism. Local, national and international television news programs reflected and amplified that wave of patriotism by using prominent patriotic symbols on the air.

It is an axiom of media and politics in the United States that journalists maintain an adversarial, “watchdog” relationship with the government. Some observers questioned whether the use of patriotic symbols in newscasts altered this relationship.

“We trust journalists to give us the facts without fear, favor or bias. A flag on the lapel nor behind the desk now says, ‘I’m a P.R. person for the administration. You can’t count on me for bad news or straight news.’”<sup>i</sup>

This study examines the use of patriotic symbols on local television newscasts in the aftermath of September 11. The substantive comments made by about 40 of the news directors responding to this survey strongly indicate that these concerns were in their minds as decisions about patriotic symbols were being made after September 11.

Not since World War Two have American broadcast journalists worn their flags so prominently on their sleeves. In that conflict, prominent reporters such as Ernie Pyle and Edward R. Murrow openly sided with American forces and their allies in the fight to defeat Nazism in Europe. At a time when television news was in its infancy, patriotism was accepted – indeed expected – of the new medium. TV news had its roots in the film industry of Hollywood, which was already doing its part to support the American war effort.

During the Cold War, overt patriotism on broadcast news was episodic, including Murrow’s sympathetic documentaries from the foxholes of American troops in Korea<sup>ii</sup>,

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and Walter Cronkite's unabashed television commercials for "Radio Liberty," a U.S. propaganda radio outlet in Europe that was subsequently revealed to have been supported by the C.I.A.<sup>iii</sup> In 1962, journalists cooperated with the U.S. government to conceal news of the Cuban Missile Crisis from the American people, even as a broadcast reporter served as an intermediary between the White House and the Kremlin.<sup>iv</sup>

The Vietnam War became a watershed in the media-government relationship, as reporters such as Cronkite openly differed from the policy of the U.S. administration of President Lyndon Johnson.<sup>v</sup> Television news pointedly did not wrap itself in the American flag as it critiqued the nation's war policy toward the end of the conflict. This separation between journalists and government was reinforced by the post-Vietnam Watergate episode, when many journalists were publicly branded as "enemies" by President Nixon.<sup>vi</sup>

By the time of the Gulf War in 1991, critics of U.S. television news, especially abroad, accused the American media of jingoism in support of the U.S. attacks on Iraq, but television journalists did not wear flag lapel pins and TV stations for the most part shunned the use of patriotic symbols on their newscasts. While many broadcasts adopted the names of the U.S. missions in the Gulf, such as "Operation Desert Shield" and "Desert Storm," color schemes used in newscasts generally did not involve red, white and blue and American flags were not prominently in evidence on TV news screens.

All that changed dramatically after the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001. As the American people wrapped themselves in their flag for comfort, TV stations followed suit. As Americans hung flags from their windows and flew them from their cars, television news programs used patriotic symbols to express solidarity with their

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American viewers. When Americans began sporting red, white and blue ribbons and flag pins, many newscasters did the same. Numerous previous studies have confirmed the tendency of television news to bond with viewers in times of crisis, offering comfort and perceived security, while building viewer loyalty to television news programs.<sup>vii</sup>

Journalists themselves have raised questions about the wave of overt patriotism observed on television news (and in print) after September 11. Tom Gutting, a columnist for the Texas City Sun, was fired after criticizing President George W. Bush in an opinion piece.

“Gutting felt that journalists everywhere seemed to be jumping on the Bush bandwagon. They weren’t asking the tough questions about the war. No one was trying to figure out America’s objectives or demanding strategic details. Instead, television anchors were wearing red, white and blue ribbons on their lapels, while flags flew in the background. Star-spangled newspaper logos shouted slogans like “America fights back.”<sup>viii</sup>

Color schemes of newscast sets and graphics shifted overnight into high red, white and blue gear. And story “slugs” and newscast slogans adopted patriotic themes.

The present study, admittedly hastily conducted, confirms the abrupt national trend toward overt patriotism in local television newscasts. It affirms a kind of “rally” effect following the September 11 attacks, in which TV news programs used patriotic symbols to bond with their viewers and to support counterterrorism policies of the U.S. government, reminiscent of the support TV news gave to U.S. policy during World War Two. The effect is dramatically different from the critical role TV news played in the latter years of the Vietnam War, and different even from the less overtly patriotic role played by TV news during the Gulf War.

