

Stephen Bales and Charlie Gee

Fear and Loathing in Knoxville: Representations of the “Other” in the Official Press Before and During the 1982 Knoxville World’s Fair

I. Come Gather Round People

In 1982, Knoxville, Tennessee hosted the Knoxville International Energy Exposition (KIEE), an expo offering “the citizens of the world a greater comprehension of the effective use of energy and energy resources in the physical field and a more discriminating appreciation of the creative energy in the artistic field.”¹ A Southern city of 180,000 and MSA (metropolitan statistical area) population of 566,000,² Knoxville was an unlikely choice for a World’s Fair. Knoxville was not prominent in the world consciousness; people knew it largely as the home of the University of Tennessee and as headquarters of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). One notorious Wall Street Journal article outraged locals by terming Knoxville a “scruffy little city.”³ However, from May 1 to October 31 of 1982, the scruffy little city entertained millions of tourists, exhibitors from twenty-two nations, and multiple international corporations.

31.2 Spring 2009

During the transitional period preceding the World's Fair, as well as the six-month period the Fair's gates were open to the public, the city experienced radical changes in terms of the social and cultural milieu, changes which were both anticipated and chronicled in the local newspapers.

The world came to Knoxville, and Knoxville made its debut to the world. For many locals, the Fair brought abrupt and sweeping changes that resulted in feelings of uncertainty resulting from gaps in knowledge. Local media and information outlets, such as area newspapers and the public library system, served as both a means of informing the local populace on issues concerning the Fair and a force for shaping community perceptions and meanings; sources that bore the seal of "official" legitimacy.

This cultural study analyzes portrayals of outsiders in two area "official" newspapers during the 1982 World's Fair,⁴ the *Knoxville News Sentinel* and the *Knoxville Journal*, to answer the question: how did print media portray outsiders coming into Knoxville because of the World's Fair? Doing this will allow for developing an understanding of how the official press reinforces hegemonic ideals through normalizing dominant cultural values and it will inform counter-hegemonic attempts to educate in similar situations.

II. Method

This study employs a grounded theory research methodology to address the above research question. Source materials include area and national newspaper articles as well as ephemera from the World's Fair period. We gathered sources from vertical files located at the Knox County public library (KCPL), the McClung Historical Collection (the KCPL's sister institution), and the John C. Hodges and Special Collections Libraries at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. We consulted a variety of secondary sources to establish context and gain further insight into the event.

After gaining historical perspective concerning the World's Fair, we drew a sample of 35 newspaper clippings depicting outsiders moving into the area because of the Fair from local morning and evening "official" daily papers. All articles were from January 1981 through December 1982 (articles were located at the KCPL in vertical file folders marked "Knoxville International Energy Exposition"). All articles came from the two major

Studies in Popular Culture

daily Knoxville papers, the *News-Sentinel* (the morning paper, owned by Scripps), and the *Knoxville Journal* (the evening paper, sold in 1981 by the Lotspeich family to Gannett). At the time of the Fair, the papers participated in a joint operating agreement and "combined their advertising, circulation, and production departments into a single operation."⁵

Strauss & Corbin's qualitative coding procedures served as a guide for systematically analyzing the textual data.⁶ We examined each article for "patterns, similarities, and differences within [the] patterned material."⁷ This approach allowed us to develop theoretical categories grounded in the data. We coded the articles using activist imagery, employing gerunds to describe concepts (italicized in the following report). Seven articles (20%) were cross-coded to insure inter-coder reliability. Coding the articles was an iterative process, with constant comparative analysis allowing for the development and refinement of concepts. Our own experiences of Knoxville during the World's Fair served as both a touchstone for personal reflection and added a criterion measure of reliability. According to Creswell (2003), researcher reflexivity allows for recognition of (the researcher's) personal meanings that enter into the research, furthering increased "honesty and openness to research."⁸

Following the preliminary conceptual ordering of categories, we considered the emerging theory in light of cultural studies perspectives. We argue that the "official" print press in Knoxville was complicit in perpetuating a power structure that supported local authority and dominant cultural viewpoints.

III. Paris on the Tennessee

Knoxville, the "gateway to the South," has developed its own particular character and culture. To understand the actions of the official press during the World's Fair period, one must first come to grips with the development of this city's unique cultural milieu.

