

Author: Andersen, Mark E.

Title: *The Wisconsin Uprising: A View From the e-Trenches*

The accompanying research report is submitted to the **University of Wisconsin-Stout, Graduate School** in partial completion of the requirements for the

Graduate Degree/ Major: MS Technical and Professional Communications

Research Adviser: Glenda Jones, Ph.D.

Submission Term/Year: Fall, 2012

Number of Pages: 81

Style Manual Used: American Psychological Association, 6th edition

I understand that this research report must be officially approved by the Graduate School and that an electronic copy of the approved version will be made available through the University Library website

I attest that the research report is my original work (that any copyrightable materials have been used with the permission of the original authors), and as such, it is automatically protected by the laws, rules, and regulations of the U.S. Copyright Office.

My research adviser has approved the content and quality of this paper.

STUDENT:

NAME Mark E. Andersen **DATE:** 12/4/2012

ADVISER: (Committee Chair if MS Plan A or EdS Thesis or Field Project/Problem):

NAME Glenda Jones, Ph.D. **DATE:** 12/4/2012

This section to be completed by the Graduate School

This final research report has been approved by the Graduate School.

Director, Office of Graduate Studies:

DATE:

Andersen, Mark E. The Wisconsin Uprising: A View From the e-Trenches

Abstract

During the Wisconsin Uprising of spring 2011 mainstream media had many failures in their coverage of the events in Madison, Wisconsin. This project looks at the role new media played in the Wisconsin uprising by reporting events other forms of media did not. New media, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and other social media formats, gained new readership/viewership and an expanded role during the Wisconsin uprising, informing participants about uprising events including their emotional impact on the people of Wisconsin.

When Governor Scott Walker announced that he was going to eliminate collective bargaining rights for state employees, in my mind, I went back to my high school years when my father's union was busted. Growing up I saw the impacts a broken union had on our family. I wrote a blog post on February 14th, 2011 about my family's experience with union busting. That is where my journey began and was when my life was forever changed. This is a look back at the Wisconsin Uprising through my eyes and the eyes of other bloggers like myself.

This look back shows that the mainstream media failed, in my opinion, to cover the Wisconsin Uprising due to a multitude of reasons such as, fear of being accused of "liberal bias," a lack of violence, and other world events that were deemed to be more important; therefore new media, which did not have to fear accusations of "liberal bias," was better equipped to cover the Wisconsin Uprising.

Keywords: new media, Wisconsin uprising, protests, blogging

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Laura Clawson of Daily Kos Labor for her assistance with statistics from Daily Kos; Dr. Julie Watts for having faith in my abilities to complete such an unwieldy project and Dr. Glenda Jones for jumping in as my advisor when it looked like I would never finish this project.

I would like to dedicate this project to my son, Everett for his patience while I wrote it; to my late father who put the fire in my soul to support the downtrodden; to my fellow bloggers who provided me so much material to work with, and to all of my fellow Wisconsinites who participated in the Wisconsin Uprising with me – Solidarity!

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
List of Figures	6
Chapter I: Introduction.....	7
Definitions.....	9
Wisconsin’s Progressive Political History.....	10
Election of Scott Walker.....	13
The Protests.....	16
Statement of Need.....	19
Chapter II: Literature Review	21
Metaphors We Live By.....	22
Mediactive.....	24
American Taliban.....	25
La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences.....	27
Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest from Madison to Wall Street.....	29
Chapter III: Reasons Behind the Lack of Mainstream Media Coverage	32
Media Consolidation.....	34
False Equivalencies and the Myth of Liberal Bias	36
Findings.....	38
Chapter IV: New Media vs. Mainstream media	40
Research	40
Limitations	41
The Wisconsin Uprising	41

Mainstream media Loses Interest in Madison 46

March 2nd, 2011, Kodiak54..... 49

Kodiak54 and Giles Goat Boy - March 9th and 10th, 2011 51

Blue Cheddar 53

Blogging Blue 54

MouseNoMore 55

AnnieJo 55

snapple 57

BOHICA 57

pale cold..... 58

Daily Kos Statistics from the Wisconsin Uprising 61

Chapter V: Conclusion..... 64

References..... 70

List of Figures

Figure 2-1 La Follette bust.....	27
Figure 3-1 Michael Moore.....	32
Figure 4-1 March 12, 2011 View from State St.....	47
Figure 4-2 Assemblyman Milroy.....	50
Figure 4-3 Outside the south wing of the Capitol.....	51
Figure 4-4 Crowd post bill passage	52
Figure 4-5 Man dragged out of Capitol	53
Figure 4-6 We stand with Wisconsin.....	59
Figure 5-1 Total Recall	67

Chapter I: Introduction

In February of 2011, Wisconsin's newly inaugurated Republican governor, Scott Walker, proposed a "Budget Repair Bill." This bill, known as Act 10 would strip away collective bargaining rights from all public employees except police and firefighters. This bill was sent to the State Assembly and Senate, which had recently flipped from Democratic control to Republican control, triggering a chain of events that led to the occupation of the state capitol by protestors and some of the largest protests seen in Madison, Wisconsin since the Vietnam War demonstrations.

During the Wisconsin Uprising, mainstream media had many failures in covering the events of spring 2011 in Madison, Wisconsin. This project looks at both mainstream media and new media and how each interpreted the same events so differently during the Wisconsin Uprising. This project also looks at why new media was important to the protest movement itself and to a lesser extent to the nationwide progressive/labor movement as a means of keeping people informed and actively involved in the movement.

The largest of the protests took place on March 12th, 2011. That day was a cold and blustery day in Madison, Wisconsin yet one hundred eighty five thousand people jammed the Capitol Square to protest Governor Scott Walker and his Budget Repair Bill, Act 10, specifically the provisions in the bill to end collective bargaining (AFL-CIO, 2011). This was a newsworthy moment; however, if you were getting your news from *CNN*, *FOX*, *MSNBC*, *The New York Times*, or other non-local news sources, you knew more about the Arab Spring and the uprising in Egypt than you knew about what was happening in Wisconsin.

While the national media was covering the Arab Spring the local media, *WISC-TV3*, *Wisconsin State Journal*, and *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, in their attempts to look fair and

balanced in their coverage of the Wisconsin Uprising, often promoted both sides of the argument as being valid; however, it was not balanced to quote a supposition or blatant lie next to a proven fact and treat them as having equal weight (Gillmor, 2010). For example, Governor Walker continued to state that the vast majority of protestors were out-of state-agitators even after the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel* said that comment was false in their Politifact column where Joel DeSpain, the public information officer for the Madison Police Department, was quoted as saying, "[t]he vast majority of people protesting are from here, Wisconsin and even more from Dane County" (Journal Sentinel Politifact, 2011). Whenever there was a news story in either the national or local media about the protests, Governor Walker continued to say that the protestors were out-of-state agitators even though it was not true, yet this statement was given an equal seat at the table by the mainstream media, both local and national, when the protests were being discussed. While some labor supporters were from out of state the vast majority did live and work in Wisconsin, yet not once did any reporter ask the Governor how he knew the vast majority of protestors were from out of state. Virtually every story the local and national media published/broadcasted while the protests were at their peak in February and March of 2011 allowed both pro-Walker and anti-Walker an equal voice even when only one side was based on factual information as was the case with the example noted previously with Governor Walker stating that the protestors were from out of state.

Not being able to trust the mainstream media because of these "false equivalencies" (Gillmor, 2010) is one of the reasons why new media was important to the participants of the Wisconsin Uprising. An example of a false equivalency would be to present one side of a story that states the Earth is round and then to present the arguments of the flat-earth society on equal footing with proven facts about the shape of the Earth. While that is an extreme example, that

example is what Dan Gillmor is talking about when he states in his book *Mediactive* that, “All information isn’t equal, not in quality or reliability” (Gillmor, 2010, p. 32).

New media, specifically blogs and social networks like Facebook and Twitter, aided in keeping the protests alive by providing a conduit of information that kept people both inside and outside of Madison informed about what was happening on the ground while many mainstream media outlets interpreted or put a spin on events so that one side or the other could not accuse them of bias. Most notably, new media gave those who felt powerless, like me, to voice their opposition to Act 10.

Definitions

What is mainstream media? What is new media? Those questions are important to answer before moving further into this project. Mainstream media – newspapers, magazines, cable and broadcast news – are a passive format that requires little of the consumer. You ingest much of what the mainstream media produces with very few ways to respond back to the producer (Gillmor, 2010). A few years ago, if you wanted to respond to a producer of a mainstream media story, your only option was to write a letter to the editor and then hope it was published. Mainstream media provides a one-way street of communication from the producer to the consumer. The consumer is left without a voice.

New media – blogs, Twitter, Facebook and other social media websites – on the other hand are a two-way street. The producer can be a consumer, the consumer can be a producer. In most cases the consumer can respond directly to the producer via comments sections available on most blog websites (Gillmor, 2010). New media upends the traditional dynamic where the producer is the only one with a voice. The consumer can voice his or her opinion on the same page as the

producer in real time. There is no waiting two or three days to see if your letter to the editor is going to be published on the opinion page after being edited by someone you do not know.

Other differences between mainstream and new media are that mainstream media is generally corporate owned whereas only eight percent of blogs are corporate owned and sixty percent are written by what *Technorati* calls hobbyists, or people who hold down a full-time job and blog on the side (State Of The Blogosphere, 2011). Mainstream media requires a news story to go through multiple filters, like an editor, prior to publication. With new media, in most cases, the blogger types the story in and taps “publish” on his/her iPad or other similar device, and the story is instantly published for the world to see. The blogger is also responsible for his or her own fact checking, ensuring that all sources are linked, and editing posts for clarity, grammar and punctuation.

Mainstream media also goes to great lengths to avoid the perception of bias, which has led to mainstream media producers introducing false equivalencies into their reporting. Even NPR has come to realize that promoting false equivalencies is not in their best interests as they have banned the use of false equivalencies in their most recent handbook update (NPR Staff, 2012). This is not to say that new media is not without its problems; however, this project is about the way in which new media was an important part of the Wisconsin Uprising not about some of the issues that can and do plague new media today.

Wisconsin’s Progressive Political History

Why were the citizens of Wisconsin agitated in the early part of 2011? What made them want to sleep on the cold marble floors of the Wisconsin State Capitol? To answer these questions we must go back to the early days of Wisconsin and to a young man named Robert M.

La Follette, a man who would represent Wisconsin as a congressman, governor and senator and who was known by the nickname, “Fighting Bob.”

If you understand “Fighting Bob,” then you can comprehend why so many people protested day after day during the latter part of a harsh Wisconsin winter of 2011. It is imperative to know who “Fighting Bob” La Follette was and what he did as a political leader for the State of Wisconsin and how he took his message directly to the people by speaking at every public gathering that he could attend after the mainstream media of his day shut him out. It must be understood that Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was the first major U.S. city to elect a socialist mayor. Finally, it is especially significant to recognize that Wisconsin was one of the first states to pass a law allowing public servants to collectively bargain.

In 1885, La Follette fought the political machine in Dane County, Wisconsin, and was elected to the United States Congress, a seat he held for three terms. After La Follette’s term in Congress, Senator Sawyer approached La Follette to retain his services to influence judges in court cases that were “important” to the political machine (La Follette, 1913, p. 146). La Follette refused to take the retainer and thus began a campaign to end the power of the political machines, which at that time were controlled by men of industry.

His refusal to help the political machine of the day forced him to find other ways to get his message out. There was no Facebook, no Twitter, and no blogs. The newspapers of his day, like the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, were controlled by either the Democrats or the Republicans. Even though La Follette identified as a Republican, he was considered a radical; therefore, no newspaper in the state would do anything to get his message out (La Follette, 1913, p. 201). The only thing La Follette could do was to take his message directly to the people – and that he did by attending and speaking at every county fair in the state. It took La Follette three times but he

finally won the Republican nomination for governor in 1900. After winning the nomination, he was elected by the people of Wisconsin as governor on November 6th, 1900 and was inaugurated as Governor of Wisconsin on January 7th, 1901.

During his two terms as governor, he oversaw the greatest reforms in Wisconsin history go through the legislature.

- He initiated progressive taxation in which industry was taxed at the same rates as individuals.
- He initiated the first worker compensation laws in the nation.
- He put women into roles of power within the University of Wisconsin board of Regents.
- He eliminated political caucuses, which were rife with corruption and graft and replaced them with the primary system we have today.
- He took additional tax revenues from the new tax system to fund public education from grade school all the way to the university.

Most importantly, La Follette bought into the “Wisconsin Idea,” which is:

[T]he University’s direct contributions to the state: to the government in the forms of serving in office, offering advice about public policy, providing information and exercising technical skill, and to the citizens in the forms of doing research directed at solving problems that are important to the state and conducting outreach activities (Stark, 1995, p. 2).

Prior to La Follette, the best and brightest minds at the University were rarely used by governmental leaders – Industry, not the people, dictated policy. That began to change under La Follette. Instead of the patronage system used in the past, civil service exams became the norm, thus weeding out corruption in state government.

Over the years, Wisconsin remained at the forefront of the progressive movement, even after Robert M. La Follette died on June 18th, 1925. Striving for higher ideals, Wisconsinites fought to break up the trusts and make the state what Teddy Roosevelt called America's "laboratory of democracy" (Nichols, Introduction: Why Wisconsin?, 2011, p. 5). The crowning achievement of that "laboratory of democracy" was that government employees were granted the right to collectively bargain in 1959.

