FRAMING FERGUSON: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ST. LOUIS NEWS MEDIA
COVERAGE OF THE FERGUSON PROTESTS

By

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December 2015
Acknowledgements

I’d like to thank my committee of Laura Johnston, Sungkyoung Lee and Barbara Cochran, all of whom helped make this project possible. I couldn’t have done it without their guidance and intelligence.

I’d also like to thank my mom, who has been there for me in good times and bad during my time at Missouri; and my dad, who taught me to take things one day at a time.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

For my professional project, I spent the semester in Washington, D.C., as part of the journalism school’s D.C. program. While there, I reported for Youth Today and Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, two online news nonprofits operated by the Center for Sustainable Journalism at Kennesaw State University in Atlanta.

I worked Monday through Thursday and spent Fridays in seminar taught by Barbara Cochran. Each week we visited with professionals in journalism or public affairs in D.C. to learn about what they do and what it’s like to work in Washington.

I used weekends and other free time to work on the research portion of my project — a content analysis of stories published by three St. Louis news organizations about the protests in Ferguson in 2014.

I chose this project because reporting for Juvenile Justice Information Exchange aligned with my interest in the criminal justice system. I didn’t initially expect to report as much as I have for Youth Today, but I knew that both offered good opportunities to improve my writing and reporting. I also knew that I would benefit from being in Washington, having a chance to cover congress and report in a more heightened political environment. Although I don’t plan to stay in Washington, I think seeing firsthand how things work here, both in the media and the government, is valuable knowledge that I will take with me no matter where I end up.
Chapter 2: Weekly Field Notes

Week 1
Aug. 27-31

Work:

I write this report at the end of my first day as a reporter for Youth Today/JJIE, where I’ll be covering child welfare and juvenile justice for the semester. Although I have yet to actually start reporting, I’m satisfied with my progress today. This morning, I had coffee with Youth Today’s full-time Washington reporter, Sarah Barr. I had some questions about getting started, her weekly routine and possible coverage opportunities for me this semester. It was a productive meeting, and we will probably meet to touch base once every two weeks or so. I spent the rest of the day reading about child welfare and foster care in an attempt to absorb as much as I can on the topic before I actually have to start filing stories. Getting a grasp on the topic — and pitching good story ideas — will be my biggest challenge in the early going. But my supervisors have thankfully given me the first week to get my bearings.

Research:

I’ve been somewhat of a nomad since I arrived Thursday, crashing on various friends’ couches and living out of my suitcase, so I haven’t had a chance to work on my research project yet. Once I’m settled in my own place tomorrow, I’ll be able to devote more time to it. I made some headway over the summer, tweaking my codebook to reach a satisfactory intercoder reliability. With that out of the way, I can start to code the stories that will make up my analysis.
Seminar:

Friday’s seminar gave a good overview of the semester, allowed us to meet our fellow classmates and hear about Barbara’s career as a journalist in Washington. We also got a chance to talk to someone who was in our shoes not long ago — Alex Mallin, who got a job at ABC News after working there as an intern through the Washington Program. It was encouraging to hear from a peer who was able to turn their experience through the program into a job. It was also interesting to hear Alex’s explanation of ABC News’ unique team structure and his role there as a “digital journalist,” responsible for adapting ABC’s content for the web. My main takeaway from Barbara’s and Alex’s stories was that even the best-laid career plans are likely to be upended — not always in a bad way — and that it’s a good idea to have an open mind when twists and turns crop up.

Week 2
Aug. 31-Sept. 6

Work:

I spent the first week at Youth Today reading about child welfare, foster care, adoption and juvenile justice. By the end of the week, I felt like I had a much better grasp of the challenges and issues at play in those areas. On Thursday, I pitched a few stories to my editors, and they signed off on them, so next week I’ll be able to start actually reporting.

The first story is about the Every Child Deserves a Family Act, a bill that has been introduced in Congress that would protect the rights of same-sex couples who want to adopt. The second story is about job turnover among foster care workers. Today (Monday) I did some pre-reporting and prepping to make my first calls tomorrow. I’ll be
checking in with my editors on Wednesday to let them know what kind of progress I’ve made. It feels good to have a plan for the next few days.

**Project:**

On Sunday, I spent a couple hours gathering the stories I’ll be analyzing — 14 each from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis American and St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio. This was easy, but it took some time. I can start coding now that I have the stories together.

**Seminar:**

On Friday we visited the Newseum and got a tour from the Newseum Institute’s chief operating officer, Gene Policinski. Gene covered a variety of topics during the Q&A session, but one piece of advice stuck out to me: He said that as we move forward in our careers, we should be prepared to accept jobs that we might not feel fully qualified for or comfortable with. This was surprising coming from him — he’s a successful journalist who has held a number high-ranking positions at places such as USA Today — but he admitted that as he moved from job to job, he never felt entirely qualified for any of them. He learned the ropes along the way.

After the tour and our talk with Gene, we had all afternoon to explore the museum on our own. I checked out exhibits on 9/11 and the Vietnam war and also the Pulitzer photo gallery. All three were moving, especially the 9/11 exhibit and Pulitzer gallery. They were a reminder that journalists have to show up and report even when things get really bad. The work of the New York journalists on 9/11 was particularly inspiring. That they were able to do their jobs that day, amidst the chaos and terror, is incredible. But they were truly the public’s only hope of finding out what was happening on the ground.
I also enjoyed looking at all the different newspaper fronts from 9/11. Though the attacks took place when print media was still going strong, I think those pages demonstrate the unique power of print to capture the spirit of an event with only a few words and images. Headlines such as “BASTARDS!”, “ACT OF WAR,” and “AMERICA’S DARKEST DAY,” paired with photographs of the destroyed towers, served as a kind of distillation of the country’s feelings that day. In other words, long live print.

Week 3
Sept. 6-14

Work:

Progress was slow on my foster care worker turnover story this week. I think I didn’t realize the amount of work I was taking on with this story, and it will probably take me the rest of this week to finish it, assuming I hear back from some sources I’ve been waiting on. On the bright side, I did make a few good child welfare contacts who will hopefully be useful to me on future stories.

