Salient frames in police brutality coverage: A qualitative and quantitative content analysis

approach at a local and national level

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Submitted under the supervision of Daniel Wackman to the University Honors Program at the

University of Minnesota-Twin Cities in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts, *summa cum laude* in journalism.

12/15/2016

Abstract

Newspapers use frames to determine what facts are used in stories, and how the chosen facts are worded. While frames are not exactly enforcing a bias, they do affect how readers view incidents and issues reported in articles. This paper addresses salient frames in local and national newspaper coverage of police brutality cases in three shootings of black men over the past three years. A few questions guided my research: What frames appear most often within the first week of police brutality news stories? How do the frames differ across local and national papers? What specific frames occur most often at a local and national level? I performed qualitative content analysis to find salient frames in stories, and quantitative analysis to discover how often each frame was used in each story. All three events showed "race" and "videos" or "protests" as the most salient frames at a national level, and "community" and "family and friends" as the most salient frames at a local level.

Introduction

Mainstream media coverage of police brutality has surged during the past few years. No one knows exactly how long police shootings of civilians, especially black men, has been going on, but journalists at newspapers with a majority African-American readership have been covering the stories since they began—in some cases, more than 100 years. The president of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, Cedric Alexander, has said that stories did not hit the mainstream media because the public did not want to hear them (McLaughlin, 2015). However, a couple of landmark deaths including Michael Brown and Eric Garner, both in 2014, made more of the general population curious and skeptical about police brutality. The purpose of this paper is to explore different frames within three cases of police brutality: the shootings of Michael Brown in 2014 (Ferguson, Missouri), Walter Scott in 2015 (North Charleston, South Carolina), and Philando Castile in 2016 (Falcon Heights, Minnesota). Each story represents a different year during the height of police brutality coverage thus far, and also represents a different region of the United States to get a clearer picture of how time and location may affect coverage.

Different newspapers choose to cover police brutality stories in different ways. While most initially use a typical breaking-news inverted pyramid structure to communicate the most important facts in each respective case, follow-up articles may focus on other elements, such as race, community impact, or ensuing protests. They could also come off as pro-police or pro-victim and inherently tell readers which side they believe was in the wrong. Storytelling and framing techniques are key for journalists deciding which facts to include, where to place them in the stories, and how to phrase them effectively.

This paper uses qualitative content analysis to analyze different frames within 20 stories per case (at a local and national level), and quantitative content analysis to count how many times salient frames were used in each respective story and case study.

Literature Review

Police Brutality History

Police commonly—and disproportionately—target minorities. In *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color Blindness*, Michelle Alexander argues mass incarceration of minorities and overpolicing in minority neighborhoods has enforced racial segregation since the Civil Rights Movement (2010). The War on Drugs of the 1980s explicitly targeted young black men, with police frequenting minority neighborhoods and arresting community members for felony charges of nonviolent drug crimes. Even after their sentences were over, they faced challenges finding quality housing and employment, lack of voting rights, and drug addictions, increasing their chances of recidivism (Alexander, 2010).

Consequently, police brutality also disproportionately affects minorities. During the late 20th century, social scientists released studies using data to show how "economic and social disadvantages and racial discrimination accounts for the criminal behavior…the shift from biological factors to cultural explanations maintained the focus on African American criminality" (Taylor, 2013). Explanations for the criminality of minorities were already normalized in society and culture, but data from these studies made it seem more acceptable for police forces to mistreat black people.

Police brutality coverage in the mainstream media was sporadic, but not undetectable, throughout the 20th century. Some foundational, high-coverage stories covered the brutality

aimed at civil rights groups in the 1960s. In 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed the

Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (later known as the Black Panther Party) to combat an

enduring problem of police brutality directed at minorities (Scott, 2015). The Party created

patrol watches for black communities and supported the strengthening of black institutions.

Killings and arrests during police raids brought media attention to the Party for a while, but

coverage petered out during the 1970s ("Black Panther Party founded," n.d.).

Citizen journalism and videos gained importance when a passerby filmed a police officer

beating taxi driver Rodney King after a car chase in the 1990s (Turque, 1991), but what

revolutionary about 25 years ago is now commonplace. Scott explains, "Now that most of us

carry video cameras in our pockets, such footage is nearly a weekly occurrence. This has done

much to inspire the outrage of the public, but has seemed to do little to stem the tide of police

abuse" (2015). Cellphone video coverage has been instrumental in making police shootings, such

as those of Walter Scott and Philando Castile, into international news stories which spark long-

lasting protests (Uberti, 2015). While most initial stories about cases of police brutality tend to

skew in favor of the police (most sources are members of law enforcement; other sources are not

yet available for comment or are wary to talk to reporters), videos can provide more concrete

evidence of police wrong-doing.

According to Uberti, "None of this is journalistic malpractice—the newspaper reported

information from the sources available to it" (2015). But the tone of the stories changed once the

video was released, and the officer involved was charged with murder and placed on

administrative leave. National newspapers jumped on the story, using photo frames from the

video online and in print to bring even more criticism to the officer—criticism missing from

initial local stories (Uberti, 2015).

Storytelling Techniques

There are countless ways to tell the same story, even with a finite set of facts. Storytelling techniques in journalism are often assumed to be aimed at feature and personality profile writers, but using different aspects of storytelling can appear, and should appear, in every section of the newspaper—even for writers on deadline (Scanlan, 1995).

Scanlan suggests that journalists examine how the news affects people's lives (1995). Nearly every story worth reporting will have a human impact to focus on, and articles about police brutality and shootings are certainly no exception. Several breaking news journalists may choose to interview the victims' family members, friends, coworkers, and community members to give the public a better sense of who the victim was as a person, and what the loss will do to the community. The human impact will stay with readers far longer than a simple blurb of facts (Scanlan, 1995).

Articles that try to grab the reader's attention should not always follow the "inverted pyramid" style, which prioritizes the listing of fact over more human, engaging storytelling techniques. Journalists may choose to "start in the middle of the action to pull you in and then circle back later to pick up the necessary history" or use "actual scenes along with narrative summary" (Astor, 1993). While the inverted pyramid structure is sometimes helpful for many journalists and readers alike, it may lose people after just a few paragraphs. Audiences are more likely to keep reading if they start with a gripping lede or nut paragraphs. Many journalists writing police brutality stories opt for using a traditional inverted pyramid structure, especially within the first stories on the shootings, but others choose a more unique structure.

Journalists also often choose to report from a different angle than a traditional breaking news style—either in a different way from initial stories from their own newspapers about the same event, or from competing newspapers reporting on the incident. Writers can "write the council story through the eyes of the Asian-American who asks for better police protection in his neighborhood, or tell the story of the foiled suicide attempt through the cop who talked the jumper down" (Scanlan, 1995). Contrasting angles are particularly important in police brutality stories, in which journalists could choose to focus on aspects such as race relations and tension, community impact, or ensuing protests, to name a few. The story could also be subtly framed as pro-police or pro-victim, depending on phrasing and fact inclusion choices.

Agenda Setting and Framing

Agenda setting and framing theories are key in analyzing police brutality stories. In a broad sense, agenda setting theory states the media decide what topics are, or should be, salient for a community at any given time (Park, Holody, and Zhang, 2012, p. 477). People focus more on issues they read about often in the news, such as police brutality deaths within the last few years. When media began covering police brutality with more earnest in 2014, they were subliminally telling the public it was time to begin paying closer attention to the issue. People began reading stories about police shootings more often and more carefully, which made it a more salient issue in society (Park, Holody, and Zhang, 2012, p. 478).

Framing theory, however, emphasizes the phrasing and facts chosen within a story or similar set of stories. Though he was coming from a sociological and not mass media perspective, Erving Goffman first coined the term "framing theory" in the 1970s. According to Goffman, frames are "mental constructions that help us classify new information and make sense of the world" (Pennington, 2015). The term was soon applied to mass communication—

journalists use frames to shape and interpret issues in stories for readers and viewers. Newspapers—and other news sources—must make decisions about which facts to include and how to phrase them in each story, and framing often comes into play. Phrasing, story organization, and chosen facts can determine how readers interpret and feel about the incident (Chong and Druckman, 2007).

Frames also allow journalists to choose which components of stories they want to make the most salient, which can be helpful when faced with a large story with many angles and facts (Pennington, 2015). It is not rooted in bias or opinion, but rather how "the choices of media creators reflect a particular worldview" (Araiza et al., 2016). A journalist will likely stress one aspect of the newsworthy incident more than others, creating a unique angle for the story, and the respective aspect will come across as more important than the others (Araiza et al., 2016).

