



LUND UNIVERSITY

Acting Vigilante

**Analyzing Newspaper Coverage of Vigilantism
To Understand American Elites, Media, and the State**

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Abstract

The cellphone footage of Daniel Penny, a 24-year-old white man in his twenties, choking the life out of Jordan Neely, a 30-year-old Black man, in a New York City subway car during the summer of 2023 made headlines around the globe. The story took off in part because it was identified by the press as existing within the long history of American vigilantism, one that dates to the very founding of the nation. This tragedy mirrored a similar saga nearly 40 years prior when Bernhard Goetz, dubbed the “Deathwish Gunman” and “Subway Vigilante” by the newspapers, shot four Black teenagers whom he deemed to be a threat.

Previous scholarship on the Goetz case has revealed racialized news coverage, the role of surveillance, news narratives, and parallels to pop culture. While many of these ideas are incorporated into this project, my thesis instead positions itself between the scholarly field of American vigilantism and the political economy of the media. Through a deep engagement with the history and theories behind both subjects historically and contemporaneously, I demonstrate that the study of one without the other is incomplete. Vigilantism can be found in more than just subway cars; it is in C-suites and woven into the very fabric of media institutions. Taking the widely accepted definitions of vigilantism too literally limits one’s understanding of an incredibly influential component of American social, political, cultural, and legal life. The overarching goal of this thesis is to apply the definitional elements of vigilantism to pressing issues of our time: the role of the state, elites, and the media, unearthing the presence of a pernicious ‘vigilante spirit’ in American society.

The theoretical perspectives of radical mass media criticism and vigilantism studies, focused on three actors: the state, the elites, and the media, inform my study of the 169 news articles upon which I conducted frame analysis. The articles range in time, by crime, and by genre of newspaper. Four frames are extracted, two for both vigilantism and my benchmark crime of choice, fare evasion: *Anti-hero Vigilante*, *Urban Realities and its Victims*; *the Necessity of Police*, and *Terror Below*. My analysis reveals a consistent construction of “others” across coverage of crime, used as scapegoats to generate fear of public spaces that demand violent intervention from state or private individuals. The thesis shows that newspapers owned and operated by elites can’t cover vigilantism and crime without constructing a violent social order, because the institution of media in America is itself vigilante in nature.

Keywords: vigilantism, journalism, frame analysis, violence, Bernhard Goetz, Daniel Penny

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A thesis is not made strictly by one individual's efforts.

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1. Introduction

Contemporary Vigilantism Cases

Four wounded teenagers, Barry Allen, Troy Canty, James Ramseur, Darrell Cabey, and one slain man, Jordan Neely, all young men Black whose lives were shaped by poverty and failed systems, are forever tied together by more the location of their attacks, the New York City subway system. They are linked together because their assailants, Bernhard Goetz and Daniel Penny, also share a bond—both were branded as vigilantes by the media. The term was never fully defined by the same media, or perhaps more correctly, it was defined through a particular frame that created more positive connotations than negative ones. Key components of vigilantism were largely omitted from this frame in the elite-owned media. This meant that the inherent conservatism to vigilantism, which is a desire to enact retribution through maintenance of the status quo rather than a purely extrajudicial attempt at justice, and a fundamental alignment with the dominant views of the economic and social elites were excluded. This led to framing that did more to valorize the vigilante individuals than to hold them accountable.

Both Goetz and Penny were described by their peers as mild-mannered individuals with no documented history of violence towards others, although Penny did serve in the military. The attacks took place during periods of heightened societal and economic upheaval, where stories of lurid crime in cities dominated headlines in newspapers across the country. These events were simultaneously narrated as evidence of social breakdown and an inevitable, all-too-common violent outcome typical of American life. Nearly four decades apart, these two individuals are connected by one of America's original sins, the vigilante spirit.

Bernhard Goetz, a white man in his late thirties, unloaded his handgun at Barry Allen, Troy Canty, James Ramseur, and Darrell Cabey—four Black teenagers—on December 22, 1984, in a Manhattan subway car. Each received a single gunshot, with Cabey suffering a second shot that left him paralyzed below the waist. The shooting occurred after the teenagers asked Goetz for money, which he perceived as a threat to rob him. Unbeknownst to him, the teenagers carried screwdrivers and had prior arrest records. Goetz himself was illegally carrying a firearm and fled the scene before turning himself in to police several days later. The event quickly became a national news frenzy, with politicians condemning Goetz.

However, Goetz became something of a hero, coined the “Deathwish Gunman” and a “vigilante” by the media and soon the public.

On May 1, 2023, Daniel Penny, a 24-year-old white former U.S. Marine, fatally choked Jordan Neely, a 30-year-old Black unhoused man, on a crowded NYC train. Three minutes of the incident was captured on cellphone video, which included the final moments of Neely’s life and Penny continuing to choke him after his body had gone limp. Penny was questioned by the police but was not initially charged with a crime. However, he was later charged with several counts, including negligent homicide, following backlash from the public and several prominent local politicians. The details of precisely what prompted the killing have not been litigated definitively in the courts as of this thesis, but some witnesses have claimed that Neely was acting erratically. Neely was unarmed and did not initiate any physical contact with any passengers before his death.

Vigilantism, the Vigilante Spirit, and Why This Matters

This thesis is about more than conventional notions of vigilantism, physical violence, and how it's framed by the media. It is about examining what vigilantism and the vigilante spirit, the underlying ideology underpinning vigilante violence, is, where it can be found in American society and institutions, and why identifying it matters. The academic task of tracing vigilantism in America through its various forms, movements, and trends largely died in the 1970s, although key works on the topic have been published since (Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Pearson, 2022). Vigilantism, as classically defined, was no longer as quantitatively impactful as it was during its peak in the 19th century (Brown, 1975; Burrows, 1976; Caughey, 1960; Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976).

This can be attributed to several factors, chief among them being that 19th-century vigilantes, many of whom were economic, political, and social elites, were able to mold society to their benefit (Culberson, 1990; Pearson, 2022). In large part because of this, the elites themselves, once the dominant vigilante demographic, no longer had to engage in acts or movements of vigilantism themselves. Vigilantism, as Culberson (1990) notes, became institutionalized. Traditional vigilantism couldn’t shake its association with an inherent rugged, frontier image that no longer matched an increasingly urban and middle-class country. Even when incidents

of violence matched much of the criteria of vigilantism, newspapers no longer characterized these incidents as such (Culberson, 1990; Madison, 1973).

I approach this thesis from a media perspective, rooted in both a Marxist understanding of political economy and social constructionism. This is because the media is a pivotal, yet understudied, component in vigilantism. The scale of vigilante movements—organized groups of vigilantes who acted in service of white, conservative, elite interests against those who deviated from their vision of society—peaked in the late 19th century. During this same time, the elite-owned, corporate newspaper system we have today came into being. By tracing the history of modern newspapers through the lens of vigilantism, critical insights into the social and material world can be gained. “The role of the news media becomes acutely important in times during which “law and order” has become...a political rallying point” (Meyer, 1975). Scholarship has consistently identified the 1980s as such a time, and similar trends are being documented routinely for this decade (Low, 2006; Ryan, 2021).

Although this paper is not the first to conduct frame or content analysis on coverage of the Goetz case, my project is unique in the scope of the argumentation, which is aided by the comparative study of a dissimilar type of crime during similar timeframes (Brooks, 1998; Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017). In doing so, I build off the relatively narrow-in-scope core findings of the existing literature regarding coverage of contemporary vigilantism and place it into a theoretical and conceptual framework that engages with the institution of media itself.

Malcolm X once said, “If you aren’t careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing” (1964). This thesis examines the implications of this statement’s truth beyond an analysis of the frames presented in newspapers. By situating news frames in a broader historical context through the lens of vigilantism, the thesis addresses what I argue is a core reason why scholarship in the 21st century suggesting media reforms has largely missed the mark. Newspapers owned and operated by elites such as billionaire Washington Post owner Jeff Bezos, the New York Times’ ultra-wealthy Ochs-Sulzberger family, or the owner of the hedge fund that owns the New York Daily News, Randall D. Smith, are incapable of reform.

The problem goes beyond the simple fact that newspapers are owned by elites, who by and large have acquired their wealth in a manner that is economically violent and

quasi-individualist, yet still reliant on the state, resembling classic vigilante fashion. The issue underlying framing bias in news coverage of crime is that the journalistic values, norms, and structures that have become doctrine since elites have come to own media institutions all work to uphold the same racially hierarchical, capitalist, and fundamentally violent and unjust system that vigilantes have sought to uphold since the American Revolution. American corporate newspapers are beholden to the vigilante spirit, fundamentally structured and operated in a manner that makes them unable to think about crime in a way that isn't ideologically similar to the way vigilantes have thought about social issues and their solutions.

Aims and Research Questions

My aims for this thesis are twofold. The first is to identify and argue for the ways in which the vigilante spirit is present in my study of three relevant actors who are involved in news production and who have an inordinate impact on American life and vigilantism: the state, the media, and the elites. I seek to reinterpret the dominant American academic notions of vigilantism and apply the definitional elements of the phenomenon to the institution of media and the elites that own newspapers. My second aim is to pull out the frames present in my dataset of vigilante and fare evasion coverage. This compliments my first aim by demonstrating that a vigilante press, as I identify it, owned by the elites, is not capable of covering vigilante violence or crime more broadly in a way that doesn't replicate material racial and class power dynamics.

My research questions are:

1. How do the actors involved in news production and coverage manifest the vigilante spirit?
2. How are the acts of subway vigilantism committed by Bernhard Goetz in 1984 and Daniel Penny in 2023 framed by elite and tabloid newspapers?
3. How do these frames compare to the frames found in news coverage of fare evasion in the years leading up to the Bernhard Goetz Daniel Penny cases?

Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into four parts. In the Literature Review, I present my synthesis, argumentation, and positioning of existing scholarship on the topics of vigilantism, the

vigilante spirit, and the relationship the two have with the state, the media, and the elite. An overview of my chosen methodology, frame analysis, as well as an explanation for my chosen approach, dataset, and a step-by-step writeup of how I conducted the method is found in the following chapter, Methodology and Methods. In my Analysis chapter, I present my findings from conducting the methodology on my dataset and detail the four frames, two uncovered in the vigilante data and two in the fare evasion data. In the final chapter, I reflect on my findings, their implications, and avenues for future research in the Conclusion.

2. Literature Review

This chapter outlines the thesis' theoretical grounding and relevant historical overview of key concepts. The first part deals with vigilantism and the vigilante spirit, what they are, and how they are different. The second part situates three actors—the state, the elites, and the media—within the phenomenon of vigilantism historically. The third part details how the vigilante spirit manifests through these actors through news processes and outcomes, which result in certain news frames around vigilantism and crime that are discussed in the Analysis chapter.

American Vigilantism

Vigilantism refers to the act of individuals or groups, also referred to commonly as “movements,” who engage in private forms of coercion and violence outside the formal legal system (Obert, 2018). In the American context, the phenomenon has been shaped by slavery, racial tensions, economic interests, and the struggle for racial control and white hegemony that frequently benefits groups of economic elites or the capitalist system (Culberson, 1990, Obert, 2018). Although the “phenomenon of vigilantism appears to be native to America” (Brown, 1975: 22), there are many examples of vigilantism across the globe in the 20th and 21st centuries (Abrahams, 1998; Pratten & Sen, 2008; Robson & Spina, 2022). My review of the literature focuses on vigilante violence and the vigilante spirit in the American context since vigilantism is rooted in the fabric of American politics, law, and society. “The first vigilante movement in American history was in 1767. From then until about 1900, vigilante activity was an almost constant factor in American life” (Brown, 1975: 96). Scholars on the subject of vigilantism note that the Revolutionary War that led to the formation of the nation was both functionally a vigilante movement and rooted in the vigilante ideology and tradition that has strongly colored its history ever since (Brown, 1975; Caughey, 1960; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976).

Definitions of vigilantism vary slightly, but all scholars who have written extensively on the subject identify several key tenets of American vigilantism. These scholars note that vigilantism is the private exercise of power to enact punishment in an extralegal manner, rooted in conceptions of an imagined “common good” and traditional, often conservative notions of law and order. Literature on the subject identifies proximity to capital or influential individuals and groups, a focus on preserving an often white, conservative economic and frequently ethnic or racial status quo, and the use of coercion or violence to do so as the key

elements of American vigilantism (Brown, 1975; Burrows, 1976; Caughey, 1960; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Pearson, 2022; Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976).

In addition, racial and class surveillance is an element of vigilantism that Mann (2017) and Cazenave (2018) focus on, that I argue can be expanded to include the vigilante functions of the media, and of the broader ideological endeavor that so many billionaires, including those who own newspapers, engage in. Indeed, surveillance that results in violence seems the logical outcome of both America's media culture and the broader national, possibly unique, emphasis on racialized private property, including in a diverse and broadly liberal city like New York (Cazenave, 2018; Low, 2006; Mann, 2017; Price, 1995; Williams, 1991).

Although the underlying ideology behind vigilantism has remained constant, scholarship argues that American vigilantism in practice can be broken down into several historical trends and classifications. Robson and Spina (2022: 10) write that there are “two principal ways” in which vigilantism has operated historically. “One refers to the kinds of actions undertaken to preserve and buttress existing power” and the other is the “seeker after justice on behalf of the oppressed” (Robson & Spina, 2022: 10). Within those categories, vigilantes commonly purport to be enacting punishment on behalf of the ‘greater good.’ In the American context, at least, and particularly for the frequently upper-class perpetrators of vigilante violence, that meant more narrowly a lack of sufficient carceral or violent punishment from the state, as opposed to alternative methods of justice (Brown, 1975; 1991; Caughey, 1960; Culberson, 1990; Pearson, 2022). Scholars on the topic of vigilantism write that notions of personal and community self-defense, government accountability to the people, and an emphasis on private property feature heavily throughout the history of vigilante violence in the country, and are in many ways connected (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990; Fritz, 1994). However, the practical and theoretical binding of these concepts and how they are fostered over time, which I argue falls under the vigilante spirit, is not carried out by previous literature.

The Vigilante Spirit

The recurring definitional elements of vigilantism: being of the elites or acting, knowingly or not, in service of their view of society; racial and ethnic anger and desire for control over certain demographics; a fundamentally neoliberal or libertarian exercise of punishment or

authority rooted in economic contexts and being of a violent or coercive nature are noted by scholars as existing to varying degrees across American society (Brown, 1975; Caughey, 1960; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976). The combination of these elements sets vigilante movements or persons apart, but they are not solely inherent to what academics, or the general public, traditionally think of as vigilante.

Mann (2017) offers his take on a term used by Brown (1975: 191) “vigilante spirit” by putting it in the context of the Goetz shooting and subsequent media celebrity in the 1980s. “The vigilante spirit also encompassed the complex networks of thoughts and feelings that facilitated the turn away from state power that crystalized in the 1980s.” Noting the racial component of this spirit, Mann argues that

“The vigilante spirit thus enabled Goetz and others to assume that black and brown city-dwellers were threats, always-already beyond the capabilities of the police and the courts. It further endowed them with the extraordinary power to commit acts of extreme violence without the fear of prosecution” (2017: 57).

I believe that a more robust understanding of the vigilante spirit is necessary to understand American violence, media, and the ultra-wealthy, precisely because of their interconnected relationship, which Mann opts not to focus on. In this thesis, I offer a new understanding of the concept by linking Mann’s (2017) conception with the context of the Penny case. Additionally, by contextualizing the ‘vigilante spirit’ within the history of private violence, capitalism, and media that shaped the material nature of the vigilante acts and our understanding of them, the concept becomes more widely applicable. The vigilante spirit is what drives American newspapers, those who own them, and newspapers’ framing of crime. It contains many, if not all, of the aforementioned definitional components of vigilantism, but does not always directly manifest as a gun-toting individual with a faux-populist ideology.

The vigilante spirit speaks in part to the broader role of surveillance in society and vigilantism, and how the media plays a role in that cycle. Mann writes that in the context of the 1980s, surveillance is a “vector of power that was central to the racial construction of crime and the city” (2017: 59). Fiske’s (1998) theory of surveillance focuses on the racial implications of surveillance in urban environments and how they intersect with power dynamics and systems of oppression. I believe that that description is still applicable today. A

major trend observed by scholars is that major corporations (Bloom, 2019; Zuboff, 2019), owned and run by the ultra-rich, are working with the state (Levine, 2018) and occasionally independent of the state to expand surveillance of the public.

One example of the intersection between media ownership and surveillance capitalism can be found in Jeff Bezos, one of the world's richest men and owner of The Washington Post, one of America's leading newspapers, and his company Amazon's increasing role in data surveillance that has been weaponized by the police (Swisher, 2020). News coverage of crime involving non-elites is prone to bias and hegemonic racial and class framing by design, following certain predetermined "scripts" that result in further surveillance by the public (Alexander, 2012). Because of this, I argue that the very phenomenon of 'crime news' itself is a form of surveillance, particularly when contextualized historically. Fiske (1998) writes that what is essential to surveillance in American settings is that it is influenced by whiteness, which refers to the dominant social and cultural norms associated with white individuals. Whiteness, both as a construct of news coverage juxtaposed with a racialized "other" and as being endemic to processes and practices, such as objectivity, within the media is well documented (Alamo-Pastrana & Hoynes, 2020; Kil, 2020; Dixon, 2017). Both of these components of whiteness are crucial in manifesting the vigilante spirit, and acts of vigilantism, in American society.

Scholars writing about vigilantism do make the case, albeit often indirectly and through a narrower lens, that there is a 'vigilante spirit' shaping American institutions and society. Pearson (2022) focuses on the relationship between a period of expansive economic change following the American Civil War and how that helped fuel a relationship between Southern elites and vigilantism. Brown (1975; 1991) and other scholars note the dynamic between vigilantism and laws and important legal foundations of the country, as well as how consistent different strains of vigilante violence have been in the country since its founding. However, no scholars tie all the extensively researched and documented examples of vigilantism, and how it fits into and creates a vigilante spirit within society more generally, with the role of elites in American media since the 20th century.

My argument that the ultra-rich and the institution of media are inherently vigilante uses the approach of Carlson (2011), who adopts Foucault's (1975) genealogical method, looking at the history of vigilantism and the media separately, and their relationship together, in

combination with Elias' (2000) theory of a civilization process. In doing so, I contend that the "illegitimate" violence of vigilantes was legitimated by the civilizing nature of the institutions of policing that began in the second half of the 19th century. This violence is also civilized by the press' either tacit or outright approval of vigilantism, as demonstrated later in my analysis. It is also done so through the institutionalization of the vigilante spirit, found in the framing of extreme wealth as exemplified by the linguistic shift of "robber barons" to "billionaires" and "media owners," and the journalistic and institutional norms that exist in their newspaper businesses and the industry broadly.

Although the methodological approach differs, a similar linguistic approach is attempted by Schneier, looking at white-collar anti-communism, and by Kotecha and Walker's examination of the police in a book of essays about vigilantism (Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976). Additionally, Reichl's (2019) article builds off the works of foundational scholars on American vigilantism by classifying various social media and internet practices as vigilante or 'digilante.' However, these essays, especially Kotecha and Walker's (1976), do not thoroughly look at the history, role, and purpose of vigilantism in their analysis context. This leads to narrow conclusions and an insufficient account of how what they are studying is the inevitable outcome of American society. In the years since these essays, this approach to examining vigilantism has not recurred in American scholarship. Scholarship from the Global South on vigilantism frequently examines the vigilante nature of their respective police and military apparatuses. Scholarship on American vigilantism spends little time exploring how these same institutions meet several of the core requirements of vigilantism chiefly, and I argue most importantly: upholding an inherently conservative, racialized status quo through coercion and force. This difference could be attributed to the demographic populations targeted by these vigilante actors relative to the backgrounds of American scholars.

Figure 1 below illustrates the relationship between the sections in this chapter and how they lead to my analytical and methodological work in the following chapters. I have articulated why vigilantism and the vigilante spirit are critical features of American life worthy of further study. Each proceeding section of this chapter follows the middle columns in the chart, which contain the actors I identify as creating the vigilante spirit and engaging vigilantism from a more theoretical perspective. These actors work together, through the media, producing processes that I identify as the core components of news frames that are symbolic of the

vigilante spirit within journalism, and legitimize vigilante violence that I study in the Analysis chapter.