In the meantime, I’m on the lookout for some newsier stories that I could turn around in a day or two while I continue working on the turnover feature. It has been challenging to boil down the big-picture “issues” into a daily news story, and I still feel like I have a lot to learn about the subject in general. My editors said they might have an assignment for me later today.

Project:
On Saturday I began coding stories. It took me about two hours to do four stories.

Going forward, I think I’ll try to do a few stories each day rather than coding in big batches, for the sake of my own stamina. My goal is to have all the coding done by the end of this month, which amounts to a pace of about three stories per day.

**Seminar:**

On Friday we met with Todd Gillman, the Dallas Morning News’ Washington bureau chief. We got a brief tour of the Morning News office, which is also in the National Press Building, before coming back to the MU office for a Q&A. Our talk with Gillman covered a lot of ground, but of particular interest to me was his description of how the Morning News has transitioned to focus its resources on the digital audience. One element of this, he said, is a move away from the traditional beat structure centered on institutions to one focused on issues; for instance, the reporter covering the school system might now be covering “education.”

This transition reminded me of my own move from reporting at the Missourian to reporting for Youth Today. At the Missourian, which covers daily life in a medium-sized city, my reporting was inherently event and institution-driven. But at Youth Today, which has a much broader scope, there is more of an emphasis on issues, problems and policy — stuff that is fuzzy and without a clear entry point like a press release or a police report. How do you begin reporting on something like that, and how do you know when you’re finished?

Those are questions I’ve been asking myself these last couple weeks. So I imagine it must be hard for an entire staff accustomed to the rhythms and routines of daily news to
make such a transition. I’ll be interested to watch the Morning News and see how it plays out there.

Week 4
Sept. 14-21

Work

Things started picking up at work this week. I had my first story published Friday. It was about a study published recently in the American Journal of Public Health that found that pro-social behavior among kindergarteners can predict success later in life. I had to paraphrase the report and then interview several “experts” to give the study some context. It was satisfying to have a story moving quickly and see my byline at the end of the day. Meanwhile, I moved forward on my foster care worker turnover feature and hope to have a draft submitted Monday or Tuesday. My editors also gave me a few other assignments to work on in the next couple weeks, including a story on mindfulness programs for youth that I’m looking forward to reporting. All in all, I’m getting into the swing of things and hopefully showing my editors what I’m capable of.

Project

I continued coding this week, keeping with my routine of 2-3 stories per night. I was able to finish all 14 Post-Dispatch stories, so I’ll move on to the next batch and hopefully finish those off next week. Not every story is easy to code, as there is a lot of gray area that my codebook doesn’t necessarily account for, but I imagine that is one of the drawbacks of this approach. Qualitatively, I’m definitely seeing some patterns take shape, and I’m looking forward to crunching the numbers to see if those hold up.
Seminar

…was very interesting this week, especially, I expect, for the reporters in the group. We visited Claire McCaskill’s office in the Hart Senate Office Building, where we met with two members of her press team. It was fascinating to hear their perspective on working with reporters — how they handle requests, navigate what’s on/off the record, and manage McCaskill’s “brand.” I actually came away with a much greater appreciation for what they do. Journalists and flacks have a tense relationship at best, and as a reporter, it often feels like they’re more bent on sabotage than being helpful. Hearing from McCaskill’s team, though, made me realize that it’s better to work with them than against them. They’re not always going to like what journalists write, but building a relationship of mutual respect and honesty seems to be the best plan for both parties. One way to do this, they said, was to meet with press people (off the record), to introduce yourself and let them know what stories you might be interested in writing. Another way, it seems, is to tell them up front what you are looking for — for instance, a quote about X or a statement about Y — and negotiate from there. No need to beat around the bush — we’re both just doing our jobs.

Week 5

Sept. 20-27

Work

It was a productive week at work. I had two stories published and almost finished a third. The first was a daily story for JJIE about a study that found girls spend more time confined than boys in the Texas juvenile justice system. My editor assigned it to me at 1 p.m. with a deadline of 4 and wanted three or four sources. I was able to turn it around by
4:30 with three sources, so I was happy about that, although it was nerve-wracking. My worker turnover story published Thursday on Youth Today. I learned a lot working on that story — not just about foster care but also how to report and write a longer, issue-based feature without a real news peg. I was pretty happy with the finished product, but mostly I’m glad to be done and move on from it.

**Project**

I started coding articles from the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio. I’m encouraged because I’m already starting to see differences between their reporting and the Post-Dispatch’s. I’m a little behind on my goal of two-three articles per night, but I’m hoping to get back on track this week. I have about 25 articles left to code.

**Seminar**

No seminar this week, so I pent some time reporting and working on my project.

**Week 6**

Sep. 27-Oct. 4

**Work**

I wrote two stories this week and was able to get out of the office for some of my reporting, which was a nice change of pace. On Monday I went to Baltimore to observe an after-school yoga class at an all-girls charter school, and today I covered a rally against addiction on the national mall. It was good to get out and talk to people face-to-face rather than over the phone, and I think it will lend some good color and action to those stories. The work has been steady the last few weeks and I’m looking forward to writing a couple more stories this week, so things are good.
Project

I made some good progress on coding this week. I have seven stories left to code and should be done by the end of next week. Then on to entering and analyzing the data.

Seminar

We met with Mike McCurry, former White House Press Secretary for Bill Clinton, and Adora Andy Jenkins, Senior Vice President of External Affairs for the Information Technology Industry Council. Although they spent most of their careers on the public relations side, I thought it was interesting that they both started out as journalists — McCurry for newspapers and Jenkins for broadcast. They both emphasized the importance of writing skills in either industry. It was a good reminder that even though technology has changed the job so much, the basic skills of communications are still crucial — no matter how good you are at the other stuff. It also reminded me that I should probably be writing more outside of work.

Hearing from public relations people the last few weeks has definitely given me a greater appreciation for that job. I now see the source of some of the tensions that arise between journalists and PR people — and they mostly seem to stem from both parties just trying to do their jobs. I’m not sure if there’s really any solution to that, but it’s something I’ll keep in mind going forward.

