PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE CONDUCT: MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE FERGUSON CONFLICT

by

Durrell T. Quarles
A Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
and the University of Malta
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Science
Conflict Analysis and Resolution
Master of Arts
Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security

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Date:  ________________________________________ Fall Semester 2015
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
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Perceptions of Police Conduct: Media Coverage of the Ferguson Conflict

A Thesis/Dissertation/Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science from George Mason University and Master of Arts from the University of Malta.

by

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University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), 2013

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Fall Semester 2015
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to all of the unarmed African Americans that have been killed by the police forces across the United States of America and their survived families.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many friends, relatives, and supporters who have made this possible. To my graduate classmates who continually inspired and pushed me throughout the year, thank you! To my Aunty Marie, your love and support has been a blessing that I will never forget or take for granted (P.S. Rock Solid). To my saint of a mother, despite my hard work and aspirations of becoming educated, I am at a lose for words as to express my absolute gratitude for all of the love and unflinching support you have always provided for me. Without you, none of this would be possible. Thank you for sacrificing to allow me to chase my wildest dreams!
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ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE CONDUCT: MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE FERGUSON CONFLICT

Durrell T. Quarles, M.S./M.A.

George Mason University, 2015

Thesis/Dissertation/Project Director: Dr. Julie Shedd

This thesis describes the framing and sequencing tendencies of the mass media and chronicles the implementation and usages of the framing and sequencing theories by the New York Times and the Washington Post at three key intervals throughout the Ferguson conflict; the death of Michael Brown, the Grand Jury’s decision, and the resignation of Police Chief Jackson. In the process of researching and writing this thesis, the author coded all of the articles published, by the two media sources, one week after each key event were coded in an effort to decipher a pattern of framing and sequencing tendencies.
On Saturday August 9th, 2014 an unarmed African American teenager, Michael Brown, was walking home from a convenience store with a friend. A police officer in the area, Darren Wilson, saw Michael Brown and his friend jaywalking and called them over. The ensuing altercation became highly controversial as numerous witnesses came forward, each with a different memory of transpiring events. The only solidarity in the conflicting witness' accounts was that Officer Wilson had shot (at least six times and twice in the head) and killed Michael Brown. Some of the witnesses and Officer Wilson said that Officer Wilson was forced to shoot Michael Brown out of self defense, while others (Michael Brown's friend being among them) said that Michael Brown was attempting to surrender and had his hands in the air. The events in Ferguson were by no means an isolated incident between the police in the United States of America and an unarmed African American; Rodney King in the 1990's in Los Angeles, John Crawford III in Ohio, Kendrec McDade in Pasadena, Sean Bell in New York, and Eric Garner also in New York are just a few other casualties in the living memory of the African American community, with all of the aforementioned dying at the hands of police in 2014 (besides the beating of Rodney King in the 90's). The African American community's cries for justice would go unheeded as Officer Darren Wilson was exonerated from any wrongdoing, as a grand jury decided to not indict Officer Wilson on November 24th,
2014. Protesting, and in some cases violent rioting, consumed the town of Ferguson for many months and normal life came to a standstill as the nation's attention was focused on Ferguson. For months, the Ferguson conflict was on the front page of every newspaper in the country and was the lead story for television news. This dissertation will seek to highlight the framing and sequencing tactics of the mass media at a few key points throughout the Ferguson conflict in an effort to better understand the medias representation of the altercation between Officer Darren Wilson and Michael Brown. The sequencing and framing tendencies employed by the media, may have favored the police and portrayed the uses of force as necessary while framing Michael Brown as a violent criminal. The framing influences of the media have long been studied in academia and their effects have been researched for many years. If there was negative framing of the African American community or Michael Brown and if there was positive framing of the uses of force and Officer Wilson, presented by the mass media, that may contribute to the negative perceptions of the African American community and may have persuaded the general public to interpret the events as being the just use of force.

*Problem Statement:* As the nation’s ethnic diversity continues to grow, the historical interactions between ethnic groups and state institutions is becoming more prominent in current discourses. Today, an increasing number of ethnic groups regularly claim racial profiling, discriminatory practices, as well as excessive uses of force by state institutions. How does the media frame the police's use of force in the shooting of an unarmed African American teenager in Ferguson, Missouri?

*Broader Impacts:*
This study has broader impacts on two main areas: 1) Through an in-depth study of the sequencing and framing by various media outlets during the Ferguson conflict, this research can make a contribution to promote a change in the biased media portrayal of events, procedures and practices. 2) The nation's growing diversity has implications for future violent conflicts between cultural identity groups and state institutions. This research will contribute to an understanding of how police actions are presented and how transformative practices may contribute to establishing a lasting peace that will facilitate the role of the peacekeeping state institutions.

Existing Research:

Police brutality heightening White Sensitivity

The researchers; Lee Sigelman, Susan Welch, Timothy Bledsoe, and Michael Combs, analyzed perceptions of the way local police treat African Americans in Los Angeles and in Detroit in 1991 and 1992, respectively. The researchers conducted surveys in both cities which had incidents that achieved international fame, with police officers beating Rodney King in Los Angeles and then beating Malice Green to death in Detroit, during the administration of the researcher's surveys. The unfortunate incidents provided the researchers with a unique opportunity to see how the community reacted to police brutality. The researcher's data, pre-incident (for both cities), found a marked gap between how Whites perceived police discrimination and in how the African American community perceived the discriminatory practices of the police (Sigelman, et al., pp. 783). This racial divide would only grow post-incident, as African Americans foresaw the possibility of such an occurrence and immediately interpreted the police actions as
racial discrimination and as excessive uses of force. While the White community denied the possibility that such an occurrence was likely in their hometown and saw the conflict as an issue-specific conflict. The researchers found that sympathies for racial discrimination in Los Angeles, after the Rodney King beating, declined on a weekly basis (Ibid, pp. 786). The Los Angeles survey was conducted over a three month time period with the Rodney King beating occurring in the second month of the administration of the researchers' survey. The initial week after the beating saw the White population respond to the survey in a very similar manner to African Americans, with cries of outrage over discriminatory practices and excessive uses of power, but this sympathetic view lessened with each passing week (Ibid, pp. 787). With the White respondents the fifth week, after the beating, returning to almost pre-incident level answers. The researchers concluded that White respondents were more likely to isolate the incidents and treated them outside the historical context of discrimination against African Americans. While the African American community was more likely to generalize the incidents and saw the incidents as reinforcing their existing perceptions of past racial injustices (Ibid, pp. 788).

The African American community in Ferguson may be generalizing the Michael Brown incident in their staunch categorization of the conflict as an example of racial injustice. While the White community may be isolating the conflict between Michael Brown and Officer Darren Wilson and treating it outside of the historical context of discrimination against African Americans. The manner in which the mass media is sequencing and framing the conflict influences the interpretations of viewers/readers.

*Techniques of Denial Towards Excessive Use of Force*
The researcher, Efrat Shoham, in the article *Techniques of Denial towards Excessive Use of Force by the Police among Israeli Talkbacks*, studied the interpretation of uses of force by the Israeli police forces over two ambiguous events and how the uses of force were classified by 'talkbacks'. 'Talkbacks' are civilians who comment online to articles, videos, or postings. Analyzing the attitudes towards the use of force by police officers, the research showed that the main determining factors influencing perceptions were based on the denial of responsibility and on the denial of the victim. The responses to two events were analyzed, “The Avenging Police Officers” in July 2006 in Israel and “The Kicking Officer” on July 2, 2012, also in Israel. “The Avenging Police Officers” was a court case in 2009 (over the events in 2006) in which police officers laid explosives in the house and car of Michael Mor, the head of a crime organization whose henchmen had been suspected of throwing grenades into the houses of several police officers. The police officers' claim that they were acting out of self-defense was denied by the judge and five of them were sentenced to one year in prison with an additional year of probation. The initial response was shock and comprehensive condemnation of the Avenging Officers' actions which led to criticism of the police high command and their lack of support shown to the officers prior to their actions. The President officially pardoned the Avenging Officers after a third of their sentence was served and they were released on April 2011. Of the 255 analyzed comments, 99 comments (38%) of the online talkbacks denied the responsibility of the police officers. The main reason the online talkbacks maintained for the officers' violent behavior was the dysfunction of the law-enforcement system. “The officers are presented as good, normative people who
‘...devoted themselves to war against crime and did not receive the assistance and protection they were entitled to’’. The actions of the officers was justified as being a last resort despite the illegal and radical nature of their actions. The research showed a second substantial category of talkback responses that justified the officers actions, the denial of the victim, which included 55 (21.5%) comments that viewed the police officers as men acting out of the need to fight criminals and put them and their families out of danger. The denial of the victim category was explained by the narrative of “they had no choice... someone had to take care of them... the police did not defend them against these criminals... the officers reached a point where they couldn't function since they were so worried about their families... police officers' negligence is a common matter”. The denial of the victim category shifted who “the victim” was in the story, taking it from the man who was actually attacked and had explosives planted in his house and car to the police officers who were victimized from the system and lack of support and had to act “accordingly”. The research shows that sixty percent (60%) of the talkbacks supported the “Avenging Police Officers” and exhibited understanding of the circumstances that led the officers to plant explosive devices in the house and car of Michael Mor. The research showed forty percent (40%) of the talkback responses did condemn the actions of the officers, with a large rhetoric of “criminals in blue, murderers, and deserved prison sentences” being repeated. Some of them did acknowledge the shortcomings of the police department (for lack of support) but they were unwilling to deny the officers responsibility for their actions or the dangerous criminal interpretation of laying explosive devices in civilians' houses and vehicles.
“The Kicking Officer” was based on an electronic newspaper, “Ha'aretz”, publishing an article regarding a recorded video of an Israeli officer kicking a young Palestinian child who had been walking to his house. The two minute long video showed a child running in front of an Israeli border crossing when a BG policeman steps out, grabs him, and starts yelling at the child. The child begins to cry and call out for his mother when another BG officer steps out from the post cabin, kicks the boy, and promptly returns the post cabin. The child later tells the cameraman that he was merely trying to take a shortcut to his house. There were 109 total comments analyzed by the researcher and they were grouped into nine main categories: 1 Distrust in the video authenticity or its order of events (28/109 votes, 25.6%); 2 Minimization of the Childs kicking incident (25/109 votes, 23%); 3 “It's a daily routine” (17/109 votes, 16%); 4 Blaming the reporter (13/109 votes, 12%); 5 “A kicks a kick” (10/109 votes, 9%); 6 “Problem is the lefties” (6/109 votes, 5.5%); 7 “True story of living danger” (4/109 votes, 3.6%); 8 The problem is the nature of the border guard police force (3/109 votes, 2.7%); and 9 The problem is with the Occupation or the Settlers (3/109 votes, 2.7%). The newspaper research allotted a “for/against” section for each comment, in which the viewers were allowed to note whether they were for or against each comment. There was a total of 1840 “for/against” votes marked by viewers next to the verbal comments. For category #1 (Distrust in the video authenticity or its order of events) there was 429 readers referring to this category, with 298 (69%) supporting the exhibition of distrust towards the violence, while 131 (31%) objected to it. For category #2 (Minimization of the Childs kicking incident) there was 242 readers referring to this category, with 129
(60.5%) agreeing with the minimization of the damage attributed to the kick, and 113 (39.5%) objecting to it. For category #3 (It's a daily routine) there was 238 readers referring to this category, with 176 (74%) agreeing that this was a common occurrence, and 62 (26%) disagreeing that it was a common and daily routine. For category #4 (Blaming the reporter) there was 155 readers referring to this category, with 67 (43%) supporting these comments and 88 (56%) objecting to them. For category #5 (“A kicks a kick”) there was 186 readers referring to this category, with 109 (58.6%) supporting such comments and 77 (71.4) voting against them. For category #6 (“The problem is all the Lefties”) there was 150 readers referring to this category with 55 (36.6%) voting that these comments represented their own opinions, while 95 (63.4%) objected to these comments. For category #7 (“True story of living danger) there was 59 readers referring to this category, with 27 (46%) supporting these comments and 32 (54%) disagreeing with them. For category #8 (The problem is the nature of the border guard police force) there was 193 readers referring to this category, with 131 (67.8%) of readers supporting these statements while 62 (32.2%) voted against it. For category #9 (The problem is with the occupation or the settlers) there was 78 readers referring to this category; 53 (68%) of readers voted that they agreed with this statement while 25 (32%) voted against it.

All nine categories of Efrat Shoham's research (2012) for the second key event, “The Kicking Officer”, fall in either the 'denial of responsibility' or 'denial of the victim' categories that can be used to justify uses of force. With the majority of the talkback responses agreeing that an officer stepping out and kicking a young child was acceptable or not a big deal. The tensions between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples
have been well documented and the prolonged conflict has caused many casualties, for both sides. The tensions between the two identity groups may help to explain the expeditious dismissal of the calls for injustice, for the Kicking Officer incident, that perhaps would not have been taken so lightly if prevailing circumstances were not so dire.

This research will study the manner in which the media portrayed the uses of force by Officer Darren Wilson against Michael Brown, paying specific attention to how the framing and sequencing tendencies may have promoted either a denial of responsibility or a denial of victim pattern. Special attention will be paid to discover who is presented as the victim and the sequencing of events presented to the public through the two media outlets being studied to discover if the media is justifying the uses of force and sharing such an understanding with the general public, effectively excusing Officer Wilson from any wrongdoing. Any attempts to deny the responsibility of Officer Wilson would include (but are not limited to): trivializing the altercation; claiming self-defense; blaming the police department for lack of resources (manpower, technology, weaponry, etc.), preparation, or training; seeing the altercation as commonplace; stating that the officer was just doing his job; or that Officer Wilson had no other choice. Any attempts to deny the victim (for research purposes the victim will be seen as Michael Brown, as he was the one who was fatally shot) may include (but are not limited to): describing Michael Brown's earlier unrelated criminal activity in the day, or previously; omitting the fact that Michael Brown was a teenager; describing Michael Brown as violent or
deserving of the use of force; and focusing solely on the pro-police witness accounts and not all of the conflicting witness accounts.

*Media Frames Defining the Police and Protesters as Social Problems*

Schulenberg and Chenier (2014) studied the protests around the 2010 G20 Summit in Toronto, focusing on the manner in which the mainstream corporate print media framed the uses of force by the police, the protesters, and the events surrounding the summit. Their research contributes to the ongoing study of police-media relations. Police legitimacy has long been researched as a function of police-media relations. There is generally a discrepancy between what can actually occur and public expectations of the police, attributed to the limitations and nature of the job (Chermak and Weiss, 2005). The police are not only accountable to the public but also to other stakeholders and political agents, with a variety of expectations (Chermak and Weiss, 2005). To maintain their legitimate monopoly over violence in the face of competing expectations, they need to develop and maintain a relationship with the public so that their work is viewed as necessary and effective (Lee and McGovern, 2013). Huey and Broll (2012) argue that mass media images are a source of police information for the public, and these images, indeed, help to enhance the legitimacy of the police. Increasingly, police organizations are utilizing relations with the media to help build and boost public support for their activities (Motschall and Cao, 2002). Professionalized public information or media relations units are becoming implemented more routinely by many police organizations (Chermak and Weiss, 2005; Motschall and Cao, 2002).
A significant portion of news stories are crime stories, and reporters rely heavily on police sources for any information (Chermak and Weiss, 2005). There is an asymmetrical relationship between the media and the police, as research shows (Lee and McGovern, 2013). The police, often with the assistance of professional media units, release the information to the media, so they are in control of what message or information is provided. In this manner, the police are the gatekeepers for the information. The police may reveal information in a timely manner that they know will benefit their image, operations, or legitimacy (Huey and Broll, 2012; Sacco, 1995).

Becker (1967) discusses the hierarchy of credibility as a framework for ascertaining who gets to define reality, what the truth is, and how things are, based on the principle that the highest ranking groups have the privilege to interpret and define events. The hierarchy of credibility is used (by researchers) to argue that the system does not allow for other stakeholders' perceptions of crime or for challenges to police (Zajko and Beland, 2008). Law enforcement and politicians are designated as primary and official definers of crime by journalists, as media reliance on police sources stipulates. Eyewitnesses or academics are rarely included in event coverage as they are considered secondary definers. By publicly promoting its institutional objectives, needs, and understandings of appropriate solutions and responses, and by privileging its definitions of crime, the hierarchy benefits law enforcement (Sacco, 1995).

This research will not specifically delve into the hierarchy of credibility but it is important to note the relationship between the police and the media while analyzing the manner in which the media framed and sequenced the uses of force in
relation to an officer related shooting. The police's influence over the media has long been researched and is understood as beneficial for police organizations due to the asymmetrical nature of the relationship. The Ferguson police department may have released information that was understood to be beneficial for a pro-police understanding of events and their refusal to release the name of Officer Darren Wilson to the public very well may have initiated the violent rioting that ensued.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter details the theoretical justification for this study including the media effects research in the areas of sequencing and framing.