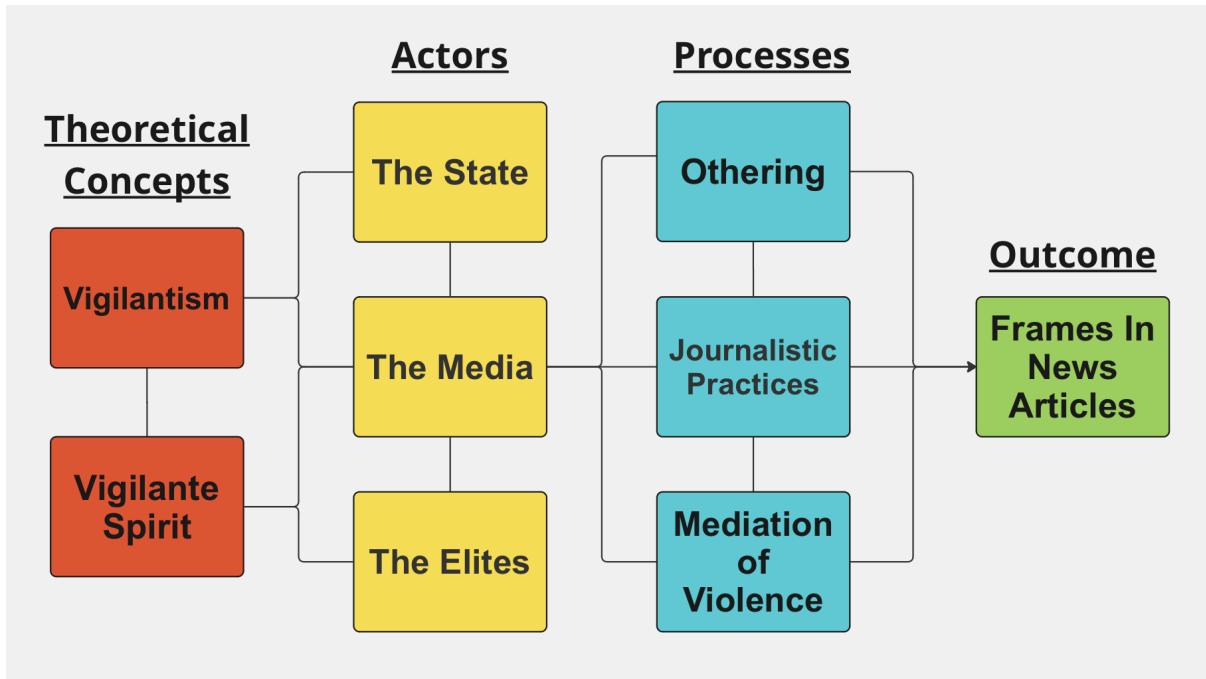


Figure 1: Conceptual Overview of Actors and Processes that Mediate the Vigilante Spirit

Key Actors: The State

This section will begin with a review of where vigilantism is positioned relative to the state in previous literature, much of which centers around Weber’s (1965; 1978) theory of the state’s monopoly on violence. The second part will deal with how elites have used the state in ways that have resulted in manifestations of the vigilante spirit.

Weber’s (1965; 1978) theory of the state’s monopoly on legitimate violence plays an important role in the history of how academics have categorized vigilantism, both directly and indirectly. The Weberian assumption is that the state, whether for positive or negative purposes or outcomes, maintains control over authorized violence. This legitimization is done through state institutions chiefly, but not exclusively. Some scholars note a tension between state-sanctioned violence, which is legitimated in the Weberian sense, and private violence and vigilantism (Carlson, 2019; Obert, 2018). Obert writes that state-sanctioned violence, which is legitimated in the Weberian sense, and private violence and vigilantism frequently coexist (2018: 239). Other scholars identify that the relationship between the state and media has become closer since the beginning of the 20th century, with elite sourcing, converging

ideology, personnel exchanges, and mutual dependence playing big roles in shaping news coverage (Hallin, 1989; Herman & Chomsky, 2008). While they do not single out the legitimization of vigilantism, they do write extensively about how the state and media work together to legitimize state and other forms of private violence.

Only more recent scholarship on vigilantism has engaged with the ideas of the implications of Weber's theory on non-physical violence and coercion perpetuated by or on behalf of the state (Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018). This may be in part due to the historical scale of private and public violence in American history, which is an understandable academic draw given the prevalence of violence in American pop culture and the relationship between masculinity and history scholarship. This focus is to the detriment of the study of the "political implications of seemingly exceptional levels of American violence" which can include the state's ability to legitimize physical violence, but also to enact institutional and economic violence on certain subgroups in covert ways (Obert, 2018: 258).

Weber's (1965; 1978) theory, either explicitly or implicitly, has been appropriately recontextualized into a media perspective by several scholars and naturally plays a major role in most scholarship about vigilante violence (Abrahams, 1998; Bjørgo & Mareš, 2019; Brown, 1976; Brown, 1991; Culberson, 1990; Gordon, 2020; Hallin, 1989; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Marx & Archer, 1976). However, there is insufficient literature directly tying the theory, with which vigilantism as a phenomenon is definitionally engaged, to the media's role in legitimizing the practice, moral righteousness, and necessity of vigilantism, on behalf of the state or private actors. This gap in scholarship is meaningful, especially given the significant role both media and vigilante justice have played in shaping the country's past and present, and the interplay between the two.

Gordon (2020) writes that there is a lack of scholarship that articulates that vigilante violence is happening not as an outgrowth of a "negligent" state or an illegitimate one, but as an extension of state power itself. "Patterns of violence may endure in communities, in part, because residents and police officials situationally endorse and authorize violence specialists and extrajudicial punishments as legitimate elements of a local security system" (Gordon, 2020: 1175). However, Gordon (2020), like many other scholars writing about private violence in America, does not put state endorsement and authorization of vigilantism in a media context.

There is insufficient literature detailing the extent to which vigilantes throughout America's history were ever a part of the military or any more formalized, legitimate state violence apparatus. However, scholars writing about vigilantes in other national contexts note the strong correlation between engaging in vigilante activity and being contemporaneously or formerly a part of a legitimate military or paramilitary organization (Bjørge & Mareš, 2019; Gordon, 2020). While literature shows a disproportionately high rate of American police being ex-military, it also notes systematic characteristics of the police as inhabiting vigilante traits (Balko, 2013; Carlson, 2011; Weichselbaum & Schwartzapfel, 2017). Belew (2018) documents many cases of military veterans joining paramilitary and neo-vigilante organizations. Additionally, some of the earliest urban police departments formed out of vigilante movements in the 19th century (Brown, 1975).

There is a gap in literature between the state's relationship with the more tangible, broadly accepted understandings of vigilantism, and the more abstract, theoretical approach. Belew (2018) almost exclusively covers the former by looking at people and organizations in vigilante movements who have ties to violent state institutions with little oversight and vigilante movements. Carlson (2011) and Balko (2013) take a more theoretical approach by, in a roundabout way, examining if and where there are any real differences between the actions of violent state actors and vigilantes. This gap is noteworthy because it does not exist to the same degree in non-American literature. Given the size and power of violent U.S. state institutions such as the police and military, there is significant room for scholars to further investigate these state and private violence dynamics.

Dubber (2005) and Kann (2005), among others, are scholars who do look at the ways private systems such as patriarchy into the market and state influential, violent ways, but they do not look at vigilantism specifically. Among scholars on the topic of American vigilantism, Obert (2018) comes closest to answering questions about the implications of vigilante violence on the state. However, his restricted look at what 'violence' is limits his conclusions about what the true implications of a nation shaped by vigilantism might be. The narrow focus on what the state is and what violence is by academics writing about vigilantism rarely pairs both an articulation of the state as extending into the actions of elites and the institution of the media with an examination of the state's role in vigilantism, a gap subsequent sections address.

“Vigilante fervor was not undiminished, only transferred to popular causes. The transference reduced the episodes of private individual violence as a local political component and created a national political component,” Culberson writes about the end of the 19th century (1990: 88). The end of the 19th century also saw the rise of media monopolies, owned by elite families at first and then conglomerates and private equity as the 20th and 21st century rolled on. These media owners slowly eliminated local news and local competitors, putting more emphasis on national audiences to maximize political influence and advertising returns (Emery, Emery, & Roberts, 1996; Schudson, 1978; McChesney, 2015).

To acquire the capital necessary to own and operate a newspaper, one must engage in forms of economic violence that I argue fall under the vigilante spirit. In Brown’s (1975) foundational book on American vigilantism, he refers often to the tension in American culture, violence, and almost perfectly exemplified by vigilantism, between lawlessness and lawfulness. Brown (1975) and Culberson (1990) contextualize the legal culture around the 19th and early 20th century, noting the relationship between the state frequently legitimizing extralegal acts of vigilantism. Brown (1975) also notes the cultural, but not the media, context that also often gave what were, frequently technically illegal, violent acts a permissible structure in polite, upper-class society.

Scholars write that the ultra-wealthy who have owned America’s newspapers since the late 19th century, and especially those who have owned newspapers that have been used to normalize and justify the deregulation of the media in the 1980s, have engaged in the lawless lawfulness that Brown (1975) writes marks much of the history of vigilantism (Barak, 2012; McChesney, 2015; McQuaig & Brooks, 2014). In particular, the American legal philosophy of popular sovereignty that underpins much of the vigilantism has been used by the elite to shape and reshape the legal system so that their economic activity always just skirts the line of being vigilante (Brown, 1975; Brown, 1991; Culberson, 1990; Fritz, 1994). Since the 1970s, that reshaping has been towards neoliberalism and a general privatization of society (Fraser, 2015). Parallel with the neoliberal media structure of the last half century, the nation has seen “Neoliberal violence, including physical violence produced by the military, police personnel, private security guards, and lynch mobs, and the structural violence of poverty and insecurity, are all grounded in the reforms of the neoliberal state and the cultural logic of privatization, flexibility, and self-help that accompanies them” (Goldstein, 2008: 259).

Key Actors: The Elites

Scholars continually note that until the beginning of the 20th century, the vigilante movements in America were driven by, and in many cases made up of, economic, social, and political elites (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2022; Pearson, 2022). For this thesis, my use of the term “elites” will refer specifically to the capitalist class, which includes those who own newspapers or have close ties with those who do. In the first half of this section, I will detail how American elites, who were frequently the ones making up the ranks of vigilante movements in the 18th and 19th centuries, were able to shape the nation in a way that freed them up from having to engage in violence themselves.

In the second half of this section, I will outline how existing literature articulates the ideology of the American ultra-wealthy, outlining the case that vigilantism and the vigilante spirit are at the root of their specific interest in newspaper ownership. I argue that the relationship between wealth accumulation, media ownership, and vigilantism exists, with each being an integral part of understanding the others’ consistent place in American society. Here, I make the case for the role of the vigilante spirit in the context of the political economy of the elite class that has owned and influenced American newspapers for nearly 150 years.

“The elite nature of nineteenth-century vigilante leadership is revealed by the prominent men who figured in vigilante movements; they included U.S. senators and congressmen, governors, lawyers, and capitalists. Even presidents of the United States were attracted to vigilantism” (Brown, 1975: 23).

However, as the economic and political systems rooted in capital accumulation and management became more and more institutionalized and orderly, working closer in concert with the legal system to shape the country, elites no longer felt the need to be as directly involved in vigilante movements (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Pearson, 2022). Scholars note that national politics began to take more of the attention of the elites, drawing their populist fervor away from local issues towards the end of the 19th century (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990).

“Elites and intellectuals forged the necessary rationalizations that justified social changes. The land of...rugged individuals was becoming a land of corporate

organization, of bureaucratic systematizers, and of associational activities. The “night watchman,” vigilant state...was giving way to active and continuous governmental intervention” (Culberson, 1990: 96).

Increasingly, elites' ability to craft the country in their image meant they could leave the dirty work of vigilante violence and physical coercion to the average, frequently white and conservative-leaning, citizen. More money could be made, more influence could be wielded, as local capital further began to more easily integrate into a country that had largely finished expanding its borders and began to professionalize its violence in the name of public safety (Obert, 2018).

Scholars also note the role of inequality, which largely progressed from the 18th century onward in American society as playing a role in sustained vigilantism in the 20th century (Culberson, 1990; Madison, 1973). However, these scholars on vigilantism do not address the role of the media in sustaining and normalizing inequality through the creation of the social world. This is a glaring omission that occurs frequently among historical scholarship on vigilantism and which this thesis seeks in part to address. Williams (1991) writes about the racialized component of the inequality, which led to poverty-induced crime that was then wielded by the elites for their agendas and contributed to racialized, urban vigilantism in the second half of the 20th century and onward. The media continues to frame them in a way that legitimizes vigilantes while demonizing the racialized “other” (Brooks, 1998, Mann, 2017).

Literature on the history of newspapers works to contextualize the history of journalistic norms, and what they say about American society more broadly during the times they have been reinforced and re-evaluated (Schudson, 1978; Sloan, 2017). Journalistic norms are “aspirational cues for occupational behavior,” and are not inherently problematic, in fact, quite the opposite (Zelizer et al. 2022: 46). But because they have been shaped and enforced by, frequently, white elites, they cater to the powerful to the detriment of all others (Zelizer et al. 2022). Despite juxtaposing the changing of these norms with trends in newspaper ownership, the role of ownership in the editorial product during the period of professionalization of journalism, in the decades preceding and following the turn of the 20th century, is frequently downplayed. Despite a myriad of examples showing owners meddling with their newspapers or exerting influence around journalistic norms and conventions during heightened periods of organized vigilantism, as well as more recently, literature largely

chooses to downplay these power dynamics in shaping journalism (Daly, 2018; Emery et al. 1996; Schudson, 1978; Sloan, 2017) with few exceptions (Fritz & Falk, 2007; Herman & Chomsky, 2008).

“Journalism today has much more in common with the elites it supposedly regulates than with the public,” which I attribute to the vigilante spirit present in a media ecosystem, and society more broadly, that has been shaped by elites (Scott & McChesney, 2006: 181). The historically consistent traits of journalism, proximity to elites, the faux-democratic nature of media rooted in biased hiring practices and manifesting in a mutually beneficial, muddled relationship with the state, and the insistence on conservative means of law and order that have existed since the 18th century through framing are all elements that are core to the practice of vigilantism. These journalistic norms persist today to the benefit of white elites, who have historically either been active vigilantes or aligned themselves with them (Len-Ríos, 2023; Pearson, 2022; Sloan, 2017; Zelizer, 2022).

Gitlin notes that hegemony across the media around particular news frames is partially rooted in “organizational policy, in recruitment and promotion: that is to say, in the internal structure of institutional power and decision” (1980: 28). Schudson argues that “When minorities and women and people who have known poverty or misfortune first-hand are authors of news as well as its readers, the social world represented in the news expands and changes” (1996: 8). More recent literature on diversity in newsrooms consistently emphasizes a pattern of discriminatory and biased hiring practices around journalists, and especially editors, thus limiting the social world accessible to readers (Jenkins, 2012; Torrez, Dupree & Kraus, 2024; Whitehouse, 2020). When hires that represent the diversity of American society are made, structural and ideological biases still inhibit their ability to challenge longstanding norms regarding news frames (Shafer, 1993). There is a major gap in academic scholarship that covers class biases in hiring practices around the issue of class diversity in American newsrooms (Albadry, 2022; Gottfried et al. 2022). While not 1:1 by any means, it is notable how historical vigilante demographics broadly mirror employment trends in elite newsrooms.

Key Actors: The Media

While there is not an abundance of literature regarding how the media has covered instances of vigilantism in the second half of the 20th century and beyond, some scholars do make note

of older trends in coverage on this topic. Pearson (2022), in particular, writes at length about the relationship between elites, newspapers, and vigilantism. “Newspaper articles were the most obvious information-dissemination tools promoted by elites to justify instances of anti-labor violence” (Pearson, 2022: 19). The focus of this project is on the newspaper industry that existed following the rise of media barons and consolidation, which Pearson’s (2022) book only captures the early decades of. Regardless, insight into the newspaper industry before the latter half of the 20th century helps identify the historical role of media.

Pearson (2022) repeatedly, with great detail, identifies examples of high-ranking newspaper employees and owners either backing vigilante movements because it was good for economic elites to do so or because of their own, more direct, economic interests. Vigilantes in the 19th and early 20th centuries enjoyed “easy access to society’s dominant opinion makers, and religious leaders, newspapermen, and prominent authors of articles and books presented businessmen, laborers, and the conflicts between them in ways that raised the status of elites while stigmatizing disobedient ordinary people” (Pearson, 2022: 18). I argue that this hegemonic dynamic has not changed in the time since. One 19th century newspaper editor and owner “regularly celebrated the terrorist activities of these employer-led leagues” and “dished out punishments directly and, as a newspaper editor, remained an unremorseful advocate of actions that led to the destruction of numerous livelihoods” (Pearson, 2022: 56). Pearson even quotes the newspaperman as saying that the medium existed to uphold “law and order” (2022: 57).

One possible reason for the lack of literature that chronicles how newspapers have treated vigilantism since its academically identified peak of power in the 19th century may be because of the newspaper coverage itself. Madison (1973: 139) notes one example of the NYT not classifying an obvious act of individual, racialized, vigilantism as such in the early 1970s. Culberson (1990) also notes the unwillingness of newspapers to identify certain racialized acts of vigilantism in the 20th century as such by newspapers. The lack of scholarship covering vigilante individuals since the 1970s, and the even rarer focus on media coverage of these actors and acts, coincides with a surge in violent crime in the country (LaFree, 1999). Given this gap in the literature, it is difficult to say how prevalent individualized vigilantism has been over the last century.

A trend noted in scholarship is a divide among workers in newsrooms. Sloan (2017) notes that despite a split over coverage of mob and vigilante ‘justice’ during the time of post-Civil War frontier expansion, editors largely backed these movements. I contend that this is because of the editor's closer proximity to the increasingly wealthy owners that purchased newspapers during this time in history, and the hegemony that proximity creates, in addition to the increased status and the requirements of that job title. Sloan (2017) writes that expressions of admiration for vigilante movements changed depending on market demands, but does not examine whether there was a more subtle shift in the framing of such instances beyond a broader move towards institutionalized forms of law and order. Pearson (2022) even notes examples of newspaper editors being involved in vigilante movements themselves. Eventually, while newspapers expanded their audiences over time, there was no longer a need for media elites to be as directly involved in vigilante movements for them to exert their influence.

This perspective contrasts with a widely held view among many American radical mass media criticism scholars. These scholars largely believe that commercialization is the root of problems in journalism, not the editors and reporters, who try to resist the norms and conventions imposed by the market-based system. While partially correct, I believe it is somewhat ahistorical and rooted in the strong admiration some scholars have for “crusading” journalists throughout American history, a history these scholars often simultaneously cast doubt on (O’Shea, 2011; Scott & McChesney, 2006). The identified role of editors, and their proximity to elite power and thought, puts them in positions where they associate with individuals who behave in vigilante ways, such as ruthless businessmen, and police officers, to name a few frequent sources that receive little pushback (Farhi & Izadi, 2020; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Pearson, 2022; Sloan, 2017; Zelizer, 2022). Their social and economic positioning above the average journalist, along with the norms they uphold, coalesces with the functions of the role that I argue are examples of the vigilante spirit in action, most notably the framing of “others” while largely valorizing vigilantism.

Another example noted by scholars is the dynamic between the market, as constituted by both the American consumers and the capitalists, and the impact on coverage of vigilantism. Brown writes of one instance when, early during the vigilance movement in San Francisco in 1856, a group became

“Angered by the arguments of John Nugent of the San Francisco *Herald*, who came out in favor of regular justice, the merchant vigilantes of ‘56 quickly organized an advertising boycott that transformed the Herald overnight from the strongest to the weakest of the city’s major dailies” (1975: 128).

Brown (1975) also notes that vigilance movements were not motivated by actual spikes in crime as much as they used the broader discursive moral panic about crime. These moral panics have been analyzed in the context of Goetz (Carlson, 2016) and Penny (Bump, 2023) cases, as attempts to take political power away from subaltern groups.

Obert (2018) identifies several other examples of well-connected organized vigilante groups using effective violence against those who published anti-slavery and anti-mob violence articles in their newspapers before the end of the Civil War and the rise of media monopolies. Given the more limited but symbolically impactful role of organized vigilante violence in American life after the 20th century, elites no longer needed increasingly negatively perceived vigilante violence to coerce newspapers into adhering to the views of the elite (Belew, 2018; Brown, 1975). They were able to influence society through media ownership, staffing, and advertising pressure.

There is a significant blind spot in the two major camps of books that focus on American vigilantism. The split is literature that focuses on the history of real-life vigilantism and its connection to power and the American state (Brown, 1975; Caughey, 1960; Culberson; 1990; Obert, 2018; Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1976) and the other with a focus on vigilantism in pop culture (Mann, 2017; Robson & Spina, 2022). Little sustained focus, particularly among scholars of vigilantism, is given to the role of journalism in covering acts of vigilante violence, or how vigilantism as an ideology extends beyond the act of ideologically driven, frequently organized physical violence directed toward an individual or group of individuals.

Brown (1975: 216-217) notes that one method of public persuasion against lynch mobs organized by vigilante and vigilante-adjacent white citizens was to start and staff their own newspapers. Interestingly, Brown (1975: 217) writes that it was through coverage of lynchings in the international press that ultimately generated significant pressure to help change American ‘lynch laws.’ Although there are not many documented examples of newspapers being started explicitly to further or fight back against vigilante causes, these

cases are notable in that they demonstrate the power of the media regarding vigilantism even well over a hundred years ago (Brown, 1975; Pearson, 2022). Beyond vigilantism, though, within the American press, there have been several historic features of media that produce and are emblematic of the broader vigilante spirit in white American society.

News Practices and Outcomes

The following sections detail how structural and socially created processes and outcomes found in elite-owned newspaper institutions are both indicative of the vigilante spirit and help foster it within American society on behalf of the state and elites through the media.

News Practices

There are several tangible, material components of newsmaking worth examining that I argue are emblematic of the vigilante spirit. This section lays out what existing literature says about the role of advertising and commercialization, journalistic codes, and sourcing, and argues how applying an understanding of vigilantism can fill in the gaps.

In Hallin and Mancini's seminal book about media systems, the authors write that

“Commercialization did not mean that the press lost all ties to political parties, nor that it ceased to play a political role; instead it meant that the press, its editors, and its owners became independent political players as time went on” (2004: 203).

This is a sentiment in line with much of the literature on the topic. However, the word “independent” here is where I, along with Herman and Chomsky (2008), would differ, given the documented relationship and synchronicity with the state on key issues. Herman and Chomsky (2008) also argue that analysis of the broader political economy of the country indicates the closeness between corporations, who spend on advertising in the media. This is demonstrated through corporations lobbying the government to change regulations or create favorable policies for their industries and the revolving door between former state officials, major corporations, and the media.