Week 7

Oct. 4-11

Work

I spent Monday writing my story on the addiction rally, and Wednesday I covered “National Youth Science Day” at the Ronald Reagan building downtown, where
hundreds of kids were participating in what organizers said was the nation’s largest youth-led science experiment (because kids all across the country were doing it at the same time.) It was a fun assignment. I got a chance to talk to kids and capture some action from the event, and I also took some photos to run with the story. My editor said I did a “great job” this week, so that’s always good, too.

**Project**

I finished coding. This week I’ll transfer my data from the codebooks into Excel and hopefully start running some tests in SPSS.

**Seminar**

We met with Gordon Witkin, the executive editor of the Center for Public Integrity. Much of the discussion was focused on CPI’s struggle to do good work as a small non-profit in an environment where that kind of slow, in-depth journalism is more scarce (or less profitable). Witkin talked a lot about CPI’s funding model and how the center partners with larger news organizations to get its stories to a wider audience. It did seem like money is somewhat of an obstacle, unfortunately, and fundraising is a constant struggle. That said, I suppose lots of news organizations are facing similar challenges, albeit on a larger scale. I don’t really have a solution for the revenue question facing journalism, but I’m confident that there are some good minds working on the issue at institutions of higher learning and elsewhere.

I’ll also note that Witkin emphasized that investigative and data reporters need backgrounds covering cops, city and state government to learn the basics in reporting. Todd Gillman said the same thing earlier in the semester. I’m glad that I’ve been able to
get some experience doing that at the Missourian because it’s definitely becoming a
theme among our seminars.

Week 8

Oct. 11-19

Work

It was a slower week at work as there weren’t any daily stories for me to write,
but I got started on a piece for this week about Bullying Prevention Month and another
longer-term story about social worker self-care. That one is similar to my story about
worker turnover in that it involves a broad, layered topic. I learned from the first one that
I have to be patient and learn about the issue rather than trying to tackle it all at once. I
think I’ll be able to be a bit more methodical this time as I peel back the layers. This
week, on the other hand, promises to be much busier. Today (Monday), I’m covering a
conference hosted by the National Black Child Development Institute. Thursday I’m
covering an event hosted by Afterschool Alliance. In between I’ll be writing my anti-
bullying story and also attending some hearings with Sarah, the other reporter.

Project

I entered all the data into SPSS and I’m ready to start analyzing. I’m hoping to
take the next two weeks to do that.

Seminar

This week’s seminar was a double feature: We visited NPR on Friday and sat in
on “Meet the Press” at NBC on Sunday. At NPR, we had a fascinating conversation with
Keith Woods, the network’s vice president of diversity in news and operations. I thought
Woods’ big picture approach to diversity was spot-on: rather than trying to hit certain
quotas to achieve a diverse audience, content and workplace, he talked about approaching the issue from a more systemic level — increase the size of the pie, he said, instead of wedging in extra pieces where they won’t fit. For instance, when addressing the facts that NPR’s sources tend to be primarily highly-educated white males from a handful of prestigious universities, the answer is not necessarily to just go out and find different sources, but to ask why those highly-educated white males are go-to sources in the first place, and approach it from that way.

I had never been in a TV studio before our trip to NBC, so it was exciting to see that process unfold. I thought newspaper newsrooms were fast-paced, but the live TV environment was unlike anything I’d experienced before. I don’t think I’d want that kind of pressure and responsibility, but it was still interesting to see it in action. I also have a better understanding of Sunday shows in general and their place in the political landscape. I will definitely be paying closer attention to those shows from now on.

**Week 9**

Oct. 19-25

**Work**

This was probably my most productive week so far. I had three stories published and also went to a press conference and a hearing with Sarah. On Monday, I went to the National Black Child Development Institute’s annual conference in Arlington. I sat in on two seminars relating to black youth and the justice system and ended up writing a story about zero tolerance policies and the school-to-prison pipeline, which published on Thursday. It was a challenge to organize all the information from the conference into a cohesive story, but I’m pretty happy with how it turned out. I also finished a story about
Unity Day (part of National Bullying Prevention Month) which went up on Wednesday, and a story about Lights On Afterschool, a nationwide celebration of afterschool programs, for Friday. This week I’ll be putting together a “man on the street” piece I did at the NBCDI conference. I asked attendees the last time they felt like they made a difference at their job.

**Project**

I started running crosstabs analyses on my data, which shows general frequency information as well as whether one variable is dependent on another. For instance, I looked at whether narrative structure was dependent on publication. Unfortunately, because my pool of data is so small, (many of the frequencies are < 5 for most variables within each publication), I don’t think the chi-square values are valid. But it is still useful for finding frequencies.

**Seminar**

We met with Fred Barnes at the Weekly Standard, a conservative political magazine. Barnes talked about everything from his disdain for black-tie galas to his thoughts on the 2016 presidential primaries. This was the first magazine we’d heard from, so it was interesting to hear how the work cycle differs from that of a daily publication. For instance, Barnes said he rarely comes in to the office before 10 a.m. and sometimes doesn’t come in at all. The editorial staff does not meet on a weekly basis. It sounded like, as long as reporters’ stories were filed by deadline, they had pretty much free range during the week. The magazine also seemed to be focused primarily on its print product, with limited original content online that isn’t also in the magazine. I was
surprised by how loose the whole operation seemed and I wonder if other magazines
operate the same way.

Week 10

Oct. 25-Nov. 3

Work

I covered my first hearing this week. It was a meeting of the House subcommittee
on Education and the Workforce, and they were discussing reauthorizing funding for
career and technical education. I talked to two of the witnesses afterward, but I wasn’t
able to get a ton of stuff for a Youth Today story, so my editor told me to take a few more
days to broaden it a bit. It’s supposed to run today (Tuesday). I also wrote a quick day-
turn for JJIE about some awards received last week by organizations working to improve
the justice system for girls. Earlier in the week, I put together my “man on the street”
piece from the NBCDI conference I attended a few weeks back. That also has yet to run.