Founded in 1792, Knoxville began its existence as a small town planted in the shadow of the Great Smoky Mountains. The city ballooned in size and regional influence, largely due to the city's railroad connections, plentiful natural resources, and abundant labor pool.⁹ While these three factors, as well the presence of the state's land grant university, contributed to

31.2 Spring 2009

the city's status as an economic and cultural hub in the South East United States, Knoxville has remained characterized by its proximity to Appalachia. The result is a city with a "style and tone that is culturally and politically different from other areas."¹⁰ This individuality is apparent when comparing the city to western Tennessee. Knoxville has maintained a strongly conservative bent, at odds with the democratic tendencies of peer cities such as Nashville or Memphis.

Knoxville, however, is a crossroads for commerce, and a "New South city." By the mid-twentieth century, Knoxville had developed into an industrial city struggling for identity. The city's image suffered with this shift towards manufacturing. Knoxville then was criticized for lacking distinctiveness or recognizable regional flavor. The national press also characterized the city as being ultra-conservative politically and for environmental pollution. Wall Street Journal reporter Susan Harrigan's sarcastic take on Knoxville's non-image became a popular topic in the local press and a sore spot for the local citizenry.¹¹

The most memorable attack, however, came from travel writer John Gunther (1947), a jab that irked many Knoxvilleians for half a century following its original publication:

Knoxville is the ugliest city I ever saw in America, with the possible exception of some mill towns in New England. Its main street is called Gay Street; this seemed to me a misnomer... Knoxville, an extremely puritanical town, serves no alcohol stronger than 3.6 percent beer, and its more dignified taprooms close at 9:30 P.M.; Sunday movies are forbidden, and there is no Sunday baseball. Perhaps as a result, it is one of the least orderly cities in the South—Knoxville leads every other town in Tennessee in homicides, automobile thefts, and larceny.¹²

While these insults smarted, Knoxville's citizens were generally resistant to change, reflecting the conservative values of the city's elite.¹³ The 1960's, however, saw the rise of a "business developer's bloc" disappointed with the city elites' aversion to change. This was a group with the brashness and backing to initiate sweeping change.¹⁴ W. Stewart Evans, a member of this newly empowered group, smelled opportunity when learning of the Spokane WA World's Fair's success in revitalizing that city, and Evans sought to replicate this success in Tennessee. Knoxville had found its "quantum jump," an International Energy Exposition that promised revital-

ization of the inner city and international exposure.¹⁵ The Knoxville World's Fair opened its gates in the spring of 1982. People flooded in from across the U.S.A. and world. Knoxville's citizenry anticipated, watched, reacted, and participated.

Before the Fair's permanent closing in October 1982, 11,128,000 people had walked through its gates, exceeding the projected eleven million visitors.¹⁶ In addition to tourists, the influx of outsiders included the staffing required for twenty-two national pavilions as well as various corporate and religious installations.

The Fair radically altered the makeup of the urban cultural landscape almost overnight. It introduced outside groups, altered the composition of area demographics, and created divisions within the citizenry that often played out in the local media. Downtown Knoxville saw new business ventures by both local and outside merchants, with downtown space sold to twenty-two licensed vendors.¹⁷ The Fair employed more than 3,500 workers as well, from Knoxville and elsewhere.¹⁸

In addition to the rapid makeover of the city's urban composition through a flood of new people, existing residents experienced deep divisions over the Fair. Attitudes ranged from the "quantum jump" cheerleaders to those adamantly opposed, the latter consisting of a very vocal minority led by University of Tennessee history professor Joe Dodd.¹⁹ While Dodd's opposition represented a skeptical view of the motives of Fair promoters (especially those of Fair chairperson and area banking magnate Jake Butcher), a review of local publications suggests an undercurrent of ambivalence existing within the local community arising from general uncertainty coinciding with the Fair.

Repeatedly, local newspaper articles appeared referring to dangerous, undesirable outsiders poised to *invade* Knoxville (martial language appearing frequently in both the *Sentinel* and the *Journal*). Vigilante groups such as the Guardian Angels and Dragons of Justice threatened to set up camp in Knoxville and dish out their own brand of street justice.^{20,21} Knoxvilleans were warned of an onslaught of bikers "in the thousands,"²² possibly Hell's Angels (it never happened). The *Journal* warned, in ominous and vague language, of an influx of "bus loads of hookers" and their big city pimps, which was likely to result in a violent turf *war* over downtown Knoxville.²³ On a more practical (and realistic) level, many residents

shared an apprehension over potential traffic logjams and parking problems caused by the massive influx of outsiders.^{24,25} One anonymous wag summarized the feelings of antipathy, unease, and fear of the unknown attached to the World's Fair with a reworking of the "Night before Christmas" found affixed to area telephone poles.