Academic concerns about the role of advertising and ownership in American news media date back to the early 20th century (McChesney & Scott, 2004; Williams, 2008). Herman

writes that because of the concentration of media ownership in America by billionaires and wealthy monopolistic firms that are still reliant on advertising for revenue, “It seems extremely improbable that such a power structure would allow systematic and fundamental attacks on itself and net biases that are hostile to the interests of the corporate system to prevail” (1995: 67). The effect of advertising on acceptable frames within the news can be seen in instances in certain types of crime coverage. “Media censure comes down hard on financial mismanagement, flagrant skullduggery, and collapse—not on zeal to keep maximizing profits and riches while the human consequences for many people are grim (Cohen, 2005: 60).” More scholarship is warranted on the topic of the role of the state and its agenda in advertising, in line with Herman and Chomsky’s (2008) analysis of the relationship between the state and the private sector.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) also identify the role of objectivity as the central journalistic code of the 20th and 21st centuries.

“In North America, the professionalization of journalism was closely associated with the shift toward politically neutral monopoly newspapers and the dominant form of professional practice came to be centered around the notion of “objectivity” ... the idea that news could and should be separated from opinion, including both the opinions of journalists and those of owners” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 219).

However, as Burrows bluntly writes in his book about reporting the news, “There is no such thing. The completely objective news story is like the Utopian political system: it is a goal yet to be achieved” (1977: 38). Daly (2018: 8) confesses a disdain for the term ‘objectivity,’ opting instead to study and engage with the concept of bias. Bias is defined by Herman and Chomsky (2008) as the selective presentation of news and the shaping of public opinion through the control of what is considered newsworthy, the framing of news stories, and the repetition of certain narratives. Their specific conception of that bias is rooted in the context of the 20th and 21st-century media landscape shaped by both structural and economic forces. Although there is an overlap between objectivity and bias in practice, bias more clearly speaks to issues with journalistic sourcing.

Bias in journalism at elite newspaper institutions manifests in several ways, including in a way that is easily ingrained in newspaper structures and norms—sourcing (Brown et al. 1987;

Gitlin, 1980; Len-Ríos, 2023; Herman & Chomsky, 2008). Bias can also occur as a result of simply interacting with elite sources, including those that have inherent social, economic, or political influence, such as politicians, police or intelligence officers, or business executives. Bias can also manifest as opting to include certain sources with certain agendas or backgrounds, such as from Ivy League universities, over others.

“Elites are turned to because they are assumed to be suitable spokespersons for their organizations. Consequently, the bias toward elite sources could be seen, not as an excess, but as legitimation of the existing system. Second, the absence of truly divergent voices could be seen as a sign of silent consent—the approval of the silent majority” (Brown et al. 1987: 53-54).

Elite sources are frequently “the product of racial injustice and come from a legacy of White supremacy that has not yet become equitable. Therefore, news media reflect a society and power structure in which they exist” (Len-Ríos, 2023: 126).

Othering

The process of creating the Other occurs as cultural boundaries emerge due to contextually defined distinctions between 'Us' and the 'Other,' a process driven by either embracing or excluding cultural differences (Hall, 1992). Additional scholars have placed the concept more forcefully in the context of news media and argue that a lack of racial and class diversity in newsrooms contributes to the discursive demonization, and material harm, of certain groups of ‘others’ (Allan, 2005; Allan, 2010; Silva, 2017). These groups are commonly referred to in postcolonial studies as the “subaltern,” a term first coined by Gramsci (2021), which refers specifically to marginalized colonized populations who are systematically excluded socially, politically, and geographically from the power structure of an imperial colony and its core (Morris, 2010). However, the term can also be applied to the marginalized existing within colonial hubs, such as New York, living lives subjugated by racial vigilante violence, or by its mediation to mass audiences.

The Mediation of Violence

One way to explain how hegemony, and power more broadly, are expressed through the news is through Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic violence, which stems from his theory of cultural

capital (Park, 2014). To Bourdieu (1977; 1991), symbolic violence is the deliberate imposition of the ideologies and norms upheld by a dominant cultural elite. “For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu, 1991: 164). Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic violence is most potent when paired with examining how power is expressed through economic capital considerations, such as examining media ownership (Park, 2014). While authority and legitimacy, two concepts at the heart of symbolic violence and Weber’s understanding of the state, are concerned with language and message, they are also a part of more material systems that influence power (Park, 2014: 82). This is where the symbolic, and tangible, power of violent vigilante actions perpetrated in broad daylight play a key role.

Žižek identifies symbolic violence as “violence embodied in language and its forms” (2009: 1). While Bourdieu uses a more precise conception, I believe that there is use in Žižek’s broad definition, particularly paired with his conception of systematic violence (2009: 2). Offering additional tools, Žižek’s theories (2009) of objective and subjective violence build from Bourdieu’s (1977; 1991) symbolic violence theory by making a delineation between different types of actions. Subjective violence is inflicted by identifiable perpetrators and deviates from a social norm (Žižek, 2009). Objective violence refers to the violence that occurs in the background, such as the economically violent system that puts vigilante violence victims in positions of poverty, or how the ultra-wealthy exploit their workers for wealth (Žižek, 2009). “Objective violence is precisely the violence inherent to this “normal” state of things. Objective violence is invisible since it sustains the very zero-level standard against which we perceive something as subjectively violent” (Žižek, 2009: 2).

Bourdieu articulates a useful metaphor for understanding how authority, such as the ultra-wealthy newspaper owners and the corporate staff they hire which then manages and hires a staff of editors and writers and adheres to journalistic norms, reaches audiences. He writes that there are “semi-conscious strategies” played out in a game on a field where the communicators and institutions are connected to material positions, like those acquired through extractive capitalism (Bourdieu, 1991: 137). The semi-consciousness in journalism that covers issues of crime, I argue, is the inherent vigilante nature of the institution of media, dependent on the benevolence of inherently vigilante billionaires to fund their ventures. The “game,” as Bourdieu (1991: 137) puts it, is to uphold the legitimacy of a violent economic

system that creates and manages the social acceptance of billionaires while creating the Other through symbolic violence. The people and components of newspapers, such as the need for advertising, are rowing in the same boat, upholding the status quo that benefits them, to varying degrees, even if the strategy of power, legitimacy, and authority is not fully formed all the time. While critics, such as Burawoy (2019), write that Bourdieu's theories are too removed from the material realities of capitalism and the knowledge that it produces through subjugation, I pair his theories with media ownership to apply his theories to bridge the gap between cultural capital and economic capital.

3. Methods and Methodology

“The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality” (Tuchman, 1978: 193). One methodological tool used to study newspaper articles is frame analysis, a method that scholars have created multiple approaches that help reveal frames within a text (Entman, 1993; Entman, 2004; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Goffman, 1974; Guardino, 2019; Kendall, 2011; Sasson, 1995). Media framers tap into conscious, unconscious, and “semi-conscious” (Bourdieu, 1991: 137) motives and strategies that frame and set agendas that exist within existing material and cultural institutions, structures, norms, and economic systems (Kendall, 2011).

Throughout the rest of this chapter and in my analysis, I will take a social constructionist approach to understand how newspapers produce and frame knowledge for their audiences (Bazley, 2013; Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Loseke, 2003). This approach is ideal for examining how social problems are constructed and perpetuated in ways that are not always immediately obvious when “social problems are examined only as objective conditions in the environment” (Loseke, 2003: 176). Qualitative data analysis can provide meaningful insights into “attitudes and values” that shape knowledge (Grbich, 2013: 3). These attitudes and values, among other components of the empirical texts, help explain and address how journalism is “geared to maintaining the American political system” (Tuchman, 1978: 99).

I will also incorporate a Marxist perspective on political economy to both speak to the physical and material realities relevant to the empirical material and the political economies of the newspapers producing and reproducing the knowledge in my analysis (Gitlin, 1980; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; McChesney, 2008). Combining these theoretical approaches offsets much of the criticism of the individual methods (Loseke, 2003). This allows me to consider the nature of how power and violence are constructed in both the physical and the social world, in addition to how they influence each other to produce news text and frames.

“Qualitative analysis is fundamentally case oriented” and “emphasizes the situated interrelatedness of different features and causes within each example of that phenomenon.” (Bazeley, 2013: 5). And while it is difficult for qualitative studies to achieve precisely replicable and representative samples, I carefully considered the context, empirical material, and alternate cases to find ones that will allow for “developing theory with application

beyond the immediate context” (Bazeley, 2013: 410). With this in mind, the cases I have selected are as follows: coverage of the Bernhard Goetz shooting and the Daniel Penny killing grouped from elite newspapers (New York Times and Washington Post) and a major tabloid (New York Daily News); coverage of fare evasion in subway systems during the same periods as the Goetz and Penny cases from these same outlets, but not divided by newspaper for reasons which I will explain later in the chapter.

I believe that the coverage of the cases of Goetz and Penny, roughly 40 years apart, paired with the historical analysis of American vigilantism in the literature review, creates a sample that is both contextually meaningful and significant due to its relationship to a number of the pressing power dynamics of our time and an ideal data set to apply and extract theory from (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Juxtaposing these vigilante cases that occurred in a New York subway train with urban fare evasion coverage during the 1980s and 2020s allows me to analyze and document similarities and differences in frames about crime coverage more generally that speak back to the theory laid out in the literature review. All three of these cases, I argue, are intimately connected and are illustrative of broader trends in media coverage regarding crime, but also media coverage and institutional thinking more broadly. They are, as Flyvbjerg writes, “critical cases,” which have “strategic importance in relation to the general problem” (2001: 78), which I argue is the institutionalization of vigilantism in American society, and its deadly consequences.

Frame Analysis

“Insofar as it is hard to imagine a citizenry without suspicion or doubt, it is hard to imagine experience that is not organized in terms of framing” (Goffman, 1974: 122). The organization of frames, by necessity and design, is rooted in bias, as demonstrated through conscious and unconscious omission of certain voices, facts, perspectives, and observations (Goffman, 1974). Framing is essential to creating and furthering narratives and storytelling, while also being pivotal to getting information in the social world through its ability “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” (Goffman, 1986: 21) information for audiences. Frames have agendas embedded within them, rooted in the desire to control information for a particular purpose (Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021; Tuchman, 1978; Westby, 2022).

Underpinning those agendas are power dynamics, which make their study inherently “phronetic,” meaning concerned with power and values when they are produced in institutional settings such as newspapers (Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974; Flyvbjerg, 2001; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021; Tuchman, 1978). The news is one vessel for hegemonic ideology from the dominant economic class to be disseminated to the public in subtle and frequently invisible ways (Gittlin, 1980; Westby, 2022). Gitlin notes that the “fact that power and culture in a modern social system are to some considerable degree segmented and specialized makes ideology essential” (1980: 254). This makes it incumbent upon researchers to identify ideologies and values present in the text through frame analysis.

Although I incorporate much of what pioneering framing scholars (Goffman, 1974; Tuchman, 1978) articulate in their respective works, for a more clearly defined and actionable method of frame analysis I adopt Entman’s (1993) general approach and definitions to framing. Entman provides four components of news frames, building off of Gamson’s (1992) work by writing that frames “Define problems...diagnose causes...make moral judgments...and suggest remedies” (1993: 52). Whereas Entman (1993) does not demonstrate how variables and sub-elements fit into the four functions, other scholars provide additional steps and detail (David et al. 2011; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Ophir et al. 2021).

By identifying these functions and variables within my data, I can identify what is “salient.” This term refers to that in which the news editor, reporter, and others involved with both the production of the actual text and the maintenance of the organization it is produced within create a “piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (Entman, 1993: 53). Salient frames, when existing through a particular text and in other texts in a similar context, can become “dominant” (Gitlin, 1980). “Normally the dominant frames are taken for granted by media practitioners, and reproduced and defended by them for reasons, and via practices, which the practitioners do not conceive to be hegemonic” (Gitlin, 1980: 257). This is a facet of news production that Herman and Chomsky (2008) write extensively about, although they do note instances of more conscious production of frames, particularly through the omission of facts or perspectives, and further emphasize the role of external power systems and actors in the production of frames.

Limitations of Frame Analysis

Despite Goffman's (1974) lack of built-in mechanisms for analyzing power, it is a component that is centered in later scholarship on the method, and by those who incorporate social constructionist theory into their analysis. Building off his work, Tuchman (1978) writes that her approach to frame analysis examines how the "production of meaning is intricately embedded in the activities of men and women—in the institutions, organizations, and professions associated with their activities and that they produce and reproduce, create and recreate." Others also fill in the gaps left by Goffman, incorporating Marxist conceptions of political economy to explain the production and subsequent framing of knowledge in news organizations (Gitlin, 1980; Herman & Chomsky).

Entman writes that the "concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text" (Entman, 1993: 51). Power can be demonstrated and analyzed at every level of frame analysis if one moves beyond Goffman's (1974) initial conception of the concept. "Texts exhibit homogeneous framing at one level of analysis, yet competing frames at another," which speaks to the variety of power sources that can be unveiled when conducting the method (Entman, 1993: 55). Analysis of power relations is inherent to the social constructionist approach I incorporate in my analysis, and is at the heart of my incorporation of political economy (Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Entman, 2004; Gamson & Modigliani, 1998; Gramsci, 2021; Herman & Chomsky, 2008).

I take the methodological approach of David et al. (2011), which builds upon and analyzes the methods used by Entman (1993) and Matthes and Kohring (2008). However, I do not incorporate the quantitative analysis imposed by that work, because of what scholars have written about the merits of purely qualitative research when incorporating a social constructionist approach (Du Plooy, 1997; Kelle et al. 1995; Linström & Marais, 2012). I take a strictly qualitative approach because "the central analytic task in qualitative research is understanding the meaning of texts," which is my main goal when conducting this method (Kelle et al. 1995: 3). My social constructionist approach combined with my method "necessarily involves an examination of power", rectifying recurring problems with frame analysis (Carragee & Roefs, 2004: 217).

Sampling

I have chosen three news outlets: the New York Times, Washington Post, and the New York Daily News to pull my empirical material from, and ultimately analyze the frames within. Carrying out qualitative frame analysis on these texts provides me with both critical insight into the language used in each article, and also the broader social world it is shaped by and speaks to (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). These three newspapers, two of which are local to the two vigilante cases, have been identified throughout scholarship as institutions worthy of study because they “continue to perform key functions, notably agenda-setting and watchdog” even while their readership in this decade is down significantly from the ‘80s (Kuhn, 2013: 147). The inclusion of the Post allows for a non-local, but still incredibly influential view of the vigilante cases while also retaining a local perspective in the fare evasion coverage, given its metropolitan prominence. All three newspapers are controlled by ultra-wealthy elites or private capital businesses with extremely wealthy lead executives, both in the 1980s and the 2020s (Blodget, 2011; Jacobson, 2020; Froomkin, 2022; McShane, 2017; Scherer & Ellison, 2022; Smith & Epstein, 2011). I argue for elites being identified as vigilante figures operating under the vigilante spirit in the Literature Review chapter.

Elite Newspapers: The New York Times and Washington Post

“The elite news media frequently exert a substantial influence on the agenda of other news media. In the United States this role of intermedia agenda setter is frequently played by the New York Times” (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2021: 128). In Friel and Falk’s book on the NYT they write that they focus on that paper in particular because it “occupies such an exalted place in the political and moral imagination of influential Americans and others” (2007: 2). It would be fair to say the NYT is the most studied paper in America, and likely the world, with many academic articles and books dedicated solely to the institution and the news frames it produces (Diamond, 1995; Friel & Falk, 2007; Puglisi, 2011; Reichel & Munden, 1989). The influential nature of the paper makes it a perfect choice to look at concepts of hegemony and discursive power.

The NYT is not the sole agenda setter in the American printed press, however. Diamond writes that the paper is now “one of a number of national agenda setters, whose ranks now include the *Washington Post*” (1995: 399). While not receiving the same amount of academic attention, the Post still has garnered plenty of coverage that, like the NYT, focuses solely on

the study of its inner workings, social context, and the frames it produces (Babb & Group, 1974; Downie, 2020; Roberts, 1989). However, the majority of scholarship focused on these two elite institutions has either focused on their coverage of electoral politics or foreign policy—not on their coverage of crime. While critical and rich in theory and tools that can be applied to other news subjects, media scholarship—such as Herman and Chomsky’s (2008) book, which talks extensively about framing consensus around certain issues by elite news media—largely ignores how those institutions cover major issues like crime in the country.

This could be attributed, in part, to longstanding ideological limits within the realm of radical media criticism concerning the issue of crime, and specifically the subaltern groups within those stories, which I see as still being in the early stages of changing (Berry & Theobald, 2006; Bounds & Jagmohan, 2008). However, there is a significant amount of literature that includes data sets, including from these two papers, on the construction and framing of crime by the (elite) media from sociological, historical, and criminological disciplines, such as the work done by Sacco (1995). This project seeks to bridge the gap between the camps by comparing both elite media institutions and the tabloid press, looking for what the differences in frames are, and what variables and language differ, to answer my research questions.

Tabloid Newspaper: The New York Daily News

Tabloid news is worthy of study for many reasons, including their substantial influence in shaping the opinions of large swathes of the public, as well as significantly affecting elite newspapers coverage of major issues, particularly crime (Chama, 2019; Debrix, 2008; Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004). The New York Daily News is one of the most-read tabloid newspapers in the New York state and the country at large, making it a worthy institution to conduct research on due to its reach (Jaccarino, 2010; Wigley, 2011). Chama (2019: 205) writes that the paper “tends to provide sensational news, but often with positive coverage of black people,” which is a claim that will be investigated in my analysis.

Scholars have frequently done both comparative content analysis studies between the two genres of newspaper, as well as research that does not differentiate between the two (Billard, 2016; Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007; Meyer Jr., 1975; Wigley, 2011). The two types of newspapers share another key feature that lends itself to doing comparative analysis: commercialization. I opt for the former approach to highlight the similarities between the two

types of papers and to make a broader case about the media, supported by my analysis of the variations within the data sample I pull out. Doing a comparative analysis between these two genres of news on the topic of crime, specifically, is critical to the research questions posed in this project (Chama, 2019; Esser, 1999; Meyer Jr., 1975; Valdeón, 2022).

Case Selection

I picked the following two vigilante cases for a comparative study because of their discursive prominence, hundreds of articles in just the three newspapers selected alone, and the similarities between the incidents themselves as well as the societal context they exist within. Although scholars have conducted frame analysis on coverage of the Goetz case before, the frames extracted and the analysis given do not sufficiently engage with vigilantism as a historical concept enough (Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017). While providing useful frames, such as “Moral Panic,” (Carlson, 2016) the lack of an articulated conception or engagement with vigilantism historically and theoretically limits the findings' scope and applicability regarding powerful actors. Fare evasion is used as a benchmark dataset with which to offer a comparative analysis of crime coverage beyond vigilantism, to analyze the role of the vigilante spirit in crime coverage more broadly (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). While there is no scholarship specifically about how fare evasion is framed in the American press, it is a crime that elicits policing that falls especially disproportionately along class and racial lines (Carter & Johnson, 2021; Stolper & Jones, 2017). Additionally, it shares key facets of vigilantism such as the privatization of public space, surveillance, and symbolic performances of public safety.

The Goetz Case

Few crimes, and the ensuing aftermath, in American history crystalized a decade as much as the Bernhard Goetz when he shot four black teenagers on a New York subway on December 22, 1984 (Brooks, 1998; Mann, 2017). However, several deficiencies and gaps exist in the literature examining the newspaper's coverage of Goetz. Brown writes of the significance of the case that “attracted strong public interest for three months, a relatively long period in a media-sated nation” and had “great symbolic significance” (1991: 129-130). The scholarship put forth by both Brown (1991) and Mann (2017) spends little time examining the intricacies of media's coverage and framing of the Goetz case, despite acknowledging that the media, and its coverage, played a significant role in the history of the shooting and its aftermath.

This gap is partially remedied by Brooks (1998), who focuses on the coverage of the case by the New York Post, and Carlson (2016) who analyzes the media's racialized framing around the Goetz case but stops short of calling it vigilantism and instead aligns herself with Brown's (1991) conception of the case as an act of self-defense.

The Penny Case

Due to the recency of the 2023 case, there is a current absence of academic literature focusing on the media's coverage of the Daniel Penny case. Given the significant national and even international attention on the subject, I expect this to change. It is rare for news coverage of a single killing involving two non-public figures, even in a city as consequential as New York, to be featured in newspapers across the globe (Bekiempis, 2023; *O Globo*, 2023; Sánchez-Vallejo, 2023). There is non-academic literature that covers the role of the media in this case, with some of it drawing parallels with the coverage Goetz received as well as the circumstances of the case (Bump, 2023; Dowe & Hodil, 2023; Gladstone, 2023; Shuham, 2023; Waxman, 2023). The scale of the media coverage, public and political reaction, and the parallels with the Goetz case more than warrant a comparative study of this case.

Benchmark Crime: Fare Evasion

America is prone to racialized moral panics in the media and in politics about crime ranging from low-level offenses to cartels, gangs, and the mafia (Carlson, 2016; Kramer, 2012; Woodiwiss & Hobbs, 2009). 'Broken windows' policing—policing that emphasizes low-level forms of deviance and crime in urban areas—played a major role in urban life in New York in the 1980s, with fare evasion being a consistent boogeyman in the media (Chronopoulos, 2020). Outrage and material resources were again focused on this 'crime' in a significant way in major cities following the COVID-19 pandemic when many cities eliminated fares for parts or all of their public transit infrastructure during the height of the virus spread (Surico, J. and Byington, 2023; Walker, 2022). Like vigilantism, fare evasion enforcement falls disproportionately on poor minorities, frequently young men of color (Carter & Johnson, 2021; Stolper & Jones, 2017).