Project

I ran descriptive analyses on all of my data. I looked at overall frequencies and
frequencies within each publication and wrote short summaries of what I thought was
significant in each category. Although the dataset is small, there are definitely some
significant results. I feel ready to start writing this week.

Seminar

We met with public affairs officers from three Inspectors General offices. Prior to
our meeting, I had very little idea what inspectors general did, so it was eye-opening to
say the least. Jennifer Kaplan, public affairs officer for the EPA Office of Inspector
General, referred to the inspectors general as “hidden gems,” and I’d have to agree: They are incredibly valuable sources of information for journalists because they are doing essentially the same thing journalists do — holding the government accountable — but often have access to information that journalists don’t. And though they still have to play by the rules of FOIA like other government entities do, they seemed more committed to transparency than most agencies I’ve worked with. For instance, they mentioned that they are experimenting with making documents public after only one request from a journalist, rather than the three requests mandated by FOIA. I was also surprised to hear that they record podcasts about the finer points of what they do — not something I would expect most government agencies to take the time to share with people.

**Week 11**

Nov. 2-8

**Work**

This week was fairly quiet. I worked on a story Thursday and Friday about a deputy police commissioner in Philadelphia who was awarded a fellowship to work full-time on a school diversion program in the city. It was a good summary of a lot of the stuff I’ve been writing about for JJIE all semester — the school-to-prison pipeline, zero tolerance policies and efforts to help kids rather than punish them when they act out. I finally feel like I’m starting to get a grasp of the topic. I’ve even established a small group of sources I feel comfortable calling or emailing when I need a comment for a story. It’s too bad that I’ll be leaving soon and won’t be able to keep building on what I’ve started, but I think it’s a good marker of the progress I’ve made this semester.
Project

I began writing the results, discussion and conclusion sections for my final analysis. I have a very rough draft at the moment, which I plan to continue polishing this week.

Seminar

We met with three media law attorneys at the Covington law firm to discuss common legal issues facing journalists. I took communications law with Sandy Davidson in the spring, so I was familiar with some of the things we talked about, but it was definitely useful to review some of those topics. We talked quite a bit about fair use, which seems like a timely topic now that so much content is available and sharable on the Internet. Sharing links, photos and videos is second nature to people who use the Internet. For instance, I probably wouldn’t think twice about posting a picture on Facebook of my favorite basketball player. But the rules of the web don’t apply to journalists in the same way. Our meeting was a good reminder of that.

Week 12

Nov. 8-15

Work

On Monday, some members of the Youth Today/JJIE team from Atlanta flew to DC for a conference and some video shoots. I accompanied the videographer, Roger, on shoots at two youth substance abuse prevention organizations, where we met with professionals and young people. Roger shot video while I interviewed the subjects. I spent the rest of the week putting a story together based on the interviews. As always, it was good to get out of the office and do something a little different.
This coming week will be the last of my internship. I’ll be finishing up the prevention story and also finally finishing the self-care story I’ve been working on. The semester went very fast, and it hasn’t quite sunk in yet that I’ll be leaving soon. But I hope to make the last week a good one and finish strong.

**Project**

I continued to work on my results/discussion/conclusion section, and sent a rough draft to my committee at the end of the week. This week I’ll put the finishing touches on those sections and work on filling out the other requirements.

**Seminar**

I couldn’t attend seminar this week because I had a job interview at the Wisconsin State Journal in Madison. Even though I didn’t get to visit the Washington Post, I still spent Friday in a newsroom, so I thought I’d write a bit about what I took away from that experience. The State Journal is a medium-sized daily newspaper (staff of about 50) owned by Lee Enterprises, which owns about 45 other daily papers. One of the results of that ownership has been a move from in-house page design to “regional design centers” where Lee designers work on pages from all of the company’s publications. This system seemed to cause some stress for the State Journal employees that interviewed me, as almost all of them asked if I would feel comfortable working in a system like that. After talking to them, I could see how difficult it would be to go from having complete control over your product to having someone else, who is not in the newsroom, determine what it will look like. I see this is an unfortunate consequence of the financial troubles impacting the journalism industry. More signs of those troubles? Lots and lots of empty desks in the newsroom and a skeleton crew on the copy desk that I’m told has very little downtime.
during their shifts. (Although the 7.5 hours do fly by, one editor told me). The good news is, despite the downsizing, the State Journal is actually making money. All in all, it seemed like a great place to start my career.

**Week 13**

**Nov. 16-21**

**Work**

Things wound down this week. I finished my final two stories for Youth Today: substance abuse prevention and self-care. On Thursday, I went out to lunch with Sarah and my editors had cupcakes delivered to the office for me. The semester went fast and it felt strange that it was all ending. My editors thanked me and said I did great work, so I felt like I left on a good note.

**Project**

I made some revisions and formatting changes and collected all my stories and field notes from the semester. The report really came together this week and it only needs a few more finishing touches to be complete. I’m hoping to submit it to the committee today (Tuesday).

**Seminar**

We had our test and ate lunch at the National Press Club with Adora Jenkins, who we met with earlier in the semester. We had a very interesting conversation with her about the protests at Mizzou, particularly the clash between the media and the protesters. We found out that Jenkins was working closely with the protesters to advise them on strategy and handling the media. She had some interesting takes — she felt that Jonathan Butler’s hunger strike was too extreme and that the football team should have waited until Sunday
to announce their boycott so they could have been better prepared for the media firestorm that ensued. In general, Jenkins said the conflict between the media and protesters arose because of the protesters simply did not know the media had those rights. I have read and heard others say that the news should to do a better job of promoting media literacy among readers and viewers, and I think that’s a good idea. Unless you’re in journalism school, can you really be expected to know the ins and outs of the First Amendment as it applies to journalists? I certainly wouldn’t have been aware had I not taken communications law class last semester. Though the incident between Tim Tai and the protesters was ugly, I think it was a great learning experience for all involved.
Chapter 3: Self-evaluation

I am proud of the work I accomplished this semester. I wrote a total of 17 stories for Youth Today and Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, including stories about an after-school yoga class at a charter school in Baltimore, a congressional subcommittee hearing about tech school funding, and a rally against addiction on the National Mall, to name a few. In addition to my reporting, I accompanied the full-time JJIE reporter, Sarah Barr, to observe several congressional hearings and other events.