Sequencing

Details describing the circumstances, perpetrator, and the victim can influence how an audience comprehends a violent act. Karen Cerulo's research, analyzing the semantic format of a newspaper account, developed a framework to compare the format with morale messages. Cerulo identified war violence, sports, self-defense, and natural disasters as examples of normal violence. Comparatively, she identified terrorism, assault, criminal murder, and racial attacks as examples of deviant violence (Cerulo, 1998, p. 49). The magnitude of force used by the perpetrators, as well as the intentions of the perpetrators, are factors in the definition of events as either normal or deviant. Motivations involved in redressing injustice are less likely to be labelled deviant than personal gain motivations (Cerulo, 1998, p. 20). The media controls many of the variables that influence how violence is perceived because the media serve as the filter for the content of the reports. Following Cerulo's logic, accounts that focus on the altercation between Michael Brown and Officer Darren Wilson as a mechanism to rectify an injustice (e.g., articles that focus on Michael Brown's previous actions on the day he was killed) or defend against an actual threat or a perceived threat would cause an act to
be considered less “evil” than accounts that fail to mention these motivations. An act that
media accounts emphasize as a means to achieve political or economic control would
cause an act to be considered more “evil”. This study examines this variable by coding
the presence of different themes of motivation in the media accounts of the death of
Michael Brown to the public.

The context of an event is also significant. The characteristics of the victim, the
consequences of the attack, and the circumstances that exasperated the event all serve to
provide cues for defining violence (Cerulo, 1998, pp.15-29). The identity of the victim
and the victim's characteristics can influence the social discourse that an attack activates.
An attack against a police officer activates a discourse of self-defense and implies
legitimate violence. Deviant violence or illegitimate discourses are activated for attacks
against innocent victims.

A reporter passes on to the audience their understanding of the legitimacy of
violence through the mechanism of ordering information (Cerulo, 1998). She found that
the sequences of the accounts of violence as not being random. “Rather, strong cultural
conventions- conventions linked to narrators' perceptions of audience morality- lead story
tellers to systematically invoke particular sequences at different times” (Cerulo, 1998, p. 6).
These conventions are not conscious; each account was unique for the journalists that
reported to Cerulo. However, she found, that there were consistent, distinct ways in
which justifiable acts, unacceptable acts, and ambiguous acts of violence were
characterized (Cerulo, 1998, p. 6). Who the journalists open the story with, and whose
lenses the rest of the story will be portrayed through is essential.
The characteristics of those whom violence strikes are prioritized through victim sequencing (Cerulo, 1998). Deviant violence was, in Cerulo's study, commonly associated with victim sequencing. The violent act is viewed through the eyes of the victim (Cerulo, 1998, p. 40). The reader enters the story from the perspective of the victim; with information about the perpetrator not being presented until later. Cerulo contends that the moral message being diffused to the reader is that the violence was illegitimate.

Performer sequences prioritize information about the violent actor by presenting the event through their eyes (Cerulo, 1998, pp. 42-43). Justifiable or normal violence are associated with performer sequences. Cerulo argues that having a dissonance between structure and content would be interpreted as ambiguity about the legitimacy of the violence. A story that focuses the reader's attention on the setting or the circumstances of the event is a contextual sequence (Cerulo, 1998, p. 47).

Placing the performer as both perpetrator and victim by focusing on the current event as well as past victimization is categorized as double casting sequences. (Cerulo, 1998, p. 50) Ambiguous violence correlates with the contextual or double-casting sequences. Cerulo (1998) showed that the sequences were routinely applied to various types of violence. The “deviant” violent acts, criminal murder and criminal assault, were recognized more than three-quarters of the time in victim sequences. “Normal” violence—natural disasters, self-defense, capital punishment—was overwhelmingly presented with performer sequencing. Double-casting or contextual sequencing was found to reliably portray the more ambiguous events. (Cerulo, 1998, p. 49) Cerulo ascertained that the
sequencing of the presentation was a function of the moral judgment that the storyteller had made about the legitimacy of the violence. When it came to racial attacks or terrorism, which she defined as deviant, the pattern itself was more ambiguous. Racial attacks were presented equally in performer sequences and double-casting sequences but never presented in victim sequences (see below). This means that almost half of the time, racial attacks are presented in the style of legitimate violence, and are, at best, presented as ambiguous violence. It also indicates that racial attacks have the unique ability to force media focus on the perpetrators of violence as opposed to the victims. The unique ability of racial attacks to provide focus on the perpetrators may be a factor that allows racial attacks to occur so frequently.

Table 1: Story sequences broken down by violence type and theme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence Type</th>
<th>Victim</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Double casting</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deviant Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Assault</td>
<td>75% (6)</td>
<td>25% (2)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Murder</td>
<td>90% (18)</td>
<td>10% (2)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Attacks</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>50% (4)</td>
<td>50% (4)</td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>58% (9)</td>
<td>42% (7)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital Punishment</td>
<td>17% (1)</td>
<td>83% (5)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figurative Violence</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (7)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Disaster</td>
<td>14% (2)</td>
<td>86% (12)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting/Self-Defense</td>
<td>12% (1)</td>
<td>88% (7)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wartime Violence</td>
<td>--- (0)</td>
<td>67% (6)</td>
<td>33% (3)</td>
<td>100% (9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The theme and sequence of media accounts of events matters because it provides cues to the audience regarding the moral standing of the action. The content or sequence of the media accounts of “the facts” can impact the public's perception of the event. Variances in media accounts can activate different social discourses about an event. Cerulo's categorization of normal, deviant, or ambiguous violence hint at these discourses. Acceptable or normal violence indicates a social discourse that acts of violence are sanctioned by society (violent sports, warfare, and self-defense) and do not need to be punished as crimes. The perpetrators of those acts of violence are not morally accountable for their actions and have not broken any laws. Actions that fall within the social discourse of normal violence lead to very light sentences or a lack of punishment. Acts that activate a social discourse of deviant violence that fall outside of the acceptable range of behavior for a society (unprovoked violence, coercive violence, murders) are sentenced more harshly within the criminal justice system. As well as the actions themselves being considered monstrous, the people committing them are often seen as possessing some characteristic or characteristics that makes them abnormal people. Ambiguous violence activates both discourses and is not just the gray area in between.
An individual can be categorized as abnormal when circumstances indicate that the individual is a habitual offender and a discourse of abnormal violence is activated.

*Framing*

Framing research also lends considerable weight to our understanding of media coverage of racial attacks and portrayals of uses of force by the police. The media organization of the journalist must chose how to cover an event once it has been deemed worthy of coverage. The cultural norms and patterns influence the type of coverage an event will receive. Framing provides the audience with a framework to identify the issues and provides a culturally relevant tool for organizing the content of the media coverage for the audience. The concept of 'framing' is not a new concept, although scholars and academics have different interpretations of what framing actually is. Tankard et al. have described a media frame as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration”. (Tankard, et al., 1991, p. 3) Entman argues that “to frame is 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.” (Entman, 1993, p. 52) Mass media and the major news media outlets are becoming more and more polarized today with the general public turning predominantly towards mass media to get the information they need to make informed political decisions. (Entman, 2004) Framing has an increasing role in determining public awareness and public perceptions on issues. The
language, metaphors, symbols, keywords, images, and concepts all contribute to the framing of an issue or story and together codify a particular theme over time. (Kuypers, 2002, p. 6) The manner in which issues or even individuals are presented can significantly affect the perceptions and attitudes towards them, with the initial framing or theme of an issue often being repeated by the various news outlets. “Frames represent stereotypes, which slot particular events into broader interpretive categories that may or may not be appropriate. Because news frames can be expected to reflect broader social norms, political minorities challenging the dominant culture are likely to prove most critical of such treatment.” (Norris, 1995, p. 358) The concept of framing paradoxically questions the non biased perceptions of media. In framing an issue or an individual, certain aspects of the story are highlighted and others are excluded. The framing of an issue or an individual directly affects the manner in which the individual or the issue is interpreted and these frames are inherently biased. Highlighting and selecting certain facets of issues or events, and making connections between them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, or even to suggest a solution, is a function of framing as described by Robert M. Entman. (2004) Framing can be accomplished with the words used and the images shown with the words. Choice words such as 'terrorist' directly counteract defining the group as 'freedom fighters', while 'riots' or 'protests' could also be defined as 'freedom of expression'. The repeated classification of events and individuals through frames heavily influences the general public and the policy makers, especially when it comes to foreign policy because the public tends to gain all of its knowledge about a foreign event solely from news coverage. (Entman, 2004) The perceptions of an
issue or event are directly affected by the media's framing as the academic Jim A. Kuypers eludes “facts remain neutral until framed.” (Kuypers, 2002, p. 7) Frames encourage the public and policy makers to perceive and think about events in a manner that develops a particular understanding of them. Framing or presenting events or individuals in particular ways can be either harmful or helpful, depending on what the event is and on how the frames describe or illuminate them.

The presentation of events, political in nature, affects both public opinion and political actors. (Entman, 2004; Wolfsfeld, 2004) In democracies, the political elites must pay attention to their constituents if they wish to remain in their position of power. Thus, media framing effects the perceptions of the constituents which, can in turn, influence the political actors responsible for policy decisions. Studies have shown that individuals exposed to threatening information and images are likely to expand their approval for a hawkish foreign policy. (Shamir & Shamir, 2000) Political elites, with an inflated approval from their constituents, may present policies that become more active towards the conflict.

According to Sheafer and Dvir-Gvirsman, negative presentations or negative frames have a far more significant influence on public opinion than positive presentations of positive framing would. (Sheafer & Dvir-Gvirsman, 2010, p. 208) According to Jim A. Kuypers, once a frame has been established, political elites and alternative media outlets often find it difficult to resist the initial frame's pervasive influence. (Kuypers, 2002) The initial framing of an event if it was hastily, erroneously crafted, may be difficult to overcome and can consequently exasperate the conflict if it may be dangerous for
politicians to correct the frames. Journalists and political elites that do not agree or support the initial frame may be labelled as traitors, so it may be foolhardy to speak out against erroneous pervasive frames. Negative frames may exasperate a conflict but positive framing may assist peace-building and conflict resolution attempts.

Raising the cognitive knowledge and building bridges between conflicting parties, as argued by Galtung, can be accomplished by “peace journalism” instead of the generally followed “low road of war journalism”, which focuses on chasing the wars and a “win-lose” situation while dehumanizing the parties. (Galtung, 1998) “Peace journalism explores the reasons behind the violence and provides not only a voice to all parties, but also empathy and understanding.” (Galtung, Peace Journalism, p. 83) Galtung's approach of focusing on the suffering of all parties involved, humanizes both parties and raises empathy, both crucial to ending conflict. This “high road of peace journalism” (Galtung, 1998) shifts the frames away from glorifying the violence common to the “low road” and can assist in conflict resolution by building bridges and raising the cognitive knowledge between conflicting parties.

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) argued that a frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). In highlighting certain aspects of an event or issue, frames, as their key premise, guide audience members' thoughts about that event or issue in predictable ways, to predictable conclusions. Studies have shown that the specific
frame imposed on an event or issue can shape opinion on related policies (Kinder & Sanders, 1990).

Gross and D'Ambrosio (2004) discovered that frames influence the explanations citizens provided for their emotional reactions and that frames change the relationship between predispositions and emotional responses. Previous research has shown that news frames can affect perceptions of issues and of people in the news (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). By prompting the activation of certain constructs at the expense of others, news frames can directly influence what enters the minds of audience members. Others have argued that the main determinants of media frames are the characteristics of the political and media system in which the news media operate (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Strömbäck and Dimitrova, 2006). Further research has shown that the characteristics of the media organization significantly influence how the news is framed (Scheufele, 1999).

Three components of frame analysis have been identified by Gamson (2001). The first is identifying the mechanism involved in the creation of the frame. He argues that the creation of a frame is a struggle over meaning that reflects relative power and resources. Evaluating the texts is the second stage. He points out that frames exist at many various levels, “there are event frames, issue frames, master frames, and worldviews – frames within frames within frames.” (Gamson, 2001, p. x) The third stage is an accounting for the interaction of the text and frame with an active engaged audience in a constant process. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) provide an amalgamation of the various media frames found by other research in European and U.S. Media. Building off of prior research that inductively identified common frames (Neuman, Just, & Crigler,
1992), they identified the conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame as frames that were commonly used in media coverage. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, pp. 95-96) They measured the presence of different frames in the coverage of political issues, using the series of coding questions below.

**Attribution of Responsibility**

* Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? 

* Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? 

* Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? 

* Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue-problem? 

* Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action? 

**Human Interest Frame**

* Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? 

* Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
* Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?

* Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

* Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

**Conflict Frame**

* Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals- groups- countries?

* Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?

* Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

* Does the story refer to winners and losers?

**Morality Frame**

* Does the story contain any moral message?

* Does the story make reference to morality, God, or other religious tenets?

* Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

**Economic Frame**
* Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

* Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?

* Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100)

They use these questions to identify differences in television and print news in Holland; their findings are not notably applicable to this research, but their establishment of a tool to measure the different frames is.

**Conflict Frames**

The conflict frame, as discussed by numerous researchers, refers to disagreement between countries, institutions, or individuals and emphasizes the points of divergence between conflicting parties (e.g., Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). The presence of conflict is consistently listed as one of the most important criteria for identifying which events will become news stories and the conflict frame is consistent with research on more general news values (e.g., Eilders, 1997; McManus, 1994). The conflict frame is discussed as a dominant theme in the presentation of news by Neuman et al., (1992). The conflict frame focuses on the various sides of an issue and “fits well with the media's game interpretation of the political world as an ongoing series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers.” (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 64) Complex issues are simplified into simplistic conflicts with the conflict frame. Valkenburg et al., (1999) discuss the
coverage of a conflict frame as featuring winning and losing as the central concern, “the language of wars, games, and competition is featured, with an emphasis on the performance and style of a party of an individual.” (Valkenburg, Semetko, & De Vreese, 1999, p. 551) In their study, Neuman et al., (1992) showed that media coverage framed events 29% of the time in conflict frames. (1992, p. 75)

**Human Interest Frames**

Semetko, Valkenburg, and De Vreese (1990) state that the human interest frame presents a problem, issue, or an event by telling an individuals story or by bringing in an emotional angle. Presenting the news in a manner that personalizes an issue, by addressing its impact on an individual, contributes to the narrative character of news. Journalists and editors struggle to produce a product that captures and retains audience interest in an ever increasingly competitive market (Bennett, 1996). Framing news in terms of human interest is a way to emotionalize, dramatize, and personalize the news. The human interest or human impact frame was found in 18% of media coverage in prior research. (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 75)

**Economic Consequences Frames**

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identify an economic consequences frame as a media frame that reports on an event, issue, or problem from the perspective of how that event, issue, or problem will effect a country, region, institution, group, or individual economically. The economic consequences frame has also been identified as a common
frame in the news by Neuman et al. (1992), they argued that news is often framed in terms of potential or actual economic consequences or impact on the audience. Graber (1993) stated that the wider impact on an event is of important news value, and economic consequences can be considerable. Gamson (1992) suggested that news producers often use the economic consequence frame to make an issue relevant to their audience. The economic consequences frame represents a “preoccupation with the 'bottom line,' profit and loss” (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 63). “Consequence” and the broad impact of an event have also been recorded as central news values for selecting events to become news stories (Graber, 1993; McManus, 1994). When larger economic consequences are prevalent, this frame will be more present in the news (Neuman et al., 1992). “media tend to employ technical language for the economic frame, while people are far more likely to overlay the frame with a moral or evaluative dimension.” (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 63)

The economic consequences frame allows for a dependence on official sources for the story. Neuman et al., (1992) found the economic consequence frame in 16% of the articles of their previous research. (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 75)

**Morality Frames**

Of the five types of frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), as commonly occurring in the news media, the morality frame, is the frame that places events in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions (e.g., the ethics of “selling babies”) (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Entman (1993) argued that news frames can implicitly define problems and their causes, and can offer moral judgments and remedies.
Kline, Karel, and Chatterjee (2006) contend that news stories become problematic when individuals or groups are linked to socially undesirable attributes (e.g., critical adoptive parents) as opposed to positive attributes (e.g., loving adoptive parents). Kline, Karel, and Chatterjee (2006) also match undesirable altercations and interactions as problematic news stories depending on the depictions of moral or immoral actions. Kline, Karel, and Chatterjee (2006) assert that social values, prescriptions, or evaluations are all manners in which to determine if a morality frame has been incorporated into a news story.

