

Black Unrest, Riots, and How Newspapers Frame the Narrative of African American Social
Protests

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Abstract

After the death of Trayvon Martin, an African American teenager, and the media coverage, which some deemed sensational and divisive, that followed his death, some journalists acknowledged that there needed to be a change in the way that racial issues were covered. This awareness that there needs to be changes in the ways that racial issues are covered was magnified after Ferguson unrest after Michael Brown's shooting and the Baltimore riots after the death of Freddie Gray. The criticisms largely surrounded the way that racialized stories were presented to audiences. Robert Entman theorized that the narrative in which journalists select to present stories is a product of the process of framing. How journalists frame stories is important because the reach, power and influence of news media is so expansive. These frames, which could be positive or negative, may play a role in perpetuating racial stereotypes about the communities in which they cover. For this study, content analysis was done over two weeks of content from three publications, USA Today, the Wall Street Journal and New York Times, respectively. Modeling after a 2004 study published in the Jean Ait Belkir, *Race, Gender and Class Journal*, the content was investigated for presence of the following frames: emphasis on the racial dimension and the act of rioting, implying that the riots and protests were a criminal rebellion against authority rather than legitimate calls for justice and framing rioting as an illogical, senseless event. It was found that contemporary riots are still framed, to some extent as negative, criminal, illogical and largely African American event that whites did not agree with.

Introduction

Rationale

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1967) described the “Negro riot” as a true form of social protest, one that was the reaction to long boiling anger over inequality, discrimination, and prejudice. King spoke to address the confusion, disappointment and fear that some felt after riots in cities across America: events fueled by many black Americans feeling as though they were at their wits end, feeling as though they could not release their anger in any other way and feeling as though rioting was the only way to get America’s attention.

In the speech, titled “The Other America”, per his usual philosophy, King explicitly outlined that he did not support violent protests and uprisings. Rioting, he believed, was counterproductive and peaceful demonstrations would bring about the most social change. However, King (1967) also remarked that not acknowledging the riots would be a disservice to the protesters and a denial of the situations to which many felt hopeless:

It is necessary for me to be as vigorous in condemning the conditions which cause persons to feel that they must engage in riotous activity as it is for me to condemn riots. I think America must see that riots do not develop out of thin air. Certain conditions continue to exist in our society which must be condemned as vigorously as we condemn riots. But in the final analysis, a riot is the language of the unheard. And what is it that America has failed to hear? It has failed to hear that the plight of the Negro poor has worsened over the last few years. It has failed to hear that the promises of freedom and

justice have not been met. And it has failed to hear that large segments of white society are more concerned about tranquility and the status quo than about justice, equality and humanity. And so in sense, our nation's summers of riots are caused by our nation's winters of delay. And as long as America postpones justice, we stand in the position of having these recurrences of violence and riots over and over again. Social justices and progress are the absolute guarantors of riot prevention. (King, 1967)

King's steadfast explanation to America for the justification of riots as a legitimate form of social protest was his attempt to quell the confused, fearful and angry atmosphere that was the reaction after African American's decided to riot to protest injustices in urban cities across America. Part of this reaction was the news coverage that followed these incidents, news coverage which gave the public insight into what was happening on the streets.

A more recent rationale for the importance of acknowledging the riot as legitimate form of social protest was written online for Time magazine. In the op-ed, Darlena Cunha (2014) writes about the reoccurring scene of news viewers sitting at home, looking at their televisions in dismay at people, "acting upon decades of pent up anger at a system decidedly against them", rioting in their communities. Her remarks acknowledge the power of the news media to shape and frame the narrative of an event.

As 'normal' citizens watch the events of Ferguson unfurl on their television scenes and Twitter feeds, there is a lot of head shaking, finger pointing and privileged explanations going on. We wish to seclude the incident and the people involved. To separate the underlying racial tensions that clearly exist in our country from the looting and rioting of select individuals, we can continue to ignore the problem. (Cunha, 2014)

It should be considered that even research in the area of psychology has acknowledged the validity of riots as social protest. Although popular discourse has been to deny the legitimacy of riots, “riots are complex events, hard to reduce to something as simple as” criminality (Eisold, 2011). Moreover, while the images of looting, fires and violence flood news media during and after these events take place, social scientists, and researchers caution audiences from forming judgments about the participants in such events. Riots “can be appeals to be heard, when normal channels don't work. They can be eruptions of rage, when frustrations boil over. They can be expressions of hope that things could change. And they could be all these things - and more” (Eisold, 2011).

Why study media portrayals? Of course, the reason that so much attention is devoted to media representations (in the broadest sense) is that the collective image of blacks and black males has important effects. Researchers state — sometimes with rigorous evidence, other times through common sense inference — that representations in the media affect viewers’ perceptions and, specifically, that distorted portrayals lead to distorted and/or negative perceptions (Topos Partnership, 2011).

The news media were created for the purpose of accurately covering information for all of the public and fact checking what government entities release to the public to ensure that it is accurate and truthful. Racial bias, omissions, exaggerations and furthering stereotypes of any group is a disservice to traditional journalistic values. Because of the news media influences on American society, and the role news plays in informing the public about each day’s events, making sure that bias is removed from reporting and coverage should be one of the number one priorities for media professionals.

These principles, although not enforceable by law, are thought to be the rules of the land in the journalism profession. “Ethical journalism treats sources, subjects, colleagues and members of the public as human beings deserving of respect (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).” The writers of the journalists’ code of ethics proposed four moral points that media professionals should follow when doing their work. They strongly proposed minimizing harm, acting independently, being accountable and transparent and seeking truth and reporting it. “[The Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics] is not a set of rules, rather a guide that encourages all who engage in journalism to take responsibility for the information they provide, regardless of medium” (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014).

Despite these principles, studies and polls have tracked that “relatively few African Americans and Hispanics — which combined make up approximately 30 percent of the U.S. population — believe they see in the media an accurate portrayal of their own communities” (American Press Institute, 2014). The problem lies with people not feeling that news media accurately portray their community. Thus, there is a need for reviewing and analyzing coverage to see if this concern is legitimate, at least with regard to the coverage found in USA Today, the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times, respectively. With all the criticism that has been levied at news media coverage of riots, it would not hurt to analyze what may be being done wrong. If journalists are really a voice and watchdogs for the people, how can media professionals continue in the field without self-assessment to ensure that the same biased mistakes that have been made in the past are not being made now and are not made in future coverage of African American riots and protests?