I tried to do everything my editors asked of me. I met my deadlines, made edits when required, shot photos if necessary, and made myself available to cover whatever story I was assigned, even if it meant working on the weekend or outside my normal work hours. As the semester went on, I gained a better understanding of what my editors were expecting, and I think my stories improved. In some ways, they also became easier to report, as I built relationships with a few “go-to” sources. I’m happy with my output and productivity — there was rarely a time when I wasn’t actively working on a story, and I ended up having one or two pieces published just about every week.

That said, there is always room for improvement. There were times when I could have taken a story deeper or talked to more sources to make it better. Sometimes, I just ran out of time, but other times, I decided what I had was good enough. I think I also could have done a better job of drumming up stories independently. At first, when I was still getting my bearings, I depended on my editors to tell me what to cover. But as I learned more about the topics I was covering, I think there were opportunities to pitch my own ideas that I didn’t always pursue.
As someone who hopes to work in journalism upon graduating, the reporting and writing experience I took away from this job was obviously a plus. Not only that, but to be able to cover the workings of the federal government — to actually sit and watch legislation being discussed and debated, was a rare and eye-opening opportunity that has hopefully made me a more seasoned and knowledgeable journalist. I also learned a lot about topics I didn’t know much about before — youth services and the juvenile justice system — that could serve me well later in my career. It was not easy, at first, to get a handle on these subjects that I knew little about. Reporting for Youth Today and JJIE — one of which (Youth Today) is a trade publication — was also a big change from the daily, event-based journalism I was used to at the Missourian. While many of my stories had a news angle, some of them were more issues-based, which requires a different approach than the usual “who, what, when, where, why” of daily journalism. Overcoming those challenges was a good lesson in itself, and I’m glad I was exposed to a different form of journalism.

Working for a non-profit, rather than a commercial publication, was unique as well, although I found very few discernible differences between the operations of the Center and the Missourian, for instance. Though they’re non-profits, both Youth Today and JJIE consider themselves news, not advocacy, organizations. However, because they are non-profits under the auspices of a university, they are not credentialed to cover Congress. This didn’t end up affecting my work too much, but made the experience different from working for a traditional commercial publication with credentials.
Chapter 4: Work

This section includes all of my work for Youth Today and Juvenile Justice Information Exchange. Three of the stories have yet to be published. Included at the end of the section is an evaluation of my work by John Fleming, the editor of JJIE and Youth Today.
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Pro-social Skills at Young Age Can Predict Future Success: Study

By Joe Guszkowski | September 18, 2015

WASHINGTON – Kids who demonstrate so-called pro-social skills at a young age are less likely to end up in juvenile detention, be arrested or abuse drugs later in life, according to a new study published by the American Journal of Public Health.

The study, which tracked a group of 753 kindergarteners for nearly 20 years, found that students who exhibited such skills as sharing, listening and cooperating with others while in school were more likely to have greater success in employment and education during early adulthood.

This study joins a growing body of research that shows the importance of noncognitive or “soft skills” to predict later outcomes, regardless of other factors such as where a child is raised.
Helping children develop those skills is “one of the most important things we can do as a society to prepare children for a healthy future, no matter where they live,” said Dr. Kerry Anne McGeary, who oversaw the research for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (http://www.rwjf.org/).

The researchers tracked kindergarteners from four schools in low-socioeconomic neighborhoods starting in 1991, controlling for family demographics, academic ability and other factors. Teachers gave each participant a social competence score based on his or her skills in cooperating with peers, being helpful and resolving problems independently.

[Related: Bridging Adolescent Brain Research, Reality](http://jjie.org/op-ed-building-bridges-between-adolescent-brain-research-reality/)

Using school and court records, and reports from participants and their parents, researchers monitored the students’ lives until they turned 25, keeping track of their education, employment, crimes, substance abuse and mental health.

The results showed that students with higher social competence scores were more likely to graduate from high school and college and have a full-time job by age 25.

Students with lower competence scores had a higher chance of being arrested and spending time in juvenile detention. They also exhibited higher rates of binge drinking and marijuana use.

Marcy Mistrett, CEO of Campaign for Youth Justice (http://www.campaignforyouthjustice.org/), said school is an ideal setting to learn pro-social skills, but that they have been pushed out of the curriculum by an increased emphasis on academic performance.

Teachers “want the tools to help kids develop these skills, but they are no longer taught how to do that as teachers,” she said.

“I do think it is important for educators to see their role as helping to develop the ‘whole’ child, including supporting the development of children’s noncognitive skills,” Dr. Tamara Halle, co-director for early childhood development at Child Trends (http://www.childtrends.org/), said in an email. “However, educators must be adequately prepared, themselves, to effectively do this.”

Those tools can come from progressive school leaders and the establishment of a school culture that integrates social and emotional learning with academics, Mistrett said.

McGeary said the study shows there are many opportunities throughout a child’s life to develop pro-social skills – both in and out of school.

“This study documents that we as a nation, as a society, have a great opportunity to help children,” she said. “These social and emotional skills are skills that can be worked into multiple components of any child’s life.”

That includes after-school and summer school programs, McGeary said.

“Out-of-school programs present a great opportunity to really help build social/emotional skills in young children,” said Kendra Rogers, managing director of early childhood policy at Children Now (http://www.childrennow.org/).

The structure and flexibility of such programs allow for creative approaches to developing those skills, and also allow adults to have more informal interactions with kids outside a school setting, she said.

Such programs are uniquely suited to the development of noncognitive skills, according to a 2014 guide (http://www.publicprofit.net/site/uploads/Noncognitive%20Strategies%20Guide%20-%20Public%20Profit%20(2014).pdf) by Public Profit (http://publicprofit.net/), which recommended 16 strategies for youth organizations and schools to develop those skills, especially during out-of-school time.