In fact, Wisconsin was one of the first states in the nation to pass a collective bargaining law (Wisconsin Labor History Society). The roots to collective bargaining law go to the formation of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Union in 1936 in Madison, Wisconsin (Wisconsin Labor History Society). Between 1936 and 1959 a series of strikes were threatened by public workers to win fair treatment (Wisconsin Labor History Society). The lack of labor peace in the public sector led to the 1959 passage of, "[T]he nation's first comprehensive public employee bargaining law, Section 111.70, which provided the right of collective bargaining to public employees, and also required municipalities, school districts the university system and other public entities to bargain with the unionized workers" (Wisconsin Labor History Society). Section 111.70 stood for fifty-two years providing relative labor peace, few strikes, no work slowdowns, no work stoppages, for the State of Wisconsin and its public employees until Governor Walker and the Republican led legislature passed Act 10.

Election of Scott Walker

The Wisconsin gubernatorial election of 2010 paired off Tom Barrett, Mayor of Milwaukee, against Scott Walker, Milwaukee County Executive. The campaign was rather clean with neither side slinging a great deal of mud. Tom Barrett ran a forgettable campaign that

portrayed him as a “nice guy” and “family man,” but his message about what he would do as governor was never very clear. The nice guy image and lack of policy specifics would haunt him on Election Day. Scott Walker on the other hand campaigned on his frugality. His theme was the “brown bag lunch” and he ran on the slogan: “Don't spend more than you have; smaller government is better government; and people create jobs, not the government” (VanEgeren, On the campaign trail with Scott Walker, 2010). His primary theme was a pretty simple statement for something as complex as governing a state; however, people bought into his simple messages, especially members of the TEA (Taxed Enough Already) Party who felt that taxes were too high and government spent too much.

When Scott Walker won the election for Governor of Wisconsin on November 2nd, 2010, the Republican Party also gained control of both the State Senate and the State Assembly. On November 3rd, 2010, the first predictions of what a Republican-led state government would mean rolled out. Jessica VanEgeren of the *Capitol Times* wrote,

More furlough days for state workers, fewer people on BadgerCare, lower taxes for corporations, employee contributions to state pensions and a challenge to federal health care reform are all likely to be top items on the state agenda in the wake of a Republican wave that swept Democrats entirely out of power in Wisconsin state government (VanEgeren, GOP sweep likely means more state furloughs, fewer on BadgerCare, 2010).

VanEgeren's article in the *Capitol Times* from November 3rd, 2010, was, other than predicting more furlough days, correct; however, no one saw the one thing that would forever change the political landscape in Wisconsin. Most of the headlines in the local newspapers at the time were about outgoing Governor Doyle putting the plans for high-speed rail on hold and Governor-elect

Walker stating that he would kill plans for the train (VanEgeren, Walker wants to stop the train, but can he?, 2010).

On November 29th, 2010, hints of what was to come started leaking out of the state capitol. The first clue was when Clay Barbour of the *Wisconsin State Journal* interviewed incoming Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald about union contracts that then-Governor Doyle had agreed upon with the state employee labor unions. According to Barbour, Senator Fitzgerald had already painted the coming fight over collective bargaining in stark terms, predicting an all-out war the next spring over the unions' objection to changing anything that touches their bargaining process (Barbour, State contract wars may not be civil, 2010).

The second clue came later that same day when an article about Governor-elect Walker's attempts to stop the out-going democratically led legislature from approving the contracts that then-Governor Doyle had agreed to was published:

Unable to stop Governor Jim Doyle from signing deals with the state's labor unions, Governor-elect Scott Walker in a letter to Assembly and Senate leaders asked outgoing legislative leaders to refrain from approving the contracts in a lame-duck session — a move he said could result in a need for more aggressive spending cuts once he takes office.

Returning and newly elected officials are going to need maximum flexibility to craft and work through our current and next state budget (Barbour & Spicuzza, Gov.-elect Walker urges lawmakers to work on contracts, 2010).

On Tuesday, December 7th, 2010, Governor-elect Walker stated that, “eliminating the ability of unions to bargain with the state was one option he was considering as a way to get more concessions from them to cut costs to the state and help balance the budget” (Bauer, 2010).

This fact was not reported until December 9th, 2010, which by itself is alarming enough that news of this weight would not get out to the public for two days after the governor made the statement; however, even more alarming was that this news flew under the radar of all but one news organization, *The Wisconsin State Journal*, in Wisconsin.

On December 16th, 2010, the state legislature failed to ratify the new union contracts for state employees. One Democratic Senator, Russ Decker, who was the Senate Majority Leader at the time refused at first to schedule a vote on the matter. It was revealed later that he had been promised a post in the incoming Walker administration. Once he was removed from his leadership position and a vote took place, Decker and Senator Plale were the only two Democrats voting against the measure. Governor-elect Walker called it a victory (Associated Press, 2010).

The Protests

On February 6th, 2011, Wisconsin's Green Bay Packers won the Super Bowl and the state was united in celebrating that victory. On February 7th, 2011, Governor Scott Walker had a dinner meeting at the Governor's Mansion. Dan Simmons details the events of the evening of February 6th in his article *Anatomy of a protest: From a simple march to a national fight*:

Walker held up a photo of President Ronald Reagan, who had famously fired striking air-traffic controllers, and said his plan to sweep away decades of protections for state public employees in a stopgap budget bill represented our time to change the course of history.

'It was kind of the last hurrah before we dropped the bomb.' The governor said (Simmons, 2011).

Simmons then goes on to describe what the governor's plans would do:

The budget-repair bill (Act 10), which would strip most collective-bargaining rights from 175,000 public-sector workers while imposing immediate benefits concessions, went public four days later. Governor Walker, a Republican, called for passage in the GOP-controlled Legislature within a week (Simmons, 2011).

On February 11th, 2010, Act 10 was first reported in the *Wisconsin State Journal*:

Gov. Scott Walker will seek to eliminate almost all collective bargaining rights of state and local public workers as part of his plan for fixing Wisconsin's budget deficit, a move one Democratic leader called an 'assault on workers in the state' (Spicuzza & Barbour, 2011).

The *Wisconsin State Journal* was the only paper that published a report about that first protest march. Samara Kalk Derby stated in a weekly column called *Around Town* that the protest on February 13th was small - attracting only one hundred fifty people (Kalk Derby, 2011). The protests calling on Scott Walker and the Republican legislature to reject Act 10 would gather steam and eventually top out with protests as large as 185,000 people on the Capitol Square. Protestors refusing to leave the building would occupy the Wisconsin State Capitol, and at one point during the protests, some would be physically dragged out of the building. The coming weeks and days would see the fourteen Democratic State Senators leave the state to prevent a quorum in the Senate, thus preventing the bill from passing. Sadly, though, on March 9th, 2011, the Republican opposition would flagrantly violate open meetings laws and vote to pass the union busting legislation without the Democrats. The events of that day will be explored further in Chapter four from the perspective of bloggers who were there, a perspective that will show the stark differences in reporting between the mainstream media and new media. One of those differences being that new media allows the reader, and the writer, to be emotionally connected

to the event. The emotional connection is an important component of new media as it draws a reader in to walk in the writer's shoes. It allows the person reading a chance to gain a greater understanding of how the events can impact them in the same way they impacted the writer. The emotional connection is what allowed me to tell my story.

Once Act 10 passed and was signed into law on March 11th, 2011, the real work began. There was a great deal of anger over what Governor Walker had done with the passage of Act 10. Calls to recall Governor Walker and regain control of the state legislature grew louder with each passing day. While the Governor could not be recalled for one year, there were Republican Senators who could be recalled. The protests, for the most part, ended on the evening of August 10th, 2011, with the Democrats taking two seats in recall elections, one shy of what was needed for a majority. However, the fight in Wisconsin is still continued in 2012 with grassroots organizations collecting over 900,000 signatures to recall Governor Walker, who would eventually go on to survive the recall challenge, and the Solidarity Singers who continue to occupy the Capitol Rotunda every weekday during the noon hour to sing protest songs. But some might say these efforts pale in comparison to the work done by a growing number of Wisconsin-based bloggers who found themselves thrust into the limelight at the beginning of the Wisconsin Uprising.

New Media

When Robert M. La Follette was locked out of the mainstream media of his day, he had no way to get his message out to the people. He did the only thing he could which was to take his message directly to the people by speaking at county fairs or any other gathering of people that he could find (La Follette, 1913). He appealed to their emotions by asking for their help in changing the politics of the state of Wisconsin.

While the national mainstream media coverage of the Wisconsin Uprising slowed to a trickle – even though protests occurred on an almost daily basis from mid-February until the end of March 2011 – the news about the movement was still getting out to rest of the country. People involved in the movement were not going to allow the story to die. Bloggers like myself, Giles Goat Boy, Blue Cheddar, Blogging Blue and others kept writing about the protest movement. We gained a national following and the movement kept growing. We did not hide our bias; in fact, we were proud of our left leaning coverage of the protests. We made emotional posts about what was happening to our state, and we received emotional responses to those posts.

Statement of Need

This project shows that mainstream media failed to cover the Wisconsin Uprising from multiple perspectives due to a multitude of reasons, lack of coverage, false equivalencies, and even one case where footage from another protest event that showed violence between protestors was shown during a story about the Wisconsin Uprising, leaving new media, without the constraints of mainstream media, to cover the Wisconsin Uprising.

The information in this project is informed by the research into archives of multiple blogs, newspaper archives and other news sources to get a picture of how the news was being reported by mainstream media and how new media responded to those same events.

My writing argues for the value for such new media during watershed moments in history like the Wisconsin Uprising, the occupy movement and even the Arab Spring and, in doing so, will illustrate how the vast majority of mainstream media failed to connect to their audiences due in part to the myth of liberal bias, false equivalencies, the failure to seek out and report how Act 10 was impacting people and the absence of any critical reporting on the statements made by

politicians. This project is, in part, based on my personal experiences as a blogger/protestor during the Wisconsin Uprising as well as research into the evolving landscape of new media.

Chapter II: Literature Review

We live in the age of information: Twenty-four hour news channels, continuously updated news websites and the ability to have news updates sent to our phones or e-mail accounts whenever a story breaks. On top of that you have thousands of people with opinions self-publishing on blogs. How does one sort it all out? Which opinion is fact-based and which is nothing but a house of cards built on a fault line? Focusing on the Wisconsin Uprising I hope this chapter will be a guide to understand the Uprising and also to understanding traditional and new media as they both evolve over the coming years.

Being in the center of the maelstrom of the Wisconsin Uprising made it, at times, difficult to see and understand the bigger picture. To grasp what was going on - both during and after the protests ended. The books reviewed below were invaluable resources. They provided an understanding of why certain words were used by those on the right side of the political spectrum as well as how and why the people of Wisconsin reacted the way they did to Act 10 and the words used by the right about Act 10 and those who stood against it.

During the Wisconsin Uprising Governor Walker and his legislative counterparts used metaphors to describe their actions and the people who were protesting those actions. Yet the mainstream media never looked into what was being said and what those words actually meant. *Metaphors We Live By* helped me decipher many of the code words used by Governor Walker in his statements about the protests. *Mediactive* aided in my understanding of how the mainstream media works, or in this case did not work. *American Taliban* may seem an odd fit in this literature review because of its focus on the religious right; however, it was a vital piece that aided in understanding the mindset of those who stood with the governor and his allies instead of with schoolteachers and other public servants.

Moreover, to comprehend progressive Wisconsin it is crucial to recognize the man who started it all, Robert M. La Follette, the father of the progressive movement. Understanding La Follette's beliefs, and from where his beliefs derived, is critical to grasping why the people of Wisconsin reacted the way they did to Scott Walker's policies. Scott Walker is the antithesis of Robert M. La Follette and in reading *La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences* one understands just how much Scott Walker went against the very history that makes Wisconsin what it is.

Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest, from Madison to Wall Street by John Nichols was written by one of the few mainstream media journalists who understood the mindset of the Wisconsinites who joined together to protest Governor Walker's policies. Nichols, as a Wisconsin native, understood what it was like to grow up in Wisconsin, who La Follette was and what he meant to Wisconsin. Nichols knew the values and mindset of his fellow Wisconsinites. His look back at the protests is a clear, concise documentation of what happened, when it happened and most importantly why it happened. This all leads into his take on the importance of new media to the Wisconsin Uprising and this thesis project's focus: to demonstrate how new media gained new readership/viewership and an expanded role during the Wisconsin Uprising by informing participants about uprising events and showing the emotional impacts that the Uprising was having on the people of Wisconsin.

Metaphors We Live By

Metaphors We Live By, written by George Lakoff, was an invaluable resource in understanding the Wisconsin Uprising. Governor Scott Walker, as well as other politicians on both sides of the political spectrum, used metaphors to explain everything he was doing as governor, and to understand this political speak one has to understand how metaphors are used.

If a person were to ask another how blue a newborn's eyes were, they might respond saying that a baby's eyes were as deep as the ocean. Metaphors describe our thoughts and our world. As Lakoff states,

Primarily on the basis of linguistic evidence, we have found that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. And we have found a way to begin to identify in detail just what the metaphors are that structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14).

Since metaphors structure our thoughts - and what our actions will be based on those thoughts - it is understandable why Governor Walker and his allies in the legislature used metaphors like "the tools," "big union bosses," "union thugs," "out-of-state agitators," and "slobs." He wanted to paint a picture that was far different than the reality of the situation. For example, Scott Walker did not provide "the tools" necessary for school districts to balance their budgets - he stripped away collective bargaining rights from teachers - but "tools" sounds much better in the media than "taking away rights."