For example, a journalist may use quotes from a police brutality victim's family and friends to show his or her good qualities, which could make the public more likely to believe he or she should not have been killed. Conversely, a different journalist could make race relations within the community in which the incident happened the main point of the story, which could fuel protests and racial tensions in the area.

There has not been much research on police brutality frames in the media as of yet. In this study, I will focus on what specific frames are most salient on case-by-case and local and national levels.

RQ 1: What frames appear most often within the first week of police brutality news stories?

There are several different approaches newspapers can take when first reporting on the police-involved deaths of civilians. Since all three cases I chose to analyze were deaths of black men, I expect race will likely be mentioned often, initially within the first few paragraphs of each story. The articles could also take on a community-based tone, focusing on friends, family, and members of the local community and how the incident affects them. As I am taking a victim-central approach, the victim could either be celebrated or villianized, depending on the tone of the story and the possible inherent bias of the paper.

RQ 2: How do the frames differ across local and national papers?

Though it is possible that newspapers across all levels will report police brutality stories similarly, I hypothesize they will be different at a local and national level. I expect local papers will put more emphasis on community and friends and family. Local journalists will have easier access to victims' friends, family, and local residents. They will also know more about the town in which the incident occurs, making it easier to relate to readers and explain the ripple effects within the community. There will likely be much more coverage for local papers than national, since they have a larger stake in what is happening in the community and will be able to take the story in different directions and angles. National papers will report what is unique about the story compared to all other cases of police brutality (i.e., outstanding protests or significant videos that change whether an officer was indicted). Local papers will report the specifics of the case and more, since they already have a uniqueness factor: it happened to them.

RQ 3: What specific frames occur most often at a local and national level?

There is little to no published research on this topic, since it is still new to academia and mainstream media, so my hypotheses come from my own journalistic background and

knowledge of newsgathering at different levels. I hypothesize that race will likely be mentioned about equally across local and national newspaper stories. It is typically an important part of each case that was studied and will be given significant weight in most stories. Community and family and friends will carry more weight in local stories, whereas national stories will have a more even split across all categories, since they will likely report the facts and not spend as much time tying the incident back to the town in which it occurred.

Methods

Three police brutality cases were studied: the deaths of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014; Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina in 2015; and Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota in 2016. These incidents were chosen to represent different time frames and regions of the country to see if year (particularly at a national level) and location (particularly at a local level) had an effect on the coverage. They all involved the death of black men at the hands of a local police officer during an otherwise routine stop. Two incidents involved traffic stops and one involved an officer stopping a man as he walked down the road.

I used LexisNexis to find newspaper stories for each case. I chose The New York Times and The Washington Post for national papers to maintain a consistent and elite level of national journalism and used the largest daily newspaper near each of the cases' locations for local stories—The St. Louis Post-Dispatch for Michael Brown, The Charleston Post and Courier for Walter Scott, and The Star Tribune for Philando Castile. I decided not to use any stories by wire services such as Associated Press to ensure all content was publication-specific. I also omitted any letters to the editor, editorial board articles, opinion articles, and newspaper blog posts that came up in each search to maintain a standard of objective and breaking news articles. Stories

that used similar content, were shorter than 500 words, or were not centrally about each respective incident were also cut.

For each newspaper and case, I entered a search of "[victim name]" AND "police" and narrowed the search to the specific paper I wanted articles from. I also added a stipulation of stories from the first week after the incident occurred. I chose the time limit to keep a breaking news element to the analysis, and found that articles tended to slow down after the first few days of coverage anyway, especially at a national level.

I chose sample sizes based on the quality and quantity of coverage in each respective case, but also because of the time constraints for content analysis. Initially I wanted to analyze at least ten stories per newspaper per case, but realized national papers did not typically have ten stories about each shooting in which the incident was central to the story enough to sufficiently analyze. I decided five stories per national paper was a more logical number, and in cases in which there were more quality stories, I randomly selected five to analyze. One case did not have five sufficient stories from The New York Times, so I used four and noted it in my analysis. Since local stories had far more quality coverage, I knew I wanted to look at more, but due to time constraints I decided on ten local stories per shooting. I randomly selected ten across a one-week period per local newspaper.

Initially, I skimmed my chosen articles on LexisNexis (or the local newspaper's archive site when LexisNexis did not yield any results) to ensure they were not written by a wire service, the newspaper's editorial board, or a reader in a letter to the editor. I also wanted to make sure the shooting was the central focus of the story—it could not be an anecdote or an example in a story that focused on something else.

The second reading was where analysis came into play. I printed out each article and read them thoroughly, underlining examples of each frame I was looking for with colors I assigned to each respective frame. I made a note next to each paragraph of how many examples of each frame were used in the respective paragraphs, and counted and noted the results at the bottom of each article. I entered the results into a spreadsheet so I could quantitatively track similarities and differences at a local and national level.

Coding Guide

- Race = Maroon
  - Individual frames
    - Mention of victim's race
    - Officer's race
    - Protestors' race
  - Group frames
    - Community demographics
    - Local/national NAACP chapters
    - Local/national Black Lives Matter chapters
- Friends and Family (coded as F&F) = Red
  - Mention of specific family member
  - Mention of specific friend
  - Quote from friend or family member
  - Facts about the victim from friend or family member
- Community = Dark Blue
  - Job, specific to town or community
  - Neighbor involvement/quotes
  - Specific locations community members would know
  - Community feel/spin
  - Protests = Light Green
  - Descriptions of protests
  - Aftermath and results
  - Quotes from notable activists
- Video = Light Purple
  - Mention of citizen journalist video
  - Consequences of video
  - Request for video by officials if one did not surface

Sample Analysis

FBI will investigate shooting in Mo.

By Wesley Lowery and Mark Berman, The Washington Post, August 12, 2014

FERGUSON, MO.—The FBI on Monday launched a civil rights investigation into the fatal shooting of an unarmed black teenager by a police officer, an incident that has set off days of unrest in this St. Louis suburb and pushed the question of racial fairness again to the forefront of national discussion.

The first paragraph of this story already mentions several frames I was looking for. I counted "civil rights investigation" as "police criticism," especially because it came at a national level. There were two mentions of "race"—in "black teenager" and "the question of racial fairness." "Unarmed" counted for the "weapon" category. Finally, a mention of "days of unrest" counted toward "protest." I put tallies for each frames—including two for race—in their corresponding colors in the paragraph's margin and then continued with the story. In the first paragraph, the story's frame was not strongly pro-officer or pro-victim—Lowery and Berman used a traditional inverted pyramid approach, which made sense because "FBI will investigate shooting in Mo." was the first story The Washington Post wrote about Michael Brown's death.

Results

Michael Brown

On August 9, 2014, 18-year-old black man Michael Brown was shot by a white police officer named Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. Brown and his friend Dorian Johnson, had just stolen cigars from a convenience store and assaulted the cashier. Wilson, who stopped them as they walked down the middle of the street to tell them to move to the sidewalk, said he noticed they matched suspects' descriptions he had just heard on his radio. He blocked Brown and Johnson (and oncoming traffic) with his SUV. Witnesses said they saw an altercation between

Brown and Wilson while Wilson was still in his SUV. There is no clear evidence to say whether

Brown went to grab Wilson's gun, which Wilson stated did happen in the police report. Wilson

fired two shots from inside his vehicle—one stuck in the door and the other barely hit Brown's

thumb. Witnesses disagree on what happened next, but at some point Wilson got out of his

vehicle and fired 10 more rounds, hitting Brown in the head, arm, and torso. A grand jury in St.

Louis County decided not to indict Wilson.

The shooting caused weeks of protests, looting, and vandalism in Ferguson and across the

nation. Unrest began the day after the shooting occurred and was peaceful at first, but quickly

turned more violent. The local police force needed assistance from surrounding forces and the

National Guard, and officers used tear gas, rubber bullets, and police dogs to attempt to control

protesters. Protests also took place on social media, with Twitter members using hashtags such as

#BlackLivesMatter and #Ferguson to make their voices heard.

Michael Brown had the most coverage of all the cases I analyzed. To keep my content

analysis consistent, I randomly selected 5 stories from The Washington Post; 5 from The New

York Times; and 10 from The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the area's leading daily newspaper which

first broke the story of the shooting on August 10, 2014. I used a one-week span to maintain a

breaking news set of stories, though coverage of protests and the grand jury's decision continued

for weeks after the shooting.

Frames in Michael Brown stories

Race

The race frame was mentioned at least once in nearly every news story about Michael

Brown that I analyzed. It had 41 references in The New York Times, 34 in The Washington Post,

and 29 in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The average frames per story were 8.2 for The New York Times, 6.8 for The Washington Post, and 2.9 for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. While there was no clear overall pattern for when race was mentioned most in all three cases, the national papers generally increased their number of mentions until August 14, when protests took over race as a main aspect of breaking news. The local paper mentioned race most often early in the week, and steadily decreased after August 11—though there was a small uptick late in the week.