T'was the night before Expo
And all through the town
The cost of construction
Was getting us down.
Jake and Randy could find
No sleep in their beds
While visions of dollar signs
Danced in their heads
The hookers were waiting
On their corners with care
Hoping the Vice Squad
Would not be there.
And we in our city
Have this mess in our lap
How long must citizens
Put up with this flap?²⁶

IV. Textual Analysis

Knoxville's official print news media played an important role in the shaping of these attitudes before and during the city's massive demographic reconfiguration. Norman Fairclough wrote that texts "have causal effects— i.e. they bring about changes."²⁷ Texts mediate social life,²⁸ they organize and define cultural "realities." Knoxville's official press influenced locals' perceptions of outsiders coming to the city during the World's Fair period. Textual analysis is an appropriate tool for better understanding how the press formed and reinforced these perceptions. The method facilitates researchers' ability to "pin down [the empirical material's] key themes and, thereby, to draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen."²⁹

Preliminary analysis of 35 articles drawn from the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* and the *Knoxville Journal* dealing specifically with outsiders com-

Studies in Popular Culture

ing to Knoxville as a result of the World's Fair revealed four categories of outsider: (1) *workers* relocating to Knoxville to work at the Fair, or at businesses hoping to profit off of the Fair (such as construction companies and downtown vendors); (2) legitimate *entrepreneurs* coming into the area; (3) both U.S and international *tourists*; and (4) *undesirable others*, consisting of a variety of outside groups portrayed in a negative manner and often described as putting unwanted stress on community values and local infrastructure.

We derived five categories from the data that represent phenomena material to Knoxville "official" press depictions of people entering Knoxville entering the area because of the World's Fair: (1) *Importing outside values*; (2) *Testing local culture*; (3) *Testing community infrastructure*; (4) *Validating local authority*; and (5) *Reinforcing cultural norms*. These five categories, detailed below, provide valuable insight into how Knoxville's official press served to structure its audience's perception of outsiders.

(1) Importing Outside Values

The articles depict outsiders as possessing alien or exotic values or perspectives, and as importing these values into the Knoxville community. Outsiders do this through (1) persuasion and diplomacy (often seen in articles directly referencing particular Fair exhibits), (2) aggression, or as setting themselves up in marked contrast to locals through (3) *refusing to assimilate*. Chinese workers, for example "[all wear] identical-dark blue, loose outfits," do not understand much English, are fortunate to have their own chef, don't go into town, and stick to Chinese cigarettes because "they are a bit stronger."³⁰

Articles describe undesirable others as intentionally *importing violence and criminal behavior*—they are *invading from the outside*. The press describes prostitutes and their pimps as *battling for dominance*; Lt. Donnie Cameron remarked, "It's going to be a territorial war, that's what it's going to be... And I expect some of them (prostitutes) will be killed in the wars."³¹ These wars, however, extended beyond the criminal element and involve the community: "The pimps have been picking the girls up and dropping them off in different locations because they know the heat is on."³² This new criminal element, furthermore, represented something outside of the usual, *contrasting local with outside culture*—these are "rough type prostitutes" used to doing "quite a bit of robbing and cutting and [Sgt. Ed

31.2 Spring 2009

Sisk of Memphis] know[s] of some that packed up and headed for Knoxville."³³

Instead of remaining aloof, as with the Chinese workers, undesirable others are portrayed as actively seeking to indoctrinate locals into their group culture through *defining potential recruits*, and *recruiting locals*. In an article concerning the possible establishment of a Guardian Angel (a New York based "safety patrol"³⁴ often described as a vigilante group) chapter in Knoxville,³⁵ Curtis Sliwa, Guardian Angel founder, is quoted as seeking local recruits based "on the will of the people." Legitimate tourists, however, are distinguished from undesirables through the legitimacy of their intentions (intentions that a majority of *Journal* readers are likely to identify with). One Knox County Police Department remarked:

*There are a lot of people that come to World's Fairs. Most of them are tourists—like those who will go to the Smoky Mountains. They are coming into town on a vacation or on leisure travel. They're not as apt to commit crimes...*³⁶

Those "apt to commit crimes" are "shady characters like panhandlers, pickpockets and con artists."³⁷

(2) Testing Local Culture

The "official" print press portrays the influx of outside values as *testing local culture* through *alienating residents* and *increasing uncertainty* about the future, manifesting in a fear of outsiders:

*... [the] Tennessee Valley Authority board [was asked] to help area authorities police a TVA campsite where nearby residents fear motorcycle gangs will camp during the World's Fair... 'We're not talking about 25 or 30 motorcycles. We're talking through the rumors that have come through the sheriff's department, of motorcycles in the thousands.'*³⁸

Through portraying outsiders as actively *expressing interest in the locals*, the news reinforces ideas of culture conflict, with encroaching undesirables *recruiting (often undesirable) locals* into their counter or deviant subcultures (swelling their ranks). Brian Sanderson (leader of the Young Dragons, another New York based "safety patrol") remarked: "We don't want criminals, but it depends on the crime. I say give the guy a chance to prove himself."³⁹

This active interest in the "locals" is reflected in the newspaper articles' general portrayal of outsiders as intentionally *scouting the city* for

opportunistic purposes: undesirables are *colonizing (the cultural landscape)*. The articles even depict local left wing political activists as seeing outsider activists as *servicing their own agenda* and *colonizing* at the hometown crew's expense. The predicted appearance of the All-People's Congress, a national umbrella group for "civil liberties, anti-war, labor and social organizations," at an anti-nuclear power rally is portrayed as causing consternation and resentment among local activist groups and creating an unwanted expansion of political projects beyond the local community.⁴⁰

(3) Testing Community Infrastructure

The official press represents outsiders as a challenge to Knoxville and its surrounding areas because of the stress that these groups supposedly place on the integrity of community infrastructure. News articles describe tourists and undesirable others as *taxing community resources*. They repeatedly refer to tourists in terms of sheer numbers. When the press does not portray tourists as clogging the highways in the articles about area traffic problems, it projects tourists as health problems:

*We know campgrounds are going to be full. We hope a lot of people will use self-contained units (such as camping trailers), but there may be primitive camping and people opening up their farms for camping vehicles. This is going to require a plan...*⁴¹

Outsiders will "use streams and ditches if proper facilities are inconvenient,"⁴² and Knoxville will suffer a general up-shift in stress on its civic infrastructure. Mayor Randy Tyree said to the *Journal*: "There's gonna be more trash to pick up, there's gonna be more police calls to answer, more traffic accidents perhaps."⁴³

Undesirable others are described as actively testing community infrastructure through nefarious means, such as *importing* and *hiding crime* (e.g., pimps relocating their prostitutes to avoid detection by the local authorities);⁴⁴ or, as is the case with displaced outsiders, vagrants, and transplanted drug addicts, through *seeking help* by approaching both official and other sources of charity:

*Coughing and wheezing, perhaps a victim of alcoholism or some other illness, he wandered about looking for an empty doorway or a handout... [Knox County Sheriff Joe Jenkins says] 'if they don't have anywhere to go, they'll end up in jail. Many are older people and are sick. It's just a pitiful situation.'*⁴⁵

31.2 Spring 2009

Predictions of the stress on Knoxville brought by outsiders are reflected in several news articles describing the lack of resources (housing, security, etc.) and the need for additional jail space, social services, and police personnel. And, while articles express concern for locals and the outsiders, Margaret Hoffman (*News-Sentinel* columnist) betrayed the prevailing “us versus them” mentality when she asked:

...what about the folks at home? What about the city hosts who have sat more or less patiently in traffic lines on the demolished interstate and screened their eyes from the dusty glare of the construction? Expo will provide much to those arriving in Knoxville during the six-month stretch in 1982. It seems appropriate to ask what advantages are provided to those here before and after.⁴⁶