When Governor Walker would use the terms like "big union boss" or "union thug," he was trying to put forth an image of corrupt union officials and lackeys who would go out and bust kneecaps in order to further the union cause. Of course there is no such thing as a "big union boss," or "union thug." Union officials are not corrupt and are in most cases democratically elected to various leadership positions within the union; however, because of the image of organized labor in popular culture, those metaphors were used to describe teachers, professors, prison guards, police officers, fire fighters, county highway workers, and city employees. Governor Walker used these terms rather than "friends" and "neighbors" to set the tone for his reactionary agenda - even though friends and neighbors would have been more accurate as the

people he was attacking with the terms “big union boss,” and “union thug” were in all likelihood people that many of us would call a friend or neighbor.

Another example occurred on March 2nd, 2011, when Senator Glenn Grothman was quoted as saying that the protestors occupying the Capitol, “...are slobs. But I don't hate these people for being slobs. I don't mind nice slobs” (Spicuzza, Grothman says confrontation with protesters didn't scare him , 2011). Instead of using terms like protestors, union members, graduate students, teachers, occupiers, or the people of Wisconsin, Senator Grothman chose a metaphor, “slob,” to put a negative image out there. It is far easier to disparage a person to the mainstream media as a slob than it is to denigrate a kindergarten teacher.

Mediactive

The use of metaphors in the mainstream media would not be an issue if the mainstream media were not failing at its job as the watchdog of government. In *Mediactive* Gillmor states that, “In an participatory culture, none of us is fully literate unless we are creating, not just consuming,” (Gillmor, 2010) and in the forward for *Mediactive*, Clay Shirky writes, “[w]e need a media environment that serves us, both as individuals and as a society” (Shirky, 2010). Those two statements sum up the intent of the founding fathers of this nation. A free press is vital to the health of a democratic society: so vital that it is mentioned in Federalist Paper eighty-four, “[T]he liberty of the press shall not be restrained,” (Hamilton, 1788) and is a part of the Bill of Rights, “Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom...of the press” (U.S. Const. amend. I).

My interpretation of Gillmor's writing in *Mediactive* is that just as Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* helped give rise to a nation, *The Federalist Papers* gave us the individual liberties that are guaranteed to all citizens of the United States. Pamphlets like *Common Sense*

and *The Federalist Papers* were the “blogs” of their day. Today the Internet provides a home for mainstream media and blogs and extends it across connections that span the globe. It has democratized media in ways that our founding fathers never imagined (Gillmor, 2010). The blogs that reside online give all of us an independent voice, a voice we lost, when the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was passed into law. That law, which allowed for the consolidation of media outlets on a scale never before seen, has reduced substantive viewpoint diversity (Ho & Quinn, 2009).

The reduced diversity in the mainstream media and the advent of the Internet changed the media landscape and turned people from media consumers to creators and collaborators (Gillmor, 2010). Before the advent of the Internet, mainstream media was a one-way street. The news source told the story and we, as consumers, ingested the story. In today’s world it is no longer a one-way street. Gillmor tells us that while the mainstream media still delivers the news, we must be educated consumers of that news. We must question what the mainstream media outlets tell us and one of the ways that we as consumers can respond back to the producers, i.e. mainstream media, is to become active media producers ourselves.

American Taliban

The mainstream media system in the United States has been in decline since the FCC abolished the fairness doctrine in 1987 (Fletcher, 2009). Since the fairness doctrine was abolished there has been a distinct rightward/corporate tilt to the mainstream media. In *American Taliban*, Markos Moulitsas tells the story of the modern right wing. While the focus of this book is on how the current iteration of the Republican Party has more in common with the Taliban of Afghanistan than they do with the founding fathers of the United States, the author also makes note of the monstrous alternative media machine that the political right has been building over

the last few decades, from Rush Limbaugh's debut on the national scene in 1988 to Fox News' dominance in the cable news industry. Moulitsas states, "[A] key component of the conservative resurgence of the 20th century was the methodical creation of an alternative news machine to promote the conservative message" (Moulitsas, 2010, p. 204).

We see Moulitsa's ideas in action when looking at the primary reason for creating this alternative news machine, which was due to a perceived liberal bias in the news media from the right (Vatz, 2009), even though systematic research has found no consistent partisan or ideological favoritism in news content despite frequent complaints of biases (Lee, 2005). The alternative news machine of the right brought out the worst in the mainstream media during the Wisconsin uprising. So desperate for acts of violence from "union thugs" against Governor Walker supporters Fox News' Bill O'Reilly,

Launch[ed] a segment that portrayed demonstrating schoolteachers, public employees and their supporters as offensive and aggressive, O'Reilly introduced his on-the-scene reporter as someone who had 'experienced pro-union anger first hand'. As the two discussed the ostensibly disrespectful dissidents in Madison, the state's largest city, scenes of crowds chanting inside the State Capitol rolled onscreen. These were followed by an outdoor shot of a belligerent, thick-necked union member shoving a counter-protester (Engler, 2011).

The issue with O'Reilly's segment was that there were palm trees in the background of the outdoor shot and the only place you will find palm trees in Madison, Wisconsin on a cold winter day is in Olbrich Botanical gardens, which is an indoor facility and no protests ever took place at that location.

Fox News has become the centerpiece of the right's media machine and the left has

nothing that compares with the juggernaut Fox has become – experiencing double digit growth for eight straight years up to 2009 (Moulitsas, 2010). The right wing had Fox News as a traditional news source and some blogs; however the need for an alternative news channel was not as necessary for the right as it was for the left. The growth of Fox News changed the landscape of mainstream media reporting. A landscape where opinion, not facts became the basis of the news and this is just one of the things that changed the way mainstream media reported the news and is one of the reasons new media was so important during the Wisconsin uprising.

La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences

While new media was vital to getting the word out about the uprising, Wisconsin's history as a progressive state is why there was an uprising in the first place. To fully understand why the people of Wisconsin rose up as they did in the months of February and March of 2011, one must look back at the past and at a bust that resides in the rotunda of the state capitol (see Figure 2-1). The bust is of Robert M. La Follette: the progressive, congressman, governor, and senator of Wisconsin from the turn of the twentieth century. Reading his autobiography, *La Follette's*

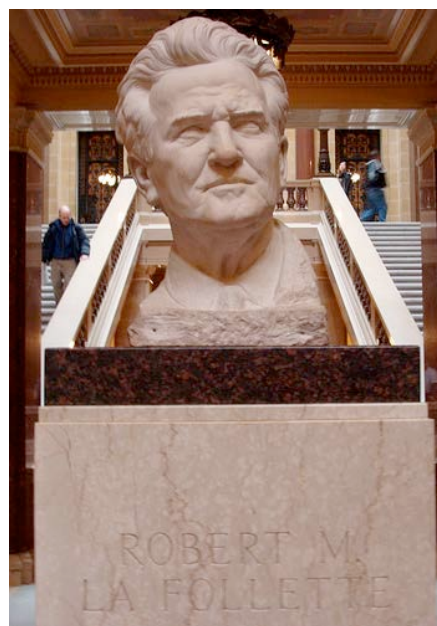


Figure 2-1 La Follette Bust (Andersen, Wisconsin uprising photos, 2011)

Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences, gives one a greater understanding of what “Fightin’ Bob” stood for, and why the people of Wisconsin revere him. It also explains why incoming governor Scott Walker broke with tradition and held his inauguration on the North Gallery of the rotunda, away from the La Follette bust, which resides in the East Gallery with the governor's office, where Wisconsin governors are typically sworn into office. Moving the

inauguration to the North Gallery meant that the audience was sitting with their backs to the bust of Fighting Bob (Barbour & Spicuzza, *On the Capitol: No pics of Walker and 'Fighting Bob' at inauguration*, 2010). The action of moving the inauguration to a non-traditional location in the rotunda was a foreshadowing of things to come, as what the governor was about to do was the exact opposite of everything that Robert M. La Follette stood for.

As stated in Chapter One, La Follette is an important part of Wisconsin history and in many ways he is the father of modern Wisconsin. His bust is the only bust of a governor in the rotunda of the state capitol and every year there is a “Fighting Bob Fest” to celebrate his progressive legacy. Robert M. La Follette left an indelible mark on Wisconsin. In reading La Follette’s autobiography, one understands that he also has a reverence for his history. When he discusses his beliefs, he always precedes that discussion with a look back at how and why he has that belief. Much like when many of the people of Wisconsin were asked why they were protesting in February and March of 2011, they would have given the person asking the question a lesson in state history discussing some of the great progressive leaders Wisconsin has had - from La Follette to Feingold. While discussing his beliefs, La Follette recalls in his book that in 1876 he went to see Robert Ingersoll speak in the Assembly Chambers at the State Capitol. La Follette stated that Ingersoll had a great influence over him and his belief system,

“[H]e liberated my mind. Freedom was what he preached: he wanted the shackles off everywhere. He wanted men to think boldly about all things: he demanded intellectual and moral courage. He wanted men to follow wherever truth might lead them. He was a rare, bold, heroic figure”(La Follette, 1913, p. 36).

While La Follette is discussing Ingersoll in the quote above he is discussing his own beliefs. Not once in his biography does he come out and say, “I believe this” instead La Follette uses anecdotes from various points in his life to explain his beliefs throughout his memoir.

La Follette also speaks of moral courage in a way that we do not hear today. There is this reverence and conviction in his writing. Whether he is talking about disbanding the patronage system or creating a progressive income tax system, his goal was always the same: to ensure that the public interest transcended all other concerns (Unger, 2000). That goal, that belief of La Follette’s, has stayed with the people of Wisconsin for well over one hundred years and is one of the primary reasons that so many people came out in force to protest when Governor Scott Walker pushed his reactionary agenda through the state legislature. We all believed, as La Follette did, that the public interest is the only interest.

Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest from Madison to Wall Street

John Nichols was one of a handful of mainstream media figures that reported the Wisconsin uprising accurately and his book, *Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest from Madison to Wall Street*, also faithfully details the events that took place before, during, and after the uprising. Most interesting is his take on the media and new media, or as Mr. Nichols calls it, “next media.”

Nichols showed that new media was able to provide coverage of events that occurred during the protests that mainstream media did not feel were newsworthy and how “next media” filled the gaps that mainstream media missed, like protestors being dragged out of the Capitol (see Image 4-5) or how the Republican led legislature illegally passed Act 10. Nichols concisely captures the reason for the mainstream media coming to Madison:

The protests in Madison were so large that they demanded basic attention. But most major media outlets covered them with a “tarmac map” – sending a crew in, keeping them on the ground just long enough to get the “Madison” dateline [a line at the head of a dispatch or special article in a newspaper showing the date and place of writing] (Nichols, *Uprising*, 2012, p. 96).

Nichols then turns his attention to new media,

Wisconsin based bloggers, such as Blue Cheddar, recognized the reality on the ground, noting immediately that the crowds at the capitol were packed with farmers, small business owners, and others that were not union members but who understood the necessity of unions as a counterbalance to corporate overreach (Nichols, *Uprising*, 2012, p. 108).

Nichols then states, “citizens created their own media platforms [out of necessity]” (Nichols, 2012). The citizen-owned media platforms to get out to the masses that Nichols discusses are the very platforms that allowed more accurate depictions of the events that were happening in February and March of 2011.

Each of the above books were vital to understanding the Wisconsin Uprising even though only one book was explicitly about the Uprising. *Metaphors We Live By* provides an understanding of the way language was being used and in many cases abused by those in power. *American Taliban* provided insight on the takeover of mainstream media by conservative interests. *Mediactive* showed us how mainstream media has failed in these trying times and how we, as media consumers, can change the current media system by becoming media producers. La Follette’s autobiography provided an understanding of the man whose ideas are what Wisconsin is about. *Uprising*, written by John Nichols, gave the best overview of the protests and what they

meant and was an invaluable resource in the writing of this project.

Chapter III: Reasons Behind the Lack of Mainstream Media Coverage

While researching new media and its place in the Wisconsin Uprising the questions that continually came up were: Why didn't the mainstream media cover this? Where were they? Why am I seeing information from bloggers that I am not getting from professional journalists? My research led to the issues that Chapter Three addresses: the abject failures of the mainstream media, which led to the rise of blogs as a news source about the Wisconsin Uprising.

On March 5th, 2011, filmmaker Michael Moore came to Madison to give a speech that had started out as a response to his detractors and turned into a manifesto against class warfare (Moore, 2011). Keep in mind that the day Moore came to Madison, there was no large protest rally planned. He showed up for a scheduled open microphone to give a speech. Below is his description of what it was like to come to



Image 3-1 Michael Moore (Andersen, Wisconsin uprising photos, 2011)

Madison after seeing the mainstream news coverage of the protests:

The scene in Madison is nothing like they are showing you on TV or the newspaper. First you notice the whole town is behind this. Yard signs and signs in store windows [supporting public workers] are everywhere. Thousands of people are out just randomly lining the streets for six blocks leading to the capitol carrying signs, shouting, cheering and cajoling....Inside the [Capitol] rotunda is...well, it would bring tears to your eyes if you saw it. It was a shrine to working people – to what America is and should be about (Moore, 2011 p. 174-175).

Moore's comments about Madison reinforce the argument that mainstream media failed to tell the entire story of the Wisconsin Uprising. Moore notes that lack of coverage by saying that what he saw in Madison was nothing like what he was seeing on the TV or newspapers. Although fifty thousand people were there to hear Michael Moore give his speech on March 5th, his visit received scant attention by the mainstream media (Andersen, Wisconsin - March 5th, 2011, Protests...In search of Palm Trees, 2011). While it is rare for Moore's appearances to make national headlines the local media would normally cover a celebrity appearance such as Moore's; however, few local media outlets covered the story of Moore's journey to Madison.