Purpose

While there is a presence of minority groups in the daily news cycle, the vast majority of African Americans agree that not only is there very little, sporadic coverage of racial issues, but what does exist is largely negative. “Few people report seeing frequent coverage of their community in the news media, with just 21 percent of Hispanics and 23 percent of African Americans saying their communities receive coverage ‘very regularly’ (American Press Institute, 2014).

Since this appears to be a consistent opinion among many in the African American community, the question must be asked: from where does this doubt stem? A media professional can seek to ask, based off of the notion that journalism is meant to serve as an advocacy field for truth and accuracy for all people: what can be changed to ensure that all people feel justly served and accurately covered? Three incidents heavily criticized in the last three years for their coverage in the news were the protests after the death of Trayvon Martin, the Ferguson unrest after the shooting of Michael Brown and the Baltimore riots after the death of Freddie Gray.

Since the 1992 Watts riots of Los Angeles after Rodney King’s beating by a group of police officers, the coverage of alleged police brutality and the protests and riots that sometimes follow those incidents have become more visible in the news media (McLaughlin, 2015). However, the still sporadic coverage of race, and the tendency of news media to only talk about issues of race relations when high profiled cases happen give consumers a limited perspective of what goes on in minority communities and the context of why rioting occurs. “As journalists focus on the ‘facts’ of immediate events, they rarely include the role of institutions, historical patterns, and other social influences” (Iyengar, 1993). Since the role of news media is so important to most people lives—it is where most people learn about the day’s events—media representation of

racial realities could possibly affect our perceptions of racial groups, thus affecting race relations in America. As the coverage of racial conflict and violence has increased, so have negative views of race relations in the United States (Sussman, 2015).

Last year, that criticism was largely about the unrest that occurred in Ferguson, Missouri over the death of teenager Michael Brown. “Thanks to a relentlessly forward-skewed news media — ‘What will happen next?’ was the topic of nearly every cable news discussion — Monday night’s violence became on-demand programming for a nation that flits from one blockbuster event to the next” (Fisher & Lowery, 2014). The authors lamented that the news coverage of the protests fell, once again, into the trap of being more concerned about the next big spark that was about to go off rather than giving the public the backstory of the larger issues plaguing the African American community that may have led to such violent reactions (Fisher & Lowery, 2014). Since objectivity is of the greatest importance in journalism, this study intends to show what has been done to, mostly likely inadvertently support negative stereotypes, and what frames on riots, if there are any found, continue to reinforce racial typecasts of African Americans and deny rioting as social protests.

The purpose of this paper is a review of past criticisms of and background research on social protests and rioting. Then, the paper will provide analysis data on how the three most circulated newspaper publications in the United States covered the protests, rallies and riots that followed arguably the three most racially charged events of the last three years. Exploration into how much (or how little) these newspapers possibly negatively portrayed or diminished the legitimacy of the social protests through framing of the events will be done for study and to show the progression, if any, that has been made in media reporting in this area.

Research Questions

- RQ1: What types of frames are employed in the news coverage of protests and riots when the participants are African American?
- RQ2: Is the way that African American social protests framed by newspapers a paradigm biased towards negative suggestions and associations?

Literature Review

Stuart Hall (1990) explained that the media are “part of the dominant means of ideological production. What they produce is precisely representations of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work.” The media, essentially is the public sphere of knowledge. The mass media continually serves to “function as a marketplace of ideas, definitions and agendas, legitimizing and celebrating some, downgrading or dismissing others” (Watson, 2007).

News coverage of minority groups has often been criticized as being ommissive, negative, exaggerated and biased. Many studies have been done and articles written specifically on the way the news media frame the events that occur after an unarmed African American is killed by a police officer or, in the case of Trayvon Martin, a vigilante. Researchers of this phenomenon have found that the news coverage of these type of events frames the narrative as inhumane, illegitimate and illogical. Historical research and content analyses have proved to be the most effective ways to study this phenomenon and pin point the paradigms that persists within it.

Historical criticisms of protest and riot coverage

A study presented in the Jean Ait Belkir, *Race, Gender and Class Journal* highlighted that mass media coverage of rioting was framed as an illegitimate form of social protest. The researchers found, using three criteria of reference, that across two publications, the Los Angeles riots of 1992 and the Cincinnati riots of 2001 were framed as negative and pointless. They also referenced another author writing on media influence on society. "...the mass media play a significant role in shaping our perceptions of riots as either legitimate or illegitimate forms of social dissent" (Parenti, 1986). This is important because the authority and public trust that the media has amassed over time since the initiation of media watchdogs has serious implications on society, if not use within reasonable and objective limits.

One criticism of the coverage of the 1992 Watts riots of Los Angeles, California stated, "television's mindless, endless (generally fruitless) search for the dramatic image—particularly on the worst night, Wednesday—created the impression that an entire city was about to fall into anarchy and go up in flames" (Schickel, 1992). This challenge was that journalists pounced on the worst images of the Watts riots, losing their imperative to provide people who were not there with perspective for what was actually occurring and how widespread the rioting truly was.

Other research that has been done in the area suggests the same. Entman (1992), emphasized the role media framing plays in furthering "modern racism" which can be defined as "a compound of hostility, rejection and denial on the part of White people toward the activities and aspirations of Black people" (Bell, Campbell, Chidster and Royer, 2004). Selection bias has also been referred to as an explanation for what critics consider slanted, negatively framed coverage. Historically, news media was the only source of information where people could find out about protests, rallies or riots. In 1996, it was discovered that not much research had been

done to examine the media methodology for covering protests (McCarthy, McPhail and Smith, 1996). The findings of some studies even suggest that negative framing of protests inadvertently stems from journalistic duties that media professionals follow. The professional structures faced by reporters within large media organizations encourage their reporting of events which provide “new pegs” around which a story can be constructed (Ryan, 1991).

Other academics, in their content analyses, found that the publications they studied did not contain quite the amount of negative frames as they expected to be present. Their findings presented somewhat different data than had previously been found. Monroy & Myers (2004) cited “mixed results” and stated that some of the inaccurate information was “of little consequence in terms of inciting riotous behavior.” However, they found that most often, the term “aggressors” was used to describe black rioters and that national newspapers were more likely than local papers to practice this tactic (Monroy & Myers, 2004). This is important to note because of the greater reach that national news publications have than local newspapers, which means that national publications could potentially have greater influence on readers.