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Shortly after the September 11 attacks, a concise questionnaire was developed to determine the extent of use of patriotic symbols in local TV news. The questionnaire was intentionally designed to be brief and quickly completed. The authors reasoned that news executives, under tremendous pressure to cover the aftermath of the attacks – and then confronting a secondary anthrax-by-mail episode in the U.S. – would probably decline to cooperate with a study which required more than a few minutes of their time. We asked eight simple questions, preceded by a simple definition:

**"Patriotic symbols" = flags, flag-like graphics, ribbons, etc. in red-white-blue motif**

- **RQ1: Is your station using patriotic symbols in ON-AIR GRAPHICS during newscasts since September 11, 2001?**
- **RQ2: Were you using these or similar patriotic symbols BEFORE September 11, 2001?**
- **RQ3: Are ON-AIR news personnel PERMITTED to WEAR VISIBLE patriotic symbols during newscasts since September 11, 2001?**
- **RQ4: Are ON-AIR news personnel ENCOURAGED to WEAR VISIBLE patriotic symbols during newscasts since September 11, 2001?**
- **RQ5: Were ON-AIR news personnel permitted to wear such visible symbols BEFORE September 11, 2001?**
- **RQ6: Has your newscast used an ON-AIR graphic "slug" or slogan related to the September 11, 2001 attacks? (Examples: "America Under Attack," "Attack on America," etc.)**

**PLEASE LIST YOUR STATION'S "SLUG(s)": America Under  
Attack, America on Alert, America Strikes Back , Americans United**

- **RQ7: As of OCTOBER 11, 2001, was your newscast STILL USING an ON-AIR graphic "slug" or slogan related to the September 11, 2001 attacks (such as "America Under Attack," "Attack on America," etc.)?**
- **RQ8: If you wish to comment further, please do so here:**

## **Methods**

This research was conducted in a single phase, without special funding, and was designed to capture the drama of the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. Email questionnaires were sent to some 664 local TV email addresses, obtained from a national database of news executives used by the National Association of Broadcasters and others in the industry. One hundred forty-two stations responded substantively to the survey, which we estimate to be a response rate of approximately 25%. (The addresses were not verified before the surveys were sent; approximately 100 of the addresses proved inactive or inaccurate. The remainder apparently reached their destinations, but did not elicit responses. For the purposes of this study, neither geographic nor demographic correlations were made for the responding stations, so conclusions have not been drawn involving these distinctions; it may be possible to do so in a follow-up analysis.

The questions on the survey were closed-ended, although respondents were offered an opportunity to contribute additional thoughts, and many did so.

Surveys were emailed to stations on October 16, 2001, nine days after the U.S. bombing campaign began in Afghanistan. A follow-up email was sent a few weeks later to prompt additional respondents. TV news directors were asked merely to answer the

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multiple-choice questions, add comments if they wish, and “reply” to the original message. Responses were initially sorted into “yes” and “no” categories, based on whether stations had used patriotic symbols after September 11. Later, responses to all questions were tabulated and lists were developed of newscast slogans. A compilation of miscellaneous comments was also made, and the results are reflected in this report.

It is worth noting again that the surveys were emailed during one of the greatest intensity news environments in recent memory, addressed to news executives who, together with their staffs, were under extraordinary pressure to respond to the news. Under these circumstances, we are not surprised that many surveys went unanswered.

Despite the pressures, the responses received, we believe, accurately reflect the patriotic atmosphere in local television news after September 11, 2001. While the response rate requires us to be cautious about generalization, we believe anecdotal observations made nationwide, as well as observations of national and global news broadcasts, strongly support these results.

## **Findings**

*Were patriotic symbols, such as U.S. flags, graphics of flags, red-white-and-blue effects reminiscent of flags, etc. used on newscasts after September 11, 2001?*

- Not surprisingly, two-thirds of the local TV stations responding indicated they used on-air patriotic symbols after September 11.
- However, this initial finding also reveals what we believe is a more interesting underlying result: One third of the respondents, a sizeable minority, did not use such symbols. We believe this resistance to an overwhelming patriotic

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tendency implies news executives felt considerable unease about the use of patriotic symbols.