References to moral frames or moral prescriptions are typically only made through indirect means such as inference or by quoting a source, due to the expectations on the field of journalism to maintain objectivity (Neuman et al., 1992). “A newspaper could, for example, use the views of an interest group to raise questions about sexually transmitted diseases” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p.96). Such a story may offer specific social prescriptions or moral messages about how to behave. Neuman et al. (1992, p.75) identified this frame as being more common in the minds of audiences than in the content of news, they nevertheless identified the morality frame as being among the several used in reporting. The morality frame was found in 4% of the articles surveyed. (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 75)

This research will study the portrayal of morality throughout the Ferguson conflict to determine which moral prescriptions are being weighted in the framing of the transpiring events. Specifically looking at how Officer Darren Wilson's actions are framed and if his actions have been deemed morally acceptable by the news outlets.
Taken into consideration will also be the actions of Michael Brown, and the presentation of his actions will also be studied in this research.

**Responsibility Frames (Attribution of Responsibility)**

It is important to look at how the media frame a crisis event, the cause of the crisis, and the actor responsible for it because those frames influence the public's perception and the impressions of the organization (Coombs, 2006). Citizens seek information about the crisis and evaluate the cause of the event and the organizational responsibility for the crisis based on media coverage of the event. People's knowledge of and inferences about events are dependent upon what information or feature is salient in the environment (Heider, 1958). The theory of framing suggests that the mass media do even more than create saliency. In selecting what to include and what to exclude from a story, the news media frame a story (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Pan & Kosicki, 1993); that is, the media limits and defines a story's meaning and therefore shape people's interpretation of that story (Hallahan, 1999). The Attribution of Responsibility frame is defined as “a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) discovered that the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly applied in serious newspapers. The media can present problems and their subsequent solutions as either an individual's or society's responsibility. Responsibility frames can attribute blame or posit solutions, or both. The use of this frame as been criticized as constructing “public understanding of who is responsible for causing or
solving key social problems.” (Valkenburg et al., 1999, p. 552) Neuman et al., (1992) describe this kind of framing as the powerlessness frame. The attribution of responsibility frame virtually highlights power imbalances between sides. This frame was found in 33% of the media coverage researched. (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 75)

Coombs (2006a) identified three categories of crisis type, each with sub-categories: (1) victim clusters (rumors, workplace violence, natural disasters, and product tampering), (2) accidental clusters (mega damage, challenges, technical error accidents, and technical error recalls), (3) preventable clusters (organizational misdeed with no injuries, organizational misdeed management misconduct, organizational misdeeds with injuries, human breakdown accidents, and human breakdown product recalls). An (2009) found that the news media focused on the organizational level of responsibility (56.6%) more than the individual level (47.4%). An's (2009) research found that all accidental crises news articles focused on the organizational level of responsibility, conversely preventable crises news articles were more likely to use the individual level of responsibility (52.9% vs. 47.1%). Significant differences were also found between victim and accidental crises in An's (2009) research, with victim news being less likely to use the individual level of responsibility than the organizational level (46.2% vs. 53.8%), which was the opposite findings for preventable crises.

This research will look to the framing tendencies employed by the mass media to discover the description of events, individuals, and groups to discover who is being held responsible by the mass media for the conflict. Establishing the portrayal of responsibility, or stated another way, the portrayal of guilt, will help determine the
manner in which citizens are understanding the conflict. The persuasive effects of the news media on understandings and comprehensibility are widely discussed in academic circles (e.g., Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992) and discovering the framing tendencies may help to explain the beliefs about the transpiring events, involved actors, and society itself.

**Episodic Frames & Thematic Frames**

The framing effects are largely seen as rhetorical devices by the academic community and the episodic and thematic frames are two of these rhetorical devices. Iyengar (1987) and Iyengar and Simon (1993) looked at how the news media framed certain events and issues as either episodic or thematic, and how the public attribution of responsibility for the issue depended upon which frame was employed. Episodic coverage, coverage of an event that does not place it in any larger context, tended to lead to public attribution of personal responsibility. Contrarily, thematic coverage of an issue or event, coverage that considers the event within the context of an overall issue, tended to guide the public attribution of responsibility to societal institutions. Iyengar and Simon posited, “it is to be expected that the networks rely extensively on episodic framing to report on public issues. Episodic framing is visually appealing and consists of on-the-scene, live coverage. Thematic coverage, which requires interpretive analyses, would simply crowd out other news items.” (1993, p. 370) Thematic frames illustrate issues or events as part of a broader context. Episodic frames, on the other hand, present an issue or event by describing a specific example, case study, or event oriented report. “Journalists often use episodic frames because they believe them to be more compelling and more likely to draw the reader or viewer into the story” (Gross, 2008, pp. 171).
Placing a human face on the story and presenting the story from the perspective of an individual involved within a larger problem is a persuasive way to encourage an interpretation of the case (Gross, 2008, pp. 171). Iyengar (1991), analyzed the framing tendencies found in news programs, specifically looking at the episodic and thematic framing tendencies and the consequences of either of their use. Iyengar (1991) analyzed how the frames used would attribute responsibility and he found that thematic framing increasingly attributed the responsibility to society or to the government, while episodic framing, conversely, would remove the responsibility from society or the government and attributed the individual as responsible. Episodic framing displays persistent issues in an isolated manner that influences the narrow interpretation of the problem (Iyengar, 1991). If issues are continuously framed in an episodic manner that portrays the issue as a discrete instance not indicative of a larger trend then the viewers, readers, and policy makers will continue to view that issue as unconnected. According to Iyengar (1991) the media has a tendency to “obscure the 'big picture'” by depicting recurring trends as unconnected, issues such as; drug usage, racial inequality, and poverty are often overlooked due to the media focusing on the events in an isolated approach and not drawing connections (Iyengar, 1991, p. 136). Gross (2008) explored how the episodic and thematic frames appealed to the emotions of the readers and viewers and how this relationship influenced the interpretations of events. Gross (2008) articulated that the emotional reaction was based off of the distinct nature of the frame itself but that thematically framed stories tended to elicit less of an emotional reaction. “Thus, one
must consider the details of the particular story used in an episodic frame to generate predictions about specific emotions” (Gross, 2008, p.172).

In this research, I examine the manner in which the media has presented the Ferguson conflict. Whether the conflict has been presented in an episodic frame or whether thematic frames have dominated the coverage. Due to the persuasive effects of framing, this research will also consider the nature of these frames, specifically looking at whether or not the African American community and Michael Brown have been portrayed with inherently negative connotations, while simultaneously studying whether or not the police department and Officer Darren Wilson have been positively portrayed and framed.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

For this research I will be conducting a qualitative research design. A qualitative research design was chosen due to the benefits of qualitative research and its ability to provide complex textual descriptions as to how people experience an issue. Qualitative research provides information about the human side of an issue/problem – that is, the often contradictory beliefs, opinions, emotions, behaviors, and relationships of individuals. Applying a qualitative research design will focus on the emotions, behaviors, beliefs, opinions, and relationships of the two media sources being analyzed throughout the timeframe being discussed. Qualitative research can help researchers to interpret and better understand the complex realities of a given situation by seeking to explore phenomena and to describe variation. This research analyzes if there is a variation between the two media sources and if the two media sources, themselves, varied how they sequenced and framed the interactions between the police and the African American community over time.

I will be conducting a latent discourse analysis of two major media sources (outlined below) over their coverage throughout the Ferguson conflict. This research seeks to uncover the underlying meaning behind the news media's articles and the underlying communications being presented to the readers, focusing on what was implied rather than on what specifically was said. Manifest content analysis focuses on the
tangible or concrete surface content and thus, was not beneficial for this research. This research will be performing a discourse analysis of the media sources, analyzing all the articles within the time frame (outlined below) and coding the articles with the coding schema (also outlined below).

**Research Question 1: How does media coverage of the police conduct during the Ferguson conflict differ based on the media source followed?**

I am studying the medias portrayal of the police conduct during the Ferguson conflict, because I want to find out how it affects perceptions of uses of force, in order to understand how to communicate with marginalized communities to prevent future conflicts. Studying the same time period from two different sources will provide an unabridged perspective as to how the media presented the conflict. Analyzing the two media sources will also illuminate if the interpretations of the uses of force and sequence of events was influenced by which media source they frequent. This research will focus on representations of the altercation between Officer Darren Wilson and Michael Brown and then on the African American community and their interaction with the police during the protests and the riots that followed the death of Michael Brown. The portrayals of the uses of force by the police throughout the time period being studied are the focus of this research in an attempt to discover if the overall media coverage was pro-police, focusing on three major media sources will provide a wide spectrum for analysis.
Research Question 2: Does the media coverage of Michael Brown, an unarmed African American teenager, differ throughout the Ferguson conflict as new information was revealed based on the media source followed?

As new information was released by the police and the Justice Department to the media, the framing and sequencing of the uses of force may have changed. Or they may have remained the same throughout the entire conflict, with the new information simply reinforcing a pro-police narrative. The three key events analyzed in this research provide a wide spectrum of the Ferguson conflict and allow for a progression analysis to be interpreted (if there was any progression).

Research Question 3: How does the media portray the uses of force throughout the Ferguson conflict and does it favor a pro-police narrative?

This research will analyze how the uses of force were presented (specifically looking at if the uses of force were interpreted as 'excessive' or 'justified'). Analyzing how the uses of force were presented will determine if the narrative was a pro-police one or if the framing and sequencing favored Michael Brown and the African American community. Determining the manner in which the events were sequenced and framed
allows one to understand the pressures for interpretations that the viewers would be subjected to.

**Context**

The number of unarmed African Americans being killed by the police forces across the United States of America is growing at an alarming rate. There have been numerous protests or rioting that has ensued following altercations between the police and African Americans. Despite the outcries from large segments of society, the problematic relationship has continued to pervade, creating a culture of fear for both sides and all parties involved. For the cases here, we will look at the immediate media reaction as the Ferguson conflict developed, as well as the continued portrayals of the African American community to research the portrayals of the uses of force by the police.

**Cases**

Two media sources will be used for this analysis: The Washington Post and The New York Times. They have been chosen because they share a variety of factors useful for identifying media patterns throughout the time period being studied for the Ferguson conflict. Both media sources extensively covered the conflict, and are easily accessible with access to the internet. The Washington Post and The New York Times are popular newspapers and are read by many policy makers and members of Capitol Hill. The Washington Post and The New York Times have both been recognized as popular media
sources for academic research in regards to framing and have been described as the U.S. elite press (Eyck, 2003).

Methods

Sampling Strategy

Media articles were also used in this section as the unit of analysis. A timeline of the major events of this conflict was prepared covering the death of Michael Brown (August 10th, 2014) (Michael Brown was actually killed on August 9th, 2014 but the newspaper coverage started a day after) up until the end of the week of Ferguson's Chief of Police, Thomas Jackson's, resignation (March 17th, 2015) (Thomas Jackson resigned on March 11th, 2015. March 17th is the end of the week), even though this conflict is still ongoing. This timeline is in the Appendix. Three key dates were chosen for this research and the week (seven days) following each key event were analyzed, with the key event day counting as the first day for analysis. The three key events were; the death of Michael Brown (August 10th, 2014), the grand jury's decision to not indict Officer Darren Wilson (November 24th, 2014), and the resignation of the police chief of Ferguson, Thomas Jackson (March 11, 2015). The events, dates, sample, total retrieved results, and the interval at which the samples were pulled are listed in the tables below.
Table 2: The death of Michael Brown sample size (August 10th, 2014 - August 16th, 2014)

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Table 3: The Grand Jury's decision sample size (November 24th - November 30th, 2014)

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Table 4: Police Chief Jackson resigns sample size (March 11th - March 17th, 2015)

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Coding Strategy

The coding for this research was performed by the researcher. The coding was done in Microsoft Excel. Two independent coders were used to establish intercoder reliability. To establish the credibility of the coding schema used, intercoder reliability was pertinent. Each intercoder was given the same five articles to code using the schema provided. The researcher analyzed the same five articles using the same coding schema. After all coders finished analyzing the articles, the results were compared and were found to be within the acceptable range of 80-90%. The researcher found twenty-five framing and sequencing theories in the five articles used for intercoder reliability, the first graduate student found twenty-three and the second graduate student found twenty-one, the scores were multiplied by four (25x4, 23x4, and 21x4), then added together (100 + 92 + 84), and then divided by three (276/3) establishing intercoder agreement as reliable as the total intercoder reliability score was ninety-two percent (92%). The independent coders were graduate students at George Mason University and the University of Malta, studying Conflict Analysis and Resolution. In coding the data, the researcher marked which media source the article/literary piece was from, the date that the article/piece was posted. A '1' was noted for each sequence or framing theory that was found and a '0' was noted if that sequence or frame was not present in the article/piece. A spreadsheet was made for each media source for each of the three key events, noted and recorded per day (see Data Analysis section). For simplicity, one spreadsheet was
compiled for each of the three key events being researched, with all three media sources being recorded under the same spreadsheet. All of the articles/pieces, for each media source, that were produced on a given day (within the time periods noted and in relation to Ferguson) were analyzed and recorded for this research. The number of relevant articles for each day and for each media source was also recorded. The articles were found using LexisNexis Academic under the search term 'Ferguson' with the advanced options of the date's being set (to the timeframe in question) and the media sources of The Washington Post and The New York Times being selected. The options of 'newspapers' was also checked as blogs, law reviews and journals, or magazines were not included in this research.

Contextual Data:
* News source
* Section
* Page
* Length
* Type: News, News brief, Feature, Editorial, Opinion

Independent Variable:
* Media source analyzed
* Date of the key event analyzed
**Dependent Variables**

* Sequencing- adaptation of Cerulo (1998): What/who is presented first in the article: Police/Police Officer, Victim/s, Government, Contextual Information. When the police or contextual information is presented first, Cerulo illustrates this would be sending a message that violence was legitimate, or morally ambiguous. For a police officer, this would be the preferred message.

* Framing- adopting Iyengar (1991): thematic or episodic. Contextual information is provided by thematic frames, more than just the specific details of the event, it is expected that the context of an episodic frame and additional detail (s) would be preferable for the police.

If the conflict is presented in an episodic frame then it will be pro-police, framing the altercation as being just between Officer Wilson and Michael Brown will help to maintain the legitimacy of the police in the United States as it does not portray the conflict within the context of all the other police killings of African Americans and would not show the altercation between Officer Wilson and Michael Brown as within the context of a broader issue. Presenting the conflict in a thematic frame would bring larger considerations to the legitimacy of force and would force the reader to consider the death of Michael Brown as another example of police killing unarmed African Americans, effectively questioning the police tactics and legitimate uses of force across the country, adding to the rhetoric of justice not being served for the African American community.
* Framing- following Semetko & Valkenburg (2000): Yes/no answers to the preceding questions, adopted from their list.

- **Attribution of Responsibility**
  - Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
  - Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
  - Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
  - Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
  - Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

- **Human Interest**
  - Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
  - Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
  - Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
  - Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

- **Conflict Frame**
  - Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
  - Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
  - Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
  - Does the story refer to winners and losers?

- **Morality Frame**
  - Does the story contain any moral message?
  - Does the story make reference to morality, God, or other religious tenants?
  - Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

- **Economic Frame**
  - Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
  - Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
  - Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
The attribution of responsibility frame, with its emphasis on government responsibility, could be a negative for a police officer or police department, by putting additional pressure on the government and holding Officer Wilson responsible for his uses of force. The attribution of responsibility frame may also be portraying Michael Brown as the responsible party for the uses of force being used and may be presenting the altercation as self-defense. The human interest frame, because of the emphasis on victims, largely depends on the context of the story (i.e., who is presented as the victim). If Michael Brown is presented as the victim then the frame will favor him but if Officer Wilson is presented as the victim (i.e. he had no choice in his actions and was protecting himself) then the frame will have been pro police. The economic, conflict, and morality frame are less clearly positive or negative for the police and Michael Brown and depend upon the manner in which they are utilized. It is important to note that frames are not mutually exclusive, discussing one manner can involve multiple frames that all work together. A story may involve an economic frame, a morality frame, and an attribution of responsibility frame or any combination of frames. The economic frame may be pro-police if Michael Brown's actions previously in the day (the fact that he robbed a convenience store of some cigars) may be pro-police as it establishes a history of criminal activity, even though the two events are unrelated, attacking the innocence of the teenager may help to frame the uses of force as acceptable. The conflict frame largely depends on the context that it is used in. The ambiguous witness accounts portrayed different people (Michael Brown or Officer Wilson) as the catalysts for the conflict so
depending which witness accounts are presented by the media the conflict frame may favor either side. If Michael Brown is presented as the catalyst for the altercation then the frame will be pro-police and vice-versa if Officer Wilson is presented as augmenting the altercation then the frame will benefit Michael Brown. Portraying one party or the other as inspiring the events, places the other party as the victim so the frame will favor the party that appears innocent or as victims of the circumstances. The morality frame may also be ambiguous and again depends on the manner in which it is used. The morality frame may be pro-police if it attacks the actions of Michael Brown and portrays his actions as immoral, helping to establish the legitimacy of the police actions and reinforcing the morals that community members should/should not be engaged in. If Michael Brown is described (or his actions) as immoral then he is being presented as a deviant and the frame will be pro-police. If Officer Wilson's actions are portrayed as excessive or influenced by race then the morality frame will favor Michael Brown by placing Officer Wilson as the deviant and his uses of force as deviant violence that were not just.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

Table 5: Death of Michael Brown (Aug 10th -16th, 2014) sequencing and framing theories

The Washington Post 8/10/14- 8/16/14 The Death of Michael Brown

The research gathered for August 10th-16th, 2014 from the Washington Post, covering the first week after the death of Michael Brown, is largely mired by ambiguity. Of the twenty-six articles from the Washington Post throughout this time frame, sixteen of the articles employed double casting sequences, in which both the victim and the perpetrator sequences were employed. There were eight instances of victim sequencing and only two articles sequenced their stories in the performer sequence. The eight instances of victim sequencing in themselves were largely ambiguous as some articles
placed Michael Brown as the victim, some placed the involved officer (Officer Darren Wilson's name was not released to the general public for safety concerns for much of the first week) as the victim, some portrayed the African American community as the victim, some placed the store owners being victimized by the rioters and looters as the victim, and yet some placed the entire African American community as the victims of a much larger racially motivated problem.