(4) Validating Local Authority

In the process of *identifying outside threats*, the official press validates local civic authority through *defining their sphere of control*. Repeatedly articles identify problems relating to outsiders entering the area while emphasizing local authorities’ (particularly Knox County police and sheriff’s departments, but also including social service agencies’ and local government’s) ability and readiness to manage an alien—and potentially hostile—situation through *identifying, planning for, and combating problems*. This paternal watchfulness required that the civic authorities counter outside groups’ active interest in Knoxville with equally active (if not more active) programs for *gathering intelligence*. The *Journal* describes how police Lt. Phil Keith monitors “yippies” and other activist groups interested in the Fair from “an intelligence standpoint.”⁴⁷ Police also kept a watchful eye on both the Guardians and the Dragons.⁴⁸ One *Journal* article touts the city’s “new plan [that] makes optimum use of the flexibility provided by the department’s new sector team policing concept.”⁴⁹

Moreover, while several articles describe the budget problems and labor shortages encountered by local law enforcement, there is a continued emphasis on the police *maintaining a presence and asserting normalcy*: “The Fair’s force will operate on a low level, similar to officers at theme parks.”⁵⁰ The watchfulness of Knoxville’s authorities is portrayed in terms of *guarding the city* (two articles focus on rapid response SWAT maneuvers⁵¹ requiring authorities to stay ever vigilant (or maintain the image that they are staying so).

Studies in Popular Culture

(5) Reinforcing Cultural Norms

The preceding conceptual categories outline ways in which the media potentially develops readers' ideas concerning outsiders' values and motives, as well as validates community responses to these values and motives. One emerging category for such an active community response (as portrayed in the press) is the reinforcement of cultural norms.

Articles portray explicit themes of typical "Southern hospitality," with locals *providing for guests* (in the case of tourists) or *giving comfort* (in the case of undesirable others). Locals are "not the money grubbing type," but show concern for outsiders, are welcoming, and often "simply want to give visitors a taste of this part of the country."⁵²

Displays of accommodation and cultural ambassadorship, however, are imbedded in a rhetoric of cultural separation. While the press validates local cultural norms like hospitality, it establishes boundaries between community and the outside world through *distancing local culture from outside culture*. Bill Wyman, TVA director, made sure to note that, while he was monitoring the potential hoards of incoming bikers, he was "not on a first-name basis with any of those folks."⁵³ There are no calls for assimilation.

V. Discussion

The undesirable other is prevalent in Knoxville's two "official" daily papers immediately prior to and throughout the 1982 World's Fair. Articles describe undesirables as supporting alien, unwanted agendas, agendas often indicating active planning on the part of these outsiders. The articles portray undesirables as a threat to culture and community infrastructure. The press reinforces the legitimacy and separation of local culture and validates local authorities by setting up a relationship of struggle between "legitimate" local power structures and the "invading forces." The press repeatedly describes this cultural conflict in military terms. Factions conduct surveillance, collect intelligence, recruit, and invade and battle over territory.

Undesirables take on the characteristics of invading armies (hoards might be a more appropriate term). They are often faceless groups such as pimps, whores, bikers, vigilantes, or vagrants. When the news does mention

31.2 Spring 2009

individual representatives for these groups, it is through a single spokesperson like Curtis Sliwa. The rank-and-file members, however, remain largely anonymous.

The articles use few photographs to depict undesirables. Those that do depict undesirables display them in active, violent postures. The *Knoxville Journal* for example, portrays Sliwa in paramilitary garb and in the process of shouting, while Sanderson demonstrates stick-fighting techniques. Although the sample is of limited size, and alternative data sources should be sought out for comparison, these images and text embody an emerging *regime of representation*, where the “repertoire of imagery and visual effects through which difference is represented at any one historical moment.”⁵⁴ Image and text set up the undesirable in opposition to the “culturally acceptable” local through the application of “sharply opposed, polarized, binary extremes—good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive....”⁵⁵

Exploring these emerging themes concerning outsiders allows for identification of a social narrative in the official press, what David L. Altheide described as reflecting the “social order and communication process.”⁵⁶ These “frames” symbolically mine

complex and often ambiguous events and concerns for moral truths and understandings that they presume the audience holds, while the repeated presentations of similar scenarios ‘teach’ the audience about the nature and causes of ‘disorder’... and promote the mythic view that the past was better than the present.⁵⁷

The representation of others in the Knoxville official press provides “clusters of ideas, images and practices that provide frameworks for understanding what knowledge is useful, relevant, and true in a given context.”⁵⁸