- As a control observation, 88% of respondent stations indicated that they had not used patriotic symbols in newscasts before September 11. Fewer than 10% used them, which we believe reinforces our conclusion that news personnel were fundamentally resistant to the idea before the attacks occurred.

Comments from news directors:

- “We are a network owned station and there is some flag waving in some of the network graphics, but we do not use them in news.”
- “While we don't have a specific policy regarding our on-air personnel wearing patriotic symbols, they have all chosen not to wear them. The only exception has been a patriotic tie worn a couple of times by our chief meteorologist.”
- “Some of our artwork does contain flag motifs. This is not intended as a patriotic display, any more than using a Iraqi flag in a story about Iraq is intended to boost Iraqi patriotism. We do not run ‘theme coverage’ graphics constantly throughout our war coverage as some of our competitors and the networks are doing.”
- “Our basic color palette is red, white and blue, so we've periodically used it in conjunction with a flag motif when appropriate, but the frequency of that has naturally been much higher since September Eleventh.”
- “We did [use patriotic graphics after Sept. 11] but we stopped once the President suggested all flags go back to full staff.”
- “We have produced special news opens for ‘America Fights Back.’ Produced in-house, the newscast producers use it when leading with coverage related to the military action and/or terrorist attacks. Producers can choose between that open, the regular news open and a breaking news open which we already had created. The ‘America Fights Back’ open is simple, integrates a flag subtly in the background, utilizes our news music but a more somber cut, and includes the words America Fights Back on the screen at the end.”

*Were local TV news anchors permitted to wear visible patriotic symbols, such as lapel pins or ribbons, on-the-air during newscasts after September 11?*

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- Eighty-four percent of news directors responding said anchors were allowed to wear such symbols during newscasts.
- Just 14% said anchors were prohibited from wearing patriotic symbols.

*Were local TV news anchors encouraged to wear visible patriotic symbols, such as lapel pins or ribbons, on-the-air during newscasts after September 11?*

- A small number of stations actively encouraged newscasters to wear patriotic symbols. One news director told us: “We have made flag lapel pins available to on-air staff and to viewers. No one is required.”
- A large number of news directors apparently drew a distinction between permitting the wearing of patriotic symbols and encouraging such symbols. Seventy-nine percent of respondents (105 stations) said they did not encourage anchors to wear symbols on-the-air after September 11. A small minority of 18% (23 stations) encouraged such symbols.
- We believe this result is a strong and significant indication that news executives harbored latent concerns about the propriety of wrapping TV news in the flag, even as they allowed patriotism to envelope their newscasts.
- This conclusion is clouded somewhat by the result showing that nearly two thirds (63%) of the news directors said their anchors had been permitted to wear such symbols before September 11. More than one third (37%) said such symbols were prohibited at their stations before the September attacks. However, the significance of this response is diminished by the fact that several stations reported that the issue of wearing symbols on the air had not previously arisen; in effect, the results may indicate a (perhaps flawed) “hindsight” view of what might have been allowed before September 11.

Comments from news directors:

- “I have left this up to the anchors themselves. I feel it's a personal decision, not a decision to be ordered for or against. We did not have a station policy regarding this matter before Sept. 11th.”
- “There are “rules” about wearing flags or ribbons; several anchors did in the days immediately following the attacks. Our newsroom culture does not reinforce this kind of behavior and the badges went away.”
- “We gave our people the option to wear a small flag or ribbon. It is a personal choice. Most of our talent is not wearing a patriotic symbol.”