Negative media framing of African American social protest is especially important because of the lack of general race related coverage that typically is included in the twenty-four hour news cycle. Yet, scholars pointed out that the line between what has been intentionally done to negatively influence a narrative and what was unintended is blurry. “It is neither our contention nor intent to suggest that journalists from the papers’ purposely reported the riotous activity in racialized terms” (Bell, et al, 2004). However, they acknowledged that this type of reporting was problematic in the current environment for which news media exists. They concluded that “(race) riots that fail to fall within a recognizable and ‘sanctioned’ frame continue

to be reported as unnecessary evils.” Media representations of riotous violence have forever changed the way information consumers conceive and process notions of both racial difference and social unrest (Bell, et al, 2004).

Contemporary criticisms of news coverage of African American social protest

Three years after the Monroy and Myers data was collected, the characteristics of the news protest paradigm were extensively outlined in a study of news framing and its possible implications on social conflict. The researcher identified the following commonalities found in how journalists cover social protests, “news frames, reliance on official sources, the invocation of public opinion, ‘deligitimization’ and ‘demonization’” (McLeod, 2007). For the purpose of this study, the two most relevant parts of McLeod’s research were the areas where he discussed the tendency of journalists to frame stories a certain way and delegitimize the value and validity of protests. He referred to Entman’s (1992) definition of news framing which was the act of “select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (McLeod, 2007).

McLeod (2007) also found that aspects of the news coverage he studied fell on the side of disapproving protests as a practical force for social change. Media have failed to accurately explain the meaning of riots and protests and many times do not give context for the incidents, “leaving the audience to perceive them as futile, pointless and even irrational.” One way that journalists contribute to the erasure of protests as viable forms of social protests is by failing to give audiences an overview of the full extent to which protests are purposed. Some of those

purposes include building solidarity within a community of likeminded individuals, spreading information and generating resources (McLeod, 2007).

A significant section of McLeod's findings was that coverage of protests creates and exaggerates threats that may or may not exist. Other researchers have made this criticism as well, declaring that their findings showed much of the way that news media cover protests hysterically flares the actual climate of the situation. For a group that a news outlet may consider 'radical', the media tend to create 'moral panic', "emphasizing violence, flag-burning and counter-cultural elements of minority anarchists..." (McLeod, 2007).

Most recently, authors and reporters alike have written on how media coverage of minorities has been "conflicted" (Deggans, 2014). Historically, news coverage tends to present a picture of outrage and skepticism from communities of color soon after the incidents happen. This begs the question of whether or not media cultivates those types of reactions by including that type of language in their initial reports. When thinking of the time frame between when an incident such as the questionable death of an unarmed, African American teenager occurs at the hands of a police officer to when an article of the incident is published, how accurately can a journalist assess that an entire community is up-in-arms, upset or outraged about what has happened? This type of reporting allows critics to ask whether the media "guide readers to believe this was the prescribed reaction to such events" (Bowen, 2015).

One of the biggest criticisms of the recent media coverage of minorities is that not only is it negative, but has been that it plays into the stereotypes of African Americans being violent and dangerous. One extensive study looked at long term news exposure and the effects that these types of portrays have on implicit and explicit attitudes toward African Americans. Out of the

viewers of local crime coverage, the researchers found that “heavy viewers show more negative automatic affective reactions toward African Americans” (Arendt and Northup, 2014).

Further, many surveys have been done with people who consider themselves part of minority groups and their varied opinions of news media coverage. Not only was it found that the death of Trayvon Martin was the first news story to eclipse the presidential election of that year (Deggans, 2012), but, the percentage of Black Americans who believed coverage of their community was largely negative was up since they had done the study three years earlier (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Conclusion

The news media play a role in setting the agenda for what is important in the nation. This is critical to the actions and work of the media professional because more often than not, media representations of racialized groups within the news media have become associated with the negative and destructive elements of social life (Jiwani, 2006). This idea is not avoided in the coverage of riots and protests when the participants are African American.

Both the historical and modern trends have suggested that there has been little change in the way that reporters tell the stories of African American protests. This research was viewed through Robert Entman’s theory of framing, an offshoot and update to the theory presented by Gamson and Modigliani (1987). Entman did not found framing theory, however, his contributions to the theory, in regard to its significance in communications research and especially on the coverage of minorities, is the most recent, significant and sound version of the theory to date. The work of Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined framing as “a central

organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Delving deeper, Entman noted the connection between new media framing and the perpetuating of negative narratives of racial realities (Bell et al, 2004).

The researcher expected that the data found in the content analyses would follow this theory and provide context for why the presence of negative frames, if found in the analysis, is problematic. However, because there has been some research found that goes against this pattern, the researcher is prepared to gather results that are contrary to what the majority of past research has shown.

Although this theory is related to agenda-setting theory, it involves reviewing how news media cover the essence of a topic rather than how much coverage an event gets. This deals with the quality of the coverage presented to the American public. This theory allows the researcher to ask questions about the meanings, if any, that news coverage places on African American social protests. “[...] this form of agenda-setting not only tells audiences what to think about, but how to think about it. (University of Twente, 2015).” This notion, that framing allows journalists to create meaning for events shows the power of not only frames but also the influence that mass media potentially has on shaping the narrative of major events.

Methods and Strategies

Brainstorming for Ideas

Conceptualization of ideas for this paper began in the summer of 2015, after being given access to senior seminar materials and references. Work in the summer months before the

seminar class started consisted of browsing through those materials, getting an idea of the undertaking that will commence in the fall semester. Day to day brainstorming and jotting down of ideas was important for deciphering what the focus and interest of the paper would. This allowed for breaking down broad topics into a narrow perspective and deciding from which angle to approach the idea.

Beginning the Research

After having the pitch idea approved by the department in the second week, the next step was to begin research on the topic and related areas. This brought greater clarity to what was chosen to be the focus of the study and began the week immediately after the pitch letter was approved. For this task, electronic databases such as JStor—a digital library of academic journals—proved to be very important. Other databases that were used included the college’s library database and catalog for the purpose of obtaining usable, relevant materials online. But also, there was a necessity to peruse through books that covered topics on race, rioting, protests, urban rebellion, media effects and others that became the core of the research paper. This provided needed background for the topic as well as varied, authoritative sources. Key terms for fielding sources were defined. The researcher searched terms such as “media bias”, “rioting”, “news media coverage”, “framing”, “newspapers” and “agenda-setting.” Other terms, understandably, were used as the researcher investigated deeper into the study.

The researcher set aside hours each day to undertake the appropriate amount of research time, delving into all available information on the topic. While conducting this research, annotations of all usable material was taken for compilation of the annotated bibliography, and to

kept the journalist organized while working. There were a number of ways for compiling this information, though the use of notecards proved easiest and efficient.