The construction of a social narrative, furthermore, may act as a means of facilitating control by traditional authorities. Altheide contended that social control agencies, such as the police, comply with the media to combine objective news with attempts at social control in order to,⁵⁹ as observed by Ericson, Baranek, and Chan, “sustain the view publicly that they are operating with procedural regularity, and are therefore accountable.”⁶⁰ Through employing a rhetoric of fear this mass communication “power bloc” defines problems and sets political agendas⁶¹ while maintaining its own legitimacy and necessity.⁶² In the process, views of the “other” are disregarded or devalued while hegemonic structure is maintained through the reinforce-

ment of dominant (and comfortable) cultural values. Through constructing an "us versus them" narrative that validates local authority as paternalistic culture warriors, the *News-Sentinel* and *Journal* insured the maintenance of prevailing social structures.

Through analysis of a subsection of the historical record, this study reveals an emerging substantive theory of the official press's representation of the other during a time of great change. Comparative analysis with other local information sources from the World's Fair period will allow for saturation of the emergent categories. The findings from this study may be further expanded to include outside groups encountering similar change (from varying contexts and time periods); this will allow for a better understanding of category dimensions, as well as provide further insight into the relationship between culture and media depictions of the "other."

Stephen Bales

Texas A&M University

Charlie Gee

Duquesne University

Notes

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, *Knoxville International Energy Exposition: Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Spokane, WA: Haworth & Anderson Inc: 1977), i.

²Greater Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, "Community Profile: Knoxville—America's Most Livable City," in *Knoxville: Take A Look* (Knoxville: Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, 1990), 6.

³Susan Harrigan, "What if You Gave a World's Fair and Nobody Came?" *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 1980 [Note: some page numbers on newspapers were not available because of Lawson-McGee's and the McClung Collection's filing systems.]

⁴John Fiske describes official news "the news of the 'quality' press and network television... It presents its information as objective facts selected from an empiricist reality wherein lies a 'truth' that is accessible by good objective investigation. Its tone is serious, official, impersonal and is aimed at producing understanding and belief. It is generally the news which the power-bloc wants the people to have." In "Popularity and the Politics of Information," in *Journalism as Popular Culture*, eds. Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage, 1992), 46.

⁵ *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, “Knoxville News-Sentinel,” <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=K024> (accessed Oct 2, 2007).

⁶ Anselm Strauss and John Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998).

⁷ Ian Hodder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture,” In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 711.

⁸ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 182.

⁹ Michael J. McDonald and William Bruce Wheeler, *Knoxville, Tennessee: Continuity and Change in an Appalachian City* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹ Susan Harrigan, “What if You Gave a World’s Fair and Nobody Came?” *Wall Street Journal*.

¹² John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 761.

¹³ McDonald and Wheeler, *Knoxville, Tennessee*, 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁵ Tom Sweeten, “World’s Fair ‘Quantum Jump’ for Downtown,” *Knoxville Journal*, April 30, 1982, sec. A, p. 11.

¹⁶ United States Commissioner General for the Knoxville International Energy Exposition. *Final report of the United States Commissioner General for the Knoxville International Energy Exposition - Energy Expo 82- to the President of the United States* (Oak Ridge, Tennessee: Technical Information Center, 1982).

¹⁷ “Attempt to Keep Vendors Away From Downtown Opposed,” *Knoxville Journal*, April 25, 1982, D1.

¹⁸ “Agency Gives 3500 Work at Fair,” *Knoxville Journal*, May, 28, 1982.

¹⁹ In his expose of the Fair, Dodd wrote “Expo was deceit. Expo was hypocrisy, Expo was a blitz that bypassed the people. Expo was manipulation of the press. And Expo was money.” In Joe Dodd, *World Class Politics: Knoxville’s 1982 World’s Fair Redevelopment and the Political Process* (Salem, Wisconsin: Sheffield Publishing Company, 1988), 105.

²⁰ Roger King, “Vigilantes to Test City,” *Knoxville Journal*, January 18, 1982.

²¹ Roger King, “Young Angels, Dragons May Fight Crime at Fair,” *Knoxville Journal*, January 25, 1982.

²² “Residents Fear Cycle Gangs at Campsite,” *Knoxville Journal*, April 22, 1982.

²³ Steve Ray, "Police Told of Incoming 'Bus Loads' of Hookers." *Knoxville Journal*, April 22, 1982, D1.