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- “I have listened and read everything about what wearing flag pins mean, or what kind of messages they send. I also understand that we need to stay unbiased about the news we report; but this situation is the most different situation we have ever been under as this type of industry. This is not like the Gulf War, when many Americans didn't fully understand why we were there...or fully believe the reasons given. This was a clear cut attack on all of us, and I don't think there is any shame, or that it is jumping on a band wagon to wear a simple American flag on your suit jacket as an anchor. We all need to support each other, and support the brave men and women who will be carrying out the most nasty part of this operation. I don't command or encourage anyone to wear a flag. But, I won't not allow it either. I leave it up to each person.”
- “For the first few days after Sept. 11, anchors hand made lapel ribbons to wear and shared them. The following week we explained that such display of patriotism, although understandable and heartfelt, was not appropriate for on-air because it inevitably tainted the information we were presenting.”
- “We have a long-standing policy against anchors wearing any kind of ribbon on the air. We did not waive this policy in the wake of the attack. Our refusal to wear ribbons caused quite a stir in the market after a newspaper critic noticed our competitors were wearing them but we were not. We received several days of negative publicity and angry viewer feedback, but we answered every call and e-mail and did not reverse our position. Our policy has never specifically addressed the issue of U.S. flag lapel pins and we did not forbid our anchors to wear those. Some did.”
- “Anchors wore small lapel ribbons for several days after the initial WTC attack as a symbol of sympathy and support for the victims. We did not wear flags or put patriotic symbols on graphics.”
- “Anchors and reporters have always been free to wear ribbons for anti-drug campaigns, breast cancer awareness and such.”
- “If they didn't want to [wear symbols] they didn't have to. But everyone wanted to.”
- “Ribbons were worn by anchors during the period of time the nation's flags were at half-staff.”
- “Here in Philadelphia, there has been a great deal of debate over wearing of Flag pins. A couple of stations distributed them to anchors, at least one directed their anchors to wear them. We decided that while we would not supply pins, or direct anchors to wear them, they were free to do so if they wished. So far, none of our anchors has worn a flag pin on the air.”
- “On Friday, September 14, a woman stopped at our studios and left a basket of red, white and blue ribbons. The General Manager and the News Director considered the implications. A decision was made that each on air employee could make an individual decision about wearing a ribbon while working.

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Some did. After two weeks one was any longer wearing a patriotic ribbon while on air.”

*Use of patriotic “slugs” or slogans*

Partly as a result of simple and sophisticated computer technology which developed during the 1990’s, television news has become increasingly graphics intensive. By the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, even local TV stations were able to generate elaborate on-screen visuals incorporating photos, video and words. The September 11 attacks prompted stations to use this capability extensively, and an overwhelming number of stations almost instantly adopted graphics built around a “slug” or slogan encapsulating a patriotic theme.

Eighty-four percent of the respondents said they used an on-air patriotic slogan following the attacks. These slogans served as banners for newscasts and individual stories. Respondents listed dozens of slogans, most incorporating the word “America” and reflecting the patriotic mood of the nation.

On-air Slogans listed by respondent news broadcasts in this study

America at War	America Stands Together	Day of Terror
America Attacked	America Strikes Back	Estados Unidos en Guerra
America Fights Back	America Under Attack	Healing of America
America in Crisis	America Under Siege	Hometown Heroes
America Mourns	America United	Operation Enduring Freedom
America on Alert	America Unites	Operation Infinite Justice
America on Guard	America’s War on Terrorism	Terrorism Hits America
America Recovers	Americans United	Terrorists Strike America
America Responds	Assault on America	The Spirit of America

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America Rising

Attack on America  
War on Terror

U.S. at War  
United We Stand

Most stations indicated their use of slogans began immediately after the September 11 attacks. In an attempt to discover whether commencement of the U.S. bombing of Afghanistan had changed anything about the use or nature of such slogans, we asked whether they remained in use after October 11, 2001. (The U.S. bombing campaign began on October 7, 2001, a Sunday.) Most stations reported their use of slogans continued, although many indicated the text of their slogan had changed once U.S. retaliation had begun. One hundred three stations reported using slogans before October 11; ninety-three continued using them after the bombing began.

Although the change is slight, we believe the reduction in use of slogans again hints again at latent discomfort among news executives with the display of overt patriotism once U.S. forces began a war campaign. This issue is illustrated by the comment from a news director about the station's use of patriotic symbols on its anchors:

- “[Our station] has allowed on-air talent to wear symbols in the past i.e. Breast Cancer Awareness Month. Furthermore, on-air talent was allowed to wear patriotic symbols immediately following the events of September 11th, however, were forbidden to wear them after the first military strikes on October 7th.”
- “We didn't use slogans so we wouldn't be sensationalizing the event.”
- “Symbols were permitted the first ten days only.”