Number of Race Frames per Day - Michael Brown
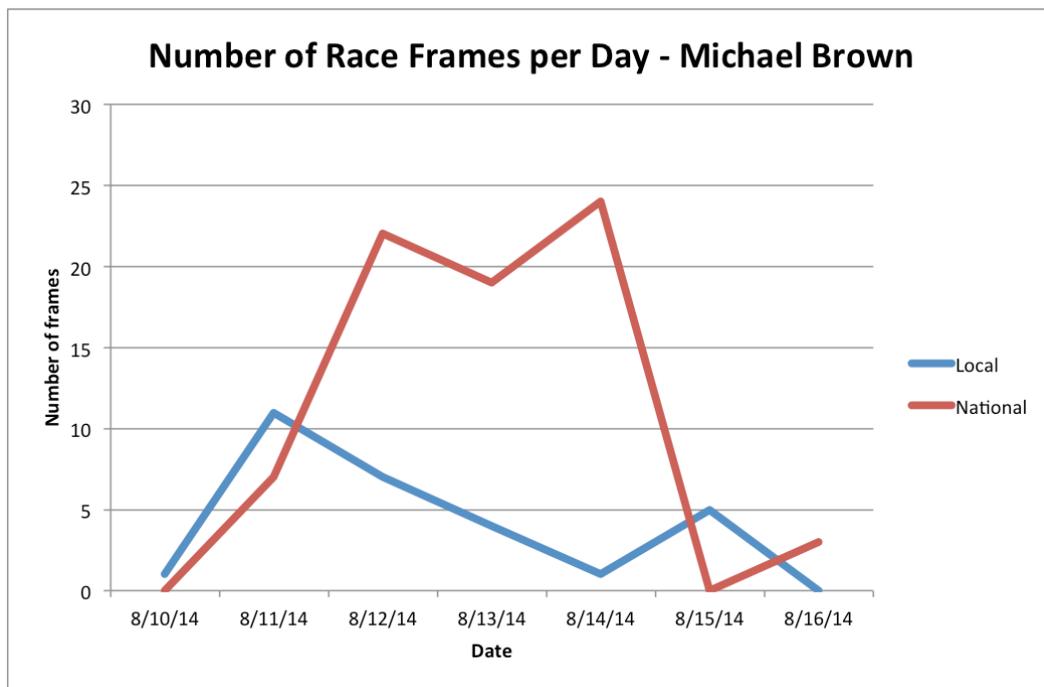
Most examples from The New York Times and The Washington Post referred to race in the lede or first few paragraphs in an inverted pyramid structure, calling Brown "an unarmed black teenager" or "unarmed African-American teenager" in nearly every story. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, however, called Brown an "unarmed black teenager" in the lede in only one story (Doc 1-13), but omitted race and called him an "unarmed teenager" in two other examples.

Other examples of race involved stories mentioning the racial demographics in Ferguson. The Washington Post called Ferguson a "small, predominantly African American city" (Doc 1-6).

Stories also said, "The [police] department bears little demographic resemblance to the citizens

of this St. Louis suburb, a mostly African American city" (Doc 1-8). The New York Times

discussed the city's change in demographics over the past decade, saying, "with blacks, once a

minority, now making up two-thirds of the residence, after many white families moved out to

surrounding suburbs. The town's leadership and the police have remained predominantly white"

(Doc 1-2) and "Ferguson has a white government and a white mayor, but a large black

population" (Doc 1-1).

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch did not discuss Ferguson's racial divide as obviously as

national papers—probably because its audience already knew what the racial divide was like.

The paper did, however, say Brown graduated from the "predominantly African-American

Normandy High School" (Doc 1-12) and "Protesters complained that the killing was emblematic

of deep tensions between black residents of North County and a predominantly white Ferguson

police force" (Doc 1-13). Even though the race of the police officer was not released at the time

most of the stories analyzed were written, several examples alluded that it was likely he was

white—which turned out to be true after more information was released later in the first week.

Overall, race turned out to be a more salient frame in national stories about Michael

Brown than local. Since Ferguson was one of the main incidents that started #BlackLivesMatter

and today's mainstream media coverage of police brutality against black males, national stories

needed to stress race more. It was a new and important part of the story for most of their readers.

At a local level, however, it was not as essential to mention over and over. Most residents of

Ferguson—and St. Louis, where the local paper was published—probably already knew about

the town's racial disparities and unequal treatment of blacks. Instead, the St. Louis Post-

Dispatch's stories focused on how this particular incident, and the aftermath, affected their community.

Community

According to both local and national papers, Michael Brown's death rocked the Ferguson community. Nearly every story mentioned the community or community effects. The New York Times mentioned it 13 times, The Washington Post 17, and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch 54. The average mentions per story were 2.6 for The New York Times, 3.4 for The Washington Post, and 5.4 for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Community mentions did not follow as consistent of a pattern as race did—the number of frames changed on a day-by-day basis, not increasing or decreasing consistently through the week.

In national stories, journalists used community frames to explain what the background of Ferguson was like and how people interacted with the police. Though the community frames may seem like some of the race themes discussed previously (particularly racial disparities in law enforcement and government compared to the rest of the population), many mentions of the community did not mention race at all. For example, The Washington Post quoted the Ferguson Police Chief, Thomas Jackson, who said, "If you can find a single person in this community who trusts the police, that is like finding a four-leaf clover" (Doc 1-8). The Post also gave background on the town's population—21,000—and its main businesses and employers (Doc 1-7). The New York Times went for a similar approach, but also quoted protesting community members, such as the weeping Carolyn Teague, who said, "We don't want any more violence around here…Prejudice in this town still lives on" (Doc 1-2).

Compared to the local paper, national sources barely scratched the surface of the community's sadness and anger. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch dug deeper, giving less background on Ferguson (its audience would know the town well enough to not need it) and quoting more residents. Its journalists talked to a friend of Brown since elementary school, who said "[Brown] wanted to own his own business" (Doc 1-12). They quoted community member Charles Staton, who yelled, "It could have been one of your kids," at police officers during a protest (Doc 1-13). However, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch added one important thing the national papers did not cover: the damage protesting and looting had on local businesses. The Post-Dispatch dedicated entire stories to depicting the damage of gas stations and stores, and listed school closings caused by the incidents. It also described a local teacher, Leonette Hilliart, taping signs of condolence and hopes of returns on store windows. She said, "This just doesn't represent who we are as a community and I wanted just to say something, to do something that was productive" (Doc 1-15).

The community aspect was much more salient at a local level than national, which makes sense when it comes to the newspapers' audiences and access. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch has a larger stake in what happens in Ferguson than national papers do, and it is easier for their reporters to find and interview community members. While the national papers may have had reporters on the ground in Ferguson for a while, they did not have the same amount of time to dedicate to reaching out to the community—and their audiences would likely not care as much as a local paper's. Arguably, the community is one of the most important parts in a local story about police brutality, since their residents are the ones that will be affected by the incident and the aftermath. National readers will learn about it from a safe distance, but their stores are not the ones being vandalized, nor are their schools closed. Those aspects do not matter as much to people halfway across the country.

Friends and Family

The friends and family frames were similar to community frames—they appeared more often in local stories, but were still important in different ways in national articles. Mentions of, or quotes from, friends and family occurred 17 times in The New York Times, 15 in The Washington Post, and 45 in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which averaged to be 3.4 in The New York Times, 3 in The Washington Post, and 4.5 in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. In comparison to the community frames, however, friends and family frames were used much more consistently at the beginning of the week across all three papers. Few stories quoted friends and family members after about the middle of the first week of coverage, when more stories tended to focus on looting and protests rather than Brown's actual death.

All sources used quotes from friends and family similarly—the local paper just had more access and likely placed more emphasis on them due to their audience. Newspapers quoted Brown's father saying, "We need justice for our son" (Doc 1-2), his mother crying, "You took my son away from me," (Doc 1-1) and friends describing how "It hurt so bad to get that phone call" (Doc 1-12). Many stories had similar quotes and sources, bringing a human feel to even the first breaking news stories.

Protests

The large number and scope of protests were some of the biggest defining characteristics of Michael Brown's death—and it showed in the media. The New York Times mentioned protests 49 times (averaging 9.8 frames per story), The Washington Post 32 times (averaging 6.4 per story), and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch 78 times (averaging 7.8 per story). Interestingly, there is not as clear of a pattern in the number of frames at a local and national level, since The

Washington Post discussed protests significantly fewer times than The New York Times or The

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. All sources, though, generally placed more emphasis on protests toward

the end of the week, when they became the central part of the incident.