Moore was not the only left-wing celebrity to come to Madison. Ed Schultz of MSNBC's *The Ed Show* made multiple visits to Madison to broadcast his show from the Capitol Square surrounded by protesters. Rachel Maddow of MSNBC also covered the protests extensively and accurately. Both shows interviewed the "Wisconsin 14," the fourteen State Senators who left the state to prevent the passage of Act 10. During this same time other traditional media outlets chose to focus only on Governor Walker and Republican leadership in the state legislature. After Moore was done speaking and when Schultz's shows were on commercial breaks the crowds around them would chant "thank you, thank you" over and over for getting the word out about what was happening in Wisconsin. While Schultz, Maddow and Moore worked to get the word out about Wisconsin their actions and words were drowned out by the noise of Fox News and other mainstream media outlets.

The question then becomes why? Why wasn't news of what was happening getting out of Wisconsin via mainstream media? While I cannot provide a concrete answer to this question, I can point to several issues that plague mainstream media today and are indirectly responsible for the lack of coverage the Wisconsin Uprising received.

Media Consolidation

The starting point to understanding the how mainstream media failed to tell the complete story during the Wisconsin Uprising is the consolidation of media ownership in the United States. In 1983 fifty corporations controlled the vast majority of all news media in the U.S (Democratic Underground.com, 2008). In 2002 that number had decreased to ten companies (McChesney & Nichols, 2002). By 2004 that number had decreased to only five companies (Democratic Underground.com, 2008). As Nichols and McChesney state,

All in all, these [few] firms control the overwhelming percentage of movies, TV shows, cable systems, cable channels, TV stations, radio stations, books, magazines, newspapers, billboards, music and TV networks that constitute the media culture that occupies one half of the average American's life. It is an extraordinary degree of economic and social power located in very few hands (Nichols & McChesney, *It's the Media Stupid*, 2000, p. 28).

Five companies control the bulk of information disseminated to the American public via mainstream media. How can one have a diverse discussion of ideas if a handful of people or, in the case of the media, a handful of corporations controls the information that the public receives via mainstream media? The answer is that one cannot. Corporations have one interest in mind: Profit above all else. Financial gain is their only reason for existence. Informing the public is not the corporate media's principal function, making money is (The Economic Collapse, 2010).

With earnings being the primary concern of corporations the news media began to change. In a 2001 interview ABC anchorman Peter Jennings discussed one of the significant changes in the evening news:

For all of the early years I spent in this business, [the evening news shows] were loss leaders. We were leaders in the broadcast news field, and our owners were prepared to take the loss for the stature and the public responsibility of it. That all changed when they figured out that news made money. And so the bottom line became a much, much bigger issue (Jennings, 2001).

This phenomenon was not isolated to just broadcast media. Newspapers that relied on classified ads to support them were reeling from the loss of revenue as eBay, Monster.com, and Craigslist gave advertisers a much broader reach for a far lower price. It did not take long for the classified advertising business to dissolve and with it went the source of most profits of the local newspaper (Gillmor, 2010). With profits gone from classified advertising, newspapers turned increasingly to business advertising and increasing subscription fees – both were a recipe for disaster.

Broadcast and print media turned towards entertainment as a means to keep viewers tuned in and subscribed. Media outlets focused on celebrity gossip or a national news story that really should have stayed local. When serious news was presented, journalists pretended to find two sides to every story, even when one side of the story was the opinion of an individual or group who had no facts to back up their opinion. This relentless “dumbing-down” of journalism to the point that it was pure info-tainment pushed audiences even further away (Gillmor, 2010).

Add in the fact that the majority of advertising dollars for newspapers was now coming from businesses that wanted to avoid controversy. Newspapers could no longer go after the controversial stories in the manner that they had in the past. Thus a newspaper could not afford to lose advertising dollars because the viewpoint of an advertiser may not coalesce with that of a

story that was published by the newspaper about local politics. Not only has the media been dumbed down, it is little more than what Gillmor calls “vanilla reporting” (Gillmor, 2010).

False Equivalencies and the Myth of Liberal Bias

Of these changes in the media, the most troubling aspect is the false equivalency where two sides to a story are presented as having equal weight when only one side is valid. It is like presenting an argument that a wall painted black is actually white. The driving force behind the false equivalency in reporting is the myth that there is a liberal bias in the media. A bias that until twenty years ago did not exist and because of this incorrect perception that the mainstream media leans to the left, mainstream media outlets have gone out of their way not to be accused of having a liberal bias (Gillmor, 2010).

Where did the myth of liberal bias in the media come from? The answer to that question lies within a right-wing think tank called The Media Research Center that has been pushing the liberal bias in the media meme for over twenty years. The Media Research Center has done a series of studies that they say proves that there is a liberal bias in the mainstream media. To many these studies seem reasonable; however, when one dissects them we can see that the analysis put forth by the Media Research Center is skewed in a way that will prove their point of liberal bias in the media regardless of what the facts actually are. They have multiple studies including the ones below that purport to show the following:

- The Public Recognizes the Bias
- Journalists Vote for Liberals
- Journalists Say They Are Liberal (Media Research Center, 2008)

Each of the above named studies from the Media Research Center goes into a loop. The study on the public recognizing bias in the media cites the studies on journalists voting for liberals and

journalists stating that they are liberals to prove that the public recognizes the liberal bias in the mainstream media. With each study referring back to another Media Research Center Study it is similar to an infinite loop in computer programming where repeating instructions just continue to run and refer back to each other without actually accomplishing anything. So the proof that the public recognizes bias in the media is that journalists vote for liberals and journalists say they are liberals. While the proof that journalists are liberal and that journalists vote for liberals is that the public recognizes the bias of a journalist. The final and fatal flaw with these studies from the Media Research Center is that not once do they actually address what news is being reported. Of course the public recognizes the bias. The right has pushed this meme for over twenty years. It has been repeated so many times that people just assume it is true without regard to the facts. As for whether a journalist votes Democratic or Republican or whether they say they are liberal or conservative has no bearing on the reporting of the news. All of the studies by the right leave out the most important fact; what bias is actually in the news as reported?

The answer is that systematic research has found no consistent partisan or ideological favoritism in news content despite frequent complaints of biases (Lee, 2005). Yet studies of press coverage find that references to the liberal bias on the news outnumber references to a conservative bias by more than a factor of 17 to 1 (Nunberg, 2002). If you repeat a lie often enough people begin to believe that lie.

Behind the Media Research Center's flawed research is the pro-business right wing and Republican Party who have long understood that changing the media was a crucial part of bringing their right wing ideas into the public sphere (Kuttner, 2001). As McChesney, author of *The problem of the media*, states,

To the general public the conservative critique is not packaged as an effort by the wealthiest and most powerful elements of our society to extend their power, weaken labor and government regulation in the public interest, and dramatically lower their taxes while gutting the public sector, aside from the military...It is marketed as a populist movement...battling the establishment liberal media elite (McChensney, 2004, pp. 112-113).

The right-wing's agenda of weakening labor, government regulation, lowering taxes at the expense of education, public transit, Social Security, and other social programs will not garner votes for right-wing candidates. In order to get the public to vote against their best interests the right-wing pushes their agenda forward into the public sphere in a way that potential voters buy into the argument of liberal bias in mainstream media. To make the right-wing agenda palatable to the general public think tanks like the Media Research Center were created to put forth the idea of the "liberal media elite" (McChensney, 2004), with the sole purpose of re-framing the mainstream media in a way that it could not be trusted or relied upon to tell the truth.

Findings

All of the issues discussed in chapter three hobbled mainstream media in reporting on the Wisconsin Uprising. Those same issues did not cripple new media. Bloggers who wrote about the Wisconsin Uprising were not dependent on advertising dollars nor did they care if we were accused of liberal bias; they were all transparent on what their political beliefs were. They were not just reporting the news, they were reporting how it impacted them and those around them. There was no filter for bloggers, no editor, no publisher, and no false equivalency. They wrote what they saw when they saw it, including how the events impacted them emotionally.

Mainstream media could not do that for fear that they would lose advertising dollars, offend a corporate owner, or be accused of a liberal bias.

When you take the issues presented in this chapter and put them into the context of the Wisconsin Uprising, it becomes clear why the mainstream media failed and new media could pick up and report on what was happening in Wisconsin. The corporate interests that own the mainstream media had a vested interest in not reporting citizens outraged that their rights were being taken away. As Noam Chomsky said, “you don’t allow the bewildered herd to become participants in action. They’ll just cause trouble” (Chomsky, 2002, p. 18).

Eventually new media did allow the “bewildered herd” to become participants in action. In many cases bloggers had no idea that they were providing information to people across the state, also across the country, and even the world.

Chapter IV: New Media vs. Mainstream media

I was born and raised in Madison, Wisconsin, so the Capitol has always been near and dear to me; as a child, when my mother worked at S.S. Kresge on the Capitol Square, I would play tag with other kids in the State Capitol. It was, and still is, a marvelous building. When I was ten years old, I saw the movie *Star Wars* at the Strand Theater across the street from the Capitol. I was twenty-four when the first Gulf War ended, and I marched in a welcome home parade around the Capitol Square. I have sat on the Capitol lawn on many a Wednesday night for concerts on the square and more than my share of Saturday mornings at the Farmer's Market that takes place on the sidewalk that surrounds the Capitol. The Wisconsin State Capitol has been a part of my life for as long as I can remember, but I never thought I would be marching in, occupying, and reporting on protest marches that would occur there.

Research

Research for this project involved searching for and reading blog posts about the protest movement. In most cases the blog posts discussed in this project are posts that I wrote or I had read at some point during the uprising. In the case of the blog posts detailing the events of March 9th, 2011, when the Republican led legislature illegally passed Act 10, I went through the archived blog posts of several bloggers. The posts chosen for this chapter are those that provide a full narrative of that day from multiple viewpoints. At the same time for each blog post I went through the newspaper archives of the protests to find all available mainstream media stories and found that they showed what the mainstream media was reporting as opposed to what the bloggers were reporting.

Limitations

There are limitations to this research. In many cases some of the best new media reporting of what was happening at the Capitol was on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Due to the nature of this technology, it was impossible to look at archived material due to time constraints and even with additional time, I am not sure one could research all of the #wiunion tweets that were sent during the uprising. Other limitations were that blog posts and mainstream media stories might have been edited, updated or even deleted from the various archives they were in. There were some issues in verifying the accuracy of some claims made by both sides of the protest, especially with respect to crowd estimates. In cases where there was some dispute about the size of a crowd or an event that happened, or did not happen, during the protests, I have used my best judgment based upon the available facts to depict the events that happened in the most accurate way possible based on multiple media reports, both new and mainstream, during the uprising.

The Wisconsin Uprising

On February 14th, 2011, the full impact of Act 10, the bill that would eliminate collective bargaining was apparent. Over fifty years of labor peace, no strikes, no work stoppages by the majority of public workers, was in jeopardy. That night while watching the events unfold on local six o'clock news memories of my youth began to flood back to me. I had not written anything on my personal blog at *Daily Kos* for almost seven months at that time and had Act 10 not have happened it was likely that I would have never written another word on that blog. Act 10 changed that. That evening I wrote a post entitled *The Hidden Cost of Union Busting*. Most of my posts got little notice, and I often wondered if anyone even read them as at that time there were no stats showing page views available to bloggers on the site and comments were few and

far between. That night and from that day on I never again wondered if anyone read my posts as my posts were promoted to the front page of the website. Below is that blog post in its entirety:

I work in a non-union job; however, I am passionate about organized labor causes, as I know that all of the benefits I have today are due to someone before me fighting for those rights. Which is why I am so passionate about what is happening to the unionized Public Employees of what used to be the Great State of Wisconsin. My family went through what the public employees are currently going through now when I was a teenager; I lived through an employer breaking the union my father was in.

In 1983 my father worked for Dane County Dairy at the time it was a union shop. The drivers all were members of Teamsters Local 695. My dad worked for the dairy for close to thirty years at that point of his life. If you went to school in Madison, Wisconsin during the seventies and early eighties, you may have seen my dad everyday. During the school year he delivered milk to every school in the Madison Metropolitan School District as well as every parochial school in town. It was hard work and it was hard on my father's health.

When I was a sophomore in high school my dad arrived at work to find that his wages had been cut from \$12.00 an hour (a pretty good sum back then) to \$8.00 an hour. His vacation time was cut from five weeks to two weeks. The men who worked at the dairy were told if they went on strike they would lose their jobs. His boss, Duane Bowman Jr. was emboldened by President Reagan firing all of the Air Traffic Controllers two years earlier. Shortly thereafter my dad had a heart attack. While in a hospital bed recovering he received a registered letter

from his boss stating that he had to come back to work tomorrow or lose his job. The union stepped in and prevented my dad's employer from doing due to my dad's illness.

Mr. Bowman refused to negotiate with the Teamsters, so the Teamsters notified the National Labor Relations Board and the Teamsters and the NLRB sued Dane County Dairy and Duane Bowman Jr. for breach of contract and violation of labor laws (National Labor Relations Board v. Dane County Dairy, 1986). In the meantime while my dad was out of work due to illness, non-union workers were doing his job. Due to the lawsuit my dad could not drive truck for anyone...he had to find another job.

My dad took odd jobs at one time or the other, one of them, was with Pinkerton security, which was ironic knowing Pinkerton's history with the labor movement. My dad worked security at South Towne Mall during the day and worked security at the zoo at night. The security job was barely enough to make ends meet. I did not know it at the time, but my parents were in pretty desperate financial straights.