More articles related to this one:

[Report Helps Police Protect Kids While Arresting Their Parents](http://jjie.org/report-how-police-can-protect-kids-when-arresting-their-parents/)
Social Work Education Key to Retaining Foster Care Workers, Advocates Say

By Joe Guszkowski | September 24, 2015

Antoinette Rucker was 16 years old and looking forward to moving from a foster care group home to a permanent placement with her older sister.

But the process dragged on for almost a year, Rucker said, because the social worker handling her transition went on maternity leave and didn't come back.

That meant Rucker had to get to know a new caseworker, who was learning Rucker’s case at the same time, slowing the process. Altogether, Rucker had three different caseworkers during the transition, she said.

“It’s almost like they’re your parent,” Rucker said of case managers. “They take you to the doctor, parent/teacher conferences. So when you have someone that’s starting over consistently, you have to adjust to a new person, and they have to adjust to you.”

That adjustment was made more challenging by workers who came from a patchwork of educational backgrounds, Rucker said.
“I thought the agency hired people that had a B.S.W. [bachelor’s degree in social work],” she said. “But they hire people with [degrees in] criminal justice, psychology, sociology. So everybody doesn’t practice the same.”

Though Rucker was able to eventually move in permanently with her sister, other foster youth who experience turnover are not so lucky. A short-term 2005 study (http://www.uh.edu/socialwork/docs/cwep/national-iv-e/turnoverstudy.pdf) of foster youth in Milwaukee County, Wis., requested by the governor’s office, found that worker turnover hurt foster children’s chances for permanency.

Dr. Katharine Briar-Lawson, co-principal investigator for the National Child Welfare Workforce Institute (http://ncwwi.org/), said a lack of specific training contributes to worker turnover.

“Sometimes workers are seeking more help with their cases, and if they don’t have the right skills, if they’re just hired with a degree in anything ... they may be more vulnerable because they’re not comfortable with what they’re seeing,” she said.

Their solution? Find a job that’s less intense, Briar-Lawson said.

Turnover rate

Gathering national data on turnover is difficult because of the different ways foster care is operationalized across the states, said Mary Jane Dessables, director of research and information for the Council of Family and Child Caring Agencies (http://www.cofcca.org/).

Growing attention to the issue in the early and mid-2000s resulted in a number of national surveys. A 2003 report (http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d03357.pdf) by the U.S. General Accounting Office found that child welfare staff turnover was between 30 and 40 percent, and a 2004 American Public Health Services Agency (http://www.aphsa.org/content/APHSA/en/home.html) report (http://www.theprofessionalmatrix.com/docs/WorkforceReport2005.pdf) found that the rate of turnover among foster care and adoption workers was around 20 percent.

More recent, though incomplete, data is available at the state level. In California, which has the country’s largest foster youth population, the turnover rate among public-sector child welfare social workers in 47 of the state’s 58 counties was 7.1 percent in 2011, according to a report (http://calswecc.org/sites/default/files/uploads/pdf/CalSVEC/CalSVEC/turnover_2011.pdf) by the California Social Work Education Center (http://calswecc.org/). That number does not include Los Angeles, which accounts for one-third of the state’s child welfare staff.

[Related: Compassion Fatigue Rampant in Youth Service Industry] (http://youthtoday.org/2015/02/compassion-fatigue-rampant-in-youth-service-industry/)

Among foster care case planners at 47 not-for-profit agencies in New York, which has the country’s second-largest system, average annual turnover was 31.9 percent in fiscal year 2013, Dessables said.

Rates in individual agencies can fluctuate over time due to changes in leadership or crises such as the death of a child, said Dr. Joan Zlotnik, a senior consultant for the National Association of Social Workers (https://www.socialworkers.org/). But for the most part, turnover has been steady.

“The patterns have pretty much been pretty stable,” said Dr. Mary McCarthy, co-principal investigator for the National Child Welfare Workforce Institute. “Now what people are focusing on more — because data-gathering is so complicated — people are focusing more on intervention.”

“The question is no longer whether or not there is turnover and what should be done about it,” Eileen Mayers Pasztor, a professor of social work at California State University, Long Beach, and a consultant for the Child Welfare League of America (http://www.cwla.org/), said in an email. “But, instead: What will it take to implement the recommendations that have long been established?”

Those recommendations include hiring workers with an education in social work.

Retention via education
The New Jersey Department of Children and Families began taking steps to retain workers in 2004, when its turnover rate was 15.9 percent, said Commissioner Allison Blake.

Among the department’s strategies, which included reducing caseloads and lowering the supervisor-to-worker ratio, was a program called the **Baccalaureate Child Welfare Education Program** (http://www.state.nj.us/dcf/policy_manuals/CPP-IX-C-3-100 issuance.shtml), formed in 2005.

The department partnered with social work programs at nine colleges and universities across the state to give students pursuing bachelor’s degrees in social work an opportunity to intern with the department and eventually be hired to work there.

The program is funded in part by **Title IV-E** (https://www.socialworkers.org/advocacy/updates/2003/081204a.asp), a federal fund for child welfare education and training, which has been used to create similar partnerships between universities and agencies in other states.

“A social work education program exposes future child welfare staff to the values and knowledge that prepare them for the work that they’re going to be doing,” Blake said. “It really begins to create a sense of professionalism and confidence.”

Thanks to the program and the department’s other efforts, its turnover rate has dropped to 7.24, Blake said.

In 2012, the department created a new initiative, in partnership with three graduate programs, to send supervisors back to school for a master’s in social work.

Blake said it sends a message to new graduates considering career choices that the department values a social work degree, and that employees will be working alongside other people who have such degrees.

**Several studies** (http://66.227.70.18/programs/r2p/rrnews0209.pdf) have shown a link between agencies that require social work degrees and lower turnover rates.

Judith Schagrin, assistant director of the Baltimore County Department of Social Services, said her department’s requirement that front-line workers have a master’s in social work and are properly licensed has been a key to retention.