All newspapers described protests relatively similarly. Early in the week they described

the protests as mostly peaceful, saying, "members of the crowd held up their hands, saying

'Don't shoot me!'" (Doc 1-12). Later in the week, the attention was on the police officers "in riot

gear and in armored trucks…to disperse protesters" (Doc 1-5). At a local and national level,

most stories after the first few days were about looting and violent protests across Ferguson, the

country, and the Internet. However, as previously mentioned, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

focused more on the aftermath of looted and destroyed stores, since the wake of the violence

affected local readers far more than national.

Michael Brown Summary

Both national papers had far more similarities overall in their stories' frames than they

did to the local paper. Race was overall a much more salient frame in national stories than local,

likely because Michael Brown's death was one of the first key cases of police brutality that made

national media pay attention to civilian-police race relations in the United States. Friends and

family and community frames were more salient at a local level, since the local newspaper would

have easier access to people and the community and their readers have more stake in what is

happening at a local level. Protests, however, were mentioned nearly equally in local and

national papers, and were typically mentioned in similar ways. Even so, protest frames were

more community-based in the local newspaper, since local stories often focused on the impact on

local businesses. National newspapers only wrote about them generally, since that is what their audiences would likely be interested in.

Walter Scott

Walter Scott, a 50-year-old unarmed black man, was shot and killed by white police officer Michael Slager in North Charleston, South Carolina, on April 4, 2015. Slager pulled Scott over for a malfunctioning brake light. Dashboard camera footage from Slager's vehicle shows Slager approaching Scott's car, talking to him from outside the vehicle, and returning to the vehicle. When Slager walked back toward his vehicle, Scott ran out of his car and started to run away. Slager chased Scott and the men got into a physical confrontation, causing Slager to use his Taser on Scott. According to the police report, Scott tried to take the Taser from Slager during the altercation. When Scott tried to run away again, Slager fired his gun eight times and hit Scott fives times as he ran, eventually killing him.

Feidin Santana, a passerby, recorded the incident on his phone. He did not release the video at first, but did after the media and police reported a different story from what he saw—in the video, Scott never tried to take the Taser. The video went public and brought the case to the FBI and a South Carolina grand jury, which indicted Slager for murder, a federal violation of Scott's civil rights, and obstruction of justice. Recently, a mistrial was declared after the jury could not come to a unanimous decision.

Frames in Walter Scott Stories

Race

Though race was not as salient as in Michael Brown stories, it was still mentioned several times in stories about Walter Scott. The New York Times mentioned race 21 times (though only four stories from the paper were analyzed due to a lack of sufficient stories within the time frame), averaging 5.25 mentions per story. The Washington Post mentioned race 22 times in five stories, averaging 4.4 mentions per story. The Charleston Post and Courier, the area's largest daily newspaper, mentioned race 35 times in 10 stories, averaging 3.5 mentions per story. There was not a clear pattern between local and national papers—I hypothesized that The New York Times and The Washington Post would be more similar. However, race was still mentioned more at a national level than local. Race also did not follow a clear pattern throughout the week, and was mentioned on a relatively consistent day-by-day basis in stories from all sources.

Race frames, however, were more similar at a national level than local. National newspapers often referred to Walter Scott as an "unarmed black man," a "black man," or an "obscure black man" in the lede or first few paragraphs. However, Slager was identified right away, so the media knew he was white. His race was not mentioned as many times as Scott's race, but it came up in about half of the national stories.

Local stories from the Charleston Post and Courier called Scott an "unarmed black man" who was killed by a white police officer in the lede or first few paragraphs in about half the stories analyzed, which was not as often as national stories. However, most local race frames were used with a broader scope. The Post and Courier said the shooting "brought about cries of racial profiling and unfair treatment of minorities" in the city (Doc 2-14) and quoted members of Charleston's Black Lives Matter coalition when they demanded a review of the North Charleston Police Department (Doc 2-19).

Race was not a more salient frame in either local or national stories—there was no standout pattern in how often it was mentioned. National stories, though, were still more likely to refer to the victim as an unarmed black man who died at the hands of a white police officer. Race would probably be mentioned other times in the stories as well, but the first few paragraphs had the most in common. Local stories might mention race early as well, but were more likely to frame it in a bigger, more community-related context.

Community

In stories about Walter Scott, community frames were mentioned 4 times in The New York Times (averaging 1 per story), 3 in The Washington Post (averaging 0.6 per story), and 26 in The Post and Courier (averaging 2.6 per story). Except in the case of The New York Times, which mentioned community most in the middle of the week, the sources I used had the most community frames toward the beginning of the first week of coverage.

In this case, the national newspapers talked about the community the way a local paper might—just less often. The New York Times and The Washington Post did not give background on North Charleston or its racial disparities and past problems with the police. Instead, both papers talked to community leaders and members and spoke of North Charleston in a more general sense, usually through residents hoping there would not be violence in the aftermath. The Washington Post quoted a resident saying he was "praying for peace for the family and peace for the community" (Doc 2-6) and Elder James Johnson of the National Action Network asking the "community to remain calm" after the release of the video (Doc 2-5).

Community frames at a local level were similar, but had a deeper scope. The Post and Courier also quoted people "calling for community calm" (Doc 2-10), but also said North

Charleston "took a step in the right direction by addressing the community" initially, so violent protests were not as common as in Ferguson (Doc 2-12). In fact, the local paper was the only one that addressed North Charleston's racial and socioeconomic divides that led to public safety issues and distrust of law enforcement.

Friends and Family

Friends and family quotes and references played an important part in the stories' coverage, but were mentioned less often than I hypothesized they would be. Like the community frame, at a national level friends and family were found more often in The New York Times, which had 20 mentions, averaging 5 per story. The Washington Post had 12 mentions, averaging 2.4 per story. The Post and Courier had 23, averaging 2.3. It was unexpected that the local newspaper had the smallest average of friends and family mentions and The New York Times had the highest. However, like the community frame, friends and family were mentioned and quoted most often during the first few days of coverage, and almost never toward the end of the week.

The way in which friends and family frames were used were similar across all three papers. They had quotes from Scott's brother, Anthony Scott, who said, "We would like for the truth to come out so my brother can rest in peace (Doc 2-10). The Washington Post said, "Scott's family praised the decision to charge Slager, saying they were 'grateful' to the man who came forward with the video" (Doc 2-5). Most stories framed Scott's family and friends as strong yet sad people who wanted the truth, but without violence leading to it. On the other hand, Michael Brown's family was often portrayed as more emotional, angrier, and willing to do whatever it took to bring justice to his death.

Video

Since protests were not a salient frame in Walter Scott's case, I chose to analyze the

important of the passerby's cellphone video. The New York Times mentioned the video 36 times

(averaging 9), The Washington Post mentioned it 42 times (averaging 8.4), and The Post and

Courier mentioned it 39 times (averaging 3.9). Clearly, the video was far more salient of a frame

in national stories than local. Most of the coverage surrounding the video was focused in the

middle of the week in local stories (followed by a similar pattern in national a couple of days

later), when the video surfaced, and then tapered slightly toward the week's end.
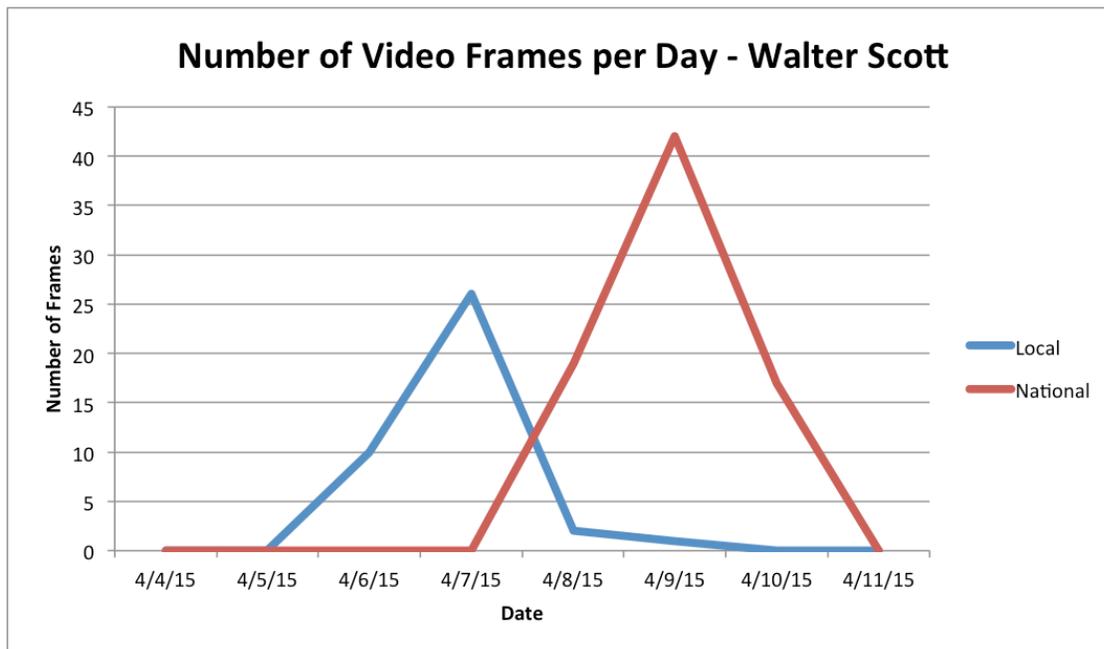
Like in race frames, national newspapers almost always mentioned the video in the lede