Before beginning the content analysis, it was important to reach out to the proper people who could assist in helping the researcher narrow down ideas for the paper. Professors, advisors and mentors were all important to this process. However, it was especially important for the researcher to, by the end of week 4, have at least one meeting with their advisor and second advisor on any issues that was bothersome or any difficulties that came about while researching. Help from professors knowledgeable in race theory, studies on bias, and media effects was very useful.

The Content Analysis

A collection of quantitative information was thought to be the most pertinent, and concrete evidence for the purposes of the research paper. This content analysis began 5 weeks in to the semester. The researcher searched online through the databases and archives of the appropriate outlets. The plan was to analyze the coverage by USA Today, the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times over a two week period after the of the shooting of Trayvon Martin, the unrest after the shooting of Michael Brown and the Baltimore riots after the death of Freddie Gray. The researcher used however many articles from each publication were used in the specified two week period after the event, however, the limit on content was 25 articles for each two week period, per publication. In all, 184 articles total were analyzed for data collection. A table was designed for compiling and tallying data found in the content analysis. For this particular study, patterns of information in the content were circled, highlighted, underlined, etc., and then marked for the scoreboard.

Modeling after a previous analysis completed in 2004 for the *Jean Ait Belkir*, *Race Class*, and *Gender Journal*, the researcher analyzed the content for the presence of three themes. The following frames will be the basis for the analysis: newspaper articles frame protests as ineffective, protests are framed as illogical dissent against order, and social protests are dismissed as though they can not be mechanisms for progressive social change. These themes showed media's role in "situating contemporary riots in very specific frames" (Bell, et al., 2004).

The research will show how much (or how little) each publication had in common with its coverage, following the patterns of language and quotes used, context included or omitted, and common themes of the publications. Every relevant word, phrase, or theme that falls under any of the three criteria was tagged. This process was done by an individual researcher rather than a panel of academics as in the study conducted by Bell et al.

Publications for the study were chosen based on their level of circulation in the United States. The before mentioned publications, being the top three most circulated in the country (Beaujon, 2014), were essential for this analysis because of their reach and exposure across America. USA Today, at the time of the analysis distributed over 4.1 million while the Wall Street Journal and New York Times circulated over 2.2 million copies and 2.1 million copies, respectively (Beaujon, 2014).

Once the content analysis was complete, the researcher reviewed the data that was collected. That data was then tallied and percentages were gathered for the number of times each theme was present in a particular article. In essence, the data found in the analysis was used to assess if the frames detected in the 2004 study completed by Bell et al., were still being employed in the coverage of the protests and riots that happened after the deaths of Trayvon

Martin, Michael Brown and Freddie Gray. The researcher also looked for other additional frames that may have been present.

The 'Remote Control' study analyzed newspaper coverage of the 1992 Los Angeles riots and the 2001 Cincinnati riots, thus, finding similar themes in the coverage of unrest in the last three years will be significant. Conversely, finding that there was a decrease in newspapers furthering a delegitimizing narrative would have been significant in lowering, to some extent, the criticisms and mistrust of newspaper coverage. The researcher began writing rough drafts of the final paper by the first week in October.

Expected Results

Simple quantitative data was collected for this study, allowing the historical research and past studies to frame what the researcher expected to find in the newspaper coverage. The anticipation was that there would be some similar language and themes present throughout the publication. To avoid bias as to what the results would be, the researcher asked questions about what the patterns in the content were, keeping in mind that there may not be any of the above mentioned frames present.

Based on additional secondary research and studies that have been completed on the topic, it was expected that there would be remnants of those three criteria present in the content. Yet, it was also anticipated that examples of these frames would not be as plentiful as what the 'Remote Control' study found because of the time that had passed. The researcher assumed that, since the 2004 study, there may have been some progression in the way that newspapers covered riots. Despite this, there was the expectation also that the frames that may be present in the analysis

would be different, thus why the researcher analyzed the content carefully, being sure to stay on guard for updated frames.

Prominence of those negative themes will reflect on journalistic values and bias for the past couple of years and open a door for reflection of how much has changed and if journalists are remaining objective. However, the researcher was open to all types of results in the content analysis. The intention was to investigate how much (or how little) the three most circulated newspapers in the United States enlisted the above three frames to cover riotous reactions to the Trayvon Martin shooting, the death of Michael Brown, and the death of Freddie Gray.

Discussion

Because of the role that mass media play in informing the American public, their duty as watchdogs and journalistic values, removing bias from reporting and coverage of all groups of people is paramount. Past studies have analyzed coverage and chastised the news media for slanted, harmful and stereotypical coverage that furthers the status quo rather than challenging it. Particularly important for this study was criticism of dismissive, negative coverage of social protests and possible downplaying of the validity of rioting as a form of social and political protest. Conducting content analyses have led researchers, historically, to condemn the way that news media cover African American social protests, riots and rallies. If it is found that there is a significant presence of these frames in the coverage of riots since 2012, how much has changed?

The power that the news media have in influencing the public sphere cannot be undermined. Not only has past research shown that mass media tell us what to think about, which is the basis for the agenda setting theory, an offset of that is the theory that news media have the power to

tell us how to think about and view the day's events. This, the theory of framing—which has no concrete founder in reference to communication theory—effects the meaning that we gather from information. Because of this, negative, skewed or biased coverage of incidents involving minorities has the power to further stereotypes of and hostility toward minority groups. Media have the power to control the narrative of an event, through the selection of what they report, what they omit and how they report on events such as protests, rallies and riots by African Americans, viewers of the content then can develop certain attitudes about the events or have their former beliefs about a group of people confirmed because of what the media has outlined to be the important parts of the story. The only way that media professionals can regulate themselves, stay true to their journalistic values and ensure that bias and sensationalism is removed from coverage in the future is to analyze how things have already been covered. Content analysis has proved to be the most effective research tool to garner this type of information.

Results

Based on the analysis that was conducted, and the data collected, there was evidence that the frames proposed by Bell, Campbell, Chidster and Royer were still valid to some extent in the News York Times, Wall Street Journal and USA Today respective coverage of protests and riots after the deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown and Freddie Gray. However, the percentages for existence of the frames differed among publication and greatly differed among the three incidents. It is not the intention to concur that these frames were implemented with sinister motives, further research should be done to explore how purposefully frames are employed.