“When you bring people in with just a college degree to do work, you totally overwhelm them,” said Schagrin, who has been with the department for 32 years. “I do believe that [the requirement] contributes to retention because you’re working in a professional workplace with other professionals who share the same ethical code and same ethical values.”

A 2008 **national survey** (http://sw.oxfordjournals.org/content/55/3/199.full.pdf) of child welfare workers found that about 18 percent of workers had a master’s degree in social work, and about 20 percent had a bachelor’s degree in the field.

Baltimore County is one of the few places in the country that has such strong requirements, Zlotnik, of NASW, said.

Schagrin said she does not have recent turnover data for her department, but that it has been steady over the last 10 years or so. Out of a staff of 50 workers and 10 supervisors, she estimated that about eight to 10 leave their jobs each year.

A 2007 **report** (http://archive.ushs.umd.edu/bitstream/10713/3540/1/MarylandCWWorkforceStudyReport2007.pdf) by the University of Maryland School of Social Work found that the turnover rate among child welfare workers in Baltimore County was about 23 percent in 2006.

“For the most part, people aren’t leaving here because they hate it here,” Schagrin said, but because of life changes or better job opportunities elsewhere.

And though advanced-degree workers might come at a higher cost to agencies, Zlotnik said it’s worth it in the long run because of the high costs of turnover, which include payments for recruitment and training.

Antoinette Rucker said she thinks standardized requirements would make turnover less difficult for foster kids. A background in social work gives workers the core skills and code of ethics required to do the job, she said.

“That would make everything a lot better, honestly,” she said.
Rucker, now 22, is doing her part. In December, she will graduate from Albany State University in Albany, Ga., with a social work degree. After that, she plans to pursue a master’s degree in social work at the University of Georgia.

More related articles:

Wraparound Services Surround Foster Youth, Families with Help

Senators Push to Keep Kids Out of Foster Care

California Photographers Focus on Life After Foster Care in New Book
Girls Incarcerated Longer for Less Serious Offenses, Texas Study Shows

By Joe Guszkowski | September 22, 2015

A chart from the report "The Influence of Gender and Traumatic Experiences on Length of Time Served in Juvenile Justice Settings" shows the difference gender makes in discharge time.

Girls serve longer sentences than boys in the Texas juvenile justice system, and for less serious offenses, according to a new study from the University of Texas at Austin.

Researchers studied 5,019 juveniles in three large, urban Texas counties over two years, finding that a female's likelihood of remaining in confinement was 12.5 percent greater than that of a male.

Learn more about mental health on the Juvenile Justice Resource Hub.

Females were held longer for less serious offenses, the study found. They were released at a much slower pace than their male counterparts for “status offenses,” such as running away from home or skipping school, and spent an average of five days longer in pretrial detention for less serious offenses than male counterparts.

Girls in the juvenile justice system are also more likely to have a mental health issue and to have experienced trauma prior to incarceration, the study said.

Lead researcher Erin Espinosa said trauma might influence the longer confinements.
Certain aspects of detention, such as a door slamming or footsteps coming down the hall, can trigger girls who have experienced sexual abuse or assault to act in self-defense, Espinosa said, leading to new charges and a longer stay.

In a fight or flight scenario, girls in detention don't have an opportunity to flee, so they fight, she said.

[Related: When We Fail To Ask Why: Sexually Abused Girls Funneled into Juvenile Justice System](http://jjie.org/when-we-fail-to-ask-why-sexually-abused-girls-funneled-into-juvenile-justice-system/)

Advocates called for better trauma-informed therapies within detention facilities, and more community-based programming outside them to reduce the time girls spend locked up.

Girls "end up languishing in these facilities that are meant to help treat their underlying issues ... yet these facilities don't have sufficient programming to support their recovery," said Elizabeth Henneke, policy attorney with the Texas Criminal Justice Coalition (http://www.texascjc.org/).

There is a need for “an investment in community programming specifically directed to girls and youth who are struggling with issues that can be best resolved in the community rather than in a facility,” she said.

Lisa Pilnik, deputy executive director of Coalition for Juvenile Justice (http://www.juvjustice.org/), said locking girls up for status offenses is a misguided approach to protecting them.

“I think the best solution is for most of these kids not to be in a facility in the first place – to be getting trauma-responsive services in their communities,” she said.

Kids who do need to be detained need trauma-informed and gender-responsive programming, she said.

A 2015 report (https://csgjusticecenter.org/youth/publications/closer-to-home/) from the Council of State Governments (http://www.csg.org/) found that juveniles in community-based supervision programs were less likely to reoffend than those in confinement.

“If the system is designed to be rehabilitative in nature ... then what are we really achieving by keeping them locked up just because they're girls?” Espinosa said.

More related articles:

Girls in Justice System Often Traumatized Victims of Abuse (http://jjie.org/girls-in-justice-system-often-traumatized-victims-of-abuse/137846/)

California Mentorship Program Offers Comfort to Sexually Exploited Young Women (http://jjie.org/california-mentorship-program-offers-comfort-to-sexually-exploited-young-women/)


Women's Center Works to Lower Recidivism Rates With ‘Immersion in Sisterhood’ (http://jjie.org/womens-center-works-to-lower-recidivism-rates-with-immersion-in-sisterhood/)
Educators Say Transparency is Key to Getting Public Involved with Improving Schools

By Joe Guszkowski | October 1, 2015

Sharing education data with the public builds trust and gets the community involved with improving schools, said educators who were recognized Wednesday for using data to create change.

Five years ago, the Henrico County School District in Virginia discovered that students with disabilities had higher suspension rates and lower graduation rates than other students.

District data showed that those students represented 13 percent of the school population but comprised 24 percent of students serving out-of-school suspensions, said Superintendent Dr. Patrick Kinlaw.

The district knew improving those numbers would not be possible without making all the information available. It went public with the data despite initial concern from its public relations department, Kinlaw said.

“The greater good prevailed, because we let people know that our interest was in making things better for kids with disabilities,” he said.