or first few paragraphs, calling it "graphic video footage," "video…of Officer Michael Slager's

vile actions," and even "the starkest video yet." Often national papers discussed the video further,

adding quotes from the bystander who recorded it or the police officers confirming the video

drastically changed what they knew about the shooting. Video frames were only used in the

beginning of local stories in about half the cases I analyzed, mirroring local stories' race frames. In The Post and Courier, however, the words "graphic" and "vile were not used as often to describe the video. If the video was used early in the story, it was simply called "a video of the incident" or "the video of the shooting." One story quoted a law professor saying "It is horrific footage and very difficult to watch," but he follows up and says it might not be a guaranteed win in court (Doc 2-13).

Walter Scott Summary

The video frame was like a combination of race and protest frames. It was framed like race typically was, and placed where race would be mentioned in national stories, but was almost sensationalized in The New York Times and The Washington Post. The local papers mentioned it objectively, but it was not as important to the stories as other aspects. National newspapers typically used an inverted pyramid style and covered many facts to create breaking news stories, but they focused in on the aspect that was different in this case: the video. Local papers, on the other hand, also had something different: it happened to them. The video was important, but not as important as taking care of the community and Scott's family and friends.

Philando Castile

Philando Castile, a 32-year-old black man, was shot by Officer Jeronimo Yanez on July 6, 2016 in Falcon Heights, Minnesota. Castile was driving with his girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds, and her four-year-old daughter when Yanez pulled him over because he allegedly looked like a robbery suspect in the area. When Yanez asked to see Castile's license and registration, Castile told the officer he had a conceal and carry license and had a weapon on him. He said he was

about to get his permit out of his pocket and reached down to grab it. As he did, Yanez shot him seven times.

Diamond Reynolds began filming and live-streaming the aftermath to Facebook soon after Castile was shot. Though Yanez was clearly agitated and stressed after shooting Castile, Reynolds stayed calm and collected through the video's duration. She began by explaining exactly what happened during the traffic stop. The video also shows graphic images of Castile, barely alive in the driver's seat. Castile died about 20 minutes after the shooting in a nearby emergency room. Yanez was charged with one felony count of second-degree manslaughter and two felony counts of dangerous discharge of a firearm.

Frames in Philando Castile Stories

Race

Race was one of the most salient frames in Philando Castile coverage. The New York Times mentioned it 27 times (averaging 5.4 mentions per story). The Washington Post mentioned it 29 times (averaging 5.8). The Star Tribune, the largest daily paper close to the incident, mentioned it 31 times (averaging 3.1). As hypothesized, race is collectively more salient at a national level than local. The number of frames per day did not follow a consistent pattern throughout the week.

The way in which race was covered in national papers was different than the previous cases—specifically, papers could not refer to Castile as an "unarmed black man" because he was not, in fact, unarmed. Race rarely came up in the lede or first few paragraphs because the Facebook live-streamed video was almost always the main point of the story. Instead, national stories discussed race at a community level. The Washington Post described Falcon Heights as a

"small, predominantly white and middle-class town" that had not had an officer-related shooting in about 30 years (Doc 3-8). The Washington Post also discussed Castile's girlfriend's composure as an act of defense and the larger idea of racial trauma and distrust of police officers from minorities, which starts at a young age (Doc 3-7). The New York Times wrote about race in police brutality cases more broadly, relating the incident in Minnesota to others around the country that happened around the same time (Doc 3-1).

The Star Tribune's race frames generally focused on racial disparities in the Falcon Heights community and greater Minnesota. The paper quoted Castile's cousin, Antonio Johnson, who said Castile was "a black individual driving in Falcon Heights who was immediately criminally profiled" (Doc 3-11), and local pastor Danny Givens, who said, "This isn't black anger. It's black grief. It's black pain…these are black people who are mad because we're tired of our children being murdered on the streets" (Doc 3-12). They also quoted the local NAACP and Black Lives Matter chapters, who spoke at press conferences and protest sites.

Though race was just as salient of a frame at a local and national level in the Philando Castile case as other cases, it was framed differently. Newspapers could not just refer to him as an "unarmed black man," but also could not ignore his race in such a prominent case of police brutality. The counts were similar to other stories, but each paper had its own angle and frame to discuss race in each story.

Community

Community was not as salient of a frame as race, but was still mentioned often. The New York Times mentioned community 5 times (averaging once per story), The Washington Post 7 times (averaging 1.4), and The Star Tribune 28 (averaging 2.8). The number of community

frames for Philando Castile was what I hypothesized it would be at a local and national level. Community frames were most often and most significantly used toward the beginning of the week, tapering off toward the end.

National newspapers used community frames to give background on Falcon Heights. The New York Times called it a "predominantly white and middle-class city of 5,500 residents (Doc 3-3) and said Castile was shot "on a stretch of suburban road near the state fairgrounds" (Doc 3-4). The Washington Post called Falcon Heights a "manicured St. Paul suburb," but also quoted Castile's mother saying that when she moved to the Twin Cities, she chose Falcon Heights to "get away from the inner city" (Doc 3-8).

The Star Tribune did not often choose to describe Falcon Heights's racial and socioeconomic status, probably since most readers would generally know what the suburb was like. Instead, the paper focused on interviews with town residents and people Castile worked with as a cafeteria employee in the St. Paul School District. They quoted a woman who lived near the shooting scene as she described what it was like to see the scene unfold (Doc 3-11). A coworker, Joan Edman, said, "He smiled at everybody who came in the building…He wanted the cafeteria to be a happy place" where the paper reported "he'd served meals to more than 500 kids twice a day" (Doc 3-15). Unsurprisingly, The Star Tribune's community coverage was much more in-depth than national papers', since they had greater access to community members and knew what parts of the story would be important and interesting to their readers.

Friends and Family

Friends and family turned out to be a more salient frame than community in nearly all the papers I analyzed. The New York Times mentioned friends and family 12 times, averaging 2.4

per story. The Washington Post mentioned the frame 7 times, averaging 1.4 (the same number as community frames). The Star Tribune mentioned it 31 times, averaging 3.1 (the same number as race frames). I hypothesized that the local paper would mention friends and family most often, which is similar to the community frame in terms of access and importance. Friends and family were also generally quoted and mentioned more in the first few days of coverage than the rest of the week, with a brief spike toward the end of the week.
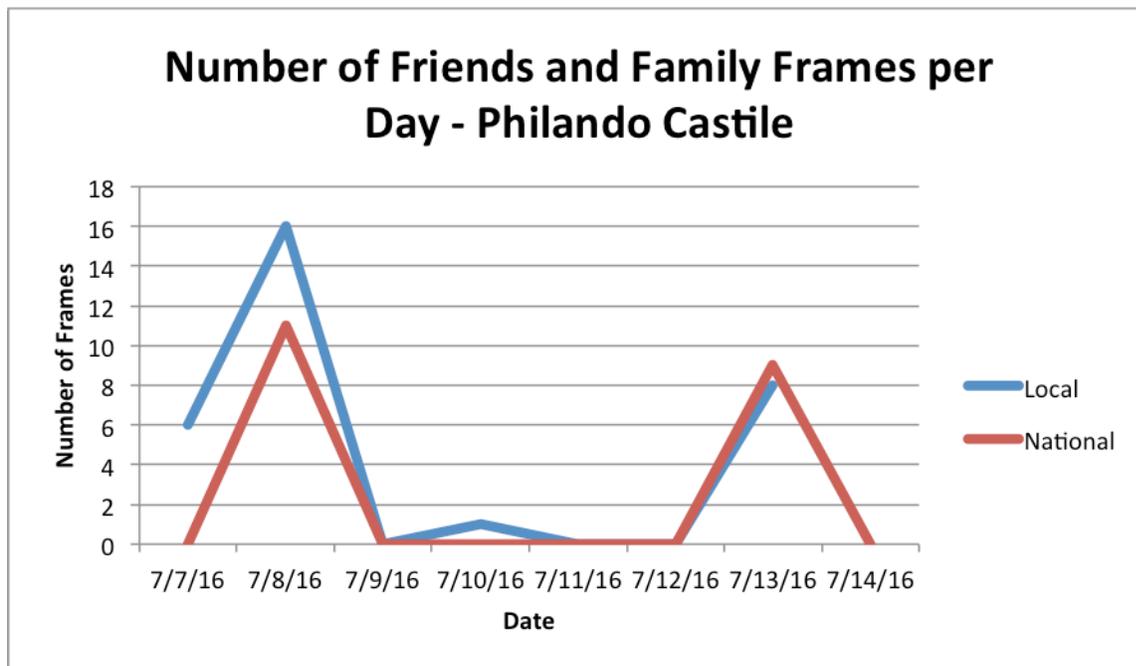
All papers used quotes from friends and family members similarly. The Star Tribune quoted his mother, Valerie Castile, saying she did not want to watch the video because "I want to remember him when I gave him a kiss and he walked out the door" (Doc 3-20) and described several of his friends and family members waiting at the hospital for him and later speaking out at protests after his death (Doc 3-11). The Washington Post interviewed his sister, who got a conceal and carry permit with Castile because "I'm scared of the police…they're slaying us like animals" (Doc 3-8). According to The New York Times, Castile's cousin said Castile was "one