The proximity to the actual altercation between Michael Brown and Officer Darren Wilson may help to explain the ambiguity for the first week. There was almost no information released by the police at this point and the conflict was quickly gaining international attention as subsequent riots broke out. The first few days in this research period provided only a handful of articles as the bulk of the articles were written on August 15th and August 16th. The initial story of the altercation between Michael Brown and Officer Wilson quickly became a back-story to the violent protests that embroiled the city of Ferguson and garnered international attention. The police could withhold the information pertaining to the altercation between Brown and Wilson but they could not stop the media or people on the ground from writing stories and posting pictures about the riots or the police tactics being used to quell the unrest. The economic consequence frame became prevalent towards the end of this first week with sixty-six percent (6/9) of its usage being conducted over the last two days of the week (8/15/14 & 8/16/14) as rioting and looting broke out. The economic consequence frames focused on the riots and the looting and highlighted the innocent store owners who were being victimized by the rioters.
The Washington Post articles used the morality frame frequently with the economic consequence frame to question the street justice being administered by the rioters and looters. Questioning if targeting the store owners, who had nothing to do with the death of Brown and were themselves members of the community, was justified and portraying these rioters as evaporating support for the calls for justice for Brown. The use of the morality frame was also largely ambiguous throughout the first week of research from the Washington Post as the morality of the rioters was questioned at the same time as the morality of the militarized police being deployed to quell the unrest. Several journalists were abused and arrested by the police in Ferguson and the media focused on the brutal tactics and weapons being used while questioning the morality of using weapons of war against civilians. The ambiguity of the morality frame extended to the actors involved in the altercation (Brown and Wilson) as Brown was portrayed as peaceful, hardworking, an athlete, and about to start college, while Wilson was described as; quiet, peaceful, well liked, and as an honor roll student in the ninth and tenth grades of high school. The focus of the morality frame largely depended upon whom was telling the story as Browns friends, family, and teachers all gave him a positive presentation while the portrayals of Wilson were all positive. The police towards the end of the week being analyzed released footage of Brown robbing a convenience store shortly before the altercation with Wilson and used that fact to undermine Brown's morality. Effectively bringing into question the moral compass of Brown even though Officer Wilson was unaware that Brown had recently committed the crime.
The responsibility frame focused on the inadequacies of the department rather than the fault of the involved officer. Stating that the small Ferguson department was underfunded, undertrained, and ill prepared to deal with larger issues. Focusing on the department rather than on the officer in question helps to alleviate the responsibility of the officer actually involved in the altercation that left an unarmed man deceased. The responsibility frame blamed the government for the altercation and insinuated that if the department would have been properly funded, equipped, and trained perhaps the altercation would not have occurred at all. The procedures for reporting uses of force were also questioned as well as the training and equipping of the officers of the department.

With an overarching thematic frame being used to state that underfunded, under-equipped, and undertrained officers was a nationwide problem not necessarily alluding to a problem defined as racial prejudice. Nineteen of the twenty-six articles (73%) analyzed in this time period used thematic framing to portray some aspect of the conflict. The death of Brown was likened to Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, and the beating of Rodney King, all as instances were police used excessive force against unarmed African Americans, early in the week as the altercation had just happened and no information was released by the police. The militarization of the police was also presented as a nationwide problem with Ferguson simply being another example of military weapons being used against civilians.

The New York Times 8/10/14- 8/16/14 The Death of Michael Brown
The first week for The New York Times produced twenty-four articles that were analyzed for this research. The first week centered on the death of Michael Brown and the initial protests and violent protesting that broke out in the Ferguson region. The sequencing of the articles within this time period decidedly favored a pro-police narrative as only one of the twenty-four (4%) articles used victim sequencing to present the conflict. Nine of the twenty-four (37%) articles used performer sequencing to portray the altercation between Brown and Officer Wilson from Officer Wilson's perspective, with eight articles (8/24, 33%) employing double-casting sequencing that speaks to the ambiguity and confusion surrounding the conflicting witness statements. Seven of the twenty-four (29%) articles used contextual sequencing to describe the circumstances surrounding the altercation between the deceased Michael Brown and Officer Wilson and the violent protests. Despite the plethora of conflictual evidence and eye witness accounts the sequencing of the altercation overwhelmingly tells the story from the perspective of Officer Darren Wilson, portraying his actions as just. At this point in the conflict there was very limited factual evidence as to how the altercation unfolded and yet the portrayals of the altercation purposefully activate a pro-police narrative that exonerates Officer Wilson from any criminal activity. The predominant usage of the performer sequence extended to the portrayals of the police officers who were tasked with curbing the violent protesters, with the articles presenting the actions of the officers as a response to the officers being attacked first. The eight double-casting sequences produced in the first week serve to impugn the totality of certainty of the sequencing of the altercation and add to the variability of the portrayals of the uses of force both for the altercation
with Michael Brown and the tactics used by the police in the face of the violent protesters. The seven contextual sequences in and of themselves are not pro-police and their interpretations depend largely on the context within which they are used.

Morality frames were found in twenty-three of the twenty-four (95.8%) articles. The morality frames were used in a variety of ways; to question the morality of Michael Brown attacking Officer Wilson, to question the violent protesters attacking the police officers, and to question the violent protesters and subsequent looting of the community. The morality frame was used to denounce the violence breaking out in the community by focusing on how the members of the community were being victimized by the vandals and looters. The usage of the morality frame was often coupled with either the human interest frame, the economic consequences frame, or both. With human interest framing being found in fourteen of the twenty-four (58.3%) articles and the economic consequences frame being present in eleven of the twenty-four (45.8%) analyzed articles. The human interest frame and the economic consequences frame were used to further the questioning of the immoral actions of the violent protesters and looters by focusing on the direct impact on the local community members and local small businesses.

The responsibility frame was found in fourteen of the twenty-four (58.3%) articles but its usage also depended largely upon the perspective being portrayed, although its usage was mainly employed to work in conjuncture with the morality, economic consequences, and human interest frames to reassert the pro-police narrative. Initially, the responsibility frame was used to describe the duties a police officer must perform when he/she felt their lives or the lives of others were threatened, implicitly exonerating Officer
Wilson for his usage of lethal force by raising the question of his personal safety to the readers of the paper. After the violent protests erupted and the riot police were deployed, the responsibility frame shifted to describing the responsibility of officers in these such dire circumstances and the frame was again used to justify their propensity for violence. The responsibility frame also articulated the responsibility of the community members and their need to protest peacefully, a framing that would serve a pro-police narrative as it would bring an end to the violence but would also serve the community at large as it would bring peace and allow for a return to normalcy within the community.

Episodic framing accounted for fourteen of the twenty-four (58.3%) articles with the other ten articles (10/24, 41.6%) framing in a thematic manner. The large percentage of episodic framing portrayed the altercation between the white police officer and an unarmed black teenager and the subsequent death of that teenager as an isolated incident not indicative of a larger problem. The thematic framing found within this time period alludes not only to the numerous unarmed black men being killed by police officers but also extends to the numerous protests ongoing around the country and drew similarities to previous civil rights protests, segregation practices, and Jim Crow laws.
The Grand Jury's decision on whether or not to indict Officer Darren Wilson was much anticipated, with uncertainty surrounding the reactions of the community if the decision was to not try Wilson on one of the litany of charges he was facing. The announcing of the decision to not indict Wilson was given in an unorthodox press conference at 9pm on November 24, 2014, with the community and media questioning the length of time it took to reach a decision and clamouring for an answer to the question of whether or not Wilson would face charges. There were twenty-eight articles analyzed and coded in this research over this time period for the Washington Post. Of the twenty-eight articles coded and analyzed, twenty-six of them (92.8%) used a morality frame. The violent rioting that erupted after the death of Michael Brown tore the city of Ferguson apart with numerous businesses being attacked and personal property being severely
damaged. There was a great fear that if Officer Wilson was not indicted then the violence would continue. The morality frames throughout this time period reflected the fear of the community and highlighted the immoral behavior exhibited by the violent protesters, rioters, or looters that plagued the Ferguson area for many months.

Nineteen of the twenty-eight articles (67.8%) coupled the morality frame with a human interest frame. Highlighting individuals, groups, and even the pastor of Michael Brown's family as being victimized by the violent riots or the looters. The personal struggles of members of the community (often African Americans themselves), that the violence caused, were described in depth in an effort to prevent future violent outbursts within the region. The proclivity of morality framing continued throughout this time period even after the decision to not indict Officer Wilson was announced. The clear moral judgements against the violent protesters and looters would overshadow the moral judgements against the violent police tactics being used against the protesters and looters. The morality of the militarized police and their tactics (within the Ferguson region) were heavily questioned in this time period by the Washington Post articles but were not the main focus of the moral issues.

After the release of the decision to not indict Wilson a majority of the sequencing was contextual, with sixteen of the twenty-eight articles (57.1%) being written in contextual sequences. The context of the previous violence was the primary focus and yet the responsibilities of members of a Grand Jury were also frequently discussed. The context of reaching a grand jury decision was harped upon with numerous articles in this time period discussing possibilities of how a grand jury could decide to not indict. The
contextual responsibilities of a Grand Jury to indicted only if the officer actions were illegal with proven certainty were highlighted in numerous articles and the ambiguity of the altercation was used as possible justification for the Grand Jury's decision.

The responsibility frame was found in fifteen of the twenty-eight articles (53.5%) but its usage was more ambiguous. The responsibility frame was used to; discuss the responsibilities of the grand jurors, highlight the responsibility of the community members to not violently protest, question the effectiveness of the violence in bringing about real change, question the racial profiling of African Americans in Ferguson and across the United States, and to scrutinize the police tactics and policies that had been employed.

Episodic framing and thematic framing of this time frame saw episodic framing accounting for sixteen of the twenty-eight articles (57%) and thematic framing being found in twelve of the twenty-eight articles (42%). The similarities in the instances of thematic and episodic framing for this time frame speaks to the ambiguity and interconnectedness of the Ferguson conflict. The conflict is a multivariate conflict defined by numerous perspectives, accounts, and altercations. The occurrences of victim sequencing, performer sequencing, and consequently double-casting sequences also followed this precedent of nearly identical instances, with victim sequencing taking up seven of the twenty-eight articles (25%), performer sequencing taking up ten of the twenty-eight articles (35.7%), and six of the twenty-eight articles (21.4%) using double-casting sequences. The perspective of the victim and the performer changed almost with every article as the community members, shop owners, police members, close family
members, African American community, Michael Brown, Darren Wilson, and the jurors were all presented as the victims in articles. While the protesters, violent protesters, looters, police departments and individual officers, government officials, and the jurors were all also presented as performers in some regard.


The second time period being analyzed for The New York Times produced twenty-four articles, covering the week after the Ferguson Grand Jury's decision to not indict Officer Darren Wilson for any criminal charges and the ensuing violent protests that erupted after the decision was announced. The articles focused on; the grand jury, the decision of the grand jury, the prosecutor and his responsibilities, the initial altercation between Michael Brown and Officer Darren Wilson, the months of protests and violence in Ferguson and surrounding areas, the fear of violence erupting again, the police tactics previously used throughout the conflict, the announcement of the Grand Jury, the announcement that Michael Brown had robbed a convenience store hours before he was killed, and the protesting and violent protesting that followed the announcement of the Grand Jury's decision. This time frame reflects the multifaceted complexity of the Ferguson conflict and the sequencing tendencies of The New York Times mirror the ambiguity.

Victim sequencing was found in four of the twenty-four (16.6%) articles and yet its appearance was deceptive. All four of the instances where victim sequencing was employed used victim sequences to tell the story of community members who had been
victimized by the violent protesters and looters. The victims were store owners, shop owners, and ordinary (often black) members of the Ferguson community itself that had been negatively impacted by the violence. The victim sequencing in this time period works to denounce further violence erupting after the announcement of the Grand Jury was released. The performer sequence was found in ten of the twenty-four (41.6%) articles. The performer sequence signifies that an act was justified and The New York Times articles within this time period placed the jurors in the performer role, signifying that their decision to not indict Officer Wilson was the correct decision. The contextual sequences found in this time frame accounted for ten of the twenty-four (41.6%) articles, with many of them describing the circumstances and difficulties surrounding the Grand Jury's decision and justifying the conclusion that was reached. The contextual sequencing also described the months of violence in Ferguson and worked in conjuncture with several of the frames to denounce further violence after the decision was announced. Double-casting sequences were found in five of the twenty-four (20.8%) articles, with both victim and performer sequences being used to portray the ambiguity, complexity, and multifarious nature of the conflict.

The morality frame and human interest frame were used in a coadjutant manner that saw their occurrences almost mirror one another, with the morality frame being used in twenty-three of the twenty-four (95.8%) articles and the human interest frame being found in twenty-one of the twenty-four (87.5%) articles. Staunch moral recommendations and denouncements were levied against the proprietors of violence, often focusing on the community members and shop owners who were adversely affected. The economic
consequences frame was also frequently used to exasperate the moral recommendations and was found in sixteen of the twenty-four (66.7%) articles. The economic consequences frame highlighted the looting, vandalism, and overall destruction of personal property and businesses ongoing within the region.

Episodic framing accounted for seventeen of the twenty-four (70.8%) articles with the remaining seven (7/24, 29.1%) articles framing thematically. The focus of the vast majority of the articles within this time period were on single instances where a larger problem was not discussed. The Grand Jury's decision was a main focus for this time period and few connections were made to instances where other white police officers were not indicted for killing unarmed blacks, instead the focus was on the prevailing circumstances that inspired their decision. The episodic framing also extended to the specific community members and businesses owners who had been adversely effected by the violence. The thematic framing within this time period spotlighted the rampant inequalities within police procedures and aggressive militarized police tactics being employed across the US. The seven instances of thematic framing portray a much larger problem than one solely confined within Ferguson.

The final time period for this research for the Washington Post produced ten articles and centered around the Police Chief of Ferguson, Thomas Jackson's, resignation. Since the death of Michael Brown and the ensuing months of protests and violence in the region, the entire Ferguson police department came under heavy scrutiny. The policies, procedures, and police tactics of the Ferguson police department were questioned by the federal government, media, and general public at large. Several key officials and policy makers chose to resign amidst the heavy scrutiny, with Thomas Jackson being among them.

The most prevalent framing tendencies in this time period were the morality frame, which was prevalent in all ten of the ten articles produced (100%) and the responsibility frame, which was found in nine of the ten articles (90%). The morality
frame was consistently used to question the moral and ethical nature of the police department, both in Ferguson and across the United States, as a much larger problem. The articles frequently discussed the police tactics and policies as being racially motivated and raised the moral question of biased policing. Six of the ten articles (60%) used a thematic frame to make the case that the problem of racially motivated police was not solely a Ferguson problem, while four of the ten articles (40%) chose to focus on specific examples and used an episodic frame. Nine of the ten articles (90%) used a human interest frame to portray their stories. Focusing on certain individuals that had been affected by biased policing as well as the officers who were a part of the system. The responsibility frame pointed to the government rather than to the individual actors or departments enacting the policies, describing the nature and context within the departments and counties that allowed the biased policies, procedures, and tactics to persevere from the days of segregation, Jim Crow laws, and slave times.