The costs of union busting are high. I saw my dad, a very proud man, reduced to self-doubt and drowning himself in alcohol. Whatever money there was for me to go to college was gone. I had no choice but to join the Army. Eventually the NLRB and Teamsters were victorious and my dad did receive a decent settlement. However, I often wonder how different my life and my family's life would have been if this event had not happened.

As a Postscript, my dad did eventually win his battle with alcohol and had ten pretty good years of retirement. (Andersen, *The hidden cost of union busting*, 2011).

A day later I found this blog post on a list of blogs selected by the *Daily Kos* user community as “must read” blog posts, also known as the recommended list, and myself on the *Rick Smith Show*, a labor friendly radio talk show based in Pennsylvania. We discussed Act 10 and what happened to my family so many years before and how it related to Act 10. Once I was done with that appearance, I began asking myself, why was my blog suddenly popular? Why were people reading what I wrote?

The answer is that I was surrounded by the events of the Wisconsin Uprising as they unfolded; however, as an active participant in occupation of the Wisconsin State Capitol, I was unaware of the lack of coverage that the Wisconsin Uprising was getting on the national scene. I saw the trucks from the major television news organizations parked around the square: CNN, MSNBC, CBS, ABC, and Fox News; yet, based on the comments left on our blogs, people from other parts of the state and country were devouring the coverage that bloggers like me were writing. The reason was that many of the facts about what was happening in Madison were not getting out via mainstream media. A prime example of this would be an acquaintance of mine who lives in a rural community in southwestern Wisconsin and who received all of her news about the protests from Fox News. This acquaintance sent me a text message when she had seen, via a Facebook post that I had made, that I was going downtown with my then eleven-year-old son. In that post I stated my reasons for taking him were so that “he could see what it meant for people to exercise their first amendment rights of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.”

In her words she was concerned about me taking my son to the “riots” on the Capitol Square in downtown Madison, Wisconsin.

Why was she so concerned about our welfare? If you look at the coverage Fox News was giving the protests, it is not hard to understand. First there was the incident mentioned in Chapter two where a fight between two people was aired during a segment on the Bill O’Reilly Show on Fox News while the commentators were discussing the Wisconsin Uprising. The fight did not take place in Wisconsin and was easily identifiable as a fraud due to the palm trees in the background.

Fox News also portrayed the Wisconsin protesters as violent. In a video posted to YouTube on March 1st, 2011, protestors pursued Senator Glenn Grothman as he searched for an open entrance to the Capitol. Throughout the video amongst chants of shame and expletives you hear people chanting, “Don’t touch him,” and “peaceful” (philgarlic, 2011). Fox News took this YouTube footage and aired it as an example of the violence going on in Wisconsin. The truth is even Senator Grothman told the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* he was not fearful of violence in the crowd,

"I really think if I had had to, I could have walked through the crowd and it would have been okay. They're loud, they'll give you the finger, and they yell at you, but I really think deep down inside they're just mostly college kids having fun, just like they're having fun sleeping with their girlfriends on air mattresses. That's the guts of that crowd" (Journal Sentinel Staff, 2011)

Even though Senator Grothman was wrong about the make-up of the crowd. It was not mostly college students having fun. It was college students, union workers, and non-union workers all

joining together for the common good; however, if we contrast the Journal Sentinel story with what was reported by Fox News we get a sensationalized story:

Sen. Glenn Grothman, being heckled by a chanting crowd of protesters the protesters were getting restless and, dare I say, violent...If you put yourself in [Grothman's] shoes...it's absolutely scary. ...When you look at that and all the incivility there, you realize that to these people, elections have no consequence, mean nothing (Media Matters, 2011).

During the above segment that Media Matters saved for posterity and that Fox News appears to have deleted from their website, the on-screen graphics repeatedly referred to the "angry" protesters as "violent" or "attack[ing]" Grothman (Media Matters, 2011). But what bloggers like me reported was the fact that there were no riots in Madison. The protests were peaceful, which is why I believe the national media left. Violence sells: peaceful protests do not and media outlets, both print and television, have come to rely on the maxim: "If it bleeds, it leads." Violence and death, they say, keep viewer and subscriber numbers up. Good news does not (Media Awareness Network, 2010). This again is why new media was important to the protest movement with the role of reporting events mainstream media did not and informing participants about uprising events including its emotional impact on the people of Wisconsin.

Mainstream media Loses Interest in Madison

While there is little documented evidence of when the national mainstream media left Madison. It is known that the last of the national mainstream media outlets on the ground in Madison, the *New York Times*, left before the largest protest march occurred on March 12th, 2011 (Nichols, Uprising, 2012). The mainstream media outlets leaving did not happen all at once nor did it happen overnight. On March 11th, 2011, the day that Japan was hit with an 8.9 magnitude

earthquake and tsunami, news coverage across the spectrum of mainstream media focused on the cataclysm, most of which centered on the crisis at the damaged nuclear power plants and accounted for 57% of news coverage in the aftermath of the disaster (Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2011). The Wisconsin Uprising did not even make a blip on Pew Research Center's study on "News Coverage vs. Interest" done March 14th-20th of 2011, unless you consider that the uprising falls into the 2% of coverage that state/local budgets received during that time.

But, the national mainstream media outlets missed out on a huge story; the day after the Japanese calamity up to 185,000 people showed up on the Wisconsin Capitol grounds (see Figure 4-1) for a protest march (Goodman, Burke, & Salazar., 2011) a march that was for the most part organized using social networking like Facebook and Twitter. Labor unions from across the state bussed their members to the state capitol. The national news media ignored the rally.



Figure 4-1 March 12th, 2011 View from State St. (Andersen, Wisconsin uprising photos, 2011)

This was the largest protest march in the history of Wisconsin, and it did not even register one story or one photo in either the *New York Times* or the *Chicago Tribune*. In fact the *New York Times* reported on March 11th, 2011, that the fight in Wisconsin was "over" (Nichols, Uprising, 2012). One would think a protest march of that magnitude would garner some attention in *The New York Times*, widely

considered the national paper of record, or even the *Chicago Tribune* due to the proximity of Chicago to Madison. But, neither paper had one sentence devoted to that protest.

While the national media abandoned Wisconsin just before the largest protest took place, the local media was not much better. The *Wisconsin State Journal* covered the protests; however, they downplayed the number of people at each protest. For example, when writing about the March 12th, 2011, protest the *Wisconsin State Journal* posted the crowd estimate at “upwards of 85,000 people” (Apps, 2011). WISC-TV has no mention of the protest march that took place on March 12th, 2011, in their online archives. The closest mention WISC-TV comes to a story on this particular event is a ridiculous story titled, “Protesters Trampling Capitol Lawn Takes Toll On Grass” (Channel3000 Web Staff, 2011).

The local media had multiple failures throughout the protests. Most of these failures involved taking the Department of Administration’s (DOA), the department that operates state owned facilities, word for everything from crowd size to the outrageous estimate of what it would cost to clean the State Capitol, \$7.5 million, without verifying what a government agency that was at odds with the protestors was telling them. It was not until union leaders and protesters, via new media, harshly criticized the estimate before the DOA admitted, and the local media began to question, that the DOA finally had to admit that actual cleanup costs could be as low as \$347,500 (Simmons, 2011).

With the national media abandoning the protests and with the failure of local media, bloggers filled in the gaps and provided our audience with reports of what was happening on the ground. Names like Blue Cheddar, Blogging Blue, Giles Goat Boy and Kodiak54 (the author of this paper) became the “go-to” sources for news about the Wisconsin Uprising. None of the bloggers were paid to write about the protests, and none of us made any money off of our

writing. Many of us had full time jobs in addition to blogging about the protests. In my case, I was recovering from a spinal fusion at C5/C6. I should not have been out there protesting, yet I would come home from work grab my camera and head downtown to take photos and attend rallies. I would come home edit my photos, write my blog posts and then would work on my graduate studies. Then, on sometimes as little as four hours of sleep, I would go back to work and do it all over again. We were all passionate about getting the word out about what was happening in our beloved state. Our passion and anger fueled us.

The rest of this chapter will focus on bloggers and what they wrote as well as a summary of statistics from the *Daily Kos* website. Due to the sheer number of blog posts written during the Wisconsin Uprising about different events that occurred during this time of turmoil, this project will primarily focus on the events of March 9th and 10th. As citizen journalists, we were not bound by any corporate code, and we had no editors. This allowed us, as bloggers, to avoid one of our chief complaints about the way that the mainstream media handled coverage of the protests. With newspapers focusing on celebrity and gossip and finding two sides to every story when only one side existed (Gillmor, 2010), bloggers were not afraid of showing the emotional impacts the actions of those in power were having on people. The blog posts reviewed in this thesis reveal those emotional impacts.

March 2nd, 2011, Kodiak54

The vast majority of the diaries, what blog posts are called on *Daily Kos*, which I posted about the Wisconsin Uprising were photo diaries. Every protest and every event that I attended that had something to do with the uprising I documented with photos.

On March 2nd, 2011, the state capitol was shut down and Democratic legislators were holding office hours outside. I wrote an emotional photo blog post entitled, *Wisconsin, I do not know where to begin*. In that post I described the scene I saw and the emotions I felt that day. Under the photo (see Figure 4-2) of Assemblyman Nick Milroy (D- Superior), I wrote this:

Representative Milroy, from waaaay up north...having office hours outside. I broke down and cried when talking to about how I swore an oath to protect and defend the Constitution...and how I was blocked from entering my State Capitol (Andersen, Wisconsin - I do not know where to begin (Photo Diary), 2011).



Figure 4-2 Assemblyman Milroy (Andersen, Wisconsin Uprising Photos, 2011)

Perhaps it was because we were both veterans who were both so angry about the rights being taken away from fellow Wisconsinites, but we both openly wept about the state Capitol being closed to the public. And not ten feet away was the political reporter from WISC-TV 3, Jessica Arp. She could have had a powerful and emotional story on her hands. Instead she looked directly at us and then turned around and went back into the capitol. The mainstream media did not want to show the emotions of that day, they wanted anger and violence. A story about two veterans, who took an oath to defend this nation from all enemies foreign and domestic, in tears over the injustice of seeing their Capitol being closed would have obfuscated the false equivalency and the so-called balanced news coverage the mainstream media was providing – emotions like mine had no place in their story.

Kodiak54 and Giles Goat Boy - March 9th and 10th, 2011

The story of March 2nd while powerful in its own right is not nearly as powerful as the blog posts from March 9th and 10th of 2011. On those days Giles Goat Boy and I told two different stories of the same event. Giles

Goat Boy, risking arrest, was able to rush inside the Capitol when a door opened. I was outside the Capitol blogging about events as they happened on my iPhone. Together from two different diaries posted on Daily Kos.

We told a complete story of a singular

event. That evening with my fingers freezing due to the winter temperatures, I wrote a series of quick posts on my blog:



Figure 4-3 Outside the south wing of the Capitol

I am typing this on my phone; I am outside the [K]ing [S]t entrance of the [S]tate Capitol. Where [G]overnor [W]alker is already breaking the law. The senate is in session and only one door is open. The [R]epublicans are voting on all non-fiscal items in the budget repair bill. I will post more as long as my battery holds out.

[End of initial post]

[I am] Outside the south wing of the Capitol. There is a large crowd outside under the windows of the hearing room. All are chanting, "Shame on you"

Updated by Kodiak54 at Wed Mar 9, 2011, 07:13:27 PM

Teachers, and other public workers, some of them in tears, surround me because they know what this action could cost them (See Figure 4-3).

Updated by Kodiak54 at Wed Mar 9, 2011, 07:22:15 PM

There is talk of rushing the doors if they open and taking over the building

Updated by Kodiak54 at Wed Mar 9, 2011, 07:24:47 PM

Crowd is chanting Recall and Bullshit (See Figure 4-4).

The bill passed 18-1.

Updated by Kodiak54 at Wed Mar 9, 2011, 07:32:55 PM

Had to come to my car for power...crowd is energized and growing

Updated by Kodiak54 at Wed Mar 9, 2011, 07:44:44 PM (Andersen,

Wisconsin - Republican dirty tricks/Collective Bargaining vote held, 2011).

Giles Goat Boy picked up where my phone battery died,

There were protestors inside who had refused to leave, and crowds formed at every entrance

imploing the police

"Let us in! Let us In!"

Things were getting

intense, when a

protestor inside ran to

doors where I was

standing and opened

them, allowing hundreds of us to rush in...I got a few hours sleep on a thin

blanket spread on the softest marble I could find. I holed up in the hallway that

led to the office of [Assembly] Speaker Jeff Fitzgerald with thirty or so new

friends. Most were college age, but the older generations were there,



Figure 4-4 Crowd post bill passage

to
very
the

too...Eventually the troopers doing the heavy lifting reached the hallway. They took us out one by one, some of us walking on our own and some, including me, going limp...They dropped me as they stumbled, then picked me up again and carried me out to the crowd in the designated first amendment area, where I stood up and joined the chants of, “Shame, shame”(Giles Goat Boy, 2011)

In these blog posts written by two different authors you have two depictions of the same event, one ending and the other picking up where the first left off, both telling stories that were not told in the mainstream media. Other bloggers told similar stories.

Blue Cheddar

Blue Cheddar In her post entitled, “Why we should be like the man who got dragged out of Wisconsin’s Capitol”, also covered the events of March 9th and 10th of 2011. At the top of Blue Cheddar’s blog post is a powerful image (see Figure 4-5) of what is assumed to be member of Teamsters Local 695 being dragged out of the State Capitol by law enforcement. In her blog she writes,

I’ve never really identified with letting yourself get dragged out of somewhere, breaking rules, and even risking arrest until this photo came along. When I see



Figure 4-5 Man dragged out of Capitol (Ortiz, 2011)

this image, I know some people just won’t get this guy. I do get it. I feel anger, sorrow — and I feel a sense of determination.