Major Findings

The association of the words 'race' and riot'

The research shows that not each article studied in the content analysis explicitly highlighted race as a major part of the riots (see Appendices B). Meaning, some journalists wrote that riots occurred after “the killing of an unarmed teenager” rather than explicitly outlining that the teenager was black. Other journalists who did mention race, noted it in the second paragraph of their stories, or even later in the article rather than in the headline or opening paragraph. These instance were not marked as being a theme that went along with this frame.

Data collected showed that 32% of the content analyzed included not only a reference to a black teenager or young man shot by a white officer, but also that the demographics of the protests that occurred after these incidents were conducted by groups of African Americans or in communities where the populations were largely African American.

The mainstream societal classification of blacks as abnormal or a part of “the other” means that it is plausible for readers to take this constant report of the association of riots with the African American race as confirmation of prejudiced beliefs (Bell et al, 2004). Due to the way that race was played up in many of the articles, it is easier to understand why many readers may have negative feelings toward African American unrest, riots and social protest and refuse to acknowledge urban social rebellion by African Americans as viable venues for social change.

Where race was involved, the emphasis was on how the cities in which the riots happened were divided along racial lines, a constant phrase journalists used to explain what the reactions of the communities were, they reported. Of course, this type of reporting is most likely being done without sinister intentions in mind. However, the inadvertent effects are grand and likely, judging

by past studies of media effects on implicit bias and explicit attitudes about African Americans and their reasoning for rioting after an event for which they feel an injustice has occurred.

The framing of riots as intricately connected to race, and exclusively the African American race, makes it easier for readers to doubt the validity of riots as social protest. In the midst of these riots, what has become the most recognizable, polarizing image is that of a young black man in a state of rage (Henninger, 2014). This phenomenon to emphasize the importance of race in situations such as this is reflexive for many journalists because, “this is the only time that people pay attention” (Deggans, 2012). Essentially, the effect of only talking about racial issues on a national level during a crisis and playing up the “racial divide” creates an atmosphere where the general public outside of the group being covered assumes that things are being blown out of proportion and that incidents such as killing of an unarmed African American teenager by a police officer is an isolated, atypical incident, therefore not worthy of the attention and violent reaction that is heavily reported in newspapers and across television screens. Moreover, forming this opposing narrative could be dangerous and create a tendency for the American people to perceive that the opinions of black and white Americans on such incidents are totally opposite one another.

What could be seen as problematic was an article written for USA today after the shooting of black teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. Covering the rise in support for the officer accused of killing Brown, it was explained that “a small, quiet counter post, mostly online, has arisen far from the angry, noisy nightly protests roiling Ferguson” (Toppo, 2014). This remark, the opening sentence of Toppo’s article contributes to the frame by placing the riots calling for

justice and answers to Brown's killing and the demonstrations done in support of the officer who killed him on totally opposite ends of the spectrum.

Since the riots are framed as negative, destructive and without just cause, emphasizing the difference in the way that the officer's supporters rallied, including a video of the event where the demonstrators are white, only adds to the "great racial divide" narrative. Topko does not acknowledge the peaceful protests that occurred along with the riots, nor does he give readers the full context of the Ferguson riots, including that much of the violent riots were fueled by, what rioters and protesters alike explained as, decades long injustices that African Americans were subjected to before the shooting of Michael Brown and the tense relationship that many in the African American community have with the police. On the other hand, New York Times writers Tanzina Vega and John Eligon highlight this context in their own article on the riots in Ferguson, tying them in to the "deep tensions" that have existed there for years.

The authors included quotes from African Americans in the community voicing how they were fed up with the state of policing, something they believed to be an ongoing problem and that the shooting of Michael Brown, "broke the camel's back" (Eligon & Vega, 2014). Further denouncing the negative, racial connotations that come along with insinuating that the riots were being committed by angry African Americans, Eligon and Vega (2014) included a quote from a black resident of Ferguson who declared "[...] some of the white people" were also fed up with the what they believed to be constant police harassment.

Excluding this type of context from his reporting on the "small, quiet demonstrations" for Officer Darren Wilson, the man who shot Michael Brown, while stating that the riots calling for accountability and justice in the name of Brown were "angry, noisy" and "roiling Ferguson"

added to the stereotypical negative frame of the riots. On this point, Bell et al., explained, “because viewers and readers are encouraged to see riots as largely racial events, and because for many readers, the term ‘race’ is synonymous with their conceptualization of ‘Blackness’ (Warren & Twine, 1997), riots become for these readers events that are by, for and about African Americans. It is this cognitive bias that makes it so dangerous for journalists to employ language and support themes that frame riots in a negative way.

Although the content mostly focused on the dynamics between black and white Americans there was some acknowledgment of the perspectives from those who claimed other racial identities. In one of the few examples that was found in the analysis, USA Today surveyed the perspectives of Latinos on the shooting of Michael Brown and the unrest in Missouri that followed it. “To their credit, a coalition of 39 leading Hispanic advocacy organizations issued a statement condemning the excessive use of force by police in Ferguson, calling for a full investigation. Latinos have a stake in Ferguson because we have a stake in ensuring justice for all” (Reyes, 2014).

Riots framed as criminals against authority rather than legitimate call for justice

This frame is pinpointed by the instances where it was implied that the protesters and rioters were rebelling against police and control rather than legitimately angry about the state of affairs for black Americans and police relations with the African American community. The table included in Appendix B outlines the specific data for each publication. 52% of the content in the Wall Street Journal fell under this frame, the most of the three publications. However, each of the three publications included this frame. One journalist, writing for the New York Times, remarked that the atmosphere of the Ferguson unrest after the death of Michael Brown, “conveyed a sense

of no one in charge” (Barry, 2014). This phrase implies that the rioting was inspired by protester’s assumed desires to cause chaos and confusion rather than passionate calls for accountability after what they believed to be an injustice.

In a commentary on the Baltimore riots that occurred after the death of Freddie Gray, protesters were referred to as “lawbreakers” who “want to seize on an excuse to commit crimes” (Riley, 2015). This type of language was seen consistently throughout the Wall Street Journal, including one columnist’s rant that the old “no justice, no peace” declaration had “finally blew into an urban riot” that was not “containable” but actually “anarchy” spilled into the streets (Henninger, 2015). This language, although definitely an outlier compared to the mass of coverage, is the sensationalism that some use to fuel their belief in that riots are not to be respected as a serious form of social protest. The author does not include remarks from African American residents to give background on why they may be angry, nor does he address the systematic and institutional oppression that may have been the last spark that provoked many African Americans to participate in riotous activity.