**The New York Times 03/11/15 – 03/17/15 Police Chief Resignation**

The final research period for The New York Times provided ten articles for analysis and covered the Chief of Police, Thomas Jackson's, resignation as well as focusing on the shooting of two police officers at what was planned to be a peaceful protest. The sequencing of this time period was mainly contextual, contextual sequences being found in eight of the ten (80%) articles. The contextual sequencing centered around the circumstances of Thomas Jackson's resignation; the inequality discovered in fines and arrests of African Americans within the Ferguson region, the Ferguson police department
itself as a moneymaking tool, the militarized tactics employed by the Ferguson police, and the lack of training and unclear procedures followed by the department. The contextual sequencing within this time frame also focused on the circumstances of the officers getting shot, describing the protests and the overall unease and unrest of the community in regards to local law enforcement. Victim sequencing was as prevalent as performer sequencing, with both being found in two of the ten (20%) articles respectively. The instances of victim sequencing both described the ordeal of the police officers who were simply doing their job and monitoring the peaceful protests. Sequencing from the perspective of the victim inherently portrays the message that the violence was unjust. The performer sequences both articulated the reasoning behind the police chief resigning and portraying the story from a performer sequence insinuates that the action being taken was the correct or just action. The performer sequencing of the police chief resigning portrays the message that he should have resigned. There was one instance of double-casting of the ten (10%) articles analyzed, with both victim and performer sequencing being found present.

The morality frame was the most present framing tendency employed throughout this week with the morality frame being used in all ten of the ten articles (100%) written. The moral judgements and recommendations varied with the story and criticized the police, violent protesters, the city council, and the shooter, Jeffrey Williams (who shot at police officers patrolling the ongoing protests), while also acknowledging the peaceful efforts of some protesters and the strides the city and the police department were making to reform the policies and procedures that were criticized as discriminatory. The
responsibility frame was found in seven of the ten (70%) articles and was used to portray the responsibility of the police to protect its citizens as well as the responsibility of the city officials to govern its citizens with equality under the law and with practice. The economic consequences frame was found in six of the ten (60%) articles and presented the damages done to the city through the violence and chaos. There were eight instances in the ten articles (80%) of human interest framing. The human interest framing was tied in with the economic consequences frame and the morality frame to spotlight the real examples of community members suffering from the violence. The human interest frame was also coupled with the morality frame to present the story of the officers who had been shot, presenting the story from their perspective as they were the victims of the attack.

Episodic frames were found in seven of the ten (70%) articles, while thematic framing was present in three of the ten (30%) articles. The three thematic frames all discussed the discriminatory practices, moneymaking aspirations, and overall questionable conduct of the police department as a problem that was ongoing and much larger than just one instance. The resignation of Thomas Jackson was mainly presented as an episodic frame but was also presented as thematic, as several high ranking officials of the city had also resigned or were fired. The shooting of the police officers was also presented as episodic as the shooter was discovered to have no affiliation with the protests that had been ongoing as the officers monitored them.
To see the coding and justifications for found theories for all of the articles see the appendix below. The appendix shows the researchers notations for each articles, justify the categorizations of theories and the general trends of each article.
CHAPTER FIVE: SYNTHESIS

This chapter will compare and contrast the manner in which The Washington Post and The New York Times newspapers sequenced and framed the multifaceted Ferguson conflict within the three time periods previously designated. Determining if there are any similarities between the media sources will provide a clearer understanding of how the uses of force, police conduct, and presentation of the protesters were presented to the general public. This chapter will address the comparing and contrasting tendencies of the newspapers for all three time periods and then the final cumulative totals will be compared and contrasted. Analyzing the progression (if there was any) in the framing and sequencing tendencies of the two newspapers will provide a broader understanding of how the conflict was interpreted by the general public as it unfolded.

The Death of Michael Brown August 10th – August 17th, 2014

Table 8: Death of Michael Brown (August 10th - 17th, 2014) Comparative sequencing and framing percentages
There was a total of fifty articles analyzed for this time period, with The Washington Post contributing twenty-six and The New York Times adding twenty-four. The sequencing tendencies of the newspapers portray a similar message, one of ambiguity, and yet they achieve this message through different means. The Washington Post articles used double-casting sequencing in sixty-one percent of their articles. Double-casting sequences present the story from both the victim and performer's perspective and its usage does not insinuate a recommendation for understanding how just or unjust an action, event, or conflict may have been. The frequency of double-casting sequencing tendencies at this stage of the conflict, in The Washington Post, reflects the overall lack of information released and uncertainty surrounding the altercation between Michael Brown and Officer Darren Wilson (whose name had not been released at this point in the conflict).
The New York Times' sequencing similarly reflected a sense of uncertainty with a more statistically equal distribution throughout the performer sequencing, double-casting sequencing, and contextual sequences analyzed in this research. Performer sequences were discovered in thirty-seven percent of The New York Times' articles, with Double-casting sequences being found in thirty-three percent, and contextual sequences present in twenty-nine percent of the articles. The New York Times' articles presented this time period from various perspectives in different articles instead of presenting the conflict from different perspectives within the same article as The Washington Post's articles did. If a reader of The New York Times was not reading the paper every single day then that reader would not receive the same sense of ambiguity as an individual reading The Washington Post. To fully understand the uncertainty and the variety of perspectives presented by The New York Times, a reader would have to read a good majority of the articles.

Despite both newspapers presenting an overall ambiguous understanding of the events and actions occurring in this week, both newspapers shied away from one sequencing pattern. The Washington Post articles were presented in the performer sequence only seven percent of the time and The New York Times' articles employed victim sequencing in only four percent of the articles. This direct comparison in shortcomings may be misleading if taken away from the context of the sixty-one percent double-casting sequences presented by The Washington Post. Meaning that the performers perspective was also given in that separate sixty-one percent for double-casting, the performers perspective was accompanied by a victim sequence but it was still
present. A performer's perspective was given in sixty-eight percent of The Washington Post articles if the performer sequences are combined with the double-casting sequences. If the same logic is applied to The New York Times' articles then there is a stark difference in appearance of sequencing, as The New York Times' articles only used double-casting sequences in thirty-three percent of their articles. A victim's perspective was only represented in thirty-seven percent of The New York Times' articles after the victim sequencing and double-casting sequences are added together, with eighty-nine percent of those occurrences coupled with a performer sequence through double-casting (33/37, 89%). Presenting the event or altercation from the perspective of the victim signifies to the audience that the violence was unjust and the sheer absence of the victim sequence throughout this week influences the audience into interpreting the actions as just.

Turning towards the content frames (conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and the responsibility frame) the numbers by themselves are fairly similar for prevalence. Taking the sequencing tendencies into account for both newspapers provides a clearer analysis in regards to the content frames as the newspapers largely wrote from different perspectives of the involved actors throughout the week in question. The Washington Post used a morality frame in eighty-eight percent of the articles in this week, while the New York Times employed morality frames in ninety-five percent of their articles. Both newspapers extensively used moral judgements around the unfolding events and yet the events would be interpreted very differently if a reader possessed both newspapers depending upon whose perspective was
portrayed (performer sequencing, victim sequencing, or double-casting sequencing). The sequencing tendencies influence the perceptions of the justness of the event or incident and the morality frames coalesce with the sequencing to influence the reader's opinions.

The responsibility frame for The Washington Post was one of the more prevalent framing techniques found, being present in eighty percent of the articles for this period being analyzed. In comparison, The New York Times used responsibility framing in fifty-eight percent of the articles for this period. The Washington Post used the responsibility frame to discuss the reform of the biased police policies and procedures found within Ferguson, in a similar manner that The New York Times did, just with a higher frequency. The responsibility framing for both newspapers also focused on the responsibilities of the community members to protest in a peaceful manner.

There is a large disparity between the episodic and thematic framing tendencies of the newspapers analyzed throughout this time frame. The Washington Post used episodic frames in twenty-seven percent of the articles with thematic framing accounting for seventy-three percent of the stories. In comparison, The New York Times used episodic framing in fifty-eight percent of the articles with thematic framing accounting for forty-two percent of the stories. The Washington Post portrayed a large majority of the articles from the perspective of the event being written about as being a part of a larger problem. The Washington Post framed the protests, the killing of an unarmed African American, and the police tactics being used as just another example in the larger scheme of a story. The New York Times portrayed this time frame in a largely episodic manner, where no ties, references, or similarities were drawn to Jim Crow laws, segregation era police
tactics, the prevalence of militarized police forces, or the plethora of other unarmed African American teenagers gunned down by police officers in the United States. Such similarities, ties, and references were made in forty-two percent of the articles from The New York Times but the majority of the articles focused on the events in an isolated manner.

Grand Jury's Decision November 24th – November 30th, 2014

Table 9: Grand Jury's Decision (Nov 24th – Nov 30th, 2014) Comparative sequencing and framing percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Sequencing</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performer Sequencing</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Sequencing</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Casting Sequencing</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Frames</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest Frames</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Consequences Frames</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality Frames</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility Frames</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frames</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Frames</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second week of research includes articles discussing the grand jury's decision, articles over the fear that violence would break out again, and then articles discussing the violence erupting again. Peaceful protests and violent protests had been
ongoing for several months after the death of Michael Brown and the militarized police tactics were criticized almost as much as the violent protesters. The violent protesters were vandalizing and looting the local businesses and personal property within the city of Ferguson and a state of emergency was declared with the National Guard being deployed to assist in ending the violence and restoring law and order.

The sequencing tendencies were once again ambiguous for The Washington Post and The New York Times, due to the fact that there were numerous stories running concurrently and who the victim or the performer was shifted with each story. For The Washington Post, contextual sequences comprised fifty-seven percent of the sequences in this week, compared to forty-one percent contextual sequences for The New York Times. The large volume of contextual sequences for The Washington Post (57%) assist the reader in circumnavigating the prevailing circumstances and provide the reader with context upon which to understand the Grand Jury's decision to not indict Officer Wilson. The contextual sequences extend to the months of violent protests and detail the dire social circumstances and tense relationship between the community of Ferguson and the police of Ferguson. A lot of effort was given in this time period to articulate the responsibilities of a Grand Jury and the conflicting witness statements were presented as contextual evidence as to how the jurors reached their conclusions. The New York Times' articles similarly addressed the circumstances of a Grand Jury reaching a verdict but only presented contextual sequences in forty-one percent of the articles in this week.

Victim sequencing was again shied away from in The New York Times' articles as the instances of victim sequencing were only prevalent in sixteen percent of the
articles, with performer sequencing taking up forty-one percent of the articles and double-casting sequences being present in twenty percent. The sequencing for The Washington Post's articles were more evenly distributed with victim sequencing present in twenty-five percent, performer sequencing found in thirty-five percent, and twenty-one percent of the articles employing double-casting sequences. The vast majority of the victim sequencing in The New York Times articles were portraying the homeowners, shop owners, and local community members who had been adversely affected by the violent protests, vandalism, and looting. The performer sequences largely focused on the grand jurors, which insinuates that their decision was a just one.

The content framing (conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame) was fairly similar for the economic consequences frame, morality frames, and responsibility frames in this time period between The Washington Post and The New York Times. The economic consequences frame was found in fifty-seven percent and sixty-six percent of The Washington Post and The New York Times' articles, respectively. The Washington Post articles had morality frames in them ninety-two percent of the time versus ninety-five percent in The New York Times' articles. Responsibility frames were present in fifty-three and fifty-four percent of The Washington Post and New York Times' articles, respectively.

The close percentages of content framing did not extend to conflict frames or human interest frames, as there was a marked difference between The Washington Post's articles and The New York Times' articles. Conflict frames were analyzed in twenty-five
percent of The Washington Post articles, while The New York Times articles were written with a conflict frame sixty-two percent of the time. The conflict frame presents the story from the perspective of the individuals and groups involved as being in competition with the other side, its appearance does not insinuate a judgement but the stark difference in its appearance is worth noting. A human interest frame was found in sixty-seven percent of The Washington Post articles and in eighty-seven percent of The New York Times articles. The human interest frame, as similar to the conflict frame, does not insinuate a judgement of justice being served or an action of being unjust, necessarily, and yet the large difference between how The Washington Post and The New York Times presented their articles is worth note. The human interest frame spotlights an individual or group and tells their perspective of how they were affected. Looking at the personal lives of the featured people forces a human face on the story and influences the reader to sympathize with the featured individual's or group's circumstances.

The Washington Post's and The New York Times' articles correspondingly favored episodic framing over thematic framing for this week. The Washington Post's articles used episodic framing in fifty-seven percent of the articles, while episodic framing was found in seventy-one percent of the New York Times' articles. Thematic frames were present in forty-three percent of the Washington Post's articles and in twenty-nine percent of The New York Times' articles. While both newspapers had more episodic framing tendencies, throughout this time period, the prevalence of episodic framing was more ubiquitous in The New York Times' articles. The articles in The Washington Post were closer to a heterogeneous split between instances of episodic and
thematic frames, than the New York Times' articles, but still heavily published their articles focusing on the events and individuals as irrespective of a larger problem.

**Police Chief Resignation March 11\textsuperscript{th} – March 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2015**

Table 10: Police Chief Resigns (Mar 11\textsuperscript{th} – Mar 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2015) Comparative sequencing and framing percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Washington Post</th>
<th>New York Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Sequencing</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performer Sequencing</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Sequencing</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Casting Sequencing</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Frames</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest Frames</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Consequences Frames</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality Frames</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility Frames</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frames</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Frames</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the final research time period there was a total of twenty articles written between the ten articles in The Washington Post and the ten articles written in The New York Times. This time period covered the Chief of Police of Ferguson, Thomas Jackson's, resignation and the shooting of two police officers by what was initially called
a 'violent protester' but the shooter was later found, in this week of research, to have no affiliation with the peaceful protests that the shot officers had been monitoring. The articles within this time frame also touched upon the protests, violent protests, and the militarization of the police forces in small towns.

The sequencing within this time frame should be viewed in the context of the multifaceted conflict, akin to the previous time frames of this research, where various individuals, groups, and perspectives are presented as 'the victim' or 'the performer'. Victim sequencing was established in forty percent of The Washington Post's articles and in twenty percent of The New York Times'. The perspective of the two police officers who were shot was the main narrative of 'the victim' in this week for both newspapers, although the Washington Post's articles presented this narrative twice as often as the New York Times articles. Performer sequencing was evident in twenty percent of both The Washington Post's and New York Times' articles. The performer sequencing centered on Thomas Jackson, the Chief of Police, and his resignation. The designation of a performer sequence for Mr. Jackson's resignation implies, to the readers, that his resignation was the just and correct decision. Contextual sequencing was only found in twenty percent of The Washington Post's articles but was prevalent in eighty percent of The New York Times' articles. The contextual sequences focused on; the circumstances of the officers being shot, the ongoing protest, the tense relationship between the police of Ferguson and the community of Ferguson, as well as the short comings of the police department in addressing accusations of biased policing and militarized tactics. Double-casting sequences were found in twenty percent of the Washington Post's articles and in ten
percent of The New York Times' articles. The distribution of sequencing for this time period is fairly balanced, excluding the eighty percent contextual framing found in the New York Times that does not necessitate recommendations for interpretations of justice.

The content framing tendencies of both The Washington Post and The New York Times employed high usage of the morality frame and human interest frame. The human interest frame accounted for ninety percent of the Washington Post's articles and eighty percent of The New York Times' articles. The human interest frames focused on; the police officers performing their duties and then being attacked, a few members of the community who had been affected by the violence in the region, and also the chief of police. The high percentages of the human interest frame and the morality frame, for both newspapers, illuminates the concerted manner for which the framing techniques were used. Morality frames were found in one hundred percent of both newspapers' articles in the final time period of this research, with moral judgements and recommendations being presented upon the attacking of police officers, ineffectual police tactics and procedures, and violent protesting. The morality frame was used to denounce any violence against police or the community and was providing moral judgements towards a path of law and order that would allow the community to return to normalcy.

The responsibility frame was also highly associated with the human interest and morality frames for this time period, for both articles. Although, The Washington Post's articles used the morality frame at a higher percentage than The New York Times' articles, with responsibility frames present in ninety percent and seventy percent of the articles, respectively. The responsibility framing was similar for both newspapers as
moral prescriptions were presented as the responsibility of the community to actively work for peace and for the police department to actively undertake innovative progress in their policies, procedures, and training efforts. Both newspapers also employed responsibility framing to denounce the local government officials (the Chief of Police being among them) and coupled this critique with the morality frame to present the expectations of how a local government should be run.