of the softest-spoken people you've ever met. This kid has never been in an argument. You could

try to argue with him, and he was so nonconfrontational that he'd just laugh" (Doc 3-3). The

friends and family frames generally offered a sweeter, more human angle to an article. Like the

community frame, friends and family were more salient at a local level because local readers

would likely empathize and sympathize with them more. The paper had better access to Castile's

family and friends, and they had more of a stake in reporting with them in mind.

Video

Video was the most salient frame in Philando Castile coverage, since it was what really

made the story into national news and set it apart from other police brutality cases. The New

York Times mentioned the video 32 times (averaging 6.4 per story), The Washington Post 21

times (averaging 4.2), and The Star Tribune 40 times (averaging 4). Though there was a spike in

video frames per day at the beginning of the week, the rest of the coverage was consistent each

day across all sources.

All sources typically mentioned the video in the first few paragraphs—and often nearly

sensationalize its graphic nature. The New York Times said it let us "listen as a woman talks

through her nightmare and tries to talk herself and her daughter out of it alive…it is still stunning,

not simply for its raw images (Doc 3-1). The Washington Post said Reynolds "used Facebook

Live to show the world the shooting's gory aftermath" in the story's lede (Doc 3-6). The Star

Tribune did not often use similar adjectives in the lede, but later wrote lines such as "the video

showed Castile groaning in the driver's seat, then growing still as a panicked, uniformed police

officer kept a gun pointed into the car" (Doc 3-13). It was easy for newspapers to make the video

into a gripping lede, and it did set the story apart from other cases, but it was often done nearly

distastefully. The video was not as sensationalized in Walter Scott's stories, but it collectively was written about differently for Philando Castile.

Philando Castile Summary

Salient frames for Philando Castile were similar to the Michael Brown and Walter Scott cases. Race, community, friends and family, and the video were all important to most stories, though community and friends and family were more important at a local level and race and video more in national stories. However, the video was more sensationalized in Castile's case, especially at a national level. The video is what sets the case apart at a national level, though, so it makes sense that national newspapers would play it up as much as possible.

<div align="center">

Cross-Event Comparison

</div>

An Overall Comparison

Though all three cases chosen involved different years and locations, they were fundamentally similar: black men that were fatally shot by police officers during an otherwise routine stop. Because of this, some sociological and journalistic frames were salient for all of the cases, no matter what other factors may have come into play. Race was the most salient frame in nearly every case, especially at a national level. Newspapers clearly wanted to highlight the racial disparities in police-involved shootings, but went about it differently at national and local levels. Community and friends and family frames were consistently more salient at a local level than national, likely because local journalists had more access to community residents and friends and family members. Their readers would probably care more than national readers about what was happening in the town and to people in the community, as well. I chose a protest frame for Michael Brown and video for Walter Scott and Philando Castile because I determined they

were the most salient frames other than those previously mentioned, and they were the aspects

that made each case more unique and notable at a national level. As expected, protest and video

were consistently more salient at a national level, but did maintain a high degree of importance at

a local level as well. Since these four aspects were consistently the most salient frames in each

case, the results suggest newspapers follow a formula for what they think readers will want to

know in police brutality stories.

Race

Race was overall one of the most salient frames in each case. Collectively, it was

mentioned 104 times in national and local stories about Michael Brown, 78 times for Walter

Scott, and 87 times for Philando Castile. It was consistently far more salient at a national level

than local, since local stories typically put more emphasis on friends and family and the

community, and was treated more similarly by national papers. The New York Times and The

Washington Post most often put race in the lede or first few paragraphs of stories, typically

referring to the victim as an "unarmed black man" or just a "black man" if, in the case of
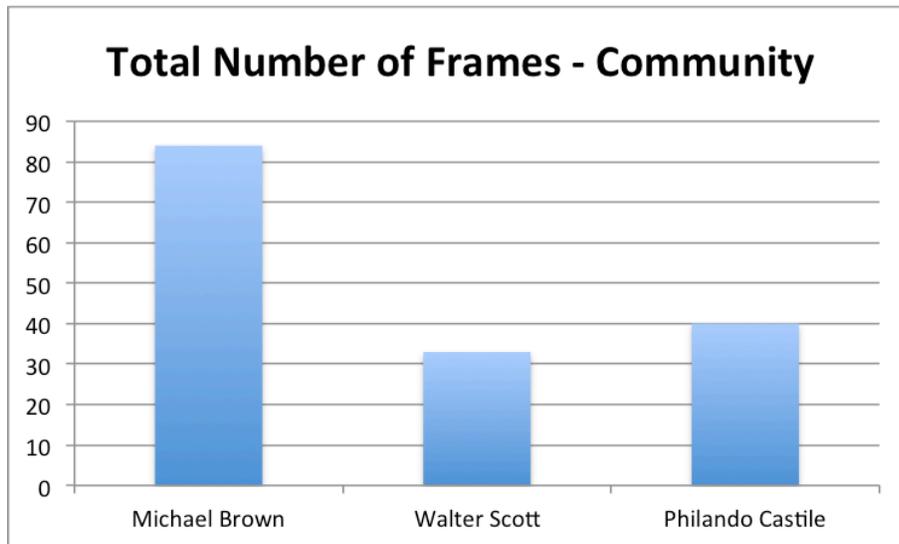
Philando Castile, he actually was armed.
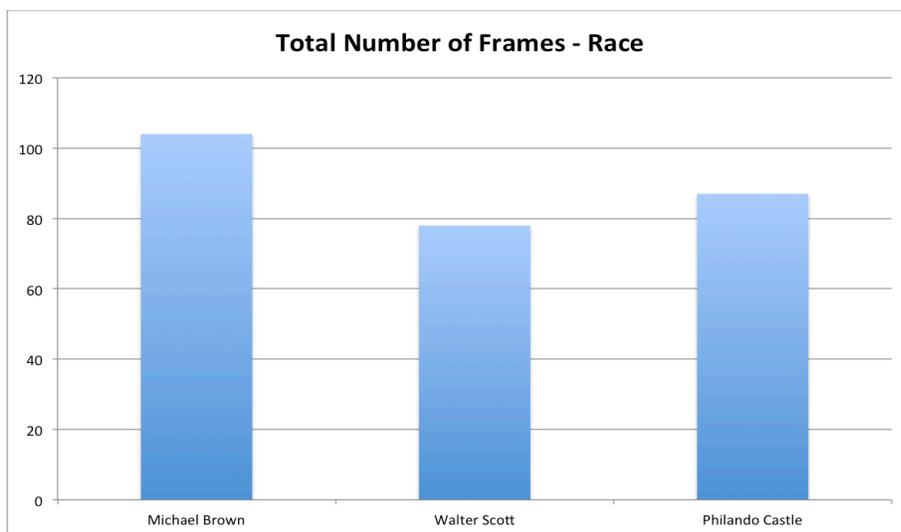
However, race in the Philando Castile case was nationally reported differently than in the other two cases. The New York Times and The Washington Post collectively looked at race relations in a more community-oriented way than they did for Michael Brown or Walter Scott—race was not just a passing issue to be mentioned in the lede and a few other paragraphs in the story. Philando Castile's national stories were more similar to the three cases' local stories, which explored race relations in the community and how the incident would affect racial tensions in the surrounding area.