I don’t know that we should all get dragged out [of the State Capitol] by state troopers. But if enough of us do not feel so moved to take some additional risks

right now, we will be singled out, picked off, and our movement is done (Blue Cheddar, 2011).

I missed this post when it was first written. Reading it now over a year after the event happened I get emotional. This happened, in my state capitol; this nameless man who appears to be a member of Teamsters Local 695, the same union my father as a member of, was dragged out by law enforcement for exercising his first amendment rights of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Blue Cheddar wrote about it. The mainstream media did not.

Blogging Blue

Blogging Blue is a group blog with multiple bloggers. When Blogging Blue covered this same event they covered it in a more mainstream media sense, a “just the facts” type of prose, Blogging Blue writes of the events of March 9th.

After convening a hastily scheduled conference committee, Republicans in the legislature were able to undo 50 years of collective bargaining rights for Wisconsin’s public employees...The measure was passed with no debate and very little public notice, a fact that could call into question the legality of tonight’s action by State Senate Republicans.

Notice of the conference committee meeting was posted at 4:09 p.m. and the meeting began at 6:00 p.m., but state law requires 24-hour notice for public meetings, with the exception that meetings can be called with just two hours notice when more notice is impossible or impractical (Blogging Blue, 2011).

Blogging Blue did one thing that the mainstream media failed to do. They called out the Republicans for violating the State’s open meetings law in. This violation would go all the way

to the conservative leaning Wisconsin Supreme Court where the orders of the lower courts were overruled and the Supreme Court ruled that the legislature did not have to follow state laws.

MouseNoMore

MouseNoMore wrote a blog titled, "Two more days that will live in infamy," where she stated,

Reporting from my little corner of the People's Republic of Madison, ground zero in the Cheddar Revolution, which is now spreading like wildfire to become the Main Street Movement.... March 9 and 10, 2011, have been what my husband calls "a political Pearl Harbor"

I'm sure Fighting Bob LaFollette is rolling over in his grave in Madison's Forest Hill Cemetery. My favorite quote of the day is from Rep. Marc Pocan: "There are no rules (in this legislature) any more. It's a kangaroo legislature."

And remember, there are NO palm trees in Wisconsin, no matter what Faux Noise wants you to believe (MouseNoMore, 2011).

MouseNoMore shows the emotional impact the actions of the Republican led legislature had on the people of Wisconsin by conjuring up images of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Fighting Bob LaFollette, the father of the progressive movement in Wisconsin and with a quote from Assemblyman Mark Pocan (D-Madison) puts an image in the readers head of a legislature that is functioning in way that would be more at home in a third world country than in Wisconsin. She also takes a shot at Fox news for it's biased reporting of the events in Wisconsin.

AnnieJo

AnnieJo was at the capitol that night as well and wrote this about her experiences:

My 9-year-old and I went to the Capitol for an hour last night. We stood with our signs as the crowd demanded to be let in and speak the outrage over the bill that passed the Wisconsin Senate last night. In a nutshell, the Republicans in the Senate replaced the so-called "budget repair bill" with just the supposedly non-fiscal items from the bill, so they didn't need a budget-level quorum to go ahead and have the vote. That's right folks, the "budget-repair" bill that passed last night is the non-budgetary stuff. (Shame on them. Shame.)

The Assembly leadership intends to ram the bill through today. They have the votes. Then the governor will sign it, and collective bargaining as we know it for public employees in the state of Wisconsin will be gone (AnnieJo, 2011).

AnnieJo may have been just a few steps away from me as I was blogging on my phone. I will never know if she was or not. One of the items of note from her post from that night is that she took her nine-year old child to the protests with her. At this same time Fox News was reporting that the protests were violent while showing a video with palm trees in the background and calling the protestors "union thugs." What mother in her right mind would bring a child to a violent protest like that? The answer is no mother would. That one sentence about bringing her child to the protest effectively wipes out the Fox News narrative of violence at the protests. The undertone to her post also shows her emotional state, she was angry when she wrote this post. She never comes out and says she is angry; however, using terms like, "ram the bill through," "That's right folks," and "Shame on them. Shame." You can feel her anger, which makes this a very powerful post.

snapple

Blogger snapple, from Washington State, described the scene in a you tube video from March 10th, 2011, and how he will react if similar legislation is passed in his home state.

....The protesters there are determined to exercise their right to free speech & to assemble peacefully in disagreement with their government.....in the Capitol they paid for. It is their House. They have a right to be there.

They are not backing down. Republicans have literally had to drag them out. And....while they were being dragged out one yelled "Union Power"! When you need a strong police presence to enforce your edict....you've lost the people.

This battle has just started. We know that. We are prepared for that. I'm bookmarking this YouTube video of the protesters in Madison for inspiration. They are my template of how to conduct myself when I need to be dragged out of the Capitol Rotunda in Olympia, Washington. If it comes to that, I hope I'll do as well (snapple, 2011).

While snapple is not in Wisconsin, it is clear that the events he has watched have had an emotional impact on him. The events he describes did not come from the mainstream media. He saw these events raw and unedited on YouTube, another form of new media. I feel that his strongest statement in this blog post is, "When you need a strong police presence to enforce your edict....you've lost the people." From his blog post it is also clear that he is using the Wisconsin Uprising as a training tool if anything similar happens in his home state of Washington.

BOHICA

On March 10th, 2011, BOHICA wrote a blog calling on Oregon students to stage a walkout:

For the past three weeks hundreds of thousands of union members and students in Madison, Wisconsin have captured the attention of the nation and the world as they demonstrated and occupied their capitol in an effort to stop the passing of the hated "budget repair" bill of Governor Walker.

Now the Republicans in Wisconsin have used a series of Parliamentary maneuvers to pass the bill under questionable legality. In response 5,000+ protestors immediately re-occupied the capitol building, thousands more have gathered outside the capitol in Madison to fight these measures. Portland State University students have called for all students at all universities and high schools in the Portland area to walk out of their classes on Friday March 11th and for students, workers, and all members of the community to attend a Rally at Pioneer Square Court House starting at 2:30pm. Their fight is a fight for us all! The attacks and budget cuts facing Wisconsin workers are similar to those facing workers and students all across the nation (BOHICA, 2011).

BOHICA, like snapple was not in Wisconsin during the uprising; however, he was keeping up with what was happening in Wisconsin. From this blog post, it is apparent that he was using new media to keep up to date on what was happening. In my research, I have not found a single instance of mainstream media stating that the passing of Act 10 was of "questionable legality," the only place that was reported was in new media.

pale cold

Canadian blogger pale cold wrote a blog post entitled, "We stand with Wisconsin Hell, We ARE Wisconsin." (See image 4-6) In which she stated:



Figure 4-6 We stand with Wisconsin (pale cold, 2011)

In Wisconsin last night the GOP controlled state legislature held an illegal and secret vote to strip all bargaining rights from the citizenry of that state. Based on a fake/inflated budget deficit....We are Wisconsin. We are Egypt. We are the world, right now. The right wing and the corporations that own them want war.....A class war.....*It is important that we show up* (pale cold, 2011).

pale cold is a Canadian blogger and shows that new media was not just having an impact on the people of Wisconsin, or as the previous two blog posts showed, on the people of the United States, but also on people internationally. The news of the Wisconsin Uprising was spreading via new media across the country and across the globe. Kamal Abbas, a union organizer in Egypt released a statement in a video posted on Michael Moore's website where he said, "From this place, I want you to know that we stand with you as you stood with us" (Abbas, 2011). The Wisconsin Uprising was global.

The power of these blog posts cannot be understated. Unfortunately the metrics from these days for specific blog posts are unavailable; however, in my post from March 9th, 2011, there were well over 500 comments while Giles Goat Boy saw almost 140 comments. The comments came from all over the United States:

Good for you Giles Goat Boy I wish I were with you. I am union and would love to be there. I am in Hawaii and cannot get there but I am in spirit. Keep up the good work and reporting. Take care (Nancat357, 2011).

And this one:

Well [this diary] sure meant a lot to me here in West "By God" Virginia. Thanks for keeping us informed (Hillbilly Dem, 2011).

At one point, I was receiving e-mails from a gentleman in Australia asking me for first hand information about the protests.

To: Mark Andersen

Subject: GREETINGS FROM AUSTRALIA

Mark.

Here in Australia, I am wondering what really is going on there, I really don't trust the press reports we get here, most controlled by a former Aussie, now a VIP in your country.

I am a 77 yo Aussie Viet Vet, and can see similar things slowly taking shape here, which makes me very mad, we slavishly follow the USA in every way, don't get me wrong, I like Americans, but not their style of Government.

If you can find time to reply, I would appreciate it, and would also like to correspond with likeminded people.

Hang in there mate, some of us here are watching.

Regards, (Robinson, Personal Correspondence, 2011)

Had you opened the paper the next morning all you would know was that Act 10 had passed. You would not know of the crowds, the emotional toll these events were having, and that people were being physically carried out of the Capitol building. That people in across the country and in other countries were up in arms over the actions of the Republican led Wisconsin legislature.

With the above examples and with John Nichols statement, "Wisconsin based bloggers recognized the reality on the ground [and] understood the necessity [of being a] counterbalance" (Nichols, Uprising, 2012, p. 108). The national media left before the largest protest occurred.

The local media did not report on people being dragged out of the State Capitol. Neither local nor national media reported on the emotional impacts that Governor Walker's actions were having on Wisconsinites. Once the mainstream media realized that there would be no violence on the part of the protesters they left Madison as there was nothing that they could sensationalize. It was only after the mainstream media left that the Capitol Police began to drag people out of the State Capitol (See Figure 4-5).

Daily Kos Statistics from the Wisconsin Uprising

While samples of blogs from the Wisconsin Uprising tell a story they do need the context of statistics to complete the picture. Some statistics, like social media sharing, are not available or are, in some cases, unreliable for individual blog posts from the Wisconsin Uprising; however, we can look at the statistics from a website as a whole. On Daily Kos in 2010 there were only 260 blog posts that were written about Wisconsin. In the first six months of 2011, during the Wisconsin Uprising, that total rose to 2405 blog posts about Wisconsin. The most interesting statistic to come from Daily Kos is that between February 14th, 2011 and March 15th, 2011 there were 931 blog posts that were on the recommended reading list. Of those 931 posts 296 of them were about Wisconsin. Which means that 1 in 3 posts that are considered recommended reading by the user community were about Wisconsin (Clawson, 2012). In one month 296 posts were on the recommended list about Wisconsin which was more posts than had been written about Wisconsin in the previous year. If you look at total page views from Daily Kos you also see a significant increase in readership during the Wisconsin Uprising. During the month of January, 2011 there were 20, 935, 362 page views on Daily Kos. By the end of March, 2011 page views had increased 7% to 21, 938,372. By May 1st 2011, the number of page views had declined back to the pre-uprising numbers of January 2011 (Quantcast, 2012).

Due to the nature of blogs and public writing, our words as bloggers were far reaching and were having an impact on the public's perception of the Wisconsin Uprising, although many of us writing about the protests would not know about the impact of what we were doing until well after the majority of the protests were over.

Chapter four focused on the failures of mainstream media and the successes of new media in relation to the Wisconsin Uprising. It showed that new media was able to provide coverage of events, specifically the events of March 2nd, March 9th and 10th, 2011, that occurred during the protests that mainstream media did not feel were newsworthy. No one in mainstream media asked veterans how they felt when the State Capitol was locked down. Bloggers did. No one in the mainstream media covered the emotions of the evening of March 9th, 2011, when Act 10 was passed. Bloggers did. Mainstream media was not there when a man who appeared to belong to the same union as my father was dragged out of the State Capitol for trying to make his voice heard. Bloggers did. Not one mainstream media outlet portrayed the actions of the Republican legislature as illegal even though they broke Wisconsin's open meetings law. Bloggers did.

In many of the cases presented in this project it can be said that bloggers wrote from first-hand experience and their impressions of those experiences while mainstream media reported from the sidelines of the action. It is a legitimate question to ask if new media and mainstream media can even be compared to each other as they do not share the same guiding principles or philosophy. My answer to that question is that they must be compared to each other for two reasons: one, people are beginning to use new media and mainstream media in much the same way – to get news. While it is difficult to track the trends, the data shows that in 2006 only four percent of the population got their news from blogs or new media; however, that number jumped

to ten percent among the 18-24 age bracket and that number will continue to grow as mainstream media falters in the digital age (Baron, 2006). To put this into perspective, in 2006 Daily Kos was only receiving about 500,000 page views a month (Frontline, 2007) which shows a growth rate in readership in the 4000% range over a period of five years which shows how much the blogosphere is growing.

The second reason for the comparison is that it allows people in new media to learn from the mistakes of mainstream media and those in mainstream media can learn from the successes of new media. The opposite is also true, mainstream media can learn from the mistakes of new media and new media can learn from the successes of mainstream media. One of the lessons that mainstream media has learned is that being a producer of media content is no longer a one-way street and they have added comment sections to the majority of their published news stories which, depending upon the level of moderation provided by the owner of the media content, can either devolve into a cesspool of racism, hatred, and name-calling with little to no moderation or can lead to great discussions about the issue of the day if a proper level of moderation is provided by the owner of the media content.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Prior to the Declaration of Independence being signed Thomas Paine wrote a pamphlet called *Common Sense*. Using the technology of the day, the printing press, in which he lays out the argument against British rule Mr. Paine was one of the “bewildered herd” that Noam Chomsky spoke about. His pamphlet was one of the most widely published works of his time giving him fame and notoriety throughout the American colonies and Europe (Tietjen, 2007). Paine’s words drove the larger herd to action just as the words of bloggers, using the technology of the day and who were also a part of that same herd, drove people to become participants in action in Wisconsin in 2011.