The episodic and thematic framing tendencies of this time period continued the trends previously exhibited in the newspapers representations of the variety of events, with The Washington Post's articles leaning towards thematic framing more often and The New York Times' articles having episodic framing more frequently present. The Washington Post's articles were framed in an episodic manner in forty percent of the articles for this time and sixty percent thematically. Whereas, The New York Times' articles were framed episodically seventy percent of the time with thirty percent of the framing being thematic. The thematic framing described the resignation of Thomas Jackson, the Chief of Police, as merely the latest in a long line of city officials to vacate their positions amidst the uproar from the community and widespread criticism. Thematic framing also extended to the protests, speaking to the violent protesting and the peaceful protests from the perspective of a grander perspective. The episodic framing focused on the resignation of Thomas Jackson and detailed the circumstances of his decision as irrespective of the other city officials vacating their posts. The shooting of the officers and the violence occurring within this week was also focused on as a single issue not indicative of a larger problem. The episodic framing tendencies did not deny a correlation
to other similar events but it failed to mention them, instead focusing on the individual event.

**Cumulative Totals**

**Table 11: Comparative totals of WP & NYT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Washington Post #</th>
<th>New York Times #</th>
<th>WP %</th>
<th>NY %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Sequencing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performer Sequencing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Sequencing</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Casting Sequencing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Frames</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest Frames</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Consequences Frames</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality Frames</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility Frames</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frames</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Frames</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This research analyzed one hundred and twenty-two articles, with sixty-four of them coming from The Washington Post and fifty-eight of the articles being produced in The New York Times. This research spanned seven months but focused on three key
events and analyzed all of the articles produced in the week (seven days) following the key events for The Washington Post and The New York Times.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This research project analyzed the portrayals of the uses of force by the police department in Ferguson, MO after three key events that followed the death of Michael Brown, an unarmed African American teenager who was killed by a white police officer, Darren Wilson, after an altercation broke out stemming from a routine jaywalking confrontation. The media sources analyzed and compared were The Washington Post and The New York Times. The three key events that were analyzed were 'the death of Michael Brown', 'the grand jury's decision', and 'the chief of police's resignation'. All of the articles published in the seven days after each key event were analyzed. This research searched for instances of; victim sequencing, performer sequencing, double-casting sequencing, contextual sequencing, conflict frames, human interest frames, economic consequences frames, morality frames, responsibility frames, episodic frames, and thematic frames. The articles were read with the coding schema previously stated and all instances of sequencing and framing were recorded in Microsoft Excel. To determine the framing and sequencing patterns present in the articles a latent content discourse analysis was conducted to search for the underlying insinuations. The data was analyzed and a qualitative analysis was conducted to explain the trends.

The sequencing and framing tendencies of the Washington Post and The New York Times were compared and contrasted to determine if the portrayals of the police
conduct and the protesters (violent and peaceful) differed based upon the media source followed. Both media sources covered a variety of related incidents throughout the time frames dictated, often changing the perspective narrative of the story. Depending upon the story in question, the police may have been 'the victim', the shop owners or community members may have been portrayed as 'the victim', Michael Brown or Darren Wilson may have been 'the victim', or the victimization of the protesters at the hands of the militarized police may have been the perspective given. The ambiguity of who was 'a victim' is identically mirrored with the ambiguity of who was 'the performer'. This research did not specifically annotate who was being presented as 'the victim' or who was 'the performer' and further research could illuminate those framing and sequencing tendencies. Determining the exact percentages of pro-police sequences and frames would serve to strengthen the case for a claim against a biased media presentation. The data analysis of this research addressed the framing tendencies and sequencing tendencies with attention being paid to a pro-police narrative and whose stories were being told but the analysis was qualitative and not quantitative and no statistics were recorded.

The analysis conducted on the differences between The Washington Post's and The New York Times' sequencing and framing tendencies showed a stark contrast in victim and performer sequencing between the two media sources. The New York Times' articles only had victim sequencing in twelve percent of the total articles while The Washington Post's articles were presented in victim sequences twenty-nine percent of the time. Victim sequence conveys the message that the violence was illegitimate by telling the story from the perspective of the victim. This portrayal of illegitimate violence was
presented infrequently for The New York Times' articles and noticeably more in The Washington Post's articles. The analysis conducted for this research showed that there were also clear distinctions between the amount of articles that employed performer sequences for The Washington Post and The New York Times. The Washington Post's articles had performer sequences in twenty-one percent of the total articles analyzed, while The New York Times' articles had performer sequencing in thirty-six percent of the total articles analyzed. The performer sequence conveys to the reader that the violence or the action taken was legitimate. The Washington Post's articles had double-casting sequences in thirty-seven percent of the total articles coded, while The New York Times' articles had double-casting in twenty-four percent of the total articles. The double-casting sequence conveys a message of uncertainty and no judgement is presented on the legitimacy of the violence or actions being discussed as both performer and victim sequencing are found in double-casting sequences. The sequencing tendencies for The Washington Post's articles were considerably more balanced than the sequencing tendencies of The New York Times' articles. The Washington Post's articles had a diverse variation of sequencing with the most commonly found sequence being double-casting and the instances of performer and victim sequencing (by themselves) almost the same. The New York Times' articles' sequencing was not as diverse, with performer sequencing being the most prevalent sequence and victim sequencing being found three times less than performer sequencing. This research articulates the differences in the sequencing tendencies of The Washington Post and The New York Times and the different interpretations a reader of one of the media sources would be presented.
The analysis conducted in this research on The Washington Post's and The New York Times' content frames (conflict frames, human interest frames, economic consequences frame, morality frames, and responsibility frames) shows two major differences in the framing tendencies between the media sources, large differences in the proclivity of the economic consequences frame and large differences in the usage of the responsibility frame. The Washington Post's articles had economic consequences framing in forty percent of the total articles researched, while The New York Times' articles had economic consequences in fifty-six percent of the total articles. The economic consequences frame presents the story in terms of economic losses and its usage throughout this research was predominately pro-police, as the economic consequences articulated, revolved around the violent protests and the damage being done to the local community and the local community members businesses and shops. The economic consequences frame was often coupled with a morality frame to make moral judgements or recommendations on the actions of the looters, vandals, or proprietors of violence within the Ferguson region. The Washington Post's articles had responsibility framing present in seventy percent of all of the articles analyzed, while The New York Times' total articles for this research had responsibility framing fifty-eight percent of the time. Responsibility framing was largely used throughout this research to discuss the responsibility that the police owe to the communities that they serve and to discuss the responsibility of local officials to represent their constituents. The responsibility frame was largely used to critique the police procedures, policies, and training practices while critiques of the local government officials were also presented with responsibility frames.
The responsibility frame was not used as a pro-police narrative and instead the responsibility frame was used to highlight the discrepancies, shortcomings, and militarized tactics of the Ferguson police department. The data collected in this research shows the different content framing tendencies of The Washington Post and The New York Times, with the different manners that both media sources used the frames in.

This research analyzed the episodic and thematic framing tendencies of The Washington Post and The New York Times newspapers over the time period in question and discusses the variation in trends. Episodic framing was found in forty-two percent of The Washington Post's articles and in sixty-five percent of The New York Times' articles throughout the research periods. Thematic frames were visible in fifty-eight percent of The Washington Post's articles and in thirty-four percent of The New York Times' articles. The articles with episodic framing were written as lone occurrences, not indicative of a larger pattern, while the articles with thematic framing were written with the perspective that the occurring event being written about was a part of a larger trend. Framing the events as episodic was more pro-police, as presenting the event as a lone occurrence has less dire implications than discussing traditions of racial discrimination or racially biased police procedures. Presenting the events or altercations to the readers as isolated occurrences diminishes the severity of the violent pattern, of a long line of unarmed African Americans being killed by White police officers as well as the violent, militarized police tactics used. The thematic framing of the events and altercations, places the events and altercations in the broader picture and connects the similarities between incidents. Thematically framing the uses of force by White police officers against
unarmed African Americans as excessive and prejudicial in nature, further exasperates the tense relationships between the community and the government officials tasked with maintaining law and order. This research calls attention to the discrepancies between the manner in which The Washington Post's and The New York Times' articles employed episodic and thematic framing, and the implications of each frames usage.

Overall, the sequencing and framing tendencies found in The New York Times' articles favored a pro-police narrative in higher percentages than the sequencing and framing tendencies found in The Washington Post's articles. The high usage of performer sequencing, economic consequences frames, and episodic framing in the articles published in The New York Times coupled with the low percentages of victim sequencing, comparatively low usage of the responsibility frame, and thematic framing all work in conjuncture to favor a pro-police narrative. The published Washington Post articles had a more diverse tendency for sequencing and framing. The percentages noted, for The Washington Post, represent a more equal representation of events and individuals, with The New York Times' articles having a more polarized presentation. This research has shown that the sequencing and framing tendencies of The Washington Post and The New York Times, throughout the Ferguson conflict, may have significantly impacted their readers' understandings and interpretations of the conflict itself, with the interpretations and understandings of the events differing with the preferred media source of the reader.
APPENDIX

Data Presentation

Table 12: Death of Michael Brown (Aug 10th – Aug 16th, 2014) coded theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>8/10/14</th>
<th>8/11/14</th>
<th>8/12/14</th>
<th>8/13/14</th>
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<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim Sequencing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Sequencing</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Casting Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Frames</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest Frames</td>
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<td>Economic Consequences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Morality Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Frames</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>8/10/14</th>
<th>8/11/14</th>
<th>8/12/14</th>
<th>8/13/14</th>
<th>8/14/14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Sequencing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Casting Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest Frames</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Economic Consequences</td>
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<td>Morality Frames</td>
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<td>Responsibility Frames</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Episodic Frames</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Frames</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Washington Post Articles Death of Michael Brown (August 10th-16th, 2014)

1. National digest Aug 10th, 2014
-Responsibility frame (gov needed for intervention)
-doubled casting
-contextual
-morality
-episodic
-conflict
-morality
2. August 11th, killing of unarmed Missouri teen draws protest
victim & performer so double-casting
morality (anti police)
human interest
thematic
responsibility (anti police)
conflict

3. August 12th, what do we know about the shooting of Michael Brown
victim (Michael Brown as victim and Wilson as defending himself) so double-casting
conflict
human interest
economic consequences (looting)
responsibility (FBI launches investigation, began with physical altercation)
episodic

4. August 12th, FBI will investigate shooting in Mo.
morality
responsibility
human interest (Brown’s family saddened, starting college, good boy)
victim (he was starting college) and perpetrator (Wilson was attacked and pushed back); double-casting again then
economic consequences
conflict
thematic
called him a teenager for the first time

5. August 13, days before death, a hard-won prize: a diploma (1181)
victim and performer so double casting again
human interest (Brown in high school, on football team)
contextual (area hard hit by economy,
responsibility
morality (doubts about justification of shooting)
thematic
conflict

6. August 14th, my hands are behind my back I’m not resisting (903)
victim (journalist arrested for being in McDonald’s by protests)
contextual (protests going on and they were in McDonald’s by the protests for wifi use)
human interest
morality (morality of officers is questioned as journalists weren’t doing anything)
responsibility
episodic
7. aug 14, in Ferguson, racial questions have long hung over police force (1415)
-victim (unarmed teenager)
-contextual (police do not reflect community, population shift in Ferguson)
-thematic (not first incident with police in Ferguson, traffic stops, arrests, and other actions, hostile for years)
-responsibility (question officers training, poorly equipped officers, uneven levels of protection, lack of funding, inadequate investigations into uses of force and complex crimes)
-conflict (between rioters and police)
-performer (officer shot a man who pointed a gun at him in protests, officers face was swollen (Wilson))
-“Everybody in this city has been a victim of DWB (driving while black),” he said”
-economic (looting breaks out, officers from other areas come in)

8. August 15th, an unjustifiable shooting (130)
-thematic (violence against minorities)
-morality (even if provoked killing was too much)
-responsibility (FBI will sort it out)
-human interest
-victim (nothing will bring Michael brown back)

9. August 15th, some dismayed by military like show of force (1194)
-human interest (officers dressed in masks with big guns)
-performer (officers have armored vehicles, noise based crowd control devices, shotguns, m4 rifles similar to those used by forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, tear gas)
-”the anger of residents at first revolved largely around a desire for information about the shooting, but that rage is now rivalled by anger over the authorities show of force since the weekend.)
-morality (using sniper rifles, not police but para military forces, police tactics so strong other districts want nothing to do with it)
-double casting (victim officers being attacked)
-thematic (decades long militarization of police)
-”This kind of response by the police has become the problem instead of the solution.)
-Sen. Claire McCaskill (D) of Missouri.
-responsibility (gov has turned police into small armies)
-economic consequences (gov donating money and weapons)
-”not controlling the crowd but intimidating them”

10. aug 15, images coming from Ferguson reveal unfiltered, uncomfortable truths (1492)
-contextual (daily protests are erupting)
-performer (police killed African America, police adopt terrifying tactics, )
-thematic (not Gaza strip or Ukraine but in the us, police brutality as commonplace, accountability for the government evaporating, spying, CIA director caught lying, limiting media, deeply connected to larger national trends)
-morality (conflicting images alleviate our responsibility)
-responsibility (conflicting images alleviate our responsibility)
-conflict
-human interest (community at large)

11. August 15th, lessons rarely learned from a racial past (1025)
-victim (terror of police)
-thematic (comparisons to LA riots in 1965, police keep killing people)
-contextual (why rioting is occurring; information vacuum)
-responsibility (many police forces have yet to adopt some of the most basic techniques
to curb police brutality and subsequent unrest)
-morality (prescribing social prescriptions as to avoid similar situations)
-performer (police always scared)
-So its double casting*
-Conflict (between police and community)
-human interest (fear that people felt from police with specific examples)

12. August 15th, the distrust outlasts the occupation, (984)
-thematic (happened in Ferguson can happen here)
-responsibility (police department does not reflect community)
-human interest (community members saying they don’t trust the police)
-morality (officers going too far and striking fear into the community)
-double casting (how people feel in community, and how police feel)

13. August 15, racially lopsided police forces common (912)
-contextual (killing sparked riots, makeup of community and police force)
-thematic (racial imbalance not rare,)
-morality (having an all-white police force in mostly minority neighborhoods)
-responsibility (community demographics changing, policies and makeup of department may just reflect an earlier time, trimming human resources staff and recruitment programs that address this issue)
-performers (from perspective of police and why there may be inequality in numbers)

14. August 15, diverse and divided (757)
-thematic (US growing multiculturally)
-human interest (killing on brown, community at large)
-conflict (between people, and over information)
-responsibility (to explain killing, and from community to curb protests, unrest will continue unless changes are made)
-double casting (police and community to blame)
-morality (both sides have responsibilities, not an excuse just context (referring to EC)
-context (economic and social isolation increasing)
-economic consequences (low levels of workforce participation, high levels of incarceration)
15. August 15, vigil draws peaceful but angry crowd of demonstrators to DC park (411)
- double casting (both versions of altercation given)
- thematic (protests all over the states)
- conflict (between organizers and protesters who wanted to do more,
- morality (determining which course of action is best for protesters, comparison between
  wild vengeful guy and sensible individuals)
- human interest (focusing on different members of protests (some good and others bad))

16. August 15, how 300 black students at Howard spoke volumes in a photo, (468)
- human interest (story about one student
- thematic (talks about Travyon Martin and larger issues,
- morality (if you’re not a part of solution you’re a part of the problem, clerks assuming
  you’re stealing
- victim (police against black people from his perspective)
- ”To show that even our innocence is threatening, “ Saadiq told the crowd”
- responsibility (urgent attention is required for police discrimination
- contextual (circumstances behind this picture are revealed)
- conflict (between police and community)

17. August 15, furor in Ferguson brings out GOP's growing libertarian wing (988)
- responsibility (criticizing police tactics, growing militarization, blames big government,
  challenges police face
- ”If I had been told to get out of the street as a teenager, there would have been a district
  possibility that I might have smarted off, “ he wrote. “But, I wouldn’t have expected to be
  shot.”
- Sen., Rand Paul (R- KY.)
  - morality (role race plays for law enforcement, treatment of journalists
  - thematic (militarization of police, growing concern across country)
  - conflict (between AA and police)
  - human interest (between AA and police)
  - victim (AA as victims of police targeting and uses of force)

18. August 15, our selective outrage (758)
- victim (crime of walking while black, young baby killed)
- thematic (we've been through this so often, black on black violence being ignored)
- morality (should be just as outraged over 3 year old killed by AA, black on black violence
- conflict (between gf and bf and bf shot at the house
- human interest (young baby shot in black on black crime)
- responsibility (urgent attention paid to black on black crime)

19. August 15, president makes appeal for 'peace and calm' in Ferguson, mo (1118)
-morality (justice in shooting?, Obama trying to draw attention to the matters)
-human interest (Obama talking, he’s on vacation, he’s not wearing a tie, this is his first time talking, he understands the issues, he’s trying to make a difference)
-contextual (Obama as first black president, ambiguous circumstances, white police and black community)
-responsibility (white police and black community)
-thematic (a lot of pain and experience for AA community that doesn’t go away)

20. aug 15, Ferguson’s fumble (519)
-responsibility (people promising to address matter differently, FBI keeping close eye, changing tactics, reviewing training and staffing policies
-economic consequence (looting
-double casting (attacking police while they attack back
-morality (attacking cops, using military weapons and tactics, abusing journalists,
-thematic (police militarization,
“Police can only do their job if they have a basic level of trust from the community they are charged with protecting. If that existed before the recent events in Ferguson, it does not now.”