The local papers all reported race comparably. They did not spend much time describing the victim as an "unarmed black man;" in fact, only about half the local stories used a phrase like it. Instead, they focused on race within the community and how the incident would affect race relations, especially with the police. The community aspect was more important at a local level, because their readers are the ones that will be directly affected by the incident.

Community

Community was consistently more salient in local stories than national, but still a salient frame in overall cases. It was collectively mentioned 84 times in Michael Brown stories, 33 times in Walter Scott, and 40 times in Philando Castile. Clearly it was a much more important frame in Michael Brown stories than the others, which stemmed from the fact that there were several more community mentions at a national level in his case than in others.

Total Number of Frames - Community

A bar chart titled "Total Number of Frames - Community" with a vertical axis from 0 to 90. Michael Brown has approximately 84, Walter Scott has approximately 33, and Philando Castile has approximately 40.

National papers reported the community aspect in the same way for Michael Brown and Philando Castile. They typically spent time explaining what the racial demographics in the community were like and how the community interacted with the police, without interviewing many community members or town residents about how they felt about the shootings. Local papers, however, painted a clearer picture of the sadness and anger within the communities. They did not need to waste words explaining their town's racial demographics; most readers would already have a good sense of what they were. Instead, they interviewed neighbors, pastors, business owners, and protesters to see how the incident was changing their lives.

The Walter Scott case did not follow the same pattern. While the local coverage was the same as in other local papers, the national coverage was different. The New York Times and The Washington Post did not spend time explaining the demographics of North Charleston or what race relations in the community and police force were like. In fact, it was rarely mentioned in any national stories. Instead, both papers interviewed community members and reported their feelings and opinions, like a local paper would be expected to do.

Friends and Family

The numbers of community and friends and family frames turned out to be quite similar, which I hypothesized in the beginning of the study. The frame was collectively mentioned 77 times for Michael Brown stories, 55 for Walter Scott, and 50 for Philando Castile.
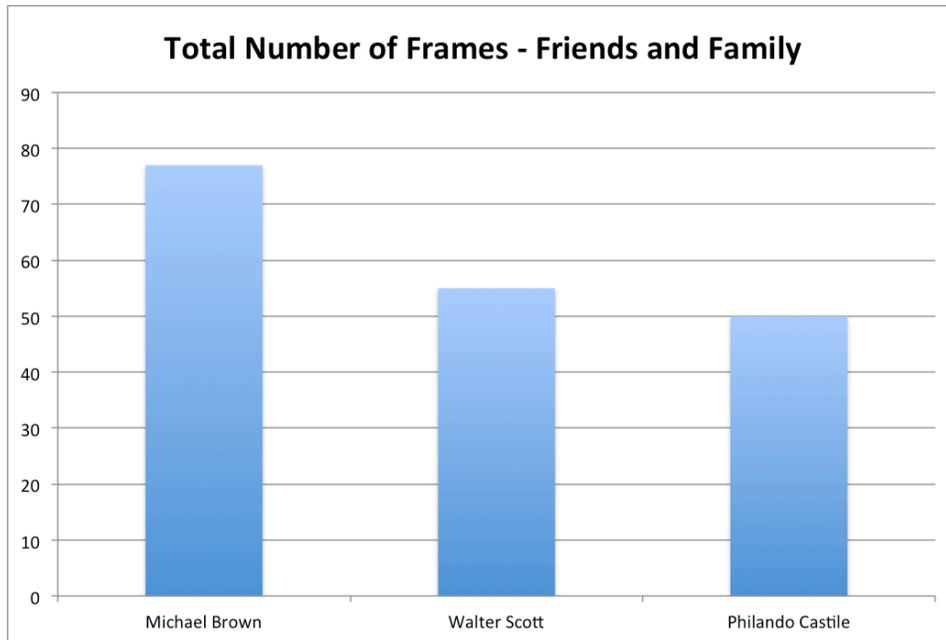

However, unlike the community frame, friends and family quotes and mentions were used in a consistent way across local and national papers in every case I analyzed—just less often at a national level. All sources quoted friends and family members saying what a good person the victim was and how he did not deserve to die at the hands of the police. Sometimes, though, friends and family were used to rile up crowds in protests or lead the search for justice (like in many Michael Brown and Philando Castile stories), but other stories quoted them urging the community to stay calm and nonviolent (usually in Walter Scott stories). The way in which family and friends are portrayed may have a large effect on how readers view the situation and

where their empathies and sympathies lie. Raw, emotional interviews with people close to the

victim could be the most memorable parts of stories.

Protests and Videos

Since Michael Brown's death did not involve a video component, I could not have a

consistent analysis across all three cases. However, I still wanted to analyze how videos and

protests affected news stories, so I chose which was more salient to each case. These frames

turned out to be the most salient: Protests were collectively mentioned 159 times in stories about

Michael Brown, and videos were mentioned 117 times in stories about Walter Scott and 93 times

in stories about Philando Castile.
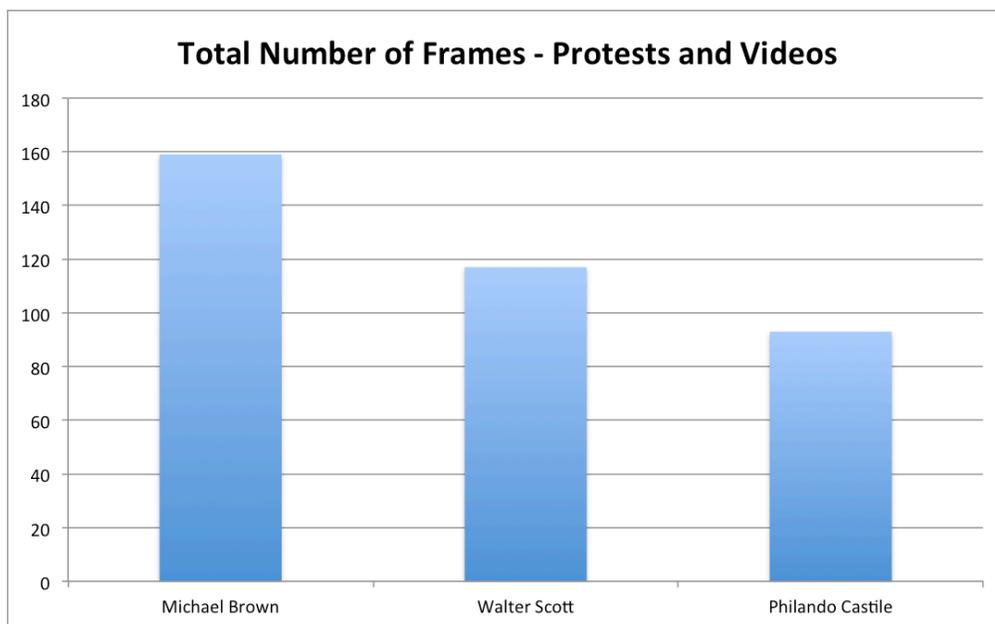
The main component the protest and video frames had in common was their national

newsworthiness. With so many police brutality deaths, national newspapers typically focus on

the ones with a more unique element. Michael Brown's death ignited violent protests across the

country. Walter Scott's case changed dramatically after a civilian released a cellphone video that

rendered half the police report a lie. Philando Castile's girlfriend live-streamed the aftermath on Facebook so the world could see exactly what went wrong. Protests and videos were often more salient in national papers than local, because local stories had another key angle: it happened to them, in their community, to one of their residents.

Discussion

Limitations

Overall, time was my biggest restraint. I wanted to analyze more cases and more stories within the cases I chose, but had to select a smaller number due to timing. During content analysis, I quickly realized how time-consuming it would be to analyze each story thoroughly, so I had to cut back to ensure I would do the ones I chose as well as I could. My sample sizes are smaller than I would have liked, which makes drawing concrete conclusions from the project difficult.

There were several other frames I could have explored as well, particularly frames surrounding the officer. I wanted to have a full, objective view of the victim and the officer to analyze, but time restricted me to choosing a few key frames I thought would be most salient on a sociological and journalistic level. I decided it would be better to do fewer frames well than to cover too much and not do as thorough of a job with them.

My analyses may also be subjective to what I counted as a frame, as well. As I did all the content analysis myself and assigned frames where I believe they did or did not exist, the analysis may have missed a few frames or incorrectly assigned them due to human error. I also do not know exactly why stories chose the frames they did, but tried to use my best judgment from what I know about journalism and storytelling.