Limited scholarship exists in an American context about the media's coverage of this specific form of deviance. While it is beyond the scope of this project to compare coverage of fare evasion to other, non-vigilante, crimes, I believe it is an ideal stand-in for the broader

argument I make in my analysis of data about the privatization of public space, and how the media's framing of subaltern groups speaks to bigger issues with the institution itself.

Sampling Procedure

To analyze, extract, and evaluate news frames, I first created several parameters with which to apply to my potential data set after evaluating my options (Linström & Marais, 2012). To collect the data, I relied on two newspaper databases: ProQuest Global Newstream and Newspapers.com. ProQuest is an academic database that has a deep archive of many newspapers. From this site, I was able to pull the majority of my dataset using a login from the university and my Washington Post account to access older Post articles. I turned to Newspapers.com, the largest online newspaper archive in America, to access New York Daily News articles from the 1980s that were not accessible via ProQuest.

To access all news coverage of the Goetz and Penny cases, I searched for coverage using their full names as well as “vigilante” and “subway shooting” as search terms to access all coverage of the respective incidents. For my fare evasion data, I used the search terms “fare evaders,” “fare beater,” “fare cheaters,” and “fare evasion.” I did not have database access to another tabloid, the New York Post, which covered all three cases in both decades, and no alternative to the Post would have been suitable. However, the New York Daily News is an empirically suitable proxy for broader hegemonic tabloid framing norms. Scholarship on this tabloid notes how similar its coverage of major issues is compared to other tabloids (Chama, 2019; Jaccarino, 2011). My final count of articles for the respective parameters was 169.

I reduced my data, as suggested by Bazeley (2013) to provide the most comparable sets of data I could produce given my constraints. I opted to focus purely on text, which includes op-eds and editorials. I did this because the vast majority of articles in my dataset did not have associated images attached, making a comparative visual analysis impossible. I include these types of texts because of the significant influence they have on those in power, and general audiences, and because they give a particular level of insight into how elites frame issues and events (Day & Golan, 2005; Coppock et al. 2018). Furthermore, I group the reportage with op-eds and editorials together in my data sample because Lerner (2023) writes that audiences frequently can't distinguish between the two. I used a simple random sampling

method within each division of my dataset as laid out by Seale (2018) to get down to 15, or as close to 15 as was available given the parameters, for each of my six categories.

I focused my sample of news coverage of the Goetz and Penny cases to one month following the respective incidents. This is because I wanted to capture the frames that were present at the height of coverage, meaning that they laid the groundwork for future framing and had a maximal impact on the public. I did not want to include significant coverage of Goetz and Penny’s movement through the legal system that unfolded towards the end of the first month, which subsequently marked a shift in narrative and framing that became more removed from the actual incidents of violence. Additionally, keeping my timeframe of one month out allowed my data set to more closely mirror each other, given that the inclusion of the court proceedings did not sync up exactly between the two cases within that time period.

For fare evasion coverage, I chose to set the following parameters for all news outlets: coverage from Jan. 1, 1980 - Jan. 1, 1990, and Jan. 1, 2020 - Jan. 1, 2024. Although the time constraints do not match, these parameters independently and efficiently both encapsulated the social and political context and media narrative that is relevant to the two cases, while also providing a statistically significant amount of data. Overall, this sampling procedure resulted in 170 articles, divided by outlet and case as depicted below in Table 1. Table 1 shows the overall breakdown of articles by the different categories employed in this study.

<u>Cases</u>				
<u>Newspapers</u>	<i>Bernhard Goetz (1980s)</i>	<i>Daniel Penny (2020s)</i>	Fare Evasion (1980s)	Fare Evasion (2020s)
New York Times (Elite)	15	15	15	15
Washington Post (Elite)	15	8	11	15
New York Daily News (Tabloid)	15	15	15	15

Table 1: Overview of News Articles by Case, Outlet, and Crime Type

In the following section, I report the process and results of my coding supported by qualitative examples that work in service of answering my research questions.

Data Analysis

For my method, I relied on the David et al. (2011) iteration of Matthes and Kohring's (2008) approach, which is analyzed by and builds off Entman's (1993) framework and definitions. I did this because my dataset and theoretical approaches lent themselves to "framing research where the interaction and co-occurrence of individual frame elements provide meaningful and substantive insight" (David et al. 2011: 346). This approach is also highly suitable for frames that evolve, a facet of my research at play given the comparative nature of my research (David et al. 2011). As mentioned previously, I opted not to use the quantitative and software-based components of David et al. (2011) iteration of Matthes and Kohring's method (2008), but I did utilize their underlying approach to those methods which is that I focused my variables exclusively to things that recurred at least in three articles out of a possible 15. Using this approach "frames are neither identified beforehand nor directly coded with a single variable" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008: 264).

After downloading and organizing the 169 articles, I used a random number generator, as recommended by Seale (2018), to pick out my pilot articles, one for each of the dataset comparative categories. The first step of this method was to open code my articles, grounding the codes directly in the language written in the articles I gathered (Bazeley, 2013; Kuckartz, 2014). Using the frame elements provided by David et al. (2011), rooted in Entman's (1993) four functions that make up frames and my research questions, I highlighted sections of text that matched the four guiding functions of frames using a PDF version of each Adobe Acrobat Reader file. To reduce confusion, I did not highlight every frame element. However, in the next step, I documented the presence of each frame element in the margins of that article's document and placed it into that article's respective frame table. This step included making comments in the margins to better analyze the content and make it more accessible to me throughout the methodology and analysis process (Bazeley, 2013; Kuckartz, 2014).

After adding and sorting each variable from the respective article, I then engaged in the most critical step. I extracted the overarching frames present in the articles: two for the 83 vigilante

articles (Table 1) “Anti-hero Vigilante” and “Urban Realities and its Victims”, and two for the 86 fare evasion articles “The Necessity of Police” and “Terror Below.” Although other scholars have identified frames from coverage of the Goetz case, the frames I identified incorporate elements that ultimately differ due to my alternate approach, rooted more strongly in literature involving vigilantism and key actors, newspapers and time frame sampled, and frame analysis methodology (Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2016).

After I conducted my method on all my articles and began to think about how I would structure the comparative component of my frame analysis, I returned to my aims and research questions (Bazeley, 2013; Kuckartz, 2014). Because the fare evasion coverage was so similar between groups of data, and given that my focus in analyzing fare evasion was to work towards my broader aims of understanding vigilantism and the vigilante spirit, I decided to simply group my analysis into the two frames. Given a different focus of the thesis and more time and space, I would instead conduct the frame analysis in the same way I did my vigilante coverage. However, my chosen approach was ultimately suitable given the replication of the methodology, which is designed to compare and contrast frames hidden in different sources of text (David et al. 2011).

4. Analysis

Pulling out the news frames for my six categories of data from both elite newspaper coverage and the tabloid press: the Goetz and Penny cases, and fare evasion coverage was a time-consuming and difficult assignment. The alignment of the Goetz and Penny frames makes the comparative component of my analysis easier, but the unearthing subtle narrative and linguistic differences between the two vigilante incidents was still a challenging task to undertake.

The following analytical text, combining my use of the methodology on the data with the theoretical and historical literature laid out in the Literature Review, precedes from here. The subsequent sections of this chapter are divided into the two frames for the Goetz and Penny cases, followed by the two frames identified in the coverage of fare evasion across the years leading up to both of the respective vigilante cases. The cumulative data analyzed totaled 169 articles, including six pilot articles, from two different decades nearly 40 years apart. As one source is quoted as saying in a news article about the Goetz case, “Remnants of America's frontier psychology remain” (WaPo, Jan 17, 1985). My goal in employing the methodology of frame analysis is to uncover them.

Frame 1: Anti-hero Vigilante

The first news frame I identified while conducting my method on the data involving vigilante cases is the anti-hero vigilante. This frame is characterized by the portrayal of Goetz and Penny as generally well-meaning, ordinary men whose violent acts are either detailed through a passive voice that obfuscates blame, or active, vivid detail that glamorizes the individual. The treatment frame element is positive or neutral with only one exception. State actors, frequently unnamed, and police data are variables used to characterize the supposed danger that Goetz and Penny faced, fully or partially justifying their violence. Previous scholarship on the media's role in framing the Goetz case has focused on how racialized language and its links to patterns and narratives around crime obfuscate blame in violence and create moral panics to valorize vigilantes (Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017). My analysis instead shows that those components are just part of a more complex frame, one that largely approves of vigilante violence but cannot completely justify it.

This frame is situated within the broader academic discourse around the racialized reporting, the legal and moral sensibility used to justify vigilantism, and the vigilante spirit both as I identified as being present in American media and as it manifests in their coverage of the respective neo-vigilantes (Brooks; 1998; Carlson, 2016; Mann 2017). My analysis of the 83 articles focused on the two vigilante cases has identified the role of actors as a frame element, which is in line with existing methodological scholarship using this method as well as with my focus on actors in the literature review chapter (David et al. 2011). This analysis also incorporates several concepts regarding the mediation of violence laid out in the literature review. These were first applied to my analysis of the coverage following the Goetz shooting before later being applied to the Penny case, to make the case for the continuity of frames over time and across cases.

Goetz: Elite Newspapers

“Bernhard Goetz has not faded from public memory” (Brooks, 1998: 78). A major factor in this statement’s truth is the multifaceted framing of the man by the media, as evidenced by a continued study of his case and comparisons to other acts of vigilante violence (Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017; WaPo, May 15, 2023). While it is also true that the tabloid newspapers led, and seemingly dictated, the coverage of the case to the rest of the journalistic world, it is important to contrast the perceived extremity and bombast of those papers with that of the world of elite journalism (Brooks, 1998; Brown, 1991; Mann, 2017). Doing so allows for a more holistic analysis of the media landscape in this context, which I believe is indicative of the concepts and theories laid out in previous sections and ultimately speaks to the vigilante spirit that underpins major components of American society.

The first major news article that was written by a reporter in any paper was published the day after the shooting, Dec. 23, 1984. Before the narratives of the tabloids set in, or at least following the early Sunday edition of the New York Daily News that same day, the New York Times had already begun to frame Goetz in a particular way. The opening paragraph of the article, entitled, “A Gunman Wounds 4 on IRT Train then Escapes,” nearly encapsulates the entirety of the proceeding coverage’s framing from the newspaper in the month after the incident.

“A middle-aged man with a silver-colored pistol strode into a subway car rolling through lower Manhattan yesterday and shot four young men he had apparently singled out from among the passengers, the Transit Authority police reported” (NYT, Dec 23, 1984).

The decision to allocate space early in the article, and again in the middle of the article, to describe Goetz’s gun color, “silver-colored,” is hardly a detail of the incident any editor or reporter could defend as especially newsworthy (NYT, Dec 23, 1984). I will explain in the following paragraph how these seemingly innocuous details in that lede are emblematic of the creation of the anti-hero frame. Including these aesthetic suspect details, especially without sufficient visual evidence, can be interpreted as an “ancillary issue” that distracts audiences (Deggans, 2014: 252). This practice is prone to bias and is representative of systems and hierarchies within journalism I identify as contributing to the vigilante spirit and can also have negative impacts on communities and the legal process (Deggans, 2014; Dixon & Maddox, 2005). The lack of additional mentions of the color of the gun in my data sample could be a part of a banal journalistic norm that exists in some newsrooms; journalists occasionally identify the aesthetics of unidentified suspects to lead to their identification in the name of “public interest” (Lindsay et al. 1994). Still, the inclusion of the description of the gun stands out in the context of the article as well as in the broader context regarding the media and its framing of the case.

The gun carried by Hollywood action star Charles Bronson in the movie series “Death Wish,” which is repeatedly linked to Goetz and his actions that day in the media broadly and in my dataset is “a silver-plated revolver to exterminate every mugger he can find” ((Brooks, 1998; Burrows, 1976: xii). The films follow a “mild-mannered” New Yorker who becomes a vigilante following violent crimes perpetrated against his family. Not only is that detail tied to the lurid character, but silver is the quintessential color of the American western cowboy—a demographic that has a documented association with vigilantism (Brown, 1975). While it is true that “The tabloids have dubbed him the “Death Wish vigilante” after the Charles Bronson movie” (WaPo, Jan 04, 1985a), that doesn’t mean that characterization does not show up explicitly (NYT, Jan 12, 1985; WaPo, Dec 29, 1984; WaPo, Jan 17, 1985) or through this frame in more subtle ways in the elite press (NYT, Dec 23, 1984; NYT, Jan 10, 1985b).

The use of the word “strode” in this lede also carries the connotation of a cool casualness, particularly when paired with the repetition of the “silver” gun that features as a moral judgment function, part of Entman’s (1993) frame analysis methodology, that is present elsewhere in the data (NYT, Dec 23, 1984). The details used to frame Goetz in the lede paragraph cast him as a Hollywood-esque figure, his actions glamorous but violent in a way where decent people could be critical of Goetz’s vigilante aesthetic and mystique is not set against the backdrop of the Old West, and whichever archetypal foes one might conjure up in their head based on the initial description of the shooter by the paper (NYT, Dec 23, 1984). We also see police actors given priority as sources, a trend that continues throughout the data. Later in the article, the victims of the shooting are ‘othered’ by mentioning vague arrest records to build up the framing of Goetz’s actions as heroic, but still worthy of some criticism (Allan, 2005; Allan, 2010; Silva, 2017). “Witnesses said the victims...were behaving boisterously just before the shootings. Three of them have arrest records, and three were carrying long screwdrivers in their jackets, the police said” (NYT, Dec 23, 1984).

The objects on their person, invisible to Goetz are later used by the NYT as a “presumption of guilt that attaches to black and brown bodies through formal and informal surveillance enables the violent oppression of people of color” which is used to frame Goetz’s actions in a heroic light (Mann, 2017: 66). Here, the unnamed witnesses and the police lend credence to a narrative that strengthens the framing of Goetz as a flawed anti-hero acting both with cool rationality and a level of violence that violates non-cowboy social codes. Goetz is simultaneously operating in glamorous self-defense and lashing out at the disorder of the city within the narrative of one article (NYT, Dec 23, 1984). And while there are valid journalistic reasons for including unnamed sources, their placement here only works in favor of their anti-hero framing of Goetz. Unverified “boisterousness,” hardly a crime or a sound legal precursor to self-defense, is wielded by the paper as justification for violence (NYT, Dec 23, 1984).

As the former Public Editor of the paper wrote following criticism of the sourcing used by their reporters leading up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, “For anonymous sources, it’s worse than no defense. It’s a license granted to liars” (Allan, 2005: 5). As for the police, there has increasingly been a reckoning in journalism regarding the reliability and validity of police and police reports as sources (Farhi & Izadi, 2020). Both the police and unnamed witnesses’ reports of the teenagers were later refuted in court, but the image of Goetz created by the

framing of the incident and the actors involved stuck (Johnson, 1987). The subjective violence perpetrated by Goetz is, incorrectly and without caution, cast against imagined subjective violence that could have been attempted by the teenagers if Goetz had not used his gun (Žižek, 2009). This contrast is created in several ways, but one recurring one is the reliance on unnamed police sources that attribute the teenagers as having “sharpened screwdrivers,” something that later proves to be untrue (Johnson, 1987; WaPo, Jan 04, 1985a; WaPo, Jan 04, 1985c). The instances in the data where unnamed witnesses and anonymous state actors are quoted in the paper are cited as indicating that the teenagers were somehow not innocent parties in the shooting, all of which proves to be untrue (NYT, Dec 23, 1984; NYT, Dec 25, 1984; WaPo, Jan 11, 1985).

Further justification for Goetz’s violence is given by framing certain details from both Goetz and the teenager's encounters with past violence and the legal system, as well as mentions of a possible interest Goetz may have developed with violent, vigilante movies (WaPo, Jan 17, 1985; WaPo, Jan 18, 1985b). This is done in one article in a single sentence: “Bernhard Hugo Goetz, who, having been assaulted in 1981, has confessed to shooting four youths who approached him on the subway last month” (WaPo, Jan 18, 1985b). The inclusion of both of these details in the same sentence in this news article is not something I encountered elsewhere in the data, but it is the tightest juxtaposition in the data that contextualizes Goetz’s life in a way that makes him an anti-hero (NYT Jan 03, 1985; NYT, Jan 06, 1985). The close pairing of the two all but gives Goetz a free pass for his actions, serving as a risk attribution frame element more literally but in the practice of reading the paragraph acts much more as a solution to the problem outlined in the next sentence (Entman, 1993). This article encapsulates how the two frames are used to benefit each other, and ultimately to further the idea that what Goetz did was simply the manifestation of a fantasy held by any number of American men (WaPo, Jan 18, 1985b). This fantasy is justified by a warped, or cynical, framing of poverty and crime that is explored in the second frame.

This revenge, ‘it may not be pretty but it has to be done’ sentiment is expressed as a thematic component of the anti-hero frame more explicitly in the op-ed entitled “Well, I didn’t buy the revolver” (WaPo, Jan 14, 1985). The desire to enact violent, individualized revenge is indicative of the vigilante spirit and is expressed through the text in my sample that frames Goetz’s actions as reasonable in the context of rampant muggings and crime, which is accomplished through the incorporation of perspectives on the case from both the public and

the media (NYT, Jan 07, 1985). “It seems indisputable that if more and more people shot punks who harass and rob people in the subways there would be less and less harassment and robbery,” one columnist for the Post writes (WaPo, Dec 29, 1984). In a news article that details America’s fascination with vigilantism, a reporter starts by writing that “Goetz apparently didn't plan on being a hero. But what the New York "subway vigilante" did last Dec. 22 tapped into a fantasy that resonates deeply in the American soul: lone justice, an individual battling evil.” (WaPo, Jan 17, 1985).

The only pushback against the explicit framing of Goetz as a hero comes from an expert source on violence who says that vigilantism is prone to racial targeting, which the article then juxtaposes immediately with statistics from a NYDN poll showing relatively high favorability for Goetz among Black people surveyed (WaPo, Jan 17, 1985). This further reinforces the anti-hero narrative. There are several exceptions to the strong framing of Goetz in a positive light. Several op-eds and one news article caution against or frame vigilantism in a strictly negative sense (NYT, Dec 27, 1984; NYT, Dec 27, 1984; NYT, Dec 28, 1984; WaPo, Jan 6, 1985; WaPo, Jan 10, 1985; WaPo, Jan 11, 1985). However, the framing of the teenagers as dangerous, along with the portrayal of Goetz as a complicated but broadly good individual, work to create an anti-hero frame.

Goetz: Tabloid Newspaper: New York Daily News

In the debate around the existence of a meaningful gap in the coverage of crime between tabloid newspapers and the elite press, scholarship consistently shows that the tabloidization of the elite press indicates that differences are more minor than one might initially believe (Esser, 1999; Muraskin & Domash, 2007; Rowe, 2009). While my analysis of the elite press’ coverage of Goetz does demonstrate a consistent framing of Goetz as a complicated vigilante figure acting both rationally and, to a lesser extent, in a deviant manner, the subtlety that is found in the sample of the elite press largely does not exist in the NYDN.

The NYDN uses more forceful, active language to ascribe either active criminal activity or the intent to commit crime on the part of the four teenagers to justify Goetz’s actions and further a broader narrative about the dangers of the subway system that Goetz was acting out against. Without quoting directly, the article says a named police source had said that “The four youths apparently had used the screwdrivers in an attempt to rob the gunman” (NYDN,

Dec 24, 1984). The elite press, and ultimately the legal system, contradicts the tabloid press' framing of the visible presence of the screwdrivers, but because their presence came from a police source, the paper runs with it (Johnson, 1987; NYT, Dec 25, 1984; NYT, Jan 01, 1985; NYDN, Jan 02, 1985; NYT, Jan 03, 1985; WaPo, Jan 04, 1985a).

Several linguistic elements in the second earliest article from this data set mirror early reports of the shooting in the elite press: "The shooting occurred...when a neatly dressed gunman armed with a silver-plated pistol suddenly whipped the weapon from his waistband and fired at four young men..." (NYDN, Dec 24, 1984). The description of the gun, as written about in the previous section, and the use of the word "whipped" aligns with Western American frontier ideas of vigilantism and how they pull out their guns (Brooks, 1998; Burrows, 1976). This characterization of Goetz's actions also glamorizes the subjective violence and serves as a benefit attribution frame element instead of a risk attribution, which a more neutral reading of the situation may suggest given the violence (David et al. 2011; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Žižek, 2009). It is entirely indicative of the anti-hero that Goetz is framed to be, particularly in the tabloid press.

The anti-hero frame is expressed explicitly in one NYDN op-ed that says "In truth, he is neither a criminal nor a hero. What he did was neither right or wrong. It was inevitable" (NYDN, Jan 18, 1985). "Vigilante," which the paper refers to Goetz repeatedly as, is a term that is inherently linked to anti-heroism—the duality between justice and vengeance, private power and the public good (Burrows, 1976; NYDN, Dec 24, 1984; NYDN, Dec 29, 1984). Because of the "tabloidization" of crime news, I found that there are no frame elements and variables that don't occur across multiple articles in the elite and tabloid press in the Goetz dataset (Esser, 1999; Rowe, 2009). The differences between the papers' framing of Goetz as an anti-hero are mostly stylistic, a facet of varying degrees of tabloidization that remains largely unchanged almost 40 years later.

Penny: Elite Newspapers

The construction of Daniel Penny as an anti-hero vigilante figure is more subtle in the elite press than can be found in my analysis of the Goetz case. However, the subtlety within this dataset still contains numerous examples of socially constructed power imbalances, blame obfuscation, and rationalization of violence. While there was an uproar of public support, at

least as conveyed by the media, for Goetz, after Jordan Neely's filmed death, there was much more public anger directed toward the vigilante, Penny (WaPo, Jan 19, 1985). To adapt to the new social climate, the papers frequently turn to more hidden ways of creating a frame: manipulation of active voice, elite sourcing, and omission.