New media allowed everyday people to have a voice in what was going on during the Wisconsin Uprising. That voice compelled people to attend rallies at the Wisconsin State Capitol and in various communities around Wisconsin. The day that Michael Moore was in Madison a protest rally was going on in Eau Claire. One of my classmates sent me her words and her photos to publish in my blog post, *Wisconsin - March 5th, 2011, Protests...In search of Palm Trees*, to get the word out that the uprising was not just a “Madison thing” but that it was statewide. In that same blog post commenter’s from around the state posted photos, video and stories of the protest marches that were happening in Eau Claire, Janesville, Columbus, Milwaukee, Green Bay, Appleton and many other communities, small and large, across the state. Commenter’s also shared information on where to sign up as a volunteer to gather signatures for the upcoming recall elections.

Mainstream media did not know what to make of the Wisconsin Uprising; they had no idea of how to report on 185,000 people, in freezing weather, on the Capitol Square who were not there to take part in one of Wisconsin’s famous beer tents. Adding insult to injury to the

horrid mainstream media coverage of the Wisconsin Uprising *Time Magazine* named its “Person of the Year” for 2011 as “The Protestor” and the Wisconsin protesters were snubbed. For the first time in the history of the United States a state capitol was occupied for weeks by protestors. At the peak of the Wisconsin Uprising there were up to 185,000 people on the Capitol Square demonstrating for labor rights and fairness. Without the Wisconsin protests the Occupy Wall Street Movement would have never gotten off the ground in the way that it did (Nichols, Uprising, 2012). Still the Occupy protests dominated the *Time Magazine* “Person of the Year” story even though the Occupy protests never had more than 6,800 people in any one location at a time (Silver, 2011). 6,800 people in a New York City park garnered more media attention than 185,000 people marching on and occupying a state capitol.

False equivalencies were a major issue in the mainstream media’s coverage of the Wisconsin Uprising; however, there is hope on the horizon as one news organization is finally taking note of the criticisms of false equivalencies that bloggers have been making. In February of 2012 NPR unveiled a revised handbook for their reporters that states, “Our goal is not to please those whom we report on or to produce stories that create the appearance of balance, but to seek the truth” (NPR Staff, 2012). That one sentence ends the era of false equivalencies on NPR. It has yet to be seen if other news organizations will follow suit.

One thing that must be pointed out in this paper is that none of the new media blogging would have been done without social media tools. Twitter and Facebook were powerful instruments in getting the word out about actions that were going on at the State Capitol. I would never have been able to blog from my phone on March 9th, 2011, if I had not seen a post when I got home from work from the “Scott Walker is a Douchebag” Facebook page that stated something along the lines of, “Something is happening at the Capitol, get here as soon as

possible.” It was because of that status update that I grabbed my phone and camera and headed downtown. While at the Capitol that night people were live-tweeting from inside the Capitol keeping those of us outside informed about what the Republicans were doing. The first news of the Act 10 passing broke to those of us outside the Capitol by someone following a Twitter feed.

The political landscape in Wisconsin has been in turmoil during the early months of 2012 as I have been writing this thesis. Over 900,000 signatures (Bauer, 2012) were collected to force Walker into a recall election. Several Republican State Senators, including the majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald faced recall elections. Bloggers continue to write about Scott Walker and have expanded from issues related to collective bargaining to the “John Doe” investigation into illegal campaign activities during Scott Walker’s time as Milwaukee County Executive (Kroll, 2012). Other topics bloggers have been covering is the signing of controversial bills like the requirement that school sex education classes go back to teaching abstinence as the only reliable way to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases and prohibiting insurance plans from covering some abortions under the federal health reform law as well as requiring doctors to prescribe abortion-inducing medicines face to face, and not on a Web camera (WTAQ Staff, 2012). While these bills were still in the legislature Blue Cheddar stated on her blog, “Women are mad as hell in Wisconsin. The war on women is here” (Blue Cheddar, 2012).

The impact of the Wisconsin Uprising on bloggers has been noticeable. While I cannot speak for any other blogger, I can say that my life has changed dramatically over the last year. First, one of my photos of the protests went viral. It was a photo of the marquee from the Orpheum Theatre on State Street. I just happened upon it as they had finished putting it up and took a photo on March 10th, 2011. The marquee (see Figure 5-1) said “Gov Scott Walker Starring In Total Recall.” I uploaded the photo to my blog titled, “Wisconsin - We lost a

skirmish...but we will win the class war (Photo Diary)” that evening. The next day I saw my photo on multiple Facebook pages and hundreds of tweets on Twitter. At the next protest march on the square, which was March 12th, 2011, I saw my photo on buttons and signs – it was everywhere. Second, one of my blog posts, *Wisconsin - I do not know where to begin...(Photo Diary)* was selected as an award winning blog by *Democracy for America*, and I in turn was awarded a scholarship to attend Netroots Nation (a progressive activist/blogger conference) in Minneapolis in June of 2011. While in Minneapolis anytime I told someone who I was and where I was from, would get one of two responses which were, “Thank you for writing about Wisconsin the way you did,” or if they did not know who I was, “You are from Madison, Wisconsin – that is so cool, you are at Ground Zero.” Third, in July of 2011, I was asked to join the Daily Kos staff as a contributing writer for their Labor vertical, and I now write two to three posts a week under my own name on labor, education, or poverty related issues. None of this would have happened to me without the Wisconsin Uprising.



Figure 5-1 Total Recall (Andersen, Wisconsin uprising photos, 2011)

New names have entered the fray to complement those of us who started at the beginning of the Wisconsin Uprising. Joining Giles Goat Boy, Blue Cheddar, Blogging Blue, Uppity Wisconsin, and myself are Noise of rain, Puddytat, ruleoflaw, and countless others. The left is relying on grassroots bloggers and activists who are fighting for what they believe in while Scott Walker and the Republican Party relied on mainstream media and a massive influx of out of state money to get their word out. On June fifth, recall Election Day, we unfortunately found out

which voice had more power. Wisconsin election law did not do the left any favors. In most cases campaign contributions to people running for governor in Wisconsin are limited to \$10,000 per individual or \$43,128 per political action committee (Government Accountability Board Staff: State of Wisconsin, 2010); however, in Wisconsin election law when an elected official is being recalled, contributions received and spent or incurred on the recall petition effort (prior to certification) are not subject to the limits previously discussed (Government Accountability Board Staff: State of Wisconsin, 2012). Which means any money collected and spent prior to the recall petitions being certified is not restricted by campaign finance laws.

Because of this quirk in Wisconsin election law Governor Walker was able to collect unlimited funds from his donors in the months leading up to a recall election being certified. With that unlimited amount of cash Governor Walker was able to set the narrative for the recall election which led to the defeat of Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett for a second time; new media and a grassroots effort just could not compete with big moneyed interests in recalling Governor Walker. The narrative his campaign ads set portrayed the recall effort as a waste of taxpayer money and that recalls were only meant for egregious abuses of power and not because of disagreement over legislation. However, many of the left felt, and still do feel, that Act 10 was an appalling abuse of power in the way that it was pushed through the legislature. While the left was unable to recall Governor Walker from office, the grass roots effort was able to wrest control of the State Senate from the Republicans by successfully recalling one of the four Republican Senators on the ballot. This gave the Democrats a firewall to prevent any additional legislation from being forced through the state legislature.

With Governor Walker winning his recall election the question about the impact of new media could easily be, “who cares.” But, new media has had a very strong impact on Wisconsin.

A battle for the soul of Wisconsin is being waged; do we return to the days before La Follette and his progressive movement where the railroads and mining industries, the large business interests of the day, ran the state or do we continue on as a proud progressive state that once led the nation as, in Teddy Roosevelt's words, "a laboratory of democracy?"

New media gives citizens a voice, a voice that cannot be ignored by the politicians and pundits. The initial battles over the soul of Wisconsin have been lost; however, the fight continues on.

It can also be said that the Wisconsin Uprising would have happened without new media; however, if not for new media it is doubtful that the State Capitol would have been occupied for weeks or that the protest marches would have grown to the sizes that they did. Blogs, Facebook, Twitter and other new media informed and drove people to action in a way that Governor Walker and his Republican counterparts in the legislature never anticipated or planned for.

New media gave the Wisconsin uprising its strength. The stories that were told via blogs, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and other new media outlets showed the raw unedited emotions of a movement that could not be defined by mainstream media. These emotions, this story telling allowed a movement to thrive, grow and garner support from across the nation.

So the question of, "who cares," can be answered by saying that anyone who has been disenfranchised, anyone who has seen their rights stripped away with no recourse, anyone who stands for social justice, anyone who wants a better future for their children cares. Those who blogged, tweeted, posted on Facebook, and YouTube during the Wisconsin Uprising showed the way for future movements. Those of us who participated in the Wisconsin Uprising may have lost a battle; however, we will win the war for Wisconsin's soul by continuing on the fight in our blog posts, tweets, Facebook and YouTube posts.

References

- Abbas, K. (February 20th, 2011). *'We Stand With You as You Stood With Us': Statement to Workers of Wisconsin by Kamal Abbas of Egypt's Centre for Trade Unions and Workers Services*. Retrieved from Michael Moore.com:
<http://www.michaelmoore.com/words/must-read/statement-kamal-abbas>
- AFL-CIO. (2011). *United to Support Wisconsin Workers*. Retrieved February 12th, 2012 from AFL-CIO Now Blog [Web log post]: <http://blog.aflcio.org/2011/03/14/united-to-support-wisconsin-workers/>
- Andersen, M. E. (February 14th, 2011). *The hidden cost of union busting*. Retrieved March 14th, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/02/14/944637/-The-Hidden-Cost-of-Union-Busting->
- Andersen, M. E. (March 3rd, 2011). *Wisconsin - I do not know where to begin...(Photo Diary)*. Retrieved February 12th, 2012 from Daily Kos [Web log post]:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/02/951946/-Wisconsin-I-do-not-know-where-to-begin-Photo-Diary->
- Andersen, M. E. (March 5th, 2011). *Wisconsin - March 5th, 2011 Protests...In search of Palm Trees*. Retrieved March 24th, 2012 from Daily Kos [Web log post]:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/05/953047/-Wisconsin-March-5th-2011-Protests-In-search-of-Palm-Trees-Photo-Diary->
- Andersen, M. E. (March 9th, 2011). *Wisconsin - Republican dirty tricks/Collective Bargaining vote held*. Retrieved March 19th, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/09/954526/-Updated-Wisconsin-Republican-dirty-tricks-Collective-Bargaining-vote-held-loses-18-1>

- Andersen, M.E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, Assemblyman Milroy
- Andersen, M.E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, Crowd post bill passage
- Andersen, M. E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, La Follette Bust
- Andersen, M. E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, March 12th, 2011 View from State St
- Andersen, M. E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, Michael Moore
- Andersen, M.E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, Outside the south wing of the Capitol
- Andersen, M. E. (2011). Wisconsin uprising photos, Total Recall
- Andersen, M.E. (2012). Wisconsin uprising photos, What Would Fighting Bob Do?
- AnnieJo. (March 10th, 2011). *Medicaid and What's Passing in Wisconsin*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]:
<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/954862/-Medicaid-and-What-s-Passing-in-Wisconsin>
- Apps, S. (March 12th, 2011). *Photos: Capitol Protests Peak, March 12*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Wisconsin State Journal: http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/photos-capitol-protests-peak-march/collection_f9c84750-4d26-11e0-8158-001cc4c03286.html
- Associated Press. (December 16th, 2010). *Dems end lame duck session after failure to pass union contracts* . Retrieved February 6th, 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal: http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/dems-end-lame-duck-session-after-failure-to-pass-union/article_e836dc76-0862-11e0-a476-001cc4c03286.html
- Barbour, C. (November 29th, 2010). *State contract wars may not be civil*. Retrieved

February 6th, 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal:

http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/state-contract-wars-may-not-be-civil/article_6fcba2f2-fd8f-58d1-b748-79c78c2e012d.html#ixzz1lcVbiOZt

Barbour, C., & Spicuzza, M. (November 29th, 2010). *Gov.-elect Walker urges lawmakers to work on contracts*. Retrieved February 6th, 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal:

http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/gov--elect-walker-urges-lawmakers-to-stop-work-on/article_8b647638-fbc5-11df-a39a-001cc4c002e0.html#ixzz1lci8THhF

Barbour, C., & Spicuzza, M. (December 31st, 2010). *On the Capitol: No pics of Walker and 'Fighting Bob' at inauguration*. Retrieved February 25th, 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal: http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/on-the-capitol-no-pics-of-walker-and-fighting-bob/article_2b121594-1531-11e0-a9a7-001cc4c03286.html

Baron, A. M. (September 30th, 2006). *Podcast Academy Blog*. Retrieved June 23, 2012, from Podcast and Portable Media Expo 2006 Keynote:

<http://podcastacademy.com/shows/detail1589/>

Bauer, S. (December 9th, 2010). *Dem calls Walker idea of barring unions from bargaining with state 'startling'*. Retrieved February 6th, 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal:

http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/dem-calls-walker-idea-of-barring-unions-from-bargaining-with/article_201b336e-264b-5f14-87bb-8f243178d6ac.html#ixzz1ldUGmewE

Bauer, S. (March 30th, 2012). *Scott Walker Recall Election Ordered by Government Accountability Board*. Retrieved April 8th, 2012, from Huffington Post:

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/30/scott-walker-recall_n_1391209.html

- Blogging Blue. (March 9th, 2011). *Senate Republicans vote to break WI's public employee unions*. Retrieved March 18th, 2011, from Blogging Blue: Blogging Liberally in the Badger State [Web log post]: <http://bloggingblue.com/2011/03/09/senate-republicans-vote-to-break-wis-public-employee-unions/>
- Blue Cheddar. (March 11th, 2011). *Why we should be like the man who got dragged out of Wisconsin's Capitol*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Blue Cheddar: A Progressive Blog in Wisconsin [Web log post]: <http://www.bluecheddar.net/?p=5648>
- Blue Cheddar. (March 14th, 2012). *Women are mad as hell in Wisconsin. The war on women is here*. Retrieved April 8th, 2012, from Blue Cheddar [Web log post]: <http://www.bluecheddar.net/?p=19620>
- BOHICA. (March 10th, 2011). *PDX: Solidarity School Walk-out and Rally Friday 3-11+*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]: <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/955080/-PDX-Solidarity-School-Walk-out-and-Rally-Friday-3-11>
- Channel3000 Web Staff. (March 15th, 2011). *Protesters Trampling Capitol Lawn Takes Toll On Grass*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Channel 3000: <http://downtownmadison.channel3000.com/news/news/protesters-trampling-capitol-lawn-takes-toll-grass/47793>
- Chomsky, N. (2002). *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.
- Clawson, L. (May 3rd, 2012). Personal Communication.
- Democratic Underground.com. (January 17th, 2008). *Who Owns the Corporate Media?*

Retrieved March 24th, 2012 from Democratic Underground.com:

http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=389x2708569

The Economic Collapse. (October 10th, 2010). *Who Owns The Media? The 6 Monolithic Corporations That Control Almost Everything We Watch, Hear And Read*. Retrieved October 21st, 2012 from The Economic Collapse:

<http://theeconomiccollapseblog.com/archives/who-owns-the-media-the-6-monolithic-corporations-that-control-almost-everything-we-watch-hear-and-read>

Engler, M. (June 2011). Palm Trees in the Snow. *New Internationalist* (443), p. 53.

Fletcher, D. (February 20th 2009). *The Fairness Doctrine*. Retrieved March 11th, 2011, from Time: <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1880786,00.html>

Frontline. (2007). *Where do we get our news?* Retrieved from PBS Wisconsin:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/newswar/part3/stats.html#27>

Giles Goat Boy. (March 10th, 2011). *Locked Out, Dragged Out: 20 Hours in the WI Capitol*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]:

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/955018/-Locked-Out-Dragged-Out-20-Hours-in-the-WI-Capitol>

Gillmor, D. (2010). *Mediactive*. U.S.

Goodman, A., Burke, M., & Salazar., N. (March 14th, 2011). *Worker Uprising: Up to 185,000 Protest in Madison as Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker Signs Union-Busting Bill*.

Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Democracy Now:

http://www.democracynow.org/2011/3/14/worker_uprising_up_to_185_000

Government Accountability Board Staff: State of Wisconsin. (2010, June). *Campaign*

Contribution Limits: Partisan State Offices. Retrieved November 3rd, 2012, from
Government Accountability Board: State of Wisconsin:

http://gab.wi.gov/sites/default/files/page/campaign_contribution_limits_partisan_state_pdf_13605.pdf

Government Accountability Board Staff: State of Wisconsin. (2012). *Government*

Accountability Board: State of Wisconsin. Retrieved November 3rd, 2012, from
Contribution Limits - Special Elections – Gov., Lt. Gov, State Senate Districts 13, 21, 23,
29:

http://gab.wi.gov/sites/default/files/page/contribution_limits_2012_special_elections_pdf_39882.pdf

Hamilton, A. (1788). Federalist Number 84: Certain General and Miscellaneous

Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered.

Hillbilly Dem. (2011, March 9th). *Wisconsin - Republican dirty tricks/Collective*

Bargaining vote held. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log comment]:

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/09/954526/-Updated-Wisconsin-Republican-dirty-tricks-Collective-Bargaining-vote-held-loses-18-1>

Ho, D. E., & Quinn, K. M. (2009). Viewpoint Diversity and Media Consolidation: An

Empirical Study. *Stanford Law Review*, 61 (4), 781-868.

Jennings, P. (2001, February). Online News Hour. *Evening News*. (T. Smith, Interviewer)

Journal Sentinel Politifact. (February 22nd, 2011). *Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker says out-*

of-staters account for “almost all” in Madison protests. Retrieved April 7th, 2012, from

Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel:

<http://www.politifact.com/wisconsin/statements/2011/feb/23/scott-walker/wisconsin-gov-scott-walker-says-out-staters-accoun/>

Journal Sentinel Staff. (March 2nd, 2011). *Angry protesters confront a locked-out Sen.*

Grothman. Retrieved March 17th, 2012, from Milwaukee Journal Sentinel:

<http://www.jsonline.com/blogs/news/117228243.html>

Kalk Derby, S. (February 14th, 2011). *Around Town: Protesters rail against Walker plan*

for state workers. Retrieved February 6th. 2012 from The Wisconsin State Journal:

http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt_and_politics/around-town-protesters-rail-against-walker-plan-for-state-workers/article_3ecf4d04-37f5-11e0-9c6a-001cc4c002e0.html

Kroll, A. (February 7th, 2012). *Scott Walker and the Secret "John Doe" Investigation*

Explained. Retrieved April 8th, 2012, from Mother Jones:

<http://motherjones.com/politics/2012/02/scott-walker-john-doe-investigation-explained>

Kuttner, R. (May 6th, 2001). Comment: Philanthropy and Movements. *American*

Prospect.

La Follette, R. M. (1913). *La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political*

Experiences. Madison, WI: The Robert M. La Follette Co.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: The University of

Chicago Press.

Lee, T.-T. (March, 2005). The Liberal Media Myth Revisited: An Examination of Factors

Influencing Perceptions of Media Bias. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43-

64.

McChensney, R. W. (2004). *The Problem of the Media*. New York, NY: Monthly Review

Press.

McChesney, R. W., & Nichols, J. (2002). *Our Media Not Theirs: The Democratic Struggle Against Corporate Media*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.

Media Awareness Network. (2010). *Violence in Media Entertainment*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Media Awareness Network: http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/violence/violence_entertainment.cfm

Media Matters. (March 3rd, 2011). *Fox & Friends Falsely Claims "Violent" WI Protesters "Attack[ed]" Grothman*. Retrieved March 17th, 2012, from Media Matters For America: <http://mediamatters.org/research/201103030019>

Media Matters. (March 3rd, 2011). *UPDATED: Fox & Friends Falsely Portray WI Protesters As "Violent"*. Retrieved March 17th, 2012, from Media Matters For America: <http://mediamatters.org/research/201103030019>

Media Research Center. (2008). *Media Bias Basics*. Retrieved March 25th, 2012, from Media Research Center: <http://www.mediaresearch.org/biasbasics/biasbasics1.asp>

Moore, M. (2011). Afterword: How I got to Madison. In M. J. Buhle, & P. Buhle (Eds.), *It Started In Wisconsin*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.

Moulitsas, M. (2010). *American Taliban: How War, Sex, Sin and Power Bind Jihadists and the Radical Right*. San Francisco, CA: Kos Media, LLC.

MouseNoMore. (March 10th, 2011). *Two more days that will live in infamy*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]: <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/955032/-Two-more-days-that-will-live-in-infamy>

Nancat357. (2011, March 10th). *Locked Out, Dragged Out: 20 Hours in the WI Capitol*.

Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log comment]:

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/955018/-Locked-Out-Dragged-Out-20-Hours-in-the-WI-Capitol>

National Labor Relations Board v. Dane County Dairy. (1986). Retrieved 2012, from Justia US Law.com: <http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/795/1313/376706/>

Nichols, J. (2011). Introduction: Why Wisconsin? In M. J. Buhle, & P. Buhle (Eds.), *It Started In Wisconsin* (pp. 3-8). Brooklyn, New York: Verso.

Nichols, J. (2012). *Uprising*. New York, NY: Nation Books.

Nichols, J., & McChesney, R. W. (2000). *It's the Media Stupid*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.

NPR Staff. (2012). *Fairness*. Retrieved April 8th, 2012, from NPR Ethics Handbook: <http://ethics.npr.org/category/b-fairness/>

Ortiz, C. J. (2011). Police drag a protester out of the Wisconsin Assembly chamber. *EPA*

Nunberg, G. (May 6th, 2002). Label Whores. *The American Prospect* .

pale cold. (March 10th, 2011). *We stand with Wisconsin.....Hell.....We ARE Wisconsin*.

Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]:

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/954860/-We-stand-with-Wisconsin-Hell-We-ARE-Wisconsin->

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. (March 22nd, 2011). *Most Are*

Attentive to News About Disaster in Japan: Public Focuses on Crisis at Nuclear Plants.

Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from Pew Research Center Publications :

<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1936/public-focus-japan-nuclear-crisis-many-relief-donations-online-text-message>

philgarlic. (March 11th, 2011). *Wisconsin GOP Senator Glenn Grothman chased, trapped by hecklers, saved by Dem. Rep. Brett Hulsey*. Retrieved March 17, 2012, from YouTube [Video file]:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Cx77K8e3WE&feature=player_embedded

Quantcast. (May 6th, 2012). *DailyKos Network*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Quantcast:

<http://www.quantcast.com/p-94z2SIg8PaHLI?country=GLOBAL>

Robinson, K. (March 5th, 2011). Personal Communication.

Shirky, C. (2010). *Forward. Mediactive*. San Francisco, CA.

Silver, N. (2011, October 17th). *The Geography of Occupying Wall Street (and Everywhere Else)*. Retrieved March 18th, 2012, from The New York Times/Five Thirty Eight: <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/17/the-geography-of-occupying-wall-street-and-everywhere-else/>

Simmons, D. (February 27th, 2011). *Anatomy of a protest: From a simple march to a national fight*. Retrieved 2012 6th-February from The Wisconsin State Journal: http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/anatomy-of-a-protest-from-a-simple-march-to-a/article_3c7f9cd2-4274-11e0-8f25-001cc4c002e0.html#ixzz1ldjFeMBV

snapple (March 10th, 2011). *Madison Protesters Dragged From the Capitol*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from Daily Kos [Web log post]: <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/03/10/954996/-Madison-Protesters-Dragged-From-the-Capitol->

- Spicuzza, M. (March 2nd, 2011). *Grothman says confrontation with protesters didn't scare him* . Retrieved March 11th, 2012, from The Wisconsin State Journal:
http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/grothman-says-confrontation-with-protesters-didn-t-scare-him/article_970dc490-44ee-11e0-855c-001cc4c03286.html
- Spicuzza, M., & Barbour, C. (February 11th, 2011). *Walker to propose stripping collective bargaining rights from state workers*. Retrieved 2012 6th-February from The Wisconsin State Journal: http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/walker-to-propose-stripping-collective-bargaining-rights-from-state-workers/article_7ff37af2-3562-11e0-8ff9-001cc4c002e0.html#ixzz1ldkkfzQd
- Stark, J. (1995). The Wisconsin Idea: The University's Service to the State. In *1995-1996 Wisconsin Blue Book* (pp. 1-71). Madison, WI: Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau.
- State Of The Blogosphere. (November 4th, 2011). *State of the Blogosphere 2011: Introduction and Methodology* . Retrieved May 5th, 2012, from Technorati:
<http://technorati.com/social-media/article/state-of-the-blogosphere-2011-introduction/>
- Tietjen, G. (2007). Introduction. In T. Paine, *Common Sense*. Philadelphia, PA.
- U.S. Const. amendment I. (1788).
- Unger, N. C. (2000). *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Rightous Reformer*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- VanEgeren, J. (November 3rd, 2010). *GOP sweep likely means more state furloughs, fewer on BadgerCare*. Retrieved February 6th, 2012 from The Capital Times:
http://host.madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/elections/gop-sweep-likely-means-more-state-furloughs-fewer-on-badgercare/article_69f86356-e74d-11df-b068-001cc4c002e0.html#ixzz1lcPllKXl

VanEgeren, J. (September 20th, 2010). *On the campaign trail with Scott Walker*.

Retrieved February 5th, 2012 from The Capital Times:

http://host.madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/elections/on-the-campaign-trail-with-scott-walker/article_eb608f8b-35b8-50e9-92b5-eda646608c74.html#ixzz1lc6U5bCI

VanEgeren, J. (September 28th, 2010). *Walker wants to stop the train, but can he?*

Retrieved February 6th, 2012 from The Capital Times:

http://host.madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/walker-wants-to-stop-the-train-but-can-he/article_56833f98-ca75-11df-98da-001cc4c03286.html

Vatz, R. E. (2009 May). The (Liberal) Beat Goes On. *USA Today Magazine*, 137 (2768), pp. 33-34.

Vigone, M. J. (2012). Family, Buildings, and Wars. *OD Practitioner*, 44 (1), 34-37.

Wisconsin Labor History Society. (n.d.). *WLHS Primer on Wisconsin Labor History*.

Retrieved 2012 4th-February from Wisconsin Labor History Society:

http://www.wisconsinlaborhistory.org/?page_id=34

WTAQ Staff. (April 6th 2012). *Gov. Walker's private bill signing slammed by Dems as*

"war on women". Retrieved April 8th, 2012, from WTAQ.com:

<http://wtaq.com/news/articles/2012/apr/06/gov-walkers-private-bill-signing-slammed-by-dems-as-war-on-women/>