Implications

My analysis and methods have some holes and problems, but I am proud to have contributed to the surprisingly small amount of research on police brutality coverage. Police brutality has become a large part of newspaper media within the last few years, and newspapers are a large part of the reason why people are aware it is happening. However, stories are framed different ways with different goals in mind, and how they are framed affect readers' opinions of the subjects. Stories that interview only police officers and information officers, especially soon after the event happened, are common. They are likely to give only the police officers' views of what happened, when evidence often proves the police did not provide the entire story in reports or statements, which we saw with Michael Brown and Walter Scott. The public's opinion of what happened to Walter Scott probably changed soon after the video was released, because the police officers did not tell the media exactly what really happened.

As officers are rarely charged or indicted in police brutality cases, it becomes the media's responsibility to provide a clear and objective view of what happened in the shooting. The public needs to know about racial inequality in the United States today, which often comes out in police-involved shootings of minorities. Though there are no exact statistics over time, the overwhelming number of police brutality deaths proves there is an important journalistic vein that needs to continue to be watched and reported. It is the media's job to keep being a watchdog for the community and let their readers know what is happening. It is time for a change, and often change starts with newspapers.

Appendix

Michael Brown Stories

The New York Times

Doc 1-1: "Grief and Protests Follow Shooting of a Teenager" by Julie Bosman and Emma G. Fitzsimmons, 8/11/14

Doc 1-2: "F.B.I. Steps In Amid Unrest After Police Kill Missouri Youth" by Julie Bosman and Erica Goode, 8/12/14

Doc 1-3: "Police Cite Threats in Deciding Not to Name Officer Who Shot Missouri Teenager" by Julie Bosman and Timothy Williams, 8/13/14

Doc 1-4: "Shooting Spurs Hashtag Effort on Stereotypes" by Tanzina Vega, 8/13/14

Doc 1-5-: "Anonymity in Police Shooting Fuels Frustration" by Julie Bosman and Erik Eckholm, 8/14/14

The Washington Post

Doc 1-6: "FBI will investigate shooting in Mo." By Wesley Lowery and Mark Berman, 8/12/14

Doc 1-7: "Days before death, a hard-won prize: A diploma" by Wesley Lowery and Todd C. Frankel, 8/13/14

Doc 1-8: "In Ferguson, racial questions have long hung over police force" by Wesley Lowery, Carol D. Leonnig, and Mark Berman, 8/14/14

Doc 1-9: "Some dismayed by military-like show of force" by Nirak Chokshi, 8/15/14

Doc 1-10: "Police: Slain Mo. teen was tied to robbery" by Wesley Lowery, DeNeen L. Brown, and Jerry Markon, 8/16/14

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Doc 1-11: "Shooting of teen by Ferguson police officer spurs angry backlash" by Lean Thorsen and Steve Giegerich, 8/10/14

Doc 1-12: "Michael Brown remembered as a 'gentle giant'" by Elisa Crouch, 8/11/14

Doc 1-13: "DAY OF PROTESTS—Hundreds gather to mourn unarmed teen who was killed by police. NIGHT OF FRENZY—As the hours wear on, some in Ferguson turn to looting, violence. Protest, public meeting planned today in wary city" by Steve Giegerich and Jesse Bogan, 8/11/14

Doc 1-14: "Family of slain teen call for nonviolence, witness to come forward" by Koran Addo, 8/12/14

Doc 1-15: "Police use tear gas in Ferguson, people jam church for moment of silence" by Staff Reports, 8/13/14

Doc 1-16: "Calls for justice and calm continue in Brown killing" by Staff Reports, 8/13/14

Doc 1-17: "Key witness meets with authorities to discuss Brown shooting" by Jeremy Kohler, 8/14/14

Doc 1-18: "Vowing 'different tone,' Nixon announces state takeover of Ferguson security" by Kevin McDermott, 8/15/14

Doc 1-19: "Police conduct after Ferguson shooting comes under scorn" by Jeremy Kohler, 8/15/14

Doc 1-20: "Robbery report could have made Ferguson officer more wary" by Robert Patrick, 8/16/14

Walter Scott Stories

The New York Times

Doc 2-1: "Citizen's Videos Raise Questions on Police Claims" by Matt Apuzzo and Timothy Williams, 4/9/15

Doc 2-2: "Officer Who Killed Walter Scott Is Fired, and Police Chief Denounces Shooting" by Alan Blinder and Marc Santora, 4/9/15

Doc 2-3: "A Stark Image of a Shooting Carries Impact" by Frances Robles and Alan Blinder, 4/9/15

Doc 2-4: "North Charleston Set for Weekend of Mourning and Protest" by Alan Blinder and Manny Fernandez, 4/11/15

The Washington Post

Doc 2-5: "S.C. officer charged in black man's killing" by Mark Berman, Wesley Lowery, and Kimberly Kindy, 4/8/15

Doc 2-6: "North Charleston police to wear body cameras" by Wesley Lowery and Mark Berman, 4/9/15

Doc 2-7: "After another tragedy, signs of progress" by Dana Milbank, 4/9/15

Doc 2-8: "S.C. officer had a 2013 excessive-force complaint" by Wesley Lowery and Mark Berman, 4/10/15

Doc 2-9: "Shooting in South Carolina emphasizes power of video footage" by Mark Berman, 4/10/15

The Charleston Post and Courier

Doc 2-10: "Family of man shot by North Charleston officer: 'All we want is the truth'" by Melissa Boughton, 4/4/15

Doc 2-11: "Victim's brother: 'We don't advocate violence, we advocate change'" by Melissa Boughton, 4/6/15

Doc 2-12: "Experts: No justification for fatal police shooting in video" by Glenn Smith, 4/6/15

Doc 2-13: "Video no guarantee in court, legal experts say" by David Slade, 4/7/15

Doc 2-14: "Shooting death of Walter Scott deals blow to North Charleston's struggle to balance civil rights, public safety" by Andrew Knapp and Glenn Smith, 4/7/15

Doc 2-15: "Witness who shot video of Walter Scott death speaks out" by Christina Elmore, 4/7/15

Doc 2-16: "N. Charleston avoided being a Ferguson" by Schuyler Kropf, 4/7/15

Doc 2-17: "Civil rights suit expected in Walter Scott's death, family attorney says" by Andrew Knapp, 4/8/15

Doc 2-18: "Second officer tried to render aid to Scott" by Bo Petersen, 4/8/15

Doc 2-19: "Protesters' deadline not met, 'resistance phase' looming" by Melissa Boughton, Christina Elmore, and Brenda Rindge, 4/9/15

Philando Castile Stories

The New York Times

Doc 3-1: "In 10 Terrible Minutes, a Tale of Race, the Police and Death" by James Poniewozik, 7/8/16

Doc 3-2: "The Poise of a Witness Gives Way to Raw Pain" by Julie Bosman, 7/8/16

Doc 3-3: "11 Officer Shot, 4 Fatally, at Rally Against Violence" by Matt Furber and Richard Pérez-Peña, 7/8/16

Doc 3-4: "Peaceful Protests in Minnesota Follow Call for Calm" by Mitch Smith, Christina Capecchi and Matt Furber, 7/9/16

Doc 3-5: "Family of Minnesota Man Killed by Police Calls for Inquiry by a Special Prosecutor" by Mitch Smith, 7/13/16

The Washington Post

Doc 3-6: "Live stream of shooting turns world into witness" by Abby Ohlheiser, 7/8/16

Doc 3-7: "After seeing her boyfriend shot, woman displayed calm" by Danielle Paquette, 7/8/16

Doc 3-8: "Killing of Minn. driver denounced across U.S." by T. Rees Shapiro, Emma Brown, and William Wan, 7/8/16

Doc 3-9: "Minn. officer who killed black motorist was model student, professor says" by T. Rees Shapiro, 7/11/16

Doc 3-10: "NRA criticized for silence on police shooting in Minn." by Isaac Stanley-Becker and Scott Higham, 7/13/16

The Star Tribune

Doc 3-11: "Police kill man during traffic stop" by Pat Pheifer and Claude Peck, 7/7/16

Doc 3-12: "Grief, outrage span social bounds, nation: by Mary Lynn Smith, 7/8/16

Doc 3-13: "'We'll get him justice'" by Pam Louwagie, 7/8/16

Doc 3-14: "Officers involved in the Falcon Heights shooting are identified" by David Chanen, 7/8/16

Doc 3-15: "'Mr. Phil' mourned as warm, kind, and 'chill'" by Libor Jany and Anthony Lonetree, 7/8/16

Doc 3-16: "Shooting prompts calls for change and swift action: by David Chanen, 7/9/16

Doc 3-17: "The search for answers" by Brandon Stahl and David Chanen, 7/9/16

Doc 3-18: "Tensions rise on both sides of badge" by Randy Furst, 7/10/16

Doc 3-19: "Hundreds rally in Loring Park" by Randy Furst, 7/10/16

Doc 3-20: "Mother says she can't view shooting video" by Brandon Stahl and Libor Jany, 7/13/16

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