21. aug 15, Officials seek to calm Missouri unrest (1403)
-morality (we’re all part of one family protesting needs to stop, never right to attack police
-double casting (both instances told)
-responsibility (changing tactics, leaving military equipment at home, justice to be done
-economic consequences (looting and vandalism
-episodic (focusing on protests within Ferguson)
-conflict (between police and protesters, and the community at large

22. aug 16, prosecutor faces challenge in Missouri (597)
-morality (removing prosecutor for bias,
-conflict (community does not trust prosecutor,
-thematic (objectivity being questioned multiple times,
-contextual (death of his father leading to questioning his objectivity)
-human interest (prosecutor is the focus)

23. aug 16, police: slain mo. Teen was tied to robbery (1457)
-economic consequence (robbery
-double casting (brown getting killed and confronting officer
-morality (deliberately besmirching browns character, releasing robbery info
-responsibility (control being taken away from st louis police
-human interest (describing Wilson as quiet and honorable man
-conflict (between brown and store clerk
-episodic
24. aug 16, police presence rises near officers house (360)
-victim (Wilson in fear, used to be an honor roll student in 9th and 10th
-human interest (Wilson used to be honor roll, left his house in fear, watched by police,
-morality (Wilson is a good guy
-episodic

25. aug 16, rioting adds more innocent victims to tragic shooting (200)
-economic (looting and burning stores down
-human interest (store owners talking about their stores being burned
-thematic (other riots and looting described
-victim (the store owners being victims of the rioters
-morality (morality of attacking store owners who had nothing to do with killing

26. aug 16, what exactly are we seeing in Ferguson? (713)
-victim (police in riot gear, arresting journalists
-contextual (the way the media has been portraying it
-”When police are shutting down cameras, it is a sign that they know the truth is not going to be kind to them.”
-responsibility (responsibility of media to tell entire story, and capture it
-morality (morals of police keeping media out is questioned
-thematic (police keeping media out or trying to throughout the occurrences

New York Times Articles Death of Michael Brown (August 10th – August 16th, 2014)

1. aug 10, grief and protests follow shooting of a teenager
-responsibility (shooting came after struggle for officers gun, police officials said;
distressed with police actions after shooting)
-performer (shot after fighting with officer, officers perspective
-morality (assaulted an officer; don’t shoot, looting
-thematic (another unarmed black man killed, police tactics similar to Jim crow era (police dogs)
-economic (spray painting and damaging property and businesses, looting
-human interest (browns family
-conflict (between brown and Wilson)

2. aug 11, outrage over teenager's death erupts on social media
-morality (“I can be killed by the police but shouldn’t”; crowd needs to stand as one
-performer (officer shooting
-thematic (AA being killed by police; “#if they gunned me down”
-conflict (between AA and police
-human interest (browns family and other black children

3. aug 12, protests near st. Louis, seen on social media
-performer (police using tactics and killing brown, officers were attacked so had to use violent tactics
-morality (using tear gas/attacking officers
-conflict (between police and violent protesters
-human interest (police being attacked
-episodic (these riots as the focus

4. aug 12, fbi steps in amid unrest after police kill Missouri youth
-responsibility (FBI investigating with a civil rights inquiry
-** double casting; performer (officers donning riot gear to warily face off against hundreds
-economic (looting, vandalism
-morality (looting, asking public to be reasonable
-St. Louis police chief, Jon Belmar “I would also ask the public to be reasonable, because it takes a long time to make sure we do this investigation the right way.”
-human interest (man taken to hospital after being hit by rubber bullets
-thematic (racial disparities within the region
-”Mr. Brown's parents said at a news conference that he was nonviolent and good-natured, and would have objected to the looting.”
-conflict (rioters and police, police and AA community at large

5. august 13, scenes of chaos unfold after a peaceful vigil in Ferguson
-performer (police trying to stop looting, police advance after protesters started yelling at police, police telling crowd to disperse
-economic (looters, vandals
-morality (looters
-conflict (police and protesters
-morality (protesters attacked reporters car because they thought he was police then apologized
-episodic
-human interest (reporters car attacked

6. aug 13, the death of Michael brown
-double casting ;victim (death of brown
-thematic (history of racial segregation, economic inequality, and overbearing law enforcement
-”In 1980, the town was 85 percent white and 14 percent black; by 2010 it was 29 percent white and 69 percent black.”
-”The disparity if most evident in the Ferguson Police Department, f which only three of the 53 officers are black,”
-”The largely white force stops black residents far out of proportion to their population, according to statistics kept by the state attorney general.”
-”Blacks account for 86 percent of the traffic stops in the city, and 93 percent of the arrests after those stops.”
-economic (economic struggles of AA community, whites moving
-conflict (between AA and police
-responsibility (shifting responsibility to the gov/community over tensions

7. aug 13, police cite threats in deciding not to name officer who shot teenager
-double casting performer (police not releasing name, victim (Dorian Johnson’s account
-”The value of releasing the name is far outweighed by the risk of harm to the officer and his family.” -police chief, Thomas Jackson
-economic (protests turned violent looting and vandalism
-morality (looting and vandalism; needs to stop as well
-”I urge everyone in Ferguson, MO., and across the country, to remember this young man through reflection and understanding.” -president Obama
-human interest (Dorian Johnson’s account
-”to become violent in Michael Brown's name is to betray the gentle giant that he was.” -Al Sharpton
-conflict (protesters and police
-episodic

8. aug 13, shooting spurs hashtag effort on stereotypes
-thematic (hundreds of African Americans suffer same treatment
-morality (portraying AA as gang members, social media inciting riots
-human interest (sax player and other members of AA community
-double casting
-economic (looting
-”Mike was throwing up a peace sign and people thought it was a gang sign?”
-responsibility (media portraying AA as gang members

9. aug 14, Michael brown and black men
-victim (browns death
-thematic (too often repeated; criminalization of black and brown bodies
-morality (criminalization of blacks and browns
-”the arrow is pointed away from the killer and at the prey.”
-conflict (authority and AA
-responsibility (gov and school allowing for this to happen

10. aug 14, anonymity in police shooting fuels frustration
-performer (officer punched in the face
-responsibility (officer requires protection
-morality (protesters throwing molotov cocktails
-conflict (between officers and protesters
-”But the people want answers. When we get answers, things will calm down.” -Meko Taylor 36
-episodic
11. aug 15, hackers efforts to identify officer create turmoil
-performer (hackers crashing city web servers, urging protests
-human interest (anonymous the hacker group
-episodic
-morality (hacking to get name out, publicly disclosing information, incorrect information

12. aug 15, Ferguson images evoke civil rights era and changing visual perceptions
-thematic (similar to Birmingham Alabama
-“It looked like soldiers. And soldiers' jobs isn’t to protect. Their job is to kill people and be ready to die.” -Danny Lyon a photographer
-economic (looting
-morality (police firing tear gas into crowds with their hands up
-double casting (police worried about images as well as media and protesters
-conflict (between police and protesters

13. aug 15, advice for Ferguson’s protesters from the middle east
-thematic (heavy handed policing similar to middle east
-human interest (middle east protesters
-morality (policing tactics as militarized
-performer (the mid east protesters sharing advice
-responsibility (mid east protesters sharing advice because its the same situations

14. aug 15, in wake of clashes, calls to demilitarize police
-double casting (police marching and protesters protesting
-morality (demilitarize police forces, paying or tanks, helicopters, tear gas, and rubber bullets, looting local businesses, journalists also being caught in police tactics
-responsibility (gov officials calling to demilitarize as well
-economic (stores being looted
-“Tactical units will be out there if firebombs are being thrown at officers or if demonstrators are otherwise behaving violently.” -Chief Thomas Jackson
-thematic (militarized police

15. aug 15, get the military off of main street
-performer (heavily equipped police
-responsibility (gov equipped them this way
-“Ferguson's police force got equipped this way thanks to the Pentagon, and its happening all over the country.”
-thematic (small towns all over America are now the proud owners of 'MRAP” armoured vehicles
-morality (militarization of police forces
-“police militarization is a growing national threat. If the federal government doesn’t act to stop it, the future of law enforcement everywhere will look a lot like Ferguson.”
-conflict (protesters and militarized police
16. aug 15, protest in Missouri at police killing of teenager is chronicled on social media
-double casting: performer (protesters marching
-”we aint leaving until we have justice”
-human interest (fleeing woman enveloped by tear gas
-episodic
-morality (of police and of violent protesters
-responsibility (of both sides to stop)

17. aug 15, vigils planned nationwide over Ferguson shooting
-contextual (circumstances surrounding the call for vigil and why peaceful
-morality (critique of Anonymous calling for a day of rage, calling for non violence
-human interest (Kelly Hayes talking about protests and events
-episodic
-responsibility (community to act responsibly and peacefully

18. aug 15, for Missouri governor, test at an uneasy time
-contextual (governor not in touch with community
-morality (lack of diversity in administration
-responsibility (gov needs to change to diversify
-episodic
-human interest (governor Nixon as the focus

19. aug 15, Missouri unrest leaves the right torn over views on Law vs. Order
-morality (tactics of police, how race plays into unequal treatment under the justice system
-contextual (tactics of police over course of protests
-responsibility (of gov to change tactics/stop violence
-episodic
-conflict (how to act

20. aug 16, trooper listens to, and connects with, a Ferguson torn by violent unrest
-human interest (captain Johnson speaking to media/town hall meeting, his positive impact and appearance
-economic (vandalize buildings
-morality (burn down our own buildings, treating people with respect
-episodic (officer walking with protesters and listening to them
-responsibility (urgently need to stop the violence

21. aug 16, a song born when pain is still fresh
-performer (j coles song
-human interest (j cole
-morality (protest songs
-episodic
22. aug 16, a nation shocked by Ferguson, mo
-morality (tanks have no place in the streets of America, police hiding their faces
-human interest (white man beaten by police for helping Chicano boy
-thematic (police violence can happen to anyone
-contextual

23. aug 16, a youth an officer and 2 paths to a fatal encounter
-double casting
-human interest (Wilson, and brown
-economic (brown stealing cigarillos
-morality (skipping classes, smoking weed and drinking beer with his friends
-episodic
-contextual

24. aug 16, duelling police statements as anger rises in Missouri
-"All week, community members had demanded the name of the officer who killed
Michael Brown, 18, last Saturday, but when it finally came, it was accompanied by
surveillance videotapes that appeared to show Mr. Brown shoving a store clerk aside as
he stole a box of cigarillos.
-contextual (releasing tape with name
- “It is smoke and mirrors,” said Benjamin L. Crump, a lawyer for the Brown family
“Nothing, based on the facts before us, justifies the execution-style murder by this police
officer in broad daylight”
-economic (lack of economic opportunities in Ferguson , vandalized stores in Ferguson
-”The release of his name was overshadowed by the simultaneous announcement of the
robbery allegations, leading to questions about timing and motives.”
-morality (releasing video at same time as name
-episodic
-contextual

Table 13: Grand Jury's Decision (Nov 24th – Nov 30th, 2014) coded theories
Washington Post Articles Grand Jury's decision (Nov 24-Nov 30, 2014)

1. Nov 24, Ferguson has learned the meaning of 'media circus' (1174)
   -economic (shop owners boarding up stores, property damage at 5 million, restaurants benefiting from hordes of reporters)
   -morality (news producing warped perspective)
   -thematic (this could happen anywhere, Ferguson as burned out symbol of racial and class divisions across America)
   -human interest (restaurant owners
   -"a media circus
   -victim (shop owners and community at large)
   -conflict (community as losers)

2. Nov 24, Ferguson's churches prepare for new unrest (1240)
   -"its open season on black men" if decision is to not indict
   -human interest (pastor of church is focused on)
   -morality (pastor calling for peace, Obama calling for peace, bible verses quoted)
   -economic (we're not going to loot)
   -"But we're going to walk anyway. We're going to walk by faith. We are not going to loot, we are not going to break windows. We are not going to do any of that stuff, but we are going to walk by faith." - Rev. Tommie L. Pierson Sr.
   -contextual (circumstances of previous rioting)
   -thematic (not riot like last time)
   -responsibility (not riot like last time urgent matter)
3. Nov 25, in Michael Brown’s hometown, a pause to listen—then outrage (942)
- victim (people attacking police) but double-casting (police and rioters)
- economic (shops being attacked)
- conflict (between police and protesters)
- morality (church members in crowd trying to keep calm)
- episodic (focus on decision and right now)

4. Nov 25, jurors tend to give police officers benefit of doubt, experts say (970)
- responsibility (officers’ rights, must protect themselves)
- 9/12 jurors were white
- “the conflicting accounts probably confused grand jury members, creating doubt—which would work in favor of Wilson”
- excusing the jurors for indicting Wilson. Or explaining how they could
- episodic (focusing on specific case here)
- morality (explaining how they could decide that way)
- contextual (explaining how they could decide)
- human interest (same as above)

5. Nov 25, what’s next, and what we will and won’t learn about the process (712)
- contextual (rules for jurors)
- episodic
- morality (why they excused him legally)
- responsibility (the laws pertaining to going to trial)
- human interest (the jurors’ responsibilities)

6. Nov 25, Ferguson decision is protested at White House (413)
- performer (protesters shouting at police and marching)
- episodic
- human interest
- morality (shouting expletives at police)

7. Nov 25, grand jury declines to indict Ferguson officer Darren Wilson
- economic (looting)
- morality (looting shops and stores, where the justice in the rioting)
- responsibility (officers must protect themselves, make split second decisions, blame the job)
- human interest (shop owners and community members)
- episodic
- conflict
- double casting (conflicting witness reports)

8. Nov 25, Justice Dept probes of police practices and civil rights continue
- responsibility (looking at the training officers received,
9. nov 26, Ferguson decision sparks emotional demonstrations in Washington area
-performer (focus on protesters
-economic (looting
-morality (looters
-thematic (protests across country
-human interest (mother is worried about her child facing same thing as Brown

10. nov 26, inconsistency only constant with evidence
-human interest (witnesses accounts
-morality (in the uses of force (necessary and not), making up witness accounts
-contextual (conflicting witness accounts
-responsibility (tough to determine because of conflicting statements from witnesses
-performer (the witness accounts
-discrediting a lot of the witnesses and adding to the confusion

11. nov 26, the right decision
-lack of adequate evidence
-performer (grand jury
-contextual (conflicting witness accounts
-responsibility (not to indict without certainty
-morality (why they couldn't indict
-episodic
-human interest (the jury as a focus again

12. nov 26, turning justice into a joke
-responsibility (media at fault for whipping up emotions
-morality (media's fault for concern, not indicting, not premeditated
-contextual (imperfect and ambiguous witness accounts
-episodic
-human interest (McCulloch on not indicting
-conflict (people wanted an indictment

13. nov 26, assessing damage, bracing for unknown
-conflict (protesters and police
-thematic (protest across us
-performer (jury not indicting
-morality (not just to protest/riot, morals in releasing information, looting
-"Nothing of benefit, nothing of significance, results from destructive acts." -Obama
-contextual (large distrust between community and police
- economic (economic disaster, businesses burning, looting)
- human interest (business owners testifying)
- "My community is destroyed. I don't know that we'll ever come back from this" - Andrea James, resident of area
- victim (the shop owners perspectives and community members)

14. nov 26, Obama vows to improve fairness of justice system
- performer (grand jury)
- responsibility (moving forward and working together, making sure law enforcement is fair)
- morality (we need to make sure actually bringing about change, looting and destroying property)
- economic (burning businesses, cars, and property)
- episodic (must make changes now)

15. nov 27, lawlessness breeds lawlessness
- thematic (rioting, and discriminatory practices by police)
- double casting (law breaks down and then rioting ensues)
- morality (police viewing black men as criminals, targeting AA, unequal laws)
- responsibility (police tactics and training, discriminatory police policies, changing the policies)
- contextual (discriminatory police practices)

16. nov 27, unorthodox forensic practices in Ferguson
- morality (not following protocols, prosecutors guiding Wilson’s answers)
- contextual (one leading to the other death and protests, training of investigators)
- "totally unorthodox and unusual. This would be considered very out of line – very, very bad from an investigative perspective.” - Chuck Drago, former Florida police chief
- performer (Wilson's actions)
- responsibility (nobody stopped him, he had to drive himself, he was sticky so washed himself, questioning police procedures)

17. nov 27, Ferguson is now a symbol, not a place
- contextual (what Ferguson was like before shooting)
- victim (brown)
- thematic (Ferguson sits with Selma, Columbine)
- economic (buildings burning)
- human interest (the people of Ferguson)
- morality (Ferguson sparking change)

18. nov 28, Ferguson dehumanized
- morality (society placing low value on lives of AA)
- performer (Wilson’s perspective)
-morality (Wilson was not a small child, police responding with vicious tactics, AA not seen as people
-episodic
-responsibility (police more concerned with containing a riot than preventing one

19. nov 28, death, protest and law in Ferguson
-morality (preserving the lives of citizens, nonlethal force, rioting and looting immoral
-thematic (many people killed by police
-double casting
-responsibility (of police to follow procedures, of community to act justly as well
-economic (looting and damage to community

20. nov 28, deterioration and white flight in Missouri
-contextual (looking at Ferguson as a town
-responsibility (realtors blockbusting forcing white homeowners to sell quickly for fear of declining property values when blacks move in, gov as well with low income housing, st louis the town being unprepared for all the new constituents
-morality (realtors adding to problem, and gov as well
-economic (decline of Spanish Lake, white flight causing deterioration
-thematic (Spanish Lake is the same as Ferguson only eight miles away

21. nov 28, resilience, reflection in Ferguson on thanksgiving
-economic (burned down city
-victims (residents sifting through the rubble, families victimized by riots take solace in being together **)
-human interest (families spotlighted
-morality (gods loves both brown and Wilson, disowning destructive protesting, time for family
-thematic (protests across country
-“Black men and black boys are being killed by police all over. This has brought that to light.”