### **Conclusions**

The results of this study strongly confirm that local TV stations view themselves as “partners” with their viewers, who, after the September 11 attacks were widely reported

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to be feeling vulnerable, hurt and angry. By displaying flags, slogans and lapel pins, local television demonstrated “solidarity” with these viewers. Like consumer segments which, for years, have used monikers such as “Seven on Your Side,” the slogans and symbols used after September 11 told viewers the journalists of their local television station were “on their side” following the attacks.

But persistent indicators in the survey suggest that news executives were somewhat uncomfortable in this situation. The sizeable minority of stations which did not employ patriotic symbols, the drop in slogan use after U.S. retaliation began, and the strong resistance to *encouraging* anchors to wear patriotic symbols on the air suggests a feeling among news directors that there was “something wrong with the picture”

American TV news presented to its viewers after September 11.

Comments from news directors:

- “We do not allow patriotic symbols such as flags on our set. I believe it is self-serving and takes advantage of a tragic situation. ‘Look at us, we’re more patriotic than the other guys. Watch us instead.’ It can also give the impression to some viewers -- including those who are not citizens -- that our reporting may be slanted towards the government or a particular point of view. I tell our staff the most patriotic thing we can do is exercise the First Amendment, and to reflect our community in a fair, accurate and balanced manner. Those stories certainly feature plenty of red, white and blue.”
- “Our anchors and reporters wore flag lapels and put up a red/white/blue decoration on the set for two weeks, then we took them down.”
- “I assume you are aware of the situation at the NBC affiliate in Columbia, Missouri, owned by the University of Missouri school of journalism. The news director there banned anchors from wearing patriotic displays. A few state legislators have been rattling his cage about it. My own view is that in the period right after September 11th, emotions were running high. We had one anchor buy some ribbons, make them into a small lapel display, and distribute them to any anchors who chose to wear them. Some did for two or three days, some didn’t. I was aware of it and saw no reason to interfere. I believe they were tastefully done and were done in a genuine display of patriotism. I am not aware of one single protest from our viewers. Frankly,

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our newsroom and our country had a lot bigger things to worry about than starting a fuss over a piece of ribbon, although I would vigorously defend any news director's right to make a decision on this without interference from politicians.”

Some respondents reacted to this study itself, suggesting either that asking such questions is somehow unpatriotic or that asking them raises unnecessary issues:

- “I think some are making much more of this issue than it needs. Quite spontaneously, my anchors put on American flag ribbons in the first days after the attack. After a week and a half, we all agreed, they were no longer appropriate as we began to cover stories on an appropriate response. Disagreeing with the Bush administration should in no way imply a lack of patriotism. The president, himself, said get back to normal life as much as possible, so we did. Of course there are flag elements in our graphics on some stories, just as there were/are on election stories. That's called appropriate art for the story. We also have been quite conscious of covering dissenting voices.”
- “My feeling is that these symbols are a symbol of the spirit of this diverse country, not an endorsement of government, not an statement with political overtones.”
- “I am aware of the ‘ethical concerns’ of some journalists about wearing red, white and blue symbols on air. But, while at our station we have left it to the discretion of each individual, I would remind those opposed that journalists are the only professionals protected in their jobs by the constitution. The ability to report the events of September 11 and thereafter without government interference is a uniquely American freedom. I am opposed to displays of partisanship by reporters who must be fair and objective, but displaying citizenship or pride therein is not partisan.”
- “Any journalist who believes that by displaying the symbol of our nation that he/she cannot be an objective, responsible journalist is either: 1) a lousy journalist 2) a lousy American. Our flag is not Democratic or Republican, it is not George Bush's flag or Ted Kennedy's flag. It belongs to EVERY American, bought and paid for by the bloodshed and sacrifices of millions of American soldiers and citizens. If I can't be an excellent journalist and a proud American, then I don't deserve to be either. This is the saddest controversy I've ever seen the media embroiled in.”

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We believe this study suggests that in the face of overwhelming patriotic pressure from their communities and from the federal government, news executives suppressed fundamental questions about the role of TV news in American society:

1. Can flag-waving broadcast journalists sustain their credibility among their audience *vis a vis* government activity?
2. Will viewers trust television news to report candidly on government misbehavior in the future, especially when government activity does not appear as “proud” as it did immediately after September 11?

These questions are not idle speculation. Even in times of war, television news has played an important role in the American system of checks and balances on government.