The deluge of passive language, nearly all of which serves to soften the reader's association of Penny as directly responsible for the death of Neely, stood out in my analysis throughout the dataset. In combination with the continuation of the characterization of Neely, a young, unhoused Black man with a personal and legal history commonly found in unhoused communities located in urban centers in America, as the subaltern "other" worthy of less sympathy than scorn. The following paragraph from an article entitled "After N.Y. subway chokehold death, protesters call for an arrest" is indicative of how language use obfuscates Penny's violence.

"Neely, a 30-year-old Black man, was placed in a chokehold Monday by a 24-year-old White male rider after Neely was screaming and behaving erratically on an F-train car, according to the New York Police Department. Video of the incident shows Neely flailing his arms, kicking his legs and struggling to free himself until he loses consciousness" (WaPo, May 04, 2023).

Here, the passive voice dominates the narrative to shield Penny, a white man and former Marine, from blame, which serves the purpose of upholding the power structures of whiteness and imperial violence (Dixon, 2017; Lussos & Fernandez, 2018; Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor, 2008). "Was placed in a chokehold" and "struggled to free himself until he loses consciousness" all remove the agency of Penny in the death (WaPo, May 04, 2023). Later in the article, Penny is described as someone "who administered the chokehold," an especially egregious and overly technical way of describing a death that the medical examiner is quoted as saying was a homicide (WaPo, May 04, 2023). Similar manipulation of agency and passive voice and juxtaposition with unverified and vague reports of Neely "behaving erratically" are used throughout the articles sampled. "A 30-year-old man was killed on a New York subway train this week when a fellow rider confronted the man, who was screaming and behaving erratically" (WaPo, May 3, 2023). Passive language to obscure the, at this time, unnamed killer is also found in headlines, such

as “Man Dies After Fight on New York Train in Which He Was Placed in Chokehold” (WaPo, May 3, 2023).

Coverage in both the elite and tabloid press framed Goetz’s reported mild-mannered nature and his banal profession of electronics specialist to highlight how ‘ordinary’ New Yorkers could be pushed to violence by the city, in contrast with the “boisterous,” deviant teenagers (NYDN, Jan 02, 1985; NYT, Dec 23, 1984). Coverage of Penny’s military service is framed in a way that seeks to contrast against Neely’s life, making Penny an anti-hero worthy of both praise and scorn. Despite continuous mention of Neely’s legal history and struggles with mental health, there is never the same scrutiny given to Penny’s military history and how that might have factored into the scene on the subway.

This is demonstrated in an article that uses a detail about an arrest warrant to almost justify Neely’s death, and to indicate his deviance from the norms “open arrest warrant, Mr. Neely was out on his own on May 1, when he began ranting at passengers. A Marine veteran, Daniel Penny, grabbed him and choked him to death” (NYT, May 15, 2023a). It was not Neely who killed someone that day, but to obfuscate blame and cast Penny in a more reasonable light, one similar to Goetz, he must be framed in a way that makes him more dangerous sounding than the person who served in an elite military organization. A former Marine source is quoted as saying that “people have a picture of the military in their minds” of violent and aggressive Marines, but that those people are wrong (NYT, May 15, 2023). This quote is used in the article to conjure up a strawman argument. People are not necessarily imagining the Marines trained Penny to attack a homeless man, but utilizing this imaginary argument to then strike it down only serves to further the idea that Marines, who are trained to kill people they deem ‘threats,’ are not all going around killing unarmed people on subways. However, they are known to train people professionally to attack subaltern groups, which historically include civilians at home and abroad (Belew, 2018; Hallin, 1989; Herman & Chomsky, 2008).

Penny: Tabloid Newspaper: New York Daily News

The NYDN’s coverage in the month following the death of Jordan Neely presents far more overt contestation of the anti-hero frame than I anticipated. However, the framing of Penny as an anti-hero is evident at many points throughout the data.

The inclusion of viewpoints from political elites, fellow marines, and conservative individuals who support Penny and his actions helps to frame Penny as a heroic figure who has been unjustly scorned (Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor, 2008). This is an archetypal example of ‘both sides’ journalism, rooted in norms and conventions regarding balance and objectivity even when the topic does not lend itself to such coverage (Carroll, 2021; Hamad, 2017). The news article entitled “Penny Rally Heckled” is full of examples of this, ranging from a source saying that Penny was carrying out a moral responsibility to "react when somebody is in need" to quotes from the organizer of the pro-Penny rally, a prominent local politician (NYDN, May 25, 2023). The only mention or inclusion of people who believed Penny should be punished was when the writer mentioned that the pro-Penny protesters “were eventually drowned out by hecklers and counterprotesters who gathered nearby.” This all serves to establish Penny as the people’s anti-hero, in the vein of Goetz.

The narrative of Penny acting self-defense is lent credibility throughout the dataset, similarly to how it used particular sources to incorrectly identify the level of threat posed by the teenagers Goetz shot (NYDN, Dec 24, 1984; (NYDN, May 09, 2023b; NYDN, May 25, 2023; NYT, Dec 23, 1984; NYT, Dec 25, 1984). The narrative of “self-defense” persists in coverage in the paper even after court documents filed indicate that Penny came behind Neely and that there was no fight (NYDN, May 07, 2023a; NYDN, May 25, 2023; Shuham, 2023). This framing of the events appears in early coverage of the incident, despite a lack of hard evidence to support it (NYDN, May 04, 2023a).

Carlson (2016) writes that in racialized coverage of contested ‘self-defense’ cases, even when the victim is dead and not accused of any crime, the news uses similar framing of the victims as they would about criminals. This “can play a role in creating a moral panic in which folk devils—such as young men of color—embody widespread anxieties about social disorder” (Carlson, 2016: 3). However, the narrative of Penny’s actions being potentially justified or at least complicated by self-defense in the NYDN is contested earlier in the dataset, including in the article “Subway slay victim's family slams Marine's claim of self-defense”, which only includes sourcing and viewpoints that criticize Penny’s actions (NYDN, May 09, 2023a).

There is no article or op-ed in its entirety in my NYDN dataset of Goetz quite like this article (NYDN, May 09, 2023a) in the Penny coverage. The closest approximation of

straightforward contestation of the framing of Goetz's actions being in self-defense is in one op-ed (NYDN, Jan 04, 1985). Because of this, I align my analysis of the Penny dataset in this frame with Carlson's (2016) conception of a "moral breach" frame, meaning that within it the coverage offers competing narratives and contested blameworthiness. There are also similarly competing narratives around Penny as a hero, villain, or anti-hero as I identify, even within one article (NYDN, May 07, 2023a). However, the majority of coverage I analyzed shows a more sympathetic framing of Penny, aided by the negative framing of Neely (NYDN, May 04, 2023a; NYDN, May 06, 2023; NYDN, May 03, 2023).

One op-ed contests the framing of Neely in a negative light and the framing of Penny as a good samaritan, anti-hero vigilante that the city desperately needs in the headline "Demonizing Neely just as wrong as calling Penny hero" that then offers conflicting language that serves as risk attribution posed by Neely (NYDN, May 14, 2023). "It's true, Neely was no altar boy," the author writes repeatedly while maintaining that nothing in Neely's past justified his death (NYDN, May 14, 2023). Another article that features sourcing and viewpoints that frame Neely in an overwhelmingly positive light still uses passive language to obscure Penny's direct role in the killing "The caught-on-video death of Neely, whose favorite Jackson song was "Billie Jean"" (NYDN, May 19, 2023).

Summary

Hamad writes "Journalism that serves the public interest promotes a harmonious, healthy society, not by merely airing all opinions that exist" (2017: 4). Much of the journalism found in my analysis of this dataset is not only not in the public interest, but overtly on the side of vigilantism. "If you want to turn Goetz into a metaphor, at least get it right. He—and those he shot—are the inevitable result of vigilantism. They are all victims now" (WaPo, Jan 13, 1985b). The latter statement from an editorial writer captures a common iteration of the anti-hero vigilante narrative laid out in the elite media, and the media more broadly. Goetz is, according to the data sample, undeniably captured by the vigilante spirit. This is framed as both a benefit, and a problematic outgrowth, of a violent society that is characterized as lawless despite existing in a year that saw a significant expansion of police and prosecutorial powers (Berman, 2019). While Penny is not actively portrayed as positively as Goetz, he is still framed similarly. My overall analysis in the next section shows little in the frame has changed in the 40 years since.

Frame 2: Urban Realities and its Victims

The second news frame I identify from the vigilante dataset is the consistent framing around how the subway, New York City, and crime in urban America more broadly is framed as an active character in both Goetz's actions and the lives of the four shooting victims. Given that the two vigilante incidents overlap and occur in the backdrop of the heightened media focus on fare evasion, analyzing the two frames with separate datasets allows for comparative results that paint a larger picture.

Goetz: Elite Newspapers

It is impossible to tell the story of Goetz and the four Black teenagers, Barry Allen, Troy Canty, James Ramseur, and Darrell Cabey who he "opened fire on" (Carlson, 2016: 7) without including the broader context it existed within, shaped, and was shaped by (Mann, 2017). The news media played a significant role in shaping how New Yorkers perceived the dangerousness of the city by backing the large expansion of the police and carceral state in the 1980s to address the problem (Baer & Chambliss, 1997; Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017). While much of the fear-mongering is ascribed to television news and tabloids, elite newspapers also played a role in legitimizing the pervasive fear and changes to the state and also gave frames more credibility because of their status in the media landscape.

Attempts to counter the framing of danger that the teenage victims posed are dismissed, despite them not being accused by any named witnesses on the train as anything other than asking Goetz for money. "Police officials said yesterday that the wounded teenagers remained the best witnesses in the case, and that posed some problems" (NYT, Dec 25, 1984). The coverage of the Goetz shooting, and its ensuing legal drama, was no exception to that regularly scheduled programming. My analysis of the data shows that there was a genuine divide within the frame that existed between the framing of these gritty urban realities, where the blame falls, and how that factors into the actions or perceived actions of the teenagers.

The editorial entitled "Senator on the Subway" is an example of the NYT confronting a prominent state actor who the author argues engages in "magnifying fears that, at home and around the country, are already magnified enough" (NYT, Jan 19, 1985b). The role of the media is obscured here, as the writer declines to elaborate on the additional culprits who make it so that fears "are already magnified enough" (NYT, Jan 19, 1985b). Interestingly, it is

the op-eds, known for being hawkish on any number of issues, in the elite media that seek to counter or at least address broader national and local fears about crime and how it is framed to the public (Herman & Chomsky, 2008). But while the elite newspaper op-eds in the data are against Goetz's actions, even if they can rationalize the behavior, the elite press still engages in framing an issue that scapegoats disproportionately poor Black and brown children.

“The problem on the subway is teen-age mischief of an ugly sort that, combined with the condition of trains and stations, generates disproportionate fear among the riders. That's a real problem - with real solutions.” (NYT, Jan 19, 1985b)

And while the solution goes unnamed in that op-ed, the proposed solutions that make up the framing of the problem (David et al. 2011)—the declining American city that led to the circumstances aboard the train—are only ever further investment in policing (WaPo, Jan 6, 1985). The carceral state, despite growing rapidly at this time, is described as “beleaguered,” further framing the need for more police resources and less subway crime (WaPo, Jan 13, 1985a). This framing perpetuates the myth of the “weak state,” one that is never capable of cracking down hard enough or efficiently enough (Novak, 2008).

Chaos and confrontation are painted as inescapable and an experience everyone has had—laying the groundwork for pro-vigilante sentiment and further cries for more police in the subways and on the streets. “We think of the time we were accosted by two punks,” one columnist writes, using “we” to speak for the nation (WaPo, Jan 04, 1985c). “Accosted” is vague enough to refer to almost any uncomfortable interpersonal encounter, and the repeated use of words like “punks” and “hoods,” a particularly racially coded word, in the op-ed is used to frame urban life as dangerous as possible (WaPo, Jan 04, 1985c). Throughout the dataset, language is used to frame urban life as dangerous and volatile, enough to make a “calm” and “mild-mannered” man such as Goetz act violently (NYT, Dec 23, 1984). The juxtaposition of these two ‘facts’ creates the basis of this anti-hero frame.

Goetz: Tabloid Newspaper: New York Daily News

While there are many similarities between the frame variables and overall frames found in my data sample of the elite newspapers and the tabloids around the framing of the victims

and the urban reality that exists within, there are some differences that can be found in the NYDN (David et al. 2011). The framing around the victims—the four teenagers—particularly stood out as I conducted my method. An interesting deviation from the elite media can be found in the op-ed entitled “Goetz, in light of Jefferson and Lincoln,” which equates Goetz’s actions with those of two prominent early American presidents, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln (NYDN, Jan 18, 1985). This article is anomalous because it solely characterizes Goetz as a hero. The words used regarding the teenagers who were shot by Goetz work to create a terrifying “other”, worthy of fear, loathing, and violence (Ellis et al. 2023; NYDN, Jan 18, 1985).

“If Goetz had shot youths attempting to murder him, he would have been a momentary celebrity. What has made him a hero is that he shot four insufferable thugs attempting a routine petty ripoff—the kind the cops and courts laugh at” (NYDN, Jan 18, 1985).

The entire text is full of inflammatory, over-the-top, language about the ‘weak’ state, its public infrastructure, and its commitment to law and order, but these two sentences stand out as particularly emblematic of this frame in the paper (NYDN, Jan 18, 1985). Adamson writes that “Mass media depiction of Blacks as thugs, criminals, or people otherwise bent on social disruption has a 400-year history in America (2016: 218). The term ‘thug’ is often used in the context of social disorder in news stories placed to “reassert a socio-political orthodoxy under which “Whiteness” and social stability remain the dominant order and endows law enforcement responses to “disorder” with a presumptive correctness” (Adamson, 2016: 192). The proposed solution in this frame, the “cops and courts,” are actors that repeatedly come up in the frame in both subsets of newspapers that fail to sufficiently punish criminals (NYDN, Jan 18, 1985). Here, the state is framed as weak, a common conservative myth around the issue of crime, to justify extrajudicial vigilantism to stem the tide of urban chaos (Novak, 2008). The systemic violence, violence created by the economic and political order of a state, of the neoliberal economic era, is excluded from the frame in this article and others, giving readers an incomplete binary of potential solutions, and the reasons behind the problems (Cohen & Centeno, 2006; Kaplan-Lyman, 2012; NYDN, Jan 18, 1985; Žižek, 2009).

The crime, disorder, and urban decay—all outcomes of Žižek’s (2009) conception of systemic violence—are used to frame Goetz’s actions as reasonable, as demonstrated in articles such as

“Mr. Goetz’ neighborhood” (NYDN, Jan 06, 1985). This shows how the two frames—anti-hero vigilante and urban realities and its victims—work together, which occurs more explicitly and directly in tabloid coverage than in the elite press. Welch et al. (2011) detail the extensive 20th-century history of different media-constructed racial panics around the behavior and presence in public life of young Black men, which at least shapes the frames found in the data if not Goetz’s actions.

Several opinion writers attempt to counter some of the frames put out in the paper, showing that the framing around the issue of urban life in the mid-1980s was not entirely monolithic (NYDN, Jan 04, 1985; NYDN, Jan 07, 1985; NYDN, Jan 09, 1985a; NYDN, Jan 09, 1985b). However, the language used in these articles to frame crime in the city, and regarding the context that Goetz and those teenagers found themselves on the subway train, still airs towards sensationalism and fear (NYDN, Jan 06, 1985; NYDN, Jan 09, 1985a). In this sense, the two genres of paper analyzed largely mirror each other, with the main differences being the linguistic flare used to create the crime and urban decay narratives.

Penny: Elite Newspapers

While the coverage of Daniel Penny and Jordan Neely in the elite press does not include as much fear-mongering about the chaos of New York City life post-COVID as I anticipated, there is still a consistent framing of Neely as the “other.” One Post article focused on the conservative support for Penny cites a popular conservative talk show host as saying that Neely was a “mentally ill homeless guy with a long history of violent crime.” (WaPo, May 14, 2023). Although the elite press does not repeat that exact characterization of Neely verbatim in my data, it does focus on certain subaltern aspects of his life. “For years before Jordan Neely, a mentally ill homeless man, was killed in the subway, the city had its eye on him” (NYT, May 15, 2023a). Here, the danger in the subway is presented as Neely instead of the man accused of killing him. Neely is said to have “descended into mental illness and drug abuse,” placing the blame on him as an individual rather than a violent economic system and the bare-bones welfare state (NYT, May 12, 2023).

Predictably, the elite press conflates police presence with lower crime, framing them as correlated despite scholars demonstrating there is no relation (Kleck & Barnes, 2014; Vitale, 2017). The framing of reduced crime in transit being tied to policing is demonstrated when

one article mentions that “officials say the surge in police presence has yielded some favorable results,” with no inclusion of how transit riders themselves feel (NYT, May 14, 2023). State officials are described as implementing any number of anti-homeless, pro-police solutions, and when they are described as ineffective there is no indication as to why (NYT, May 14, 2023). Opinions on the transit system are framed selectively and are frequently negative and without context about where state money goes to make a better, safer system. “Other New Yorkers... reflected on their frustrations and fears about the city’s transit system” (NYT, May 12, 2023).

Penny: Tabloid Newspaper: New York Daily News

The primary way in which Nelly is “othered” in the coverage of his death is through the framing of his past criminal history.

“The case was in some ways complicated by the pasts of the two men involved. Neely, who moved out of his father's home four years ago to live on the streets, had a rap sheet of 42 arrests across the last decade. Two years ago, he punched a 67-year-old woman in her face as she exited a subway station” (NYDN, May 07, 2023a).

Several scholars have written about how the media chooses what parts of a person’s life to elevate to normalize, sensationalize, rationalize, or commodify (sell papers) when someone is killed by someone else (Bienen, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 2008). Herman and Chomsky (2008) write about a dynamic in the press of worthy and unworthy victims, which is a frame developed depending on particular facts such as one’s social status or nationality. Bienen (1992) writes about “good murder,” which is to say that in journalism, certain details, frequently one’s legal history, and other salacious details are provided to create a more engaging narrative for audiences. Both of these theories are applicable when understanding how Neely’s past is framed (Bienen, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 2008). In this case, the framing of Neely’s past is used to frame Penny’s actions in a way that, especially when paired with the uncritical inclusion of his military service, creates a frame more conducive to negative opinions about Neely.

This remains evident in my analysis, even acknowledging that the paper frequently includes

quotes from people close to Neely who speak fondly of him. “‘Jordan was a good man,’ his grieving father told the Daily News” (NYDN, May 07, 2023a). This is because the inclusion of stigmatized aspects of one’s identity, such as homelessness, addiction, or mental illness, in news contexts can outweigh positive anecdotes (Entman, 1990; Goffman, 1963; Gramsci, 2021). Using the broader discourse around the need for more mental health and drug treatment services, the NYDN frames their inability to ‘save’ Neely as a reason for his death. “Jordan Neely should have been in a treatment center - not on the street - before he died from a chokehold Monday on the F train, says a Manhattan man he attacked 3½ years ago” (NYDN, May 06, 2023).

Nichols (2023) notes the staggering divide in experiences of violence between those who are unhoused and those who are housed. “A study conducted across five cities in the United States in 2014 found 98% of participants experiencing homelessness had been victims of a violent attack, with 73% experiencing an attack in the last year” (Nichols, 2023). There seems to be no journalistic desire, in this article or any other in the dataset, to allude to or include any pertinent contextual information about any possible violence that was directed at Neely before his violent death. Entman writes that “Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions” (1993: 55). Instead of contextualizing Neely’s criminal history, the media frames systematic, objective, and subjective violence in a way that “others” Neely (Moorhead, 2022; NYDN, May 06, 2023; Pruitt et al. 2020; Žižek, 2009). This framing is countered in one article that includes several quotes from state sources that condemn Neely’s death and are not pushed back against by the reporter (NYDN, May 04, 2023a). However, this article is almost entirely an exception within the dataset.

Summary

This section analyzed how the “other” is created, both on the individual level—Neely and the four teenagers, and the subaltern groups and societally deviant trends they are looped into—and at the more macro level of crime, mental illness, poverty, and the Black male existence in public spaces. “Moral evaluations” are made consistently, across cases and newspapers, about those belonging to these groups (David et al. 2011; Entman, 1993). Danger is constructed across newspapers and cases by unnamed and elite sources that are used to create an outsized fear of public transit, which in turn justifies and gives legitimation

to vigilante actions. While some of the language around the victims, particularly in op-eds, more strongly “others” the young men across the papers, remarkably similar narratives are constructed through the data that create moral panics around visible poverty. This places the risk attribution of danger in subways on those who have been injured and killed, instead of those committing subjective violence in these cases (Entman, 1993; Žižek, 2009). The following sections study the way “others” are constructed and framed in other crime coverage to create positive or neutral treatments for violent, and expensive, state actors and programs.

Benchmark Crime: Fare Evasion

In the below sections, I detail the frames extracted from the fare evasion data. I chose this crime to juxtapose news frames extracted from coverage of the Penny and Goetz cases because of the narrative themes of surveillance, race and class, and the privatization of public space and public goods, such as transit that has accelerated since the 1980s and again since 2020 (Low, 2006; Ryan, 2021).

Frame 1: The Necessity of Police

The first news frame I identified while conducting my method on the data centered around the criminalization of fare evasion is that of the necessity of police in and around public transit. This frame is situated within the broader academic discourse around racialized reporting of crime, the privatization of public space, neoliberalism, and the fear-mongering about cities. My analysis of the 87 articles I analyzed identified the role of the state, and the police specifically, as a frame element ended up being in line with existing methodological scholarship using this method, as well as with my focus on actors in the literature review chapter (David et al. 2011). This section serves as a benchmark of crime coverage to compare and contrast with the frames identified in my analysis of the vigilante datasets. There are differences between how the frame is constructed both over time and across newspaper classifications, which I will note throughout.