²⁴ Cynthia Moxley, "City Briefs Merchants on Traffic During the Fair," *Knoxville Journal*, March 25, 1982.

²⁵ "UT Evening School Students Worried About Parking Situation During Fair," *Knoxville Journal*, April 29, 1982.

²⁶ "The Night Before Expo," Vertical File, Lawson McGhee Public Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

²⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), 8.

²⁸ Anssi Peräkylä, "Analyzing Text and Talk," In *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd eds., Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 870.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Joe Krakoviak, "A World Away: Chinese Workers Adjust to Knoxville," *Knoxville Journal*, April 30, 1982.

³¹ Ray, "'Bus Loads' of Hookers."

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ The Guardian Angel's Web site describes the organization as "a voluntary, weapon-free patrol of [initially] 13 [formed] to take the subways, the streets and the neighborhood back from crime." From "About the Guardian Angels," http://www.guardianangels.org/history_full.html (accessed Oct 2, 2007).

³⁵ King, "Vigilantes to Test City."

³⁶ Terry McWilliams, "Fair Not to Escape Increased Crime, Traffic," *Knoxville Journal*, May 13, 1981.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *Knoxville Journal*, "Residents Fear Cycle Gangs at Campsite."

³⁹ King, "Young Angels."

⁴⁰ Ernie Beazley, "Anti-Nuclear Activists Plan May 1 Picket," *Knoxville Journal*, April, 15, 1982.

⁴¹ Ken Renner, "State Wants Health Plan for '82 Fair," *Knoxville Journal*, July 31, 1981.

⁴² Terry McWilliams, "Fair Health Worries a Witchhunt," *Knoxville Journal*, August 8, 1981.

⁴³ Cynthia Moxley, "Reagonomics to Hurt Fair, says Tyree," *Knoxville Journal*, December 17, 1981.

⁴⁴ Ray, "Bus Loads of Hookers."

⁴⁵ Carolyn Greer, "Social Agencies Gird to Handle Influx of Vagrants Lured to Fair," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, February 17, 1982.

⁴⁶Margaret Hoffman, "It's a World's Fair: But What About the Folks at Home?" *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, January 27, 1981.

⁴⁷Beazley, "Anti-Nuclear Activists Plan May 1 Picket."

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Cynthia Moxley, "Police Will Use Existing Force, Budget During Fair," *Knoxville Journal*, 27 April, 1982.

⁵⁰"Fair Security to be Low Key, but Everywhere," *Knoxville Journal*, April 24, 1982.

⁵¹Police Chief Robert Marshall says "We have men that can even jump out of helicopters should a situation warrant that type of action." In Steve Ray, "Police Girding for World's Fair," *Knoxville Journal*, January 1, 1981.

⁵²Hoyt Canady, "Homes, Rooms Sought for Fair Visitors," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, November 8, 1981.

⁵³"*Knoxville Journal*, "Residents Fear Cycle Gangs at Campsite."

⁵⁴Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Hill, 1997), 232.

⁵⁵Ibid., 229.

⁵⁶David L. Altheide, "Children and the Discourse of Fear," *Symbolic Interaction* 25, no. 2, (2002): 231.

⁵⁷Ibid., 232.

⁵⁸Celine-Marie Pascale, "There's No Place Like Home: The Discursive Creation of Homelessness," *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies* 5, no. 2, (2005): 251.

⁵⁹Altheide, "Children and the Discourse of Fear," 232.

⁶⁰Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B.L. Chan, *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 92.

⁶¹Stuart Hall explains that the people versus the power bloc is "rather than 'class-against-class', is the central line of contradiction around which the terrain of culture is polarized. Popular culture, especially, is organized around the contradiction: the popular forces versus the power bloc." In "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," In *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd ed., John Storey, (London: Prentice Hall, 1994), 452.

⁶²Altheide, "Children and the Discourse of Fear," 232.