- Americans discovered during the Vietnam War that U.S. forces engaged in discomfoting episodes when, in 1968, hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed by U.S. ground troops in My Lai.
- The government’s claims of accuracy and success for “Patriot” anti-missile weapons during the Gulf War were proven exaggerated (at best) or false (at worst) months after the war ended.
- Americans to this day have not been given a credible estimate of casualties suffered during the Gulf War.
- Even in the retaliation for September 11, conducted against terrorist operatives and supporters in Afghanistan, the U.S. government has reluctantly admitted several instances of error, resulting in casualties of U.S. troops and Afghan

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“friendly” civilians. Likewise, the extent of casualties in Afghanistan has not been reported.

Patriotic symbols in newscasts would seem inappropriate if journalists were reporting on such stories.

Although this study did not tackle network, national or global newscasts, there is ample evidence, even in the results of this survey, that these institutions powerfully influenced their affiliated stations.

Comments from news directors:

- “Whatever NBC News uses, we use.”
- “Our graphic branding has mirrored the slogan CBS has used during each phase of the story.”
- “We conform to the NBC slug at the time.”

Observation confirms that network and national news organizations followed similar practices after September 11, and many news directors responding to this survey indicated they followed the lead of their networks in the choice of slogans and symbols. It seems reasonable to conclude that if local news directors were uneasy with their decisions about patriotic symbols, those questions probably were raised at the network level, as well.

In this connection, anecdotal evidence at the network level suggests the use of patriotic symbols raised powerful arguments when the audience-media relationship was not as simple and clear as the relationship between local TV news organizations and their communities. Executives at CNN International, the news network which broadcasts outside the United States, initially switched their programming to carry the “live” coverage of the September 11 attacks being broadcast by CNN’s domestic U.S. channel.

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A confrontational debate among domestic and international news executives over the use of patriotic symbols erupted within a few days of September 11, 2001. International news executives argued that the patriotic symbols were not appropriate for a global audience which included many viewers who disagree with U.S. government policies. That debate did not result in an agreement on how patriotic symbols should be used. As a result, executives of CNN International abruptly dropped their carriage of CNN domestic's signal, substituting separately-produced programming and eliminating U.S. centric patriotic graphics, slugs and symbols from the international signal.<sup>ix</sup>

It remains to be seen whether the experience of television patriotism in the wake of September 11 has permanently altered the lens through which Americans will receive their news from TV; in other words, whether September 11, like Vietnam, turns out to be a watershed in the relationship between news media and government. Observation of the use of patriotic symbols over time, and surveys of audience perceptions of TV news, could help document such a shift, or reject such a conclusion.

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<sup>i</sup> Michael Miner, media columnist for the Chicago Reader, in "Patriotism and the News" by Gina Barton. Quill Magazine, December, 2001. p. 19

<sup>ii</sup> Edward R. Murrow. CBS News "Christmas in Korea" television documentary 1953.

<sup>iii</sup> Cronkite's "public service announcement" soliciting public contributions for Radio Liberty was prepared by CBS News in cooperation with the U.S. government and aired on a voluntary basis by television stations. Revelations about C.I.A. financing for the radio operations occurred after press reports and in congressional hearings in the 1970's.

<sup>iv</sup> The New York Times complied with a request from President John F. Kennedy in October, 1962 to delay publication of details of Soviet missile deliveries to Cuba. ABC News correspondent John Scali conveyed two-way messages about the crisis between the White House and a top Soviet intelligence officer in Washington during the crisis.

<sup>v</sup> Cronkite's 1968 broadcast editorial suggesting the Vietnam War had become a "stalemate" is widely reported to have contributed to President Lyndon B. Johnson's subsequent decision to drop out of the running for re-election.

<sup>vi</sup> Existence of Nixon's media "enemies list," first reported in the press, was confirmed in subsequent congressional testimony and in audiotapes preserved by Mr. Nixon himself.

<sup>vii</sup> See, e.g. McLeod, D. M., Eveland, W. P., Jr., & Signorielli, N. (1994). Conflict and public opinion: Rallying effects of the Persian Gulf War. *Journalism Quarterly*, 72, 20-31.

<sup>viii</sup> Barton, p. 18

<sup>ix</sup> Personal interviews with news executives at CNN headquarters in Atlanta. November, 2001