The coverage in the Wall Street Journal, as was earlier mentioned, overwhelmingly employed this frame the most out of the three publications. However, the rhetoric of riots being a rebellion against authority rather than a legitimate call for justice was not concentrated to only the opinion articles and columns. An article written in reference to the Baltimore riots claimed that the city was “struggling to recover from anti-police riots” (Lee & Barrett, 2015). Another article from the same publication called Ferguson protesters “defiant”, saying that they ignored “law-enforcement officials request to stay off the street after dark” (Dolan & Shallwani, 2014).

However, the same article then went on to note that only “several dozen lingering demonstrators” were being disruptive during an “otherwise largely peaceful protest” (Dolan & Shallwani, 2014). Blaring in the headline that the marchers were defiant completely ignores the fact that only a few dozen people were the ones causing mischief, a tidbit that might be missed by someone looking for destructive coverage to confirm what they already believed about the riots. One would think that since it had been a calmer night in the city, as the authors claimed, that they would not lead with a headline focusing on a small gathering that chose to be disruptive at the end of the night.

Other ways that this frame was enacted was through the tendency of many journalists to include excerpts where the families of the victim call for calm or peace and to remark on the looting and violence that was taking place. In a USA Today piece, Larry Copeland and Yamiche Alcindor (2014) declared that “there are two waves of protesters”, referring to the peaceful protesters and violent rioters. Language such as this plays into what McLeod (2007) declared was the tendency of news media to over exaggerate violence and looting by a section of demonstrators deemed “radical” which leads to an overall casting of the entire event as negative chaos.

Because the framing theory tells us that the way media covers events tells us how to think about them, separating one type of protests action from another treats the atmosphere that the peaceful protesters are *really* the ones interested in accountability and changing things. In an instance, the power of the media professional to delegitimize rioting is enacted. Also, this is an issue more so because of the long history of stereotypes of African Americans as violent, criminal, and destructive. Often, after residents of a city participate in a racially charged riot, “the

assumption by those in power is those instances of civil unrest were hooliganism, not ‘simmering resentment and honest anger’ to oppressive conditions (Bates, 2015).

Riots deemed an illogical response

Thirty-five percent of the content published by USA Today employed this frame. Language similar to a journalist remarking that riots won’t solve anything or including a quote from a resident of the city saying that the riots are senseless make up the criteria for this frame. One USA Today author wrote that they believed one of the most logical ways to bring change was to “end rioting” and then seek[ing] justice and change would surely follow. This delegitimizes rioting by suggesting that rioting is not a practical way to demand justice.

There were also times where journalists included pleas from faith leaders or the deceased person’s family explaining that riots are not what their loved one would have wanted. However, to combat this image, some journalists included excerpts from professors and experts who supported the validity of rioting to protest an injustice. Yamiche Alcindor (2012) explained that the death of Martin “resonated for many who say Martin died because of stereotypes of young black men as violent criminals.” This was a reoccurring theme for many who wanted to justify the tactic of rioting to bring about social change.

An additional characteristic of this frame was the penchant that some journalists had for bringing up the issue of interethnic violence in the black community. The protests after the death of Trayvon Martin inspired one black journalist to reprimand demonstrators because “our culture made it easier for this type of crime to take place” (Williams, 2012). Further, Heather Mac Donald (2012) wrote that “Family breakdown, not white racism, is the biggest impediment

facing blacks today” and that “the national media...don’t show up for thousands of other black-on-black killings each year.” These criticisms allow for doubt to arise in some people’s minds about the legitimacy of rioting after they believe that an injustice has happened. Although personal responsibility is important, a journalist bringing up black on black crime tends to negate any conversation on the socioeconomic issues that lead to crime within the black community and because of news media’s impact on the social order, could further societal criminality of black people. Civil rights attorney and television legal analyst, Lisa Bloom (2014) addressed this criminality of African Americans in her book, “Suspicion Nation: The inside Story of the Trayvon Martin Injustice and Why We Continue to Repeat It”:

Remember Zimmerman’s false syllogism? A few blacks committed burglary, Trayvon was black, therefore Trayvon was a criminal. Similar logic is used daily in the assumptions police and citizens make about African Americans, especially young males. The black-man-as-criminal stereotype runs deep. The archetype is so prevalent that the majority of whites and African Americans agreed with the statement “blacks are aggressive or violent” in a national survey. In support of these findings, other research indicates that the public generally associates violent street crime with African Americans. Other nationwide research has shown that the public perceives that blacks are involved in a greater percentage of violent crime than official statistics indicate they actually are. (Bloom, 2014, pp. 231)

As Bloom (2014) indicated, many times people believe that African Americans commit crimes at greater rates than statistics show they actually do. This fact creates greater imperative for journalists to consider the implications of their reporting. If the majority of whites *and blacks*

believe these fallacies about the criminality of African Americans, media professionals and the mass media influence is partly to blame. Proposing a conversation about a lack of outrage for black-on-black crime during the aftermath of riots about racial injustice, wherein the bulk of participants were black, frames the riotous activity as illogical, possibly diminishing its importance.

In another obstruction of this frame, Yamiche Alcindor (2014) penned a later article to present readers with the perspective that the violent riots may actually spark change, and that other riots before had actually been credited with bringing attention to causes that may have otherwise been ignored. “When protesters burned down a convenience store near where a police officer shot Michael Brown, many condemned it. But experts say the ensuing images on national television could become as much of a catalyst for social change as peaceful protests” (Alcindor, 2014). This determination to deviate from the peaceful protester reaction follows similar responses, including “the 1965 Watts riots in Los Angeles, the 1968 [riots] after the assassination of Martin Luther King and the 1992 [unrest] after the acquittal of police officers on trial for beating Rodney King” (2014) that have been seared in the minds of many Americans. This type of reporting serves as a reminder that not all media cover play into these frames.

Commentary from some analysts has also noted that deeming the riots an illogical form of political and social expression largely ignores the history of rioting in the United States. It is often hard to accurately report on what is going on during a riot. Jack Schneider (2014), believes journalists’ choices and terminology during an event can shape the narrative and influence what happens after it. What a rioter might believe is a justified response might be perceived by readers in a different light because of news media coverage of the event.

For those who lived through them, the so-called riots of the past half century were harrowing events. Those angry -- about their interactions with police; about their daily interactions with bigotry; about their poverty and their limited opportunities -- unleashed their disappointments and their rage. And cities exploded. To many, the violence seemed to come out of nowhere. (Schneider, 2014)

The dilemma that Schneider (2014) described displays the importance of context when covering rioting after racial events. A group that is angry because they believe that a racial justice has occurred and that the injustice is part of a historical pattern deserves to have that context given to readers. Knowledge of this context may avoid providing a narrative to the audience that the riotous activity—looting, violence, and destruction of property—is the reaction to a long and complicated history of the reality of life for many African Americans.