Bibliography

- Alliance of Guardian Angels. "About The Guardian Angels." <http://www.guardianangels.org/history.html>.
- Altheide, David L. "Children and the Discourse of Fear." *Symbolic Interaction* 25, no. 2, (2002): 229-50.
- Beazley, Ernie. "Anti-Nuclear Activists Plan May 1 Picket." *Knoxville Journal*, April 15, 1982.
- Canady, Hoyt. "Homes, Rooms Sought for Fair Visitors." *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, November 8, 1981.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003).
- Dodd, Joe. *World Class Politics: Knoxville's 1982 World's Fair Redevelopment and the Political Process*. Salem, WI: Sheffield Publishing Company, 1988.
- Ericson, Richard V., Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B.L. Chan. *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Fairclough, Norm. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Fiske, John. "Popularity and the Politics of Information." In *Journalism as Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, 45-63. London: Sage, 1992.
- Greater Knoxville Chamber of Commerce. "Community Profile: Knoxville—America's Most Livable City." In *Knoxville: Take a Look*. Knoxville: Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, 1990.
- Greer, Carolyn. "Social Agencies Gird to Handle Influx of Vagrants Lured to Fair." *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, February 17, 1982.
- Gunther, John. *Inside U.S.A.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.
- Hall, Stuart. "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," In *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd ed., edited by John Storey, 442-52. London: Prentice Hall, 1994.
- Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of the Other." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 223-90. London: Sage Hill, 1997.
- Harrigan, Susan. "What if You Gave a World's Fair and Nobody Came?" *Wall Street Journal* December 29, 1980.
- Hodder, Ian. "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln, 703-16. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003.
- Hoffman, Margaret. "It's a World's Fair: But What About the Folks at Home?" *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, January 27, 1981.

31.2 Spring 2009

- King, Roger. "Vigilantes to Test City." *Knoxville Journal*, January 18, 1982.
- "Young Angels, Dragons May Fight Crime at Fair." *Knoxville Journal*, January 25, 1982.
- Knoxville Journal*, "Fair Security to be Low Key, but Everywhere," April 24, 1982.
- Knoxville Journal*, "Attempt to Keep Vendors Away From Downtown Opposed," April 25, 1982, D1.
- Knoxville Journal*, "Agency Gives 3500 Work at Fair," May 28, 1982.
- Krakoviak, Joe. "A World Away: Chinese Workers Adjust to Knoxville." *Knoxville Journal*, April 30, 1982.
- McDonald, Michael J. and William Bruce Wheeler, *Knoxville, Tennessee: Continuity and Change in an Appalachian City*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- McWilliams, Terry. "Fair Not to Escape Increased Crime, Traffic." *Knoxville Journal*, May 13, 1981.
- "Fair Health Worries a Witchhunt." *Knoxville Journal*, August 8, 1981. Moxley, Cynthia. "Reagonomics to Hurt Fair, says Tyree." *Knoxville Journal*, December 17, 1981.
- "City Briefs Merchants on Traffic During the Fair." *Knoxville Journal*, March 25, 1982.
- "Police Will Use Existing Force, Budget During Fair." *Knoxville Journal*, April 27, 1982.
- "The Night Before Expo." Vertical File, Lawson McGhee Public Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.
- Pascale, Celine-Marie. "There's No Place Like Home: The Discursive Creation of Homelessness." *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies* 5, no. 2, (2005): 250-68.
- Peräkylä, Anssi. "Analyzing Text and Talk." In *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd ed., edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 869-86. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005.
- Ray, Steve. "Police Girding for World's Fair." *Knoxville Journal*, January 1, 1981.
- "Police Told of Incoming 'Bus Loads' of Hookers." *Knoxville Journal*, April 22, 1982, D1.
- "Residents Fear Cycle Gangs at Campsite." *Knoxville Journal*, April 22, 1982.
- Renner, Ken. "State Wants Health Plan for '82 Fair." *Knoxville Journal*, July 31, 1981.
- Strauss, Anselm and John Corbin. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998.
- Sweeten, Tom. "World's Fair 'Quantum Jump' for Downtown," *Knoxville Journal*, April 30, 1982, A11.

——”UT Evening School Students Worried About Parking Situation During Fair.”
Knoxville Journal, April 29, 1982.

Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture. “Knoxville News-Sentinel.”
<http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=K024>.

United States Commissioner General for the Knoxville International Energy Exposition. *Final report of the United States Commissioner General for the Knoxville International Energy Exposition - Energy Expo 82- to the President of the United States*. Oak Ridge, TN: Technical Information Center, 1982.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *Knoxville International Energy Exposition: Final Environmental Impact Statement*. Spokane, WA: Haworth & Anderson Inc., 1977.