22. nov 28, after the cameras leave
-economic (burning cars
-morality (tear gas, justice fairness and equality of society
-responsibility (hope police find better tactics and policies, possible reform
-contextual (years of racial discrimination
-episodic
-double casting (police and AA community
-human interest

23. nov 29, brown family pastor deals with loss of church
-economic (pastors church burned down, looters
-morality (rioters burned down pastors house
-human interest (brown's pastors church burned down
-victim (browns pastor
-contextual (rioting, and struggle of pastor to buy church
-episodic

24. nov 29, Ferguson retailers bruised by protests
-economic (stores not busy on black Friday, economic damage
-episodic
-victim (store owners
-morality (looting and community members businesses being attacked
-"I just want to get back to business as usual” -target manager Brian Leas
-human interest (business owners
-conflict (owners and rioters and police

25. Nov 30, black children don’t get to be children
-thematic (black children across us are seen as unworthy, ties to lynchings
-morality (black lives matter less, similar to lynchings
-context (years and years of racial discrimination is continuing
-victim (AA community at large
-conflict (between whites and blacks over the years lynching, jim crow, etc

26. nov 30, what was Michael brown doing?
-double casting (both sides told
-"The pattern of shell casings on the street suggest Wilson was moving backward as he fired at brown.”**
-thematic (all the different witness accounts a theme of conflicting stories)
-human interest
-contextual (showing the confusion in the witness accounts

27. nov 30, hundreds of demonstrators protest Ferguson decision
-morality (black lives matter, police brutality, peaceful protesting
-thematic (police brutality as larger issue
-economic (goal was to disrupt business as usual (peacefully),
-performer (peaceful protesters
-human interest (peaceful protesters

28. nov 30, Ferguson officer resigns; protesters begin march
-performer (Wilson resigns, these protesters (peaceful)
-"I’m not willing to let someone else get hurt because of me” -Wilson
-morality (aggressive police tactics need to stop, march began at church, likened to previous civil rights actions
-episodic (peaceful protesters
-human interest (these protesters

1. nov 24, in Ferguson, lives upended by uncertainty
   -economic (less sales for businesses
   -contextual (awaiting decision
   -responsibility (prosecutor recommending charges
   -morality (will rioting break out again
   -episodic
   -human interest (school board officials and how it will affect their students

2. nov 25, witnesses told grand jury that teenager charged at officer, prosecutor says
   -contextual (circumstances of grand jury
   -responsibility (of grand jurors
   -episodic
   -human interest
   -morality (how difficult it is to find probably cause, witnesses changing their stories

3. nov 25, from plains to both coasts, fury boils over
   -economic (shops looted and burned
   -morality (looting
   -human interest (community members talking
   -conflict (protests, AA community and the police
   -contextual (the protests, reactions to announcement
   -episodic
   -performer (the protesters and violent protesters

4. nov 25, grand jury declines to indict police officer in Ferguson killing
   -performer (grand jury declining to indict
   -economic (looting and rioting
   -morality (looting and rioting, calling for peace
   -responsibility (extra police called in to protect
   -human interest (brown's family calling for peace
   -episodic
   -conflict (between witnesses, comm. and police, over decision

5. nov 26, blocking New York traffic, crowds protest decision not to indict in shooting
   -performer (protesters marching
   -human interest (protesters
   -thematic (protests across us
   -morality (protesters marched peacefully
6. nov 26, amid violence, police react with restraint not shown after august killing
-economic (looting, businesses destroyed
-morality (looting, police we're restrained at first but violence catalyzed their response
-double casting (rioters and police, police had restraint at first
-episodic
-conflict (between protesters and police

7. nov 26, the meaning of the Ferguson riots
-double casting; performer (county prosecutor Robert McCulloch refusing to step aside
-morality (no recommendation on charges which was highly unorthodox, late announcement of decision placing officers in further peril, police seen as alien force to community
-responsibility (not making a recommendation
-human interest (Robert McCulloh
-thematic (police systematically targeting AA community

8. nov 26, mixed motives seen in prosecutors decision to release grand jury materials
-performer (Robert McCulloh
-morality (questionable methods by prosecutor leading grand jury, McCulloh's neutrality a ruse
-human interest (McCulloh
-episodic

9. nov 26, amid conflicting accounts, trusting the officer
-morality (questionable proceedings
-"In some cases the questions seemed designed to help Officer Wilson meet the conditions for self-defense."
-contextual (grand jury processes in general
-episodic
-human interest (the jurors
-performer (prosecutors and jurors decision

10. nov 26, Ferguson tightens security after night of unrest
-economic (looting
-morality (looting, questioning McCullohs decision to release decision
-double casting (rioters and police
-responsibility (attorney general starting investigation into practices
-thematic (protests across the US
-conflict (rioters and police

11. nov 26, as protests take a turn, holder finds it harder to ease racial tensions this time
-economic (looters and vandals
-morality (looters and vandals, denouncing violent protesters
-”There is a difference between a demonstration and a riot.” -Eric Holder Attorney General
-human interest (Eric Holder resigns and travels country to speak on civil rights
-contextual (holder's resignation, release of juror transcripts
-episodic
-conflict (over releasing transcripts and general grand jury proceedings
-performer (holder resigning)

12. nov 27, experts weigh police officers decisions leading to fatal shooting of teenager
-morality (did Wilson handle situation correctly, disappointing to see he didn’t use intermediate tools available to him (pepper spray, baton, taser),
-performer (Wilson had to do it)
-responsibility (officer training, investigations opening by gov
-episodic
-human interest (Wilson)
-conflict (between Wilson and Brown)

13. nov 27, ferguson, still tense, grows calmer
-victim (store owners sweeping up glass from previous night, AA and racial inequality
-morality (looters and vandals, vilify AA
-economic (looters and vandals, store owners
-thematic (protests over US
-”demonstrators chanting “Black lives matter””
-conflict (between AA and police
-human interest (AA community being targeted

14. nov 27, after disputed verdict, reckoning for Ferguson
-contextual (how community was before
-economic (empty burned down boarded up buildings
-morality (destroying local businesses, looting
-human interest (a few local business owners
-conflict (between police and rioters
-episodic
-double casting (rioters, police, and shop owners stories

15. nov 28, bands, balloons and this thanksgiving, protesters
-human interest (people who travelled to Ferguson to join in protests
-contextual
-episodic
-conflict (between protesters and police
-morality (peaceful protesters, mike brown is not at thanksgiving dinner

16. nov 28, on holiday, Ferguson seeks to salve wounds
106

17. nov 28, officer defused eruptions as crowds grew volatile
   -economic (riots left community smoldering)
   -morality (taking it out on community itself, protesters throwing urine bottles and rocks, officer hugging protesters)
   -episodic
   -responsibility (officers calming protesters down)
   -performer (officer calming down the protesters)
   -human interest (Lieutenant Lohr)

18. nov 29, after Ferguson, demonstrations and challenges
   -performer (demonstrators staging sit-ins)
   -thematic (demonstrations across US, ending lethal force against minorities)
   -human interest (people getting tear gassed)
   -economic (stores set on fire)
   -morality (peaceful demonstrations turning violent, standing up to the violent protesters)
   -conflict (protesters and violent protesters, protesters and police)
   -responsibility (to protest peacefully)

19. nov 29, governor seeks way to reinforce budget to cover costs in Ferguson
   -economic (trying to pay for handling costs of unrest)
   -responsibility (national guard has protection responsibilities)
   -contextual (where expenses have gone)
   -episodic
   -human interest (Gov Jay Nixon trying to find money to pay for it)

20. nov 30, policing broken lights
   -human interest (community member running into police officer)
   -morality (miscalculations and failures of preventative policing)
   -economic (broken windows, decline of city's public housing programs)
   -responsibility (fixing city's broken public housing programs)
   -thematic
   -victim (community member killed by police)
   -conflict (AA and police)

21. nov 30, raised hands, and the doubts of a grand jury
   -double casting; performer (grand jury rejecting narratives, victim)
   -contextual (witness accounts)
   -morality (prosecutor rarely asked sceptical questions of Wilson)
-responsibility (questionable prosecuting
-episodic
-human interest (jurors and witness accounts
-conflict (between witnesses

22. nov 30, pain is colorblind
-human interest (first hand account by reporter
-morality (ignoring what goes on in black neighborhoods, encouraging people to pray
-episodic
-victim (people scared by violence
-conflict (between protesters and police
-economic (looters and vandals

23. nov 30, on rooftops of Ferguson, volunteers-- with guns
-human interest (shop owners
-economic (shops vandalized
-morality (community and local business owners shops being attacked, sense of patriotism to protect community
-episodic
-responsibility (criticism of gov handling situation
-conflict (between violent protesters and community

24. nov 30, police officer who shot teenager in Ferguson submits resignation
-performer (Wilson resigning
-responsibility (wholesale restructuring of law enforcement in Ferguson
-morality (civil rights-era pilgrimages for justice, community members businesses destroyed
-economic (stores looted and vandalized
-thematic (department inequalities
-conflict (police and community
-contextual (circumstances surrounding interactions with comm. and police
Table 14: Police Chief Resigns (Mar 11th – Mar 17th, 2015) coded theories

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Washington Post Articles Police Chief Resigns March 12-18, 2015

1. March 12, 2015. Embattled Ferguson police chief steps down
-”police chief Thomas Jackson”
-Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. “a highly toxic environment, defined by mistrust
and resentment, stoked by years of bad feelings, and spurred by illegal and misguided
practices.”
-performer (from police chief resigning
-morality (biased policing,
-responsibility (justice department officials reviewing Ferguson police practices to make
changes
-episodic
-human interest (police chief and others that resigned
-conflict (the way the department has been run

2. March 13, Mirroring local law enforcement, FBI's minority ranks are thin
-thematic (local police departments across country are under pressure to diversify their
forces
-morality (racial bias in hiring, prejudicial practices
-contextual (circumstances behind historical practices and why hiring is difficult
-responsibility

3. mar 13, Personal pain over racism sets leader apart
-episodic
-morality
-responsibility
-conflict
-human interest
-victim

4. mar 13, Ferguson roiled by attack on police
-victim (police getting shot at
-morality (shooting came after a day of progress, ambush, putting community at risk
-thematic (violence being aimed at police)
-human interest (profiled the officers)
-responsibility (urgent attention to these matters)

5. mar 13, Rage overshadows reform in a still-simmering city
-double casting (the protesters being vindicated, cops being shot at
-"The attorney general had declared, “those protesters were right.”
-thematic (police abuse and racial bias
-responsibility (improve treatment of AA
-morality (we're heading in the right direction
-conflict (between protesters
-human interest (protesters and AA community
-"its scary. And it just shows the crisis that we're in, when we have our community so broken

6. mar 13, Post racial? Please
-thematic (old fashion racism is still alive, other killings and racism
-morality (racism on Oklahoma frat
-contextual (Ferguson and Oklahoma frat
-human interest (other victims of racism
-"we've paid too little attention to the big picture”
-"We just need to open our eyes, and our ears, and our hearts to know that this nation's racial history still casts its long shadow upon us.” -Obama at 50th anniversary of the Selma-Montgomery march
-responsibility (come together as a nation and recognize the problem
-double-casting (victims of racism and the frat &police

7. march 14, Advice for all law enforcement
-episodic (officer telling about integrating into community
-responsibility (critiquing police practices need change
8. mar 15, hope and anger grapple in Ferguson
-economic (damage from protests
-human interest (ladies painting windows
-morality (working hard to overcome, officers getting shot
-responsibility (calling for change to justice department
-episodic
-conflict (between police and community

9. mar 16, arrest made in shooting of 2 officers in Ferguson
-victim (charging the shooter
-morality (shooting two officers
-thematic (protesters lashing back
-human interest (the shot officers
-conflict (police and community

10. mar 17, justice team to hear Ferguson views on police reform
-morality (stopping systemic racial bias
-responsibility (replacing police department with regional force
-human interest (new DA
-conflict (between shooter and police, police and community, changing department
-thematic (systemic racism in the department
-victim


1. march 11, official quits amid blame in Ferguson
-performer (official resigning
-morality (his policies led to widespread discrimination and questionable conduct by police, targeting AA, running courts to make money, police regularly harassing people
-responsibility (he’s hiring and making policies
-episodic
-economic (running court system as moneymaking venture, questionable ticketing practices
-human interest (city manager of Ferguson John Shaw

2. mar 12, police chief joins exodus in Ferguson
-human interest (police chief resignation, members of community
-morality (police officers violating constitutional rights, disproportionately targeting AA, using dogs and weapons against community
-responsibility (to move forward, improve policies
-economic (searing consequences of rioting, residents leaving
-thematic
-conflict (between community and police, overcoming protests
-contextual (circumstances behind mass exodus

3. mar 12, Ferguson police chief, Thomas Jackson, steps down amid criticism
-performer (police chief stepping down
-morality (police force as moneymaking tool, brown robbing store, city clerk sending racist emails
-economic (police force as moneymaking tool, brown robbing store
-responsibility (police force should be dissolved
-thematic (biased moneymaking police department
-contextual (circumstances around how department was operating

4. mar 13, manhunt is underway after police officers are shot in Ferguson
-victim (officers getting shot
-morality (ambushing the police, shooting came as city was making good faith steps
-human interest (community members affected
-conflict (community against police, shooter against police
-episodic
-responsibility (to rebuild police department and city

5. mar 13, Ferguson shots are a setback in its progress
-human interest (city councilwoman Kim Tihen
-morality (abusive law enforcement in Ferguson, lawlessness of protesters, racially biased legal system, shooting at police
-responsibility (citizens to do everything in their power to stop violence, city making systematic changes
-economic (city under siege, vandalism and looting
-episodic
-contextual (circumstances around shooting

6. mar 14, link to protests unknown in Ferguson police inquiry
-contextual (circumstances surrounding shooting
-victim (officers shot
-morality (protesters denounce attack
-episodic
-conflict (protesters and police, protesters and shooter
-human interest (officers

7. mar 15, council races offer change in Ferguson
-morality (prayers for officers and their families, town burned, takes a village to raise children
-human interest (candidates running for city council
-contextual (previous voting history of city
-responsibility (sweeping changes to legislature of city, political representation
-economic (town burned in riots
-episodic

8. mar 16, suspect, 20, is arrested in the shooting of 2 police officers in Ferguson
-double casting (shooter and officers
-morality (accidentally, he received stolen property, violent actions of a few, questioning the narrative that shooter was a part of protesters
-human interest (shooter, officers, protesters
-episodic
-contextual (circumstances around shooting and protests
-conflict (police and community, shooter and protesters, shooter and police

9. mar 16, flash point Ferguson
-morality (bias, policing, civil rights, and social justice, scathing report documenting racial targeting of citizens, progress tarnished by flashes of violence
-economic (targeting citizens with tickets and fines
-thematic (larger problem
-responsibility (to bring change for the community and justice department
-contextual
-conflict (police and community, protesters and police, protesters and violent protesters

10. mar 17, in Ferguson, lawyer doubts suspects role
-human interest (lawyer for Jeffrey Williams the suspected shooter
-episodic
-contextual
-morality (suspect had bruises that he said police gave him
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BIOGRAPHY

Durrell T. Quarles graduated from Pacific Palisades Charter High School, Los Angeles, California, in 2005. He received his Bachelor of Arts from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2013.