Conclusion

These above-mentioned frames, outlined by Bell et al., are still applicable when applied to a content analysis of contemporary news stories. Ethically, it is imperative for journalism professionals to minimize harm, report accurately, and seek truth and report it. The burden of the journalist is to ensure that their reporting does not represent subjects out of context and without regard for correctly representing all sides of an event (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). The problem lies where a community of people feel that journalists are not representing them in an accurate, fair light. How news media frame racial realities in their coverage plays a role in the way that the events are perceived because the news media are where majority of people learn about the day's events.

Entman (1993) explained that “to frame is to select to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Framing theory tells us that, in essence, whichever way news media cover stories may greatly influences the way that audiences and readers see them. For this specific study, the theory of framing would mean that because the protests after the death of Trayvon Martin, the Ferguson riots and the unrest in Baltimore were all largely framed as criminal, illogical, and centered on African Americans, those are the frames that readers were given to view and process the incidents though.

To use the phrase frame in a literal sense, the frames are what we put on to view what the media is telling us is important. For a reader, coming across a front page news story is how the news media sets the agenda for what *is* important. However, the language that is used in the story, and the quotes that reinforce that language is the frame, where we garner our ideas for what the story means, how we absorb and interpret them. The frame influences how we see the material, thus different frames produce different interpretations.

Before beginning the research, it was asked if the frames described by Bell et al., in their study would still be found in newspaper content covering riots and protests of the last three years. While conducting the analysis, the researcher discovered that, to some extent, all three frames were used in the material. The researcher found that the frames Bell et al., used were in fact reinforced. Furthermore, it is clear that the frames are negative and many times, albeit possibly inadvertently, perpetuate the negative stereotypes of African Americans as being violent, senseless and irrational and criminals.

Interpretations of the Results

It is the understanding of the researcher that the results show that the frames to delegitimize rioting as sustainable social protests are still being used to some extent in mass media news reporting. It is not the objective of the researcher to imply that these findings show proof of journalists' purposefully characterizing riots in an undesirable light. Still, these findings show that there is still work to be done in the area of reporting on situations involving minority groups. The power, influence and reach of news media call for context, accuracy and non-sensational framing when reporting.

With the help of a panel of academics conducting the analysis, it is possible that this research can apply generally to the newspaper industry. The results are not an implication that the media inherently made attempts to frame riots in negative ways. On the contrary, the data collected shows that what journalists choose to add or what they choose to omit can have indeed have an effect on the frame of the event.

Potential Implications

This study in no way intends to paint a broad stroke over the way that all coverage framed riots. It instead, was used as a tool of research to investigate the patterns of reporting that follow the aforementioned frames. Of course, it was to be expected that not every article would employ negative frames or cover the riots and protests in a destructive light. It was also expected that there would be some language, rhetoric, and selection of quotes that did support the above outlined frames. Judging from the data that shows, to a certain extent, riots are still being framed in relevance to race, as rebellion against authority rather than serious calls for justice and as

illogical for creating social and political change, there is still work to be done in the field of journalism to eradicate the propensity to frame African American riots as negative, destructive and fruitless.

Since the frames that we view social protests through are largely constructed by what news coverage chooses are the important aspects of the story, journalists must choose their techniques wisely. If the desire to get the highest ratings comes at the cost of waning journalistic values, what does that say about the integrity of the industry? This question is especially important when the three most circulated newspapers in the country are still found to frame certain things negatively. It is the burden of the journalist to find the balance between accurately reporting an incident while providing enough perspective as so to not perpetuate stereotypical social beliefs. What is important to remember is that because race related issues are largely only sporadically covered on an everyday basis, when the majority of the stories seem to be framed negatively, this may affect the way that members of a community are perceived on an everyday basis.

Limitations of the study

The data collected was largely interpreted based on the researchers set standards for what meant that a word, phrase or theme fell under a particular frame. The researcher was focused more on language that reinforced frames rather than numerical data on how often a particular word or phrase appeared. This study leaves room for more research in the area.

In addition, future studies related to this would benefit greatly from interpretation of the media content by a panel of analysts rather than an independent researcher, which was done here. Content analyses similar to this, done by panels of academics instead of one person are less

likely to produce results that may have been influenced by any personal inherent bias that may exist. The researcher who conducted this study acknowledges that because of the magnitude of the study, the potential implications of the results, and the importance of the topic, additional analysts may have produced more pure results and may have been a more appropriate method of study. Also, more research should be done on the exact effects sensational frames have on public opinion of rioting and social protests. A focus group and survey of audiences viewing the material could allow for deeper understanding of how readers receive these frame and how conscious they are about the frames that journalists create.

Researcher's Reflection

This process proved to be one of the hardest things that I've ever undertaken. There were many sleepless nights, tears, and regrets for choosing the topic. However, there were also some moments of joy, pride, and relief. In the end, I believe that I've done something that I can be proud of. I hope that it starts a good conversation. I hope that it brings about some reflection on what work still needs to be done in the field of journalism when covering minority groups and the issues that affect people of color.

Thinking back on when I first started this, it makes me a little emotional. All I wanted was to do something to bring awareness and consciousness to the way that African Americans are covered in news media. I attempted to remove all biases and believe that I did a pretty good job of that. Being someone who actively pays attention to and participates in the news field, I did not believe that all of the coverage would be negative. But, how can we expect to truly change the narratives that have historically haunted the journalism industry if we do not analyze what is being done now and make sure we are not repeating the same mistakes? I tried my best. Peace.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Data Collection of Instances Frames Were Used to Cover Rioting

Publication	Frame Category	Amount of content that supported the frame
	<i>Linked race and racial identity</i>	
USA Today	20*/63**	~32%
Wall Street Journal	27/50	54%
New York Times	27/71	38%
	<i>Riots were influenced by criminals rather than call for justice</i>	
USA Today	13/63	~21%
Wall Street Journal	26/50	52%
New York Times	31/71	44%
	<i>Implied rioting was an illogical response</i>	
USA Today	22/63	~35%
Wall Street Journal	20/50	40%
New York Times	17/71	~24%
Total		

*Total number of instances the material from that publication was found to fall under a frame