With fare evasion or almost any crime studied, the effects of policing, particularly violent policing, and the carceral system do not come down on the American population evenly (Vitale, 2017). The framing of police as necessary and beneficial to maintaining the order of the subway system shows up across variables within several of the frame elements I used in my methodology (David et al. 2011). “The city needs to increase the level of police

enforcement against smaller crimes in the subways. Doing so will make people comfortable” writes one NYT columnist (NYT July 21, 2021).

One of the key frame element themes that makes up the broader frame of the necessity of policing is how they are made out to be heroes, even heroes that share similar traits with vigilantes (Correia & Wall, 2022; Terpstra & Salet, 2020). An example of the way police surveillance tactics are given legitimacy can be seen in an article entitled “The Rollers' Nab Metro Scofflaws” (WaPo, Feb 05, 1982). The opening of this news article deviates from convention, reading like a spy movie before it gets to the ‘newsworthy’ later text.

“A cold misty rain falls...two men in hooded parkas watch as the anxious crowd presses toward an arriving bus...There, two men are attempting to sneak aboard. As the men step onto the back of the bus, the hooded sentinels suddenly burst from the store and hurtle through the crowd” (WaPo, Feb 05, 1982).

The term “sentinel” connotes an image of a historical military figure, guarding a castle from potential invaders. It also carries a heroic, protective connotation and when combined with the words “burst” and “hurtle” it invokes superheroes, which were increasingly taking up space in the cultural consciousness in the 1980s, as they have in the 2020s (Mann, 2017; Terpstra & Salet, 2020; WaPo, Feb 05, 1982). In this article, the shared trait between superheroes and vigilantes—surveillance and taking swift action against deviance - is ascribed to the specialty police team (Mann, 2017; WaPo, Feb 05, 1982). Other examples reinforce this narrative, such as when the NYDN characterizes the police as having “swooped down” on fare evaders, which again conjures up ideas of Batman, a vigilante figure surveilling the city before pouncing (Mann, 2017; NYDN, April 26, 1984).

In an op-ed about the need for the NYPD to embrace reform, they are simultaneously framed as working “hard every day... putting their lives on the line alongside the city's nurses...mass transit employees and other essential workers” (NYT, July 14, 2020). This framing links police officers with non-violent, essential workers, while also casting the reality of transit police as more dangerous than it is. Kurtzleben (2014) writes that a large number of professions are more dangerous than being a police officer, and Kanu (2022) notes that police spend far less time solving crimes than is portrayed in the media.

Concerns about police playing the ‘hero’ role and how that contributes to objective violence (Žižek, 2009) and discriminatory patterns that disproportionately target young people of color people are framed as overzealous and downplayed by the solution of “body cameras” (Entman, 1993; WaPo, July 06, 2022; WaPo, Oct 11, 2022). Scholarship on this potential ‘solution’ to biased policing has identified their body cameras as a false promise regarding accountability (Morrison, 2022; Newell, 2021). “Body cameras,” while tangible tools found in the real world, are a phrase used by the media to create a perception of an equitable carceral system in the mind of white liberals, a key demographic of the elite press (Newell, 2021; WaPo, July 06, 2022; WaPo, Oct 11, 2022). The solution’s failure to decrease bias and aggression from police in public transit settings is demonstrated in the article “He Paid His Subway Fare. Then He Was Tasered by the Police” (NYT, July 15, 2021). However, this does not limit the dominant framing of the overall necessity of police in transit settings found in the data.

Frame 2: Terror Below

To justify more police presence and more resources for those police, the media frames the transit systems in major American cities in a particular way, which is consistent across the entirety of my data. I expected the fare evasion coverage to consistently mirror the creation of the racialized “other” that was found in the coverage of the two vigilante cases, given the reputation of the media to engage in racialized coverage regarding crime coverage more broadly (Adamson, 2016; Baer & Chambliss, 1997; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Ellis et al. 2023; Welch et al. 2004). And while this does show up in some of the data, the racialized “other” did not appear in fare evasion coverage as often as anticipated.

“Fear of the subways partly defined New York in the 1970s and '80s” (NYT, July 21, 2021). The ‘terror’ of poverty, largely demonstrated in this dataset as fare evasion, is also framed in a way that downplays the larger systemic violence of neoliberal capitalism that saw major shocks to the system in the two time periods analyzed (Brenner & Theodore, 2005; Ryan, 2021). One transit worker is quoted in an article as saying “It's rough on the stations right now. Everyone is banging dope and there's homeless people everywhere” (NYDN, Jan 21, 2023). The inclusion of that quote within the broader narrative of the article, which frames crime and disorder in subways as out-of-control, with no further explanations or context, is

indicative of a broader trend I found in the data (NYDN, Jan 21, 2023). It also serves as a “moral evaluation,” a key component of my method (David et al. 2011; Entman 1993).

As in my analysis of the other frames, state, frequently police, sources are prioritized over other alternatives, frequently without sufficient context or fact-checking, when cited in crime articles (Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor, 2008). Without evidence or further detail, a police officer tells a reporter that he and another officer were “assaulted by a mob throwing rocks and bottles” and that “such incidents are frequent, part of the job” (WaPo, Feb 05, 1982). Police have proven to be unreliable narrators of the truth, particularly around issues of danger, yet are used to frame both their lives as more dangerous and subway systems as places to be avoided (Balko, 2013; Correia & Wall, 2022; Farhi & Izadi, 2020; Francescani, 2012; Vitale, 2017). The consistent inclusion of police sourcing and the framing around them across time and newspapers acts to align the frame and text with the police, allowing them to largely define the risks, themes, and to a lesser extent solutions of the subway (David et al. 2011; Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor, 2008).

To frame the severity of the problem of fare evasion, the NYDN turns to framing the problem of fare evasion as a “war” numerous times in the 1980s (NYDN, Nov 13, 1980; NYDN, April 21, 1981; NYDN, Mar 17, 1984). However, there are voices in the media in the 2020s dataset, albeit moderate in their proposal and scope, who advocate against further criminalization of fare evasion, even within articles that offer a competing frame (NYDN, May 17, 2023). Interestingly, a police officer is quoted as saying “Nobody likes to see anybody go to jail...For minor violations, they particularly don't like to see it” (WaPo, Feb 05, 1982). However, such perspectives are drowned out by the dominance of the two frames found in the data.

Summary

This section examined how fare evasion, a criminalized act that received an inordinate amount of media coverage in both the 1980s and the 2020s, remained similarly framed across papers and periods. I found fare evasion to be symbolic of the economic and cultural eras the data is taken from, with clear narratives and moral evaluations that conclusively align with the state. While there are some changes from the 1980s to the 2020s, those changes are largely more reflective of broader changes in the external world, such as discourse and

increased policies around alternatives to criminalization such as fare-free transit. Poverty, violence, and state actors are all framed in ways that mirror the vigilante coverage, creating texts and socially constructed realities that scapegoat the “other.”

5. Conclusion

This thesis project aimed to reveal the news frames across two different types of crime coverage, vigilantism, and fare evasion, in different decades from different newspapers. In doing this, my analysis of the frames present in the news coverage becomes illustrative of my more macro aim: to tie scholarly historical perspectives, media theory, and my synthesis of these components into arguments about the presence of the vigilante spirit in key facets of American life and news production. Through working towards these aims, I focused on the understudied symbiotic relationship between the political economy behind major media institutions and vigilante violence, and what that says about the institution of corporate media, our understanding of vigilantism, and violence in American society more broadly.

American citizens currently live in a country where three actors—the elites, the state, and the media—engage in a mutually beneficial, performative show of opposition and struggle that works to their benefit while hurting the majority. Historians have correctly identified the outsized role of vigilantism in shaping the American state, economy, society, and popular imagination (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018; Pearson, 2022). While there are critically important records of vigilantism shaping the media in a material and editorial sense, this thesis begins the process of examining the implications of this historical record on the very institution of media itself.

To address the aims laid out in the Introduction chapter of this thesis, I asked three research questions. In the following paragraphs, I will summarize my answers to these questions, demonstrated by my argumentation and analysis in the previous chapters.

The first question was: How do the actors involved in news production and coverage manifest the vigilante spirit? In answering the question, my thesis finds that the vigilante spirit manifests itself through news production and coverage in the proximity of editors to capital, elite sources, and the social and material benefits that they are afforded through the maintenance of the status quo, journalistic norms, and practices, such as objectivity, and the over-reliance on state sources that are not proven to be credible, particularly when contextualized by an engagement with the political economy of media. These processes and practices manifest the vigilante spirit for audiences in the framing of “others,” legitimizing and obfuscating blame around vigilante actions. In answering this question, I have shown that

the presence of elites and elite thought both coincided with and directly shaped norms in journalism that persist today. I argue that the economic violence that is waged for the elites to be in a financial position to own newspapers is not purely theft, criminal, or immoral as previous scholarship has said. To become a billionaire or ultra-wealthy is to engage in acts of vigilantism, and to be driven by the vigilante spirit that has always been present among the elites in America. The vigilante spirit, the extension of vigilante values, beliefs, and certain non-physical violent actions such as racialized surveillance and “othering,” can be seen at every level of elite-owned newspapers.

Despite ownership by wealthy firms and individuals, newspapers in America are still entirely beholden to advertising revenue and market pressures. Historically, the class that owns and operates businesses that advertise in newspapers have themselves been in vigilante groups, been in similar social circles, or shared the same worldview of a racially hierarchical, capitalist status quo but simply disagreed on the methods to enact it (Brown, 1975; Pearson, 2022). I have laid out in this thesis that as vigilantism became institutionalized at the turn of the 20th century, the need for elites to engage in acts of violent vigilantism was no longer necessary. Instead, elites, working within and external to the state, were able to shape the economy and society in ways that were largely in line with the fundamentals of vigilantism. These are the central ways in which actors produce the vigilante spirit that emanates from newspapers.

My analysis of the 169 news articles illustrates how these different journalistic components result in consistent frames that paint vigilantes in a positive light while demonizing their victims. These frames are illustrative of the broader issue within the elite-owned media, one that is hellbent on maintaining a violent status quo that oppresses “others” while enriching and protecting those who create systemic and individual harm. My findings demonstrate that a media beholden to and manifesting the vigilante spirit is largely unwilling and unable to cover vigilantism and crime more broadly in a way that doesn’t reproduce long-standing racial and class power dynamics in this settler colonial state that is America.

While conventionally understood acts of vigilantism have been rare over the last half-century, their symbolic importance and chilling effect are significant. My second research question asked: How are the acts of subway vigilantism committed by Bernhard Goetz in 1984 and Daniel Penny in 2023 framed by elite and tabloid newspapers? In answering this, I extracted

two news frames: “Anti-hero Vigilante” and “Urban Realities and its Victims.”

Goetz and Penny are part of a violent lineage of private violence that dates back to the very founding of the country in the 18th century. Because of the recency of the incident and the ongoing nature of the legal proceedings, there is no currently published academic literature that engages with the media’s coverage of Penny’s slaying of Jordan Neely. Previous scholarship on news frames extracted from coverage following the Goetz shooting from scholars has generated worthwhile analysis (Brooks, 1998; Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017). However, without the theoretical perspective of radical media criticism, rooted in a Marxist view of political economy, these scholarly efforts do not sufficiently grapple with the institution of media itself. Despite these works focusing on Goetz as a vigilante, the lack of a theoretical engagement and historical overview of what vigilantism is where Goetz fits into that context, they miss the crucial relationship between the media and vigilantism that led to the frames they uncover (Brooks, 1998; Carlson, 2016; Mann, 2017).

After conducting my frame analysis on my dataset, I extracted two frames that made up the news coverage of the two vigilante cases studied. The first frame was “Anti-hero Vigilante,” which showed that although the media framed both Goetz and Penny in a largely positive light. This was accomplished for example by using sourcing to make it seem like they acted in self-defense out of reasonable fear of danger, the coverage in both genres of newspaper studied was not entirely monolithically positive about the vigilantes. This frame differs from previous scholarship about Goetz news coverage because I demonstrate that it remained present in coverage of vigilantism even after calls for media reform around issues of race, poverty, and violence following the racial uprisings in the country in 2020.

Through using my chosen methodology, the findings I present capture that Goetz and Penny were not portrayed purely as heroes, but that the limited, but still important, critical uses of language and framing around their violence also conveyed an understanding and even at times a begrudging approval of the case details that make both Penny and Goetz seemingly undeniably flawed characters. The subjective violence committed by the two, though obfuscated, is conveyed in a way that does, at different points, lay blame at the feet of the two men (Žižek, 2009). By framing the two individuals as anti-heroes, rather than strictly moral and good people, they are still able to potentially limit more casual external criticism while still accomplishing the same positive or neutral treatment of the cases. This thesis shows that

this is because of the ways in which the actors, processes, and practices are inherently vigilante, thus producing the vigilante spirit found in the news frames.

The other news frame unearthed from my dataset focused on the two vigilante cases was “Urban Realities and Its Victims.” The frame demonstrated consistent usage of objective violence in order to “other” the victims of the vigilante violence, reinforcing material existing economic dynamics and justifying violence against them. Fear-mongering and the weaponization of crime in cities are weaved into articles to justify vigilantism, stoking fears about the existence of young men of color in public space, and largely placing the blame anywhere but on the vigilantes or the troubling vigilante spirit context they exist within.

My final research question asked: How do these frames compare to the frames found in news coverage of fare evasion in the years leading up to the Bernhard Goetz Daniel Penny cases? In answering this question, my frame analysis of fare evasion coverage shows that the media’s framing of the “others,” the material and socially constructed world they exist within, and the creation of anti-hero vigilantes largely resemble the dynamics found in articles about other types of crime. The objective violence of poverty, with little recent exception, only has one solution: necessary police presence in transit systems. The power dynamics, economic and social costs, and alternatives to criminalization are minimized or omitted from the coverage. My findings also demonstrate the media’s framing of one of the few remaining public goods that exists in America today, our transit systems, as places riddled with danger. This danger is never contextualized in a way that critically engages with the objective violence that the media omits to create disproportionate fear around visible poverty.

These frames are illustrative of the broader aim of my thesis, which is how the three actors I identified as playing a critical and, understudied, interconnected relationship that produces the vigilante spirit. Friedrich Engels once wrote in a letter that America was conceived of as “the ideal of all bourgeois; a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions...without a permanent and hereditary proletariat” (1886). A country that was founded by an act of bourgeois vigilantism was always going to stick with what worked for those in power (Brown, 1975). The American bourgeois has continually manifested the vigilante spirit through a collaborative and mutually beneficial process that understood, either by “semi-conscious strategies” or by fully lucid design, that institutional control of the media and state would prove a formidable obstacle to radical egalitarian change (Bourdieu, 1991).

The violence perpetrated by Bernhard Goetz and Daniel Penny was and remains impactful on a tangible level, but also because they were a logical outcome of how the media frames vigilantes, whether it be the police, military, militia groups, pop culture figures, or individuals, and how it frames, produces, and reproduces the “other.” The consistency of the two frames I identified, “Anti-hero Vigilante” and “Urban Realities and its Victims” across the vigilante dataset, along with the existence of the same frames found in the fare coverage was a grim reminder of the false promise of recent journalistic reforms. While there were changes over time, such as an overall shift from the active voice that frames Goetz in a more palpable, positive light to the passive voice found in the Penny coverage that deflected blame away from him and towards Neely, the frame remained the same. My study of fare evasion coverage leading up to these two vigilante cases also demonstrated how the objective violence of poverty is minimized as a factor in crime while being simultaneously and covertly weaponized against “others.”

Media reform, like most reforms offered by liberalism, offers a paltry change from our current system. It is not enough to rethink current existing media ownership models and economic structures. Media, its norms, functions, and aims, must also change. This change can not sufficiently succeed without understanding that the modern American press, the one that persists today in the form of the Washington Post, New York Times, and New York Daily News, are vigilantes in origin and design. Given that these papers are critical in shaping the country’s social world and given that American vigilantism continues to influence the social, cultural, legal, and political life of the nation, approaching both vigilantism and media studies through the lens of the other is vital to understanding the topics.

Future research in these fields would benefit from further study of the relationship between individual vigilantes and vigilante movements with the media and the state in the latter half of the 19th century and beyond. A study of the tactics, origins, and connections of the police and military through the lens of vigilantism would help contextualize and reframe urgently needed perspectives on state violence. Future scholarship could expand upon the number of vigilante cases examined in this thesis, include more newspapers, and do a comparative study with other countries' media coverage that also has strong historical ties to vigilantism. This may result in either the formulation of a larger case of the corporate media being a vigilante in nature or aligning itself with vigilantes, or it could offer alternative ways of thinking about

the role the media plays in society.

If the most powerful media institutions that frame and socially construct our world are inherently vigilantes, how can we build a society that finds racialized, or any form of unjust private or public violence occurring as a result of the vigilante spirit intolerable? This thesis offers a solution that can be used to address this pressing issue. I provide a new lens through which powerful state actors can be examined, deconstructed, and addressed by identifying them as vigilantes. This is accomplished through building on previous scholarship that demonstrates that vigilantism has played an outsized negative role in America's history, in part by sustaining itself through institutionalization, and forcefully recontextualizing major actors in American life as 'lawfully lawless,' anathema to a truly democratic and just society (Brown, 1975; Culberson, 1990; Obert, 2018). Engels' (1886) proclamation that the "delusion" around America being the ideal of the bourgeois would soon be over never fully came to fruition. Perhaps the answer to solving America's violent, deeply unequal, and unjust society is by finally addressing one of America's original sins.

6. References

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7. Sources

This table provides an overview of all the empirical material used in this thesis, as well as a key to how it is referenced in my text. The links to newspapers.com require a subscription in order to access the page, but a free trial is readily accessible. This was the only way for me to access those articles, as they were not included in ProQuest Global Newstream. The Washington Post articles from the 1980s require a subscription to the newspaper, which was also the only way to access data from that time period. Although many of these Post articles are accessible by plugging the headline into a search engine, not all of them are so for consistency and because they were originally downloaded and searched for via ProQuest, I included the ProQuest links.

Outlet	Case	In-text Citation	Headline	Date Published	Link
Washington Post (Elite Newspaper)	Fare Evasion (1980s)	(WaPo, Sep 20, 1984)	Metro Offers Express Farecard Vendor: Metro Offers \$5 Farecard Express Vendor	20 Sep 1984	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-offers-express-farecard-vendor/docview/138174318/se-2?accountid=189667
		(WaPo, June 22, 1984)	Metro Takes Steps to Curb Losses From Theft, Abuse	22 June 1984	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-takes-steps-curb-losses-theft-abuse/docview/138284589/se-2?accountid=189667
		(WaPo, July 08, 1983)	Fare Machines Failing More, Metro Reports	08 July 1983	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/fare-machines-failing-more-metro-reports/docview/147542954/se-2?accountid=189667

	(WaPo, June 18, 1983)	New Metro Auditor Calls Practices Lax	18 June 1983	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/new-metro-auditor-calls-practices-lax/docview/147606641/se-2?accountid=189667
	(WaPo, Feb 18, 1983)	Metro's \$384 Million Budget Would Require Fare Increase: Metro Asks \$384 Million For Fiscal 1984 Budget	11 Feb 1983	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metros-384-million-budget-would-require-fare/docview/138063065/se-2?accountid=189667
	(WaPo, Feb 09, 1983)	Metro to Pay for Tips On Thieves and Vandals	09 Feb 1983	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-pay-tips-on-thieves-vandals/docview/138090471/se-2?accountid=189667
	(WaPo, Jan 21, 1983)	Thieves, Cheats Costing Metro \$7 Million a Year: Metro Plans Crackdown On Thieves and Cheats	21 Jan 1983	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/thieves-cheats-costing-metro-7-million-year/docview/138108312/se-2?accountid=189667
	(WaPo, Feb 05, 1982)	'The Rollers' Nab Metro Scofflaws: Metro's Special Police, the Rollers, Crack Down on Scofflaws	05 Feb 1982	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/rollers-nab-metro-scofflaws/docview/147537520/se-2?accountid=189667

		(WaPo, Nov 1, 1981)	Metro Board Agrees to Raise Rail Fare to 65 Cents: Metro Board Agrees on New 65 Cent Fare	01 Nov 1981	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-board-agrees-raise-rail-fare-65-cents/docview/147233581/se-2?accountid=189667
		(WaPo, Oct 30, 1981)	Metro Fare Hostility Flares Between Maryland and D.C.: D.C.-Maryland Metro Hostility Flares Over Fares	30 Oct 1981	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-fare-hostility-flares-between-maryland-d-c/docview/147149691/se-2?accountid=189667
		(WaPo, April 07, 1980)	Metro Gives Up Plan to Check Bus Zone Transfer Cheating	07 April 1980	https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/metro-gives-up-plan-check-bus-zone-transfer/docview/147235731/se-2?accountid=189667
New York Times (Elite Newspaper)	Fare evasion (1980s)	(NYT, Jan 14, 1985)	Transit Police Try Ejections For Some Subway Offenses	Jan 14, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425299073?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=XGxe7kp9TnfBScIJOsuvmwTxiIqJKSpHbAOqL%2FDGo0g%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Sep 28, 1984)	Another Problem Is Cited In Transit	Sep 28, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425176448?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=v19WZ

			Police Radios		rGrjeorf8KsDZCXEBoe3DpG%2FSyC0eDiHCAEkys%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Aug 17, 1984)	Plague Of Pesos Afflicts Token Machines In City	Aug 17, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425160555?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=F1qmfSUCvfmMLLZtm6%2F85bqJyyC1yJWiK24URN2tC00%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Aug 5, 1984)	The Dark At The Tunnel's End: [Editorial]	Aug 5, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425173431?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=rCUvZFW4gQ3LXhig0vk31RqRrmvaFCO9ZmXe5dMdms%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Dec 17, 1983)	M.T.A. Raises Fares And Tolls By 20% Across The Board	Dec 17, 1983	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425716639?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=mSZ3r6davz9qo0pH18%2BKlbqadzgDUC0Ch6MDL6FF8jc%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Oct 21, 1983)	The City; Tribunal Sought On Fare Beaters	Oct 21, 1983	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424807707?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=0c%2FKWSAqqcTBwtHNaU36JYjKf%2BKv9fhwvRimODsJfz8%3D
		(NYT, May 2, 1983)	M.T.A. Eyes Boston's Use Of Fare Cards	May 2, 1983	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424646908?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=bgWcg

				1OECqddHpdovRxxm5Dhk6KRVQdqRugc%2F%2BV1xeU%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Mar 6, 1983)	War On Cheats Using Connecticut Tokens Wanes In The Courts	Mar 6, 1983	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424589044?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=TALdyHYUk1gaGFRAT4Z1boZlz3wcnDGjXO4M%2BPOTFbY%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Mar 4, 1983)	Fare-Card Plan Draws Support And Skepticism	Mar 4, 1983	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424590051?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=ZTaY6pnksVcW731jAgdPY2Lkzh2MX94VFTk4d4xBoDQ%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Oct 8, 1982)	Jail Is Jail: [Editorial]	Oct 8, 1982	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424461978?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=STU1NAWNUCPjdQqzB0HkmN5Psn7kFXjgyy4vp4mkT0%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, June 30, 1982)	1,000 Arrested In A Sweep Of Manhattan Subways	June 30, 1982	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424360527?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=aiFsPHdgi6s4fcUEG%2FJGw7AsWgga6oau2WDQqTTGn6E%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 16, 1982)	First Violators To Clean Subway Cars	May 16, 1982	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424343615?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=aiFsPHdgi6s4fcUEG%2FJGw7AsWgga6oau2WDQqTTGn6E%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers

			Get To Work		arentSessionId=tjiNfA%2B4J1QqVutt%2FRFaKMkxMAR1PeEKsjVwMHGAvcU%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, April 17, 1982)	Officer Kills A Youth On IRT He Said Didn't Heed Orders	April 17, 1982	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424336027?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=ZFy1QKLcjEDtqGU%2FS4lo ntDGTj7y3JXfJZR%2Fg2ewThs%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Feb 13, 1982)	Symptomatic Relief For Subway Crime: [Editorial]	Feb 13, 1982	https://www.proquest.com/docview/424307365?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=nT%2BsxipZLID1nZQbOqED7LqvfuIW0dQ9DBylXtVEYCE%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, June 25, 1980)	Monthly Passes Here Would Benefit Riders And The M.T.A., Too; [Op-Ed]	June 25, 1980	https://www.proquest.com/docview/423940201?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=c9kOjsDB%2FFF1kcFHjM06uT9e%2BG%2BC4gqWr16kXaRai3M%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
New York Daily News (Tabloid)	Fare evasion (1980s)	Pilot: (NYDN, Feb 16, 1981)	Blocks TA fare-beat program	Feb 16, 1981	https://www.newspapers.com/image/485833264/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22

	(NYDN, Dec 06, 1984)	Court'll be next stop for 28 fare-beaters	Dec 06, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/487112883/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22
	(NYDN, Oct 29, 1984)	Beating fare cheats: Boston heads 'em off at the passes	Oct 29, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/488398455/?match=1
	(NYDN, April 26, 1984)	Subway is for sweeping suspects	April 26, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/488334292/?match=1
	(NYDN, Mar 17, 1984)	Train their sights on TA fare-beaters	Mar 17, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/487944361/?match=1
	(NYDN, Oct 21, 1983)	Ask new tribunal for fare-beaters	Oct 21, 1983	https://www.newspapers.com/image/490072943/?match=1
	(NYDN, Jan 28, 1983)	Check his welfare after token arrest	Jan 28, 1983	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486273351/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22
	(NYDN, Jan 28, 1983)	Man shot by TA cop	Jan 20, 1980	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486338099/?match=1
	(NYDN, Oct 05, 1982)	Koch scores judges on fare-beaters	Oct 05, 1982	https://www.newspapers.com/image/491997528/?match=1

	(NYDN, May 5, 1982)	Transit: Fare-beating facts & ridership fiction – Op-ed	May 05, 1982	https://www.newspapers.com/image/490765876/?match=1
	(NYDN, Oct 15, 1981)	Bus drivers seek safety—from public	Oct 15, 1981	https://www.newspapers.com/image/490053682/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22
	(NYDN, April 21, 1981)	Another cop is causality in underground war	April 21, 1981	https://www.newspapers.com/image/485887632/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22
	(NYDN, Nov 13, 1980)	‘Flying squads’ slow down in TA overtime \$ flap	Nov 13, 1980	https://www.newspapers.com/image/485978128/?match=1
	(NYDN, Sep 04, 1980)	Subway rider’s got a jump on LIRR fare beaters	Sep 04, 1980	https://www.newspapers.com/image/485401008/?match=1
	(NYDN, June 11, 1980)	Warning: some men in blue rate black belts	June 11, 1980	https://www.newspapers.com/image/485343905/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22

		(NYDN, May 12, 1980)	Arrests drop in city as police are forced to ignore petty hood	May 12, 1980	https://www.newspapers.com/image/48506791/?match=1&terms=%22fare%20evasion%22%20OR%20%22fare%20beaters%22%20OR%20%22fare%20evaders%22
Washington Post (Elite)	Fare evasion (2020s)	(WaPo, May 31, 2023)	Metro violence worries deepen	May 31, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2820831431?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=nRgwUo1GvclKtAwYwoTZN51QH%2BnP%2BZdw%2BdPhMlnnV%2BU%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 22, 2023)	There's no free ride (Op-ed)	May 22, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2816677547?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=jomzs9tHZZyfuYtaeau1edkH%2F7k0fY0eXgUtlxnWHGM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, April 28, 2023)	Metro beefs up modified gates to curb fare evasion	April 28, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2806675205?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=8vV%2BiZcq0cfRKMxmsVteK8%2B38ja5BaQLPmtF1CMnEX0%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, Dec 11, 2022)	Free buses save riders money but mixed reliability can	Dec 11, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2748912821/D20D980672654EC4PQ/59?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers

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		(WaPo, Dec 09, 2022)	Burst of Metro violence stirs fears	Dec 09, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/globalnews/docview/2748051776/B4449F2151843B9PQ/34?accountid=12187&source type=Newspapers
		(WaPo, Nov 18, 2022)	Silver Line gives Metro optimism amid reduced revenue	Nov 18, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2737278654?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=RayH3RxXDylZoxHpBdjFF%2F%2FgdkTaJI%2FfEoDYLjFvZqw%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, Oct 14, 2022)	Metro board shows anger over rail car shortage	Oct 14, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2724394210?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=5OaLg7ADzLqbmQh%2FsWdznM9WWA37pa%2B%2B8xELZi%2BjiQM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, Oct 11, 2022)	Metro's not a free-for-all (Op-ed)	Oct 11, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2723290900?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=ARRC0vBZoH5OVmgl9BvajyNaVjB2Gx0wxF7BBLI75II%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, July 06, 2022)	Metro Transit Police Department will receive body cameras	July 06, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2684800842?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=BA9HV5q4zEPwvqhXbaP

				%2F%2B7kP%2BczJgR8PSHQne8gnbfs%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, June 18, 2022)	Mayoral hopefuls run on legislative records	June 18, 2022 https://www.proquest.com/docview/2677960698?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=NbXWxCgfbqIW60gfMLIKOKFmDkx8m8KO%2BSKAFQOxy3M%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, April 17, 2022)	Crime is rising on public transit across the country, experts say	April 17, 2022 https://www.proquest.com/docview/2650978367?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Om4misKWccpVqnmsZdzIR10EolJA8UIeYE3ZKiozxZw%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, July 14, 2021)	Police call to ban some suspects from Metro	July 14, 2021 https://www.proquest.com/docview/2550961977?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=BTyfDhkEpycTReTtbWj33j66vlyqTFjN4WB10O3clUM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, April 23, 2021)	Metro board, critics split on Transit Police review	April 23, 2021 https://www.proquest.com/docview/2516625124?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=1u5h%2Bb%2ByEqEXxVSMWo5vO7bZGDMznEbVbNHH8nLIJvU%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(WaPo, June 12, 2020)	Metro vows to address racism in transit system	June 12, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2411945163?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=SCA7DJcdg%2F9rspE7ezmQ1T%2FDA5JZvEsnvh90b8nd78Q%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, Mar 02, 2020)	D.C. lawmaker proposes free public transit for residents	Mar 02, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/globalnews/docview/2369125191/F18FEBF97C6342C0PQ/62?accountid=12187&sourcecetype=Newspapers
New York Times	Fare Evasion (2020s)	Pilot: (NYT, June 11, 2022)	City Budget Doesn't Include New Funds for Jails or Police	June 11, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2675121732?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=bCBPX4hVfALZdgjx9NCb59c5DynLrA%2FPtgL3oNUMaEM%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, April 05, 2022)	Lessons From Other Cities on the Homelessness Crisis	April 05, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2646864836?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=vKIzDgl2bb7WUzgAJhcWeQ60oCy6yb9sjTBwF%2BjA%2FeM%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
		(NYT April 04, 2022)	What Other Cities Can Teach New York About Homelessness on Transit	April 04, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2646790214?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=HOjdYZzCQQmHXowNLWkgzs1MldifFZHKfm0IkMsL1hQ%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers

	(NYT, Jan 07, 2022)	Police to Ramp Up Train and Station Patrols	Jan 07, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2617154669?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=PO4H151PNbD6Nf68WNkK4ZqmF9%2FKvzPouE CJtR1FVoU%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Jan 06, 2022)	Police to Step Up Patrol of New York Subway, Adams Says	Jan 06, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2617124371?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=AMHRISE07PoqrEBqFvv%2FKviS55ElnBw34BF1w7rwlUI%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Dec 30, 2021)	Manhattan DA Leaves Office With One Big Case Up in the Air	Dec 30, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2615310837?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=fnyYbIJGinE4VGuavY70DSQ9uw0wHldZKpa%2BPboS%2FsY%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Nov 01, 2021)	He's Likely Manhattan's Next D.A., but Now Grills Police Over Garner's Death: [Correction]	Nov 01, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2589738005?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=CFnEPM%2FWe2BeulBNSsWROSYAagd6a%2BH17dh%2BBIk%2BAQ Q%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Oct 26, 2021)	Manhattan D.A. Candidate Sees City on Edge	Oct 26, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2585679304?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=UIV5LCz8ZL2JSmf%2BFm3M99dlpA%2FGDkzm95BIdORzA%2BA%3

					D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, July 21, 2021)	The Subway Crime Problem Won't Fix Itself: [Op-Ed]	July 21, 2021		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2553429756?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=tQZfdIiVYjGOj3bkWLGBniDcKG0wjV%2Bt7FsurqyGGbk%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, July 15, 2021)	He Paid His Subway Fare. Then He Was Tasered by the Police.	July 15, 2021		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2551792484?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Lsd%2FB2xBM7XVQhaOI8XfIJqAJGP%2FuszGG3A7H8cebA0%3D&source=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 27, 2021)	How the Candidates for NYC Mayor Plan to Improve Transit	May 27, 2021		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2532896322?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=iOiQ9o3%2BZ1ecwS1h7Ni9fFJsIFyGfol3P6ser3o6Bs%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, Sep 20, 2020)	When a Bus Driver Told A Rider to Wear a Mask, 'He Knocked Me Out Cold'	Sep 20, 2020		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2444137691/8861EA34D58040E3PQ/23?accountid=12187&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, July 14, 2020)	N.Y.P.D. Can't Reject Reform Anymore: [Editorial]	July 14, 2020		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2423390407?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=n5sd%2BdcZEvxtHcnbjoij0b7%2BO%2F%2BpPBTj89Q1s9JCnw4%3

					D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, Feb 03, 2020)	In the End, a Clash of Giant Egos Triumphed Over Subway Repairs	Feb 03, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2349994764?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=QqDX6NnOcCe0xUeGHSZtSPduPzhya8H5tpiyW%2F94sN0%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 14, 2020)	State Attorney General to Look Into Whether Subway Arrests Reflect 'Racial Biases'	Jan 14, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2336917797/8861EA34D58040E3PQ/30?accountid=12187&sourcetype=Newspapers
New York Daily News	Fare evasion (2020s)	(NYDN, May 17, 2023)	Fare evading now 'crisis'; Costs city \$690M in '22; pros call for better controls, more subsidies	May 17, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2814258565?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=vg7EzCF0uGQgy6oEg0%2BsS0M%2BdrYXn4u9Y%2Fua28npPy8%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, July 30, 2022)	MTA boosting anti-fare-beat unit	July 30, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2696374547/7BD0D61C274D4A9BPQ/24?accountid=12187&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Jan 21, 2023)	Man tossed onto subway tracks dies of head injury	Jan 21, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2767387879?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=BT8gTRjLBLtevNkWc%2BZVj57bj%2FYI8CMX

					510%2FFL%2FMBOo%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Dec 30, 2022)	3 Guards working for MTA busted in beating	Dec 30, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2759165634?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=nUfp_g9i0UGP0i4PpvAPTN_gLFLDD%2FsX68v3K6ZP2QDiY%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Oct 25, 2022)	MTA wants to ban assailants from transit	Oct 25, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2727943004?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=qG6UXIBbW9mfSjscFJ2viRQZvG6fhSX68xa0rFH9khM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, MAY 28, 2022)	Vandals smash fare system in; rampage at Brooklyn station	May 28, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2670489472?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=shUtF7J8B6YeduX8HtVTCc_cybh4cUAYUa64MKNLffK8%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 13, 2022)	Shooter defended; Mayor hit for remark over man in fatal gunfight	May 13, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2663282580?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Pi8r6ldeEqfoCqDZkxJI%2BWV3N%2B5yziU0hJNLQB2k8qI%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(NYDN, Feb 26, 2022)	Skull fractured; in Qns. subway; Health Department scientist, 57, bashed with hammer, in hosp in critical condition	Feb 26, 2022	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2633188975?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Iq%2Fi%2FIoKVdt%2BNR7McsHVs4FZchN38s27zUYzzBSurGE%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Aug 5, 2021)	Arrest video outrage; Turnstile jump bust puts top cop on defensive	Aug 5, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2558008784?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=KI1urvsK6Azs3efT%2BmsMKEFZFkT1%2BRXVCFjSTaoZtfw%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 25, 2021)	Fare-beating a \$59M drain	May 25, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2531478177?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=0ZWviFDx76m3hLeiV4SHmU0%2FZZiSDQatrdRa46ZidgM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 18, 2021)	Another Surge of cops to subway; Blaz vows 250 more with violence soaring	May 18, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2528877569?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=s0zYp4g7LIM5Xxim83m54s%2FC0UxFjEQoGQpPeWMpyhs%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, April 19, 2021)	MTA efforts fail to stop fare beaters	April 19, 2021	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2514611440?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=pluLD8OGqcucWzWhleKF

					v7oEM4aON1MdXDNlqB4PxDY%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Feb 1, 2020)	Protests vs. the nypd; Crowds swarm subways, deface stations, say transit should be free and claim police are racist	Feb 1, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2349159482?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=AtMLskJ7q4D8U%2F8KEb0K2hjlmfZjnx4RSK8fbuTbNvU%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN Jan 21, 2020)	Bus riding a bust in city; Decline got worse in 2019	Jan 21, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2342434395?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=k9nkBFZXW7421D%2B6R0uZI%2B9Q2WbAPF1DPBg9yLqA7lc%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, Jan 14, 2020)	It's not fare; Tish tackling bias in turnstile jumping busts	Jan 14, 2020	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2336993679?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=MoBth2Howr0FkMD6WYf39rnGYT55VJudplk5CYGQtI%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
Washington Post (Elite)	Bernhard Goetz Case	Pilot: (WaPo, Jan 7, 1985)	Frontier Judgments [Editorial]	Jan 7, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138803876/F7A40C327CE342A9PQ/1?sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers

	(WaPo, Jan 19, 1985)	Poll Shows Americans Split Over Goetz Case	Jan 19, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138714568/fulltextPDF/6679E68D72C54324PQ/3?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 18, 1985a)	Lawyer Tells Senators Of Goetz's Concern For Social Justice	Jan 18, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138738643?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 18, 1985b)	New York Chafes at Criminal Image	Jan 18, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138753741/fulltextPDF/5D7363FB81AC474EPQ/1?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 17, 1985)	The Vigilante Mystique	Jan 17, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138739710?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 14, 1985)	'Well, I Didn't Buy the Revolver' [Op-ed]	Jan 14, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138813409?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 13, 1985a)	The Vigilante Discomfits Officialdom [Op-ed]	Jan 13, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138769732/6679E68D72C54324PQ/15?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers

	(WaPo, Jan 13, 1985b)	Giving Vigilante Action a Chance [Op-ed]	Jan 13, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138748288?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 12, 1985)	It Is Not 'Vigilantism.' It's Self-Defense. [Editorial]	Jan 12, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138740274/pageviewPDF/6679E68D72C54324PQ/18?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers#
	(WaPo, Jan 11, 1985)	Wounded Youth Denies Intent to Rob New York City 'Subway Vigilante'	Jan 11, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138788521?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 10, 1985)	Reagan Hits Vigilante Tactics	Jan 10, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138782489?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 6, 1985)	Vigilante, Holster Your Gun [Editorial]	Jan 6, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138755061?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
	(WaPo, Jan 04, 1985a)	Symbol of Subterranean Vengeance, Suspect Returns to the Naked City	Jan 04, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138773972?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers

		(WaPo, Jan 04, 1985c)	The Subway Shooting & the Great American Verdict	Jan 04, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138739664?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
		(WaPo, Dec 29, 1984)	Morality Play on a Subway [Editorial]	Dec 29, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/138126385?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers
New York Times (Elite)	Bernhard Goetz Case	(NYT, Jan 19, 1985a)	New York; The Bernhard Goetz Mailbag: [Op-Ed]	Jan 19, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425297333?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Lb6GVXOteirpb8nHE2th%2BEqzLn7y0MqFMVivkkxIA9I%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 19, 1985b)	Senator on the Subway: [EDITORIAL]	Jan 19, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425292773?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=vM40uNaDu075sPNN3sYZuw7lyeuECUp4eU1XKvixsog%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT Jan 17, 1985)	Goetz Is Rebuffed In Bid To Examine Taped Statements	Jan 17, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425296680?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=%2BYkjfYcgmRKgHP%2F6TFTJOy3Cv%2BkkhYyppblyOXWTcS0%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(NYT, Jan 12, 1985)	About New York; Covering The Case Of Bernhard Goetz	Jan 12, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425301143?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=5TDP1QVgHV2FptxxnKY7QPdZr7Mult%2B1IIMaRUB2dNY%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 10, 1985a)	New York Day By Day; A Bernhard Goetz Letter	Jan 10, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425302135?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=K3%2B6XKlgoaAyVCibeNofSGZr7cppGiIKLNJAziiBDgM%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 10, 1985b)	4 Youths Shot By Goetz Faced Criminal Counts	Jan 10, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425301189?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=0gK8gCUMEIXvOOGnx11NpTWxBsDkuYGtrwYXQ4Aimvw%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 09, 1985)	Goetz Posts Bail And Is Freed; Youths He Shot Won't Testify	Jan 09, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425304478?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Zz%2BPOkrG%2BFgmyL3DPinqzYAleyS2P2jgep%2FGSxP58UQ%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
		(NYT, Jan 07, 1985)	Angry Citizens In Many Cities Supporting Goetz	Jan 07, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425303374?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=S%2B8BjkJTF3bQBc1hy7yBfVUPJZ6QwuS4pps

				TRwVNDkQ%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
	(NYT, Jan 06, 1985)	Goetz: A Private Man In A Public Debate	Jan 06, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425304266?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=cG3e7JAx5DfNH%2B3pAJBr4c3N82YZixB0AH194V68Pw0%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
	(NYT Jan 03, 1985)	Suspect In Irt Shootings Agrees To Return To City To Face Charges	Jan 03, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425309672?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=%2FuaBa%2B62Kk8wwdrDkkyQPZPnIXMEapMhYcIY7IT0vkY%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
	(NYT, Jan 01, 1985)	Man Tells Police He Shot Youths In Subway Train	Jan 01, 1985	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425316407?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=eGHigxAlltXcx3g2qTKvyEAbOQWsO5Hw62CEE0J%2BWz8%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
	(NYT, Dec 28, 1984)	The Dangers Of 'Self-Defense': [Editorial]	Dec 28, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425262363?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=KGaj%2FiiIgtTdKvldhswlaei15hWeGuPWnI3uvEiLAlw%3D&sourceType=Newspapers
	(NYT, Dec 27, 1984)	The City; Cuomo Condemns 'Vigilante Spirit'	Dec 27, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425256478?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=CskGloin1ZMZfqA8Of3ZyT

					u2lrENGV2R%2FhJceYxSUpA%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, Dec 25, 1984)	Callers Support Subway Gunman	Dec 25, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/42525660?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=cWkr9x8878n9Kl8Mp8DzsgVxJlFQvCo9F9k9Ven32A%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, Dec 23, 1984)	A Gunman Wounds 4 On IRT Train, Then Escapes	Dec 23, 1984	https://www.proquest.com/docview/425263386?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=aahWVGncRZJBvk%2FgRD8wfjYa9eH7qO9DRvhAC7NCQL8%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
New York Daily News (Tabloid)	Bernhard Goetz Case	Pilot: (NYDN, Jan 07, 1985)	Ed urges special subway-crime court	Jan 07, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486806410/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
		(NYDN, Jan 19, 1985)	Cops say Goetz was sorry that he ran out of bullets.	Jan 19, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486814956/?match=1
		(NYDN, Jan 18, 1985)	Goetz, in light of Jefferson and Lincoln (Op-ed	Jan 18, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486809330/?match=1