**Total number of articles that were used from that publication

Top Circulated Newspapers in U.S.A

Themes: Modeled after 'Remote Control' study

Link between race & riots

Riots a reaction of criminals rather for justice

Framed as ideological event

USA Today

21 Trayvon M.
25 Michael B.
17 Freddie G.

||||| 1 (11)**
||||| 5 (5)
||||| 4 (4)

1 1 (1)
|| 2 (2)
||||| 10 (10)

||||| 5 (5)
||||| 11 (8)
||||| 9 (9)

Wall Street Journal

20 Trayvon M.
25 Michael B.
19 Freddie G.

||| 3 (3)
||||| 11 (11)
||||| 13 (13)

1 1 (1)
||||| 11 (11)
||||| 14 (14)

||||| 4 (4)
||||| 11 (7)
||||| 9 (9)

New York Times

21 Trayvon M.
25 Michael B.
25 Freddie G.

||||| 6 (6)
||||| 10 (10)
||||| 11 (11)

|| 2 (2)
||||| 14 (14)
||||| 15 (15)

|| 2 (2)
||||| 11 (7)
||||| 8 (8)

*Number of articles found
**Amount of times language or a theme supporting one of the three frames was found in the content (numbers in parentheses)

Appendix C

11/4/2015

Chaos in Baltimore - WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

This copy is for your personal, non-commercial use only. To order presentation-ready copies for distribution to your colleagues, clients or customers visit <http://www.djrcprints.com>.

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/chaos-in-baltimore-1430217825>

OPINION | REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Chaos in Baltimore

The city failed to protect its citizens from rampaging youths.

* Add to the results section about authority / justice



A man throws a wood board at police on April 27, 2015 in Baltimore, Maryland PHOTO: AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

April 28, 2015 6:43 a.m. ET

The breakdown of social order in Baltimore on Monday afternoon and into the night is first and foremost a warning about the failure of public institutions to meet their most basic obligations. A government that can't protect its citizens from rampaging gangs has betrayed its main reason for existence.

The rioting began after the funeral of Freddie Gray, the 25-year-old man who died of a spinal cord injury in police custody, but that is no excuse. That incident is being investigated and the police involved are on administrative leave. Packs of young men used the funeral as an excuse for looting stores, setting fires, and attacking police who were supposed to maintain order. The number of police was clearly inadequate to the task, and some 15 of them were injured as they retreated amid a barrage of rocks and concrete.

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/chaos-in-baltimore-1430217825>

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Appendices D

10/13/2016

1137 of 2490 DOCUMENTS

- presented both sides of looters and those who were against

USA TODAY

August 29, 2014 Friday FINAL EDITION

- Also shows that not every protestor was looting (some blocked doors)
- Goes against "illegal" frame

History may be on Ferguson's side; Images of violence could have lasting effect like the '60s

BYLINE: Yamiche Alcindor, USA TODAY

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3A

LENGTH: 426 words

* Article allows reader to get perspective that violent riots may actually spark change.

When protesters burned down a convenience store near where a police officer fatally shot Michael Brown, many condemned it. But experts say the ensuing images on national television could become as much of a catalyst for social change as peaceful protests.

Ferguson is the latest flashpoint of civil unrest in U.S. history that has caught the national spotlight, along with the 1965 Watts Riots in Los Angeles, the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King and the 1992 acquittal of police officers on trial for beating Rodney King.

"It may be a challenge to see these primarily young males and females rioting and looting as part of protest, but it is," said Priscilla Dowden-White, a history professor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. "You are talking about people who are living at or below the poverty line. You are talking about people who are the products of failing schools, and so I look at the looting as part of survival."

Brown, an unarmed African-American teenager, was fatally shot Aug. 9 after a Ferguson police officer, Daron Wilson, stopped him for walking in the middle of a local street.

In the days that followed, police officers using military-grade weapons, assault vehicles and tear gas repeatedly clashed with crowds of angry citizens in this St. Louis suburb.

Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon and Hillary Rodham Clinton both commented that the town looked like a "war zone." But Ferguson's looting created conversations that likely would not have happened if only prayer vigils and other normal responses had happened, Dowden-White said.

war zone - compare to Iraq, etc.

Civil disobedience through vandalism and theft created change after other periods of unrest despite that non-violent protests of the 1960s have been largely credited with successes, according to experts.

"The looters, the robbers, the chanters, the non-violent protests, the sign-making... all of it has value because it wouldn't be international if it wasn't for the looters," said Amari Sneferu, 54, of St. Louis. "There was a guy who came out of a store with one hubcap left. One. He can't drive or put that on his car. But he just wanted to take something. ... That was his expression of outrage because a murderer is getting away with it."

* Some protesters created human barriers to stop people from going into stores. Christopher S. Miller and Maurice-Lai Millere, 41, of Washington, D.C., both stood outside businesses to keep others out.

"It's selfish," said Millere, an adviser with the New Black Panther Party. "I protected it because..."

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Appendix E

1/14/2015

Demonstrators Remain Defiant During Calmer Night In Ferguson - WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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<http://www.wsj.com/articles/ferguson-demonstrators-defy-police-1408506158>

U.S.

Demonstrators Remain Defiant During Calmer Night in Ferguson

Marchers Ignore Request to Stay Off the Streets After Dark

By MATTHEW DOLAN And PERVAIZ SHALLWANI

Updated Aug. 20, 2014 9:22 a.m. ET

FERGUSON, Mo.— This strife-torn city prepares for the visit of Attorney General Eric Holder Wednesday after a night of comparative calm in the wake of more violent protests over the police shooting of an unarmed teenager.

However, protesters marched Tuesday night, defying law-enforcement officials' request to stay off the streets after dark. A violent outburst from several dozen lingering demonstrators in the early hours of the morning marred what was otherwise a largely peaceful protest, bringing a swift police response.

At a news conference at 2 a.m. Wednesday, police said they had made 47 arrests over the course of the day and night.

A brief standoff just before 1 a.m. local time Wednesday at McDonald's appeared to end when officers cleared a final block near the burned out Ferguson Market and Liquor store, the site of looting last week.

"Leave the area immediately!" a law-enforcement official said to the crowd. The official, speaking from an armored vehicle on West Florissant Avenue, added: "Media get out of our way. We're trying to do a job."

Several agitated demonstrators attempted to use a huge press corps in their approved staging area as a human shield at the end of the night, complicating the police effort to clear the streets at the protest's apparent end.

Most marching finished around 11:30 p.m., and clergy members thanked those gathered

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/ferguson-demonstrators-defy-police-1408506158>

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* Instead of focusing on peaceful protests, they wrote entire article

Police vs criminals frame (2)

on "a few dozen" who stayed out after dark