	(NYDN, Jan 14, 1985)	An elementary view of 'Death Wish' gunman	Jan 14, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486811135/?match=1
	(NYDN, Jan 09, 1985a)	It's time for the law to lay down the law - Op-Ed	Jan 09, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486811260/?match=1
	(NYDN, Jan 09, 1985b)	Community efforts surpass vigilantism, says activist	Jan 09, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486817741/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Jan 08, 1985)	She'd help, but can't: Goetz ex talks	Jan 08, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486810060/?match=1
	(NYDN, Jan 07, 1985)	Lets listen to the experts on violence [Op-ed]	Jan 07, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486804132/?match=1
	(NYDN, Jan 06, 1985)	Mr. Goetz' Neighborhood	Jan 06, 1985)	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486795119/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Jan 05, 1985)	Goetz declines offers of cash	Jan 05, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486811610/?match=1

	(NYDN, Jan 04, 1985)	Caliber of the gunman shrinks as facts mount – Op-ed	Jan 04, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486807545/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Jan 02, 1985)	A Quiet, Intense Man	Jan 02, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486790731/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Jan 02, 1985)	Suspect: It had to be done	Jan 02, 1985	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486795269/?terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Dec 29, 1984)	No amnesty for IRT ‘vigilante’	Dec 29, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/486780985/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
	(NYDN, Dec 24, 1984)	Finest to flood the subways	Dec 24, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/40604440/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22

		(NYDN, Dec 23, 1984)	'Death Wish' gunman wounds 4	Dec 23, 1984	https://www.newspapers.com/image/487123147/?match=1&terms=%22vigilante%22%20OR%20%22Subway%20shooting%22%20OR%20%22Bernhard%20Goetz%22
Washington Post	Daniel Penny Case	(WaPo, May 15, 2023)	After arraignment of man in NYC subway death, a look back at Bernhard Goetz	May 15, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813460146?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 14, 2023)	Conservatives hail Daniel Penny as 'hero' after New York subway killing	May 14, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813090628?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 13, 2023)	After surrender, man is charged with manslaughter in N.Y. subway death	May 13, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812889756?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 12, 2023)	Ex-Marine to be charged with manslaughter in N.Y. subway chokehold death	May 12, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812263452?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(WaPo, May, 09, 2023)	Society put Jordan Neely on that F train	May 09, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2811006942?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 07, 2023)	The slow chokehold on the nation's unhoused people	May 07, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810258795?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(WaPo, May 04, 2023)	After N.Y. subway chokehold death, protesters call for an arrest	May 04, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2809304318?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Blogs,%20Podcasts,%20%20Websites
		(WaPo, May 3, 2023)	Man dies on N.Y. subway after rider puts him in minutes-long chokehold	May 3, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2808763790?accountid=189667&sourcetype=Blogs,%20Podcasts,%20%20Websites
New York Times	Daniel Penny Case	Pilot: (NYT, May 15, 2023)	On the Right, Help for Man Charged in Chokehold Death	May 15, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813477805?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Ya43Y6X4PIH6TXtznMya29isH5934SyOLDNSeJBSApI%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, May 26, 2023)	Man in Subway Killing Is Said to Plan to Speak To Manhattan Grand Jury	May 26, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2819183158?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=rp25UCEjKd%2BOcn3uienqUIRCOVlpcUB2BjFrXoM1x5o%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

	(NYT, May 19, 2023)	At Harlem Funeral for Jordan Neely, a Demand for 'Equal Justice'	May 19, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/281578223?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=xT3d%2Fknvi0Gw6OSyU8pRHhiOxyJP%2ByN0EEcW3Py99Bk%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 18, 2023a)	Uneasy Questions for Chokehold Witnesses	May 18, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2814660529?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=Mw%2FWfiTgp10PkucBTEasB3WQWsvRyXnlQOavMn23Yfc%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 18, 2023b)	They Watched Jordan Neely Die. Did They Have a Duty to Intervene?	May 18, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2814597824?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=zTJCLYxzqpsOEIIKGaPxU2D2Kat9gfX%2BzM%2BwpbCQKM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 15, 2023a)	Homeless Man on City's Radar Years Before Death on Subway	May 15, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813477782?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=JSIWvG%2BdEzXpweTYw%2FQThELrKSHwHrRtPjJHuyQ9FX0%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 15, 2023b)	A Preventable Tragedy on New York's Subway: [Op-Ed]	May 15, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813477809?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=uBl70qR%2BrF7PdGcIg7bg

					34vXTJKbXoBLM1iGrapWTgo%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 14, 2023)	Subway Killing Fuels Scrutiny of Police's Presence	May 14, 2023		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813106475?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=JZCVn76DtsIxlwIm7cdt8Mxf46X4GkF37xJylqZhO9w%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 13, 2023)	Man Is Charged With Manslaughter Over Subway Chokehold Death	May 13, 2023		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812914215?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=4akj19YTCKirvWusAz6gfW5QjfsjVQzhPxbHzcmj6us%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 12, 2023)	Daniel Penny Will Be Charged in Subway Chokehold Killing of Jordan Neely	May 12, 2023		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812208356?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=f%2BWJCN2t6yXkD7W7vx7j0io6LNmIwS16JNhIc6hcqIM%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 07, 2023)	How Two Men's Disparate Paths Crossed in a Killing on the F Train	May 07, 2023		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810446955?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=UJR%2BMqlTeNw30PaiQNsVHcgSyOkfuEpUH9UaIyfQftc%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYT, May 06, 2023)	Officials Still Investigating Subway	May 06, 2023		https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810023191?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=PChQ

			Chokehold Killing		Nc9lyXR48GnL2wBvzK1H65cgBORu9C341XjL1w8%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, May 05, 2023a)	Making Someone Uncomfortable Can Now Get You Killed: [Op-Ed]	May 05, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/280934123?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=egxCskg75UW7HnXhBOzeEhnEwkcF5BDT1EfqDvQ8nxc%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, May 05, 2023b)	Subway Killing Both Stuns City And Divides It	May 05, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2809341183?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=W%2BNGkQV9REc6SB2TuanV7pZruVKPMemm uw97UeLWvok%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, May 05, 2023c)	No Arrest in Subway Chokehold Death, and Many Ask Why	May 05, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/globalnews/docview/2809341232/5D5E4F8F65174E8BPQ/39?accountid=12187&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYT, May 03, 2023)	Man Dies After Fight on New York Train in Which He was Placed in Chokehold	May 03, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/globalnews/docview/2808459721/5D5E4F8F65174E8BPQ/44?accountid=12187&sourcetype=Newspapers
New York Daily News	Daniel Penny Case	Pilot: (NYDN, May 13, 2023)	NYPD Watchdog eyes decision not to immediately	May 13, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812929521?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=SiiRg8e%2BTuPgkHYn7L8l

			bust; former Marine		5F8QxJ6aTRFH0ImxUsIHHMo%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYDN, May 25, 2023)		Penny rally heckled	May 25, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2818605453?parentSessionId=XIoVstDAJ0IJ%2FUDOGOcCOTpr3LaSkM7RaTCg8ZTQ%2B9I%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYDN, May 19, 2023)		Longtime pal: Neely 'most loving' person	May 19, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2815140607?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=AAeGe%2BgaOA93WrIrOSIQXJxQh0D1vJ%2BNy%2Fpx2BjdX1s%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYDN, May 17, 2023)		Adams urges N.Y.ers to call 911 or 311 if facing danger	May 17, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2814258248?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=5MBNc4ZsqlzmB0sFPCNeIfX9KdIYHWFQAY6SS69DFg%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
	(NYDN, May 14, 2023)		Demonizing Neely just as wrong as calling Penny	May 14, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2813132694?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=MQjuaOPyiYcI3sVxzwbUxZDauvcdoBsf%2FGNwGUuKNx0%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(NYDN, May 12, 2023)	Media groups call on NYPD to drop case against veteran city photog arrested during protest	May 12, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2812334471?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=RsrYnqJbncNbyLZGII7HOAQm1L5t%2FA4fmMW5Y9qhieQ%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 10, 2023)	Subway victim's family asks Rev. Al to speak during Harlem funeral	May 10, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2811431521?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=qJyM8nzE8FSrdB32tx3oeJzGNNexIx26Y3AESpBrD%2Bg%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 09, 2023a)	Subway slay victim's family slams Marine's claim of self-defense	May 09, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2811145956?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=ec%2BZqFdkzHJo%2BP%2BPI7IQa%2BkRhnz5Ep%2BCamRnr9nnZtc%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 09, 2023b)	State 'off the hook' too easily	May 09, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2811145936?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=1ZfhcyWifSOwZgckpkj9yPEoaIr1uyPLILPg66x%2F%2BUc%3D&sourcecetype=Newspapers

		(NYDN, May 07, 2023a)	N.Y.ers Agonize Over Subway Death	May 07, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810295276?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=7M4ry5lCSwQYOamWFvxsiz7JzV70Vdt8PmCQB9S0i2k%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 07, 2023b)	State of mind will be key to Penny probe: legal experts	May 07, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810295260?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=wdZvKdAzXjIKXWD9RrmxXzfCqCYp3oK4kuF4oDtFsEg%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 06, 2023)	Choke vic's violence	May 06, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2810041979?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=KaMbsAfzgYYHyo6C%2BOt3Kf9y35A4h4frWuktiVlr6z4%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 04, 2023a)	Protests after subway 'homicide'	May 04, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2808845456?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=FS09C%2FA3qmHOxvT3W yazU%2FDztpncm4tO7ZgIrmUY7vg%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers
		(NYDN, May 04, 2023b)	Victim's grieving father: He wasn't bad, he was beautiful	May 04, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2808845113?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=iJBzds1exT9AFTmonG3Le5Dt1GG3vshIS1HXKkVKrnQ%3D&sourcetype=Newspapers

		(NYDN, May 03, 2023)	Man dies in subway brawl with Marine vet	May 03, 2023	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2808478611?accountid=12187&parentSessionId=KxjB7ygvoddpVVAocv9LcAH%2BqMhe6HOgRn1ZzKYkLfM%3D&source=Newspapers
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8. Appendix

Appendix A: Pilot

This image in this section shows one of six pilots that were conducted using my methodology. I created six pilots, one for each of the six subsets of data studied, in order to test the efficacy of the comparative component of my frame analysis.

1. Bernhard Goetz Case

a. Elite Newspapers

- i. Washington Post
- ii. New York Times

b. Tabloid Newspaper

- i. New York Daily News

2. Daniel Penny Case

a. Elite Newspapers

- i. Washington Post
- ii. New York Times

b. Tabloid Newspaper

- i. New York Daily News

3. Fare Evasion

- a. Jan 1, 1980-Dec 22, 1984
- b. Jan 1, 2020-May 1, 2023

The below images are from an op-ed in the Goetz: Washington Post category of data following open coding. Entman (1993) provides four components of news frames: highlight an incident or issue, identify its source, make an evaluation, and offer a solution.

Codebook color guide:

- Define Problems
- Diagnose causes
- Make moral judgements
- Suggest remedies

DOROTHY GILLIAM

Frontier Judgments

Sixteen days ago, a white New York subway passenger pulled a pistol from his waistband and shot four black teen-agers who allegedly harassed him and demanded five dollars. After giving an explanation to a nearby subway conductor, the gunman leapt onto the subway tracks and fled, initiating a nationwide manhunt that ended last week with his surrender.

Between the time the four youths were shot and Bernard Hugo Goetz confessed to the shootings and was taken into custody, a plethora of sympathy nationwide has swelled for Goetz.

He became a national hero. Radio hosts sang his praises. Newspapers, borrowing from the film "Deathwish," dubbed him the "Deathwish gunman." Residents interviewed on the streets of several cities said Goetz gave those kids exactly what they deserved: frontier justice. Goetz's explanation to the conductor—"I'm sorry, but it had to be done"—was boldly bannered on the front pages of two New York tabloids.

But when Goetz turned himself in, it became increasingly clear how little we really know about the man or the events on that subway train. If Goetz practiced frontier justice, then the public is guilty of prematurely judging the matter. Even some members of the press have bought into the snap judgment mentality, practicing faulty frontier journalism.

One San Diego radio station conducted an on-the-air poll in which listeners backed the gunman 4 to 1. But the poll was conducted with limited information, because the suspect was still at large. One newspaper waxed on at length about the "approval for violent self-defense" and only casually threw in the caveat that it was not yet clear whether the gunman was acting in self-defense.

Interestingly, while the case is following a scenario of black-and-white simplicities, the responses of many residents did

not follow the usual racial lines. The Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights organization, offered money for Goetz's defense. A New York radio host proclaimed: "The new repolarization of people is not going to be black against white, but rather decent against indecent."

Although I personally welcome this new complexity of response, I can think of several questions that should have been asked.

Would the response of the American public have been the same if a white gunman had shot four white teen-agers? Suppose the gunman had not been such a good shot and had hit an innocent bystander?

Would he have been a hero or merely a demonstration of the dangers of vigilantism? What if the youths were begging, not threatening? Or suppose he had killed the youths, as he now says he intended to, instead of only paralyzing one from the waist down? And what if Goetz turned out to be a paranoid psychotic who never fully recovered from a traumatic mugging three years ago, as one psychiatrist has suggested?

Many such factors have been played down or ignored by the public and some people within the press and electronic media. But in the absence of any suitable answers, and in the abundance of doubts, there is a need for all of us to be a little more rational in our response to unusual occurrences.

Perhaps because of the anxiety and tension in our daily lives, we all live with repressed violence in ways our forefathers never dreamed of. Maybe Goetz's action in a New York subway struck at that repressed violence and anger.

But no matter how frightened we become, we must remember that justice is not meted out in the street but in courtrooms. America is in a volatile period, and that is why journalists and media personalities must be voices of rationality and moderation lest we all take another step away from civility and find ourselves in caves.

Pilot Reflection and Findings

After deciding to conduct six pilots, one for each of the sections of data (case, newspaper, crime) my initial thoughts were that I would end up with at least six frames given the range of data I would be analyzing. Because this sounded like an overwhelming amount of data to organize and synthesize, I returned to my Literature Review, Aims and Research Questions in order to make sure that I approached this task with the proper theoretical and analytical focus. After conducting the pilots, I came with three frames for the two vigilante cases, and two frames for the fare evasion data. Upon reflection, I realized that two of my frames for the

vigilante coverage “Urban Realities” and “Subway Victims” were actually one frame. The victims in the data were inextricably linked to broader narratives around the city, transit, crime, fear and disorder. They did not stand apart, as individuals, like the two vigilantes, Goetz and Penny, did in the framing. This was in line with what previous scholarship on vigilantism said about media coverage of private violence. The framing of vigilantism, which includes portraying reasons for the violence and the victims in a way that justifies and excuses the vigilantism, is ultimately in service of a broader moral panic around crime, rather than the realities.

Before I committed to doing six pilots, I spent time reading the news articles I pulled from the databases. Although at first it seemed likely to me that I would need to do multiple pilots for the divisions within my fare evasion data, as I did a closer reading it became clear that it was not necessary to do. The coverage was too similar, thematically, narratively, and often linguistically to differentiate between the genres of newspaper periods studied for this case, so I only conducted two pilots for this portion of the data.

The divide between narrative and thematic focus existed between the pilots, with a split emerging between the news article and op-eds. However, the frame variables remained consistent across the type of content. While I was open, and interested, in doing a more clearly comparative frame analysis between the types of news content in the data, after conducting the pilots it was clear that it did not make sense to further segment the data and subsequent analysis. Furthermore, my decision to combine my analysis and findings of the two elite newspapers was validated because there was no identifiable difference, on any level of the methodology, between the NYT and Post.

Appendix B: Coding the Articles

The below image shows a page from an article in the Penny: New York Daily News category of data following open coding.

Entman (1993) provides four components of news frames: highlight an incident or issue, identify its source, make an evaluation, and offer a solution.

Codebook color guide:

- Define Problems
- Diagnose causes
- Make moral judgements
- Suggest remedies

Protests after subway 'homicide'; Homeless man threatening riders dies in brawl with veteran Marine who put him in chokehold

Kvetenadze, Tea; Parascandola, Rocco; Thomas, Tracy; Mcshane, Larry

[ProQuest document link](#)

FULL TEXT

The caught-on-video chokehold death of a homeless, mentally-ill Michael Jackson impersonator by a former U.S. Marine aboard a Manhattan subway train was ruled a homicide on Wednesday.

The city Medical Examiner found the cause of victim Jordan Neely's Monday death was compression of the neck. The determination came after outrage and protests erupted over the killing, with at least three demonstrators handcuffed.

Friends and elected officials on the death, insisting the homeless busker didn't deserve to die. Neely, 30, was a familiar sight around town, performing in Times Square and on subways as the King of Pop.

"NYC is not Gotham," city Comptroller Brad Lander tweeted. "We must not become a city where a mentally ill human being can be choked to death by a vigilante without consequence."

At least three people were cuffed following a demonstration inside the Broadway-Lafayette station, where Neely died, and a subsequent march in the local streets.

Dozens of protesters and police faced off during a tense vigil-turned-protest on the crowded uptown platform, with activists chanting "Justice for Jordan Neely" and other slogans.

"They murdered a Black man and his only crime was screaming on a train," Logan, a 30-year-old Brooklynite, told the Daily News. "This should not have happened. If you're a native New Yorker, you've seen people having an outburst on a regular basis. That's not a reason [to kill them]."

Friends Johnny Grima and James King came to the vigil, saying they had witnessed the Monday incident.

"They f—ing killed him, man. They choked him til he went unconscious and then they kept choking him," Grima said.

"We didn't do anything to stop it. To be honest with you, we are guilty of that," he added.

The Manhattan district attorney's office is investigating the death.

The NYPD busted Neely 42 times across the last decade and he had a documented mental health history with police, with his most recent arrest in November 2021 for slugging a 67-year-old female stranger in the face. A warrant for his arrest on felony assault charges was issued on Feb. 23.

When asked on Wednesday if the ex-Marine should be criminally charged, Gov. Hochul said she had just seen the video and needed to find "whether the state has a role" in the investigation.

"There's consequences for behavior," she said, although it wasn't immediately clear if she was referring to Neely or passenger who applied the chokehold.

Neely was on an F train heading toward the Broadway-Lafayette stop in NoHo when he began acting erratically around 2:30 p.m. Monday, passengers told police. He yelled and threw garbage at commuters, prompting an argument with the 24-year-old ex-Marine, cops said.

The quarrel turned into a brawl as the train entered the station.

During the fight, the former Marine put the victim in a chokehold and tried to restrain him.

A video of the confrontation shows the ex-Marine, with his left arm around Neely's neck as they struggle.

A second man helped restrain Neely, who turned on his side and continued kicking his legs until he finally stopped

Appendix C: Codebook With Definitions

The following is a portion of the tables I constructed, utilizing the method and format of David et al. (2011), after compiling and synthesizing all the variables, with definitions of the variables from each of the frames extracted from my dataset. The below table is for the first vigilante frame, added here to show the format of my process, but condensed for brevity.

Anti-hero Vigilante

Frame Elements	Variables	Definition
Topic/Theme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vigilantism 2. Dangerous passengers 3. Precedent 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This variable refers to the phenomenon of private violence detailed in the Literature Review 2. Refers to the victims of the vigilante acts 3. Refers to
Actor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State 2. Media 3. Vigilante 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to the role of the state in story, usually in the form of the justice or legal system, but also commonly refers to state actors such as politicians 2. Refers to mentions of the media, usually in editorials 3. Refers to Goetz or Penny
Benefit	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Safety 2. Justice 3. “Got what was coming” 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to notions of public or private safety 2. Refers to constructed ideas of moral, legal, or ethical righteousness and fairness 3. Refers to vindictive language regarding the victims and the worthiness of their punishment
Benefit Attribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Self-defense 2. Violence 3. Surveillance 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to vigilantes acting to protect their perceived physical safety 2. Refers to physical violence 3. Refers to the roll of the state and witnesses in the transit system, as well as references to the vigilantes tracking the victims

Risk	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further racial tension 2. Further violence 3. Public's willingness to take the subway 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to speculation over additional racial tension in the city/country after the vigilante incident 2. Refers to speculation over additional violence, whether it be vigilante, from protests, or from heightened tensions on public transit 3. Refers to sources or speculation
Risk Attribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Youths" 2. Visible poverty 3. Shooting 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to racially coded language regarding young people causing disorder, or simply existing 2. Refers to the existence of poor or unhoused people in public settings 3.
Solution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Legal remedy 2. More vigilante action 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to notions of justice or prevention of further violence by the legal system 2. Refers to language that advocates for or approves of additional vigilantism
Proponent	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Media 2. "Concerned citizens" 3. Politicians 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to the role of the media in addressing solutions 2. Refers to named or unnamed individuals advocating for different solutions
Treatment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive 2. Neutral 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Refers to an overall assessment of the anti-hero vigilante frame in a given article, in this case supportive of vigilantism 2. Refers to an overall assessment of the anti-hero vigilante frame in a given article, in this case neutral of vigilantism