The district implemented a plan that relied on data and parental engagement to focus on helping students with disabilities. Since the initiative began, discipline of those students has decreased by 32 percent and graduation rates have increased by 12 percent, according to the Data Quality Campaign, a national nonprofit focused on data in education.


“That can’t be done alone,” Kinlaw said of the improvement.

Data Quality Campaign recognized the Henrico school district and three other finalists Wednesday for the 2015 Flashlight Award, given to school districts that use data effectively and transparently.

This year’s top award went to the Goochland County Public School District in Virginia, which collaborated with students, parents and the community to create a data-driven approach to measuring student progress.

In addition to sharing student achievement data with the public, the district made its financial data available as well, Superintendent Dr. James Lane said during a teleconference with award finalists.

Sharing that data “led to a greater trust in our community in the way we were spending dollars,” he said. “Folks could really trust us.”

The other two finalists were districts in Tacoma, Wash.; and Madison, Wis.

In addition to building trust, sharing data with the public helps communities become more data-literate, said Tacoma Public Schools Deputy Superintendent Joshua Garcia.
Garcia’s district created a way for community members and school leaders to explore district data in hopes of improving its graduation rate of 55 percent.

In doing so, people began to understand the limitations of data and became empowered to make decisions, he said.

The collaboration led to the creation of a new data-based system to measure and improve student success. Graduation rates in Tacoma Public Schools have increased 23 percent since 2010, according to a release from the Data Quality Campaign.

Chris Kingsley, associate director for local policy and advocacy for the Data Quality Campaign, said transparency is an effective strategy for helping the public understand the decisions districts are making.

It’s “a very successful strategy for districts and states to pursue,” he said.

More related articles:

Gathering Data for Grants Gets Trickier (http://youthtoday.org/2014/07/for-youth-serving-nonprofits-gathering-data-for-grants-gets-trickier/)

Is Data Getting a Bad Rap? (http://youthtoday.org/2015/01/is-data-getting-a-bad-rap/)

For Real Juvenile Justice Reform We Must Look at the Data Objectively (http://youthtoday.org/2014/09/op-ed-for-real-juvenile-justice-reform-we-must-look-at-the-data-objectively/)
Young People Find Hope, Community at ‘Unite to Face Addiction’ Rally

By Joe Guszkowski | October 6, 2015

Sherry Collier (left) and Cathy Bowrey came to the rally from Maryland to show their support for their children and other families, and put an end to the shame surrounding addiction.

WASHINGTON — Gretchen Schilke was 20 years old and 79 days clean Sunday. It’s the longest period of sobriety she’s had since she was 12.

But there was a time during her addiction, she said, when she didn’t think she would ever get help.

“I didn’t know it was possible to recover from heroin addiction,” Schilke said. “I thought you were addicted to heroin and that’s your life. I thought I was gonna die at 50 and that was just my story.”

Schilke was among thousands of people gathered Sunday afternoon on the National Mall for the Unite to Face Addiction (https://www.facingaddiction.org/actnow/) rally, intended to raise awareness about addiction and recovery and launch a new, nationwide campaign called Facing Addiction.

The rally was a chance for young people like Schilke to feel part of a larger community and witness the possibility of overcoming addiction, advocates said.
"It’s important for young people to know that recovery is possible, that going back to school is possible. That having fun and partying sober is possible," said Arielle Spanvill, community mapping and sustainability coordinator for Transforming Youth Recovery (http://www.transformingyouthrecovery.org), a nonprofit charity that aims to help students in recovery.

The event, which unfolded at the foot of the Washington Monument, featured musical performances, speeches from celebrities and politicians, book readings and signings, and access to a variety of addiction and recovery resources and services. Thousands packed the grassy area in front of the stage, waving signs and cheering as the speakers and musicians shared their own stories of addiction.

Justin Luke Riley, president and CEO of the grassroots advocacy organization Young People in Recovery (http://youngpeopleinrecovery.org), said the rally gave people a concrete cause to get behind.

He said it was important for young people to “show up and represent” to reduce shame and stigma associated with recovery.

[Related: They Climb, Bike, Run, Lift, Box Their Way Out of Addiction](http://jjie.org/they-climb-bike-run-lift-box-their-way-out-of-addiction/117284/)

“Look, there are millions and millions of Americans who are in recovery, and several thousand of them showed up in D.C. to show that they weren’t ashamed,” Riley said.

One of the challenges for young people facing addiction or in recovery is that social outings are often based around using drugs and alcohol, said Ricki Arvesen, who works for the Center of Alcohol Studies at Rutgers University (http://alcoholstudies.rutgers.edu).

“It’s hard for us to find a community where we feel safe and we can be open,” she said. “And I think a day like this brings awareness and brings conversation about it.”

Another challenge for young people is that they might not feel like they fit into the common conception of what an addict looks or acts like, which can exclude them from getting help, said Mariel Harrison, chapter coordinator for Young People in Recovery.

Substance use disorder derailed her adolescent and teenage years, Harrison said.

“Had services been offered to me at a younger age and had people given me a message of hope and a message of, ‘You don’t need to be 45 to get sober, you can be 16,’ things might have been totally different,” she said.

The images often associated with drug addicts and alcoholics — urban, poor, clutching a bottle in a brown paper bag — are not the whole picture, Harrison said.
"An addict doesn’t look like anything," she said. "I think it’s so important that the face of alcoholism and the face of addiction — and even more importantly the face of recovery — is able to be seen not as one cookie-cutter thing."

Harrison said the rally was an opportunity for young people to see others who looked like them and had been through recovery.

“And I think the only way for people to see that picture is when people in recovery show that picture,” she said.

Families whose loved ones had battled addiction also were a large presence at the rally. Cathy Bowrey and Sherry Collier, from Maryland’s eastern shore, sat on a wall at the foot of the Washington Monument holding signs that read: “No More Shame! I am a Mom of an Addict.”

The women, who had children in recovery or still using drugs, said families are necessary to provide support for young people in addiction, but that it has been hard on both of them.

“It’s just as much hell on us as it is them,” Bowrey said.

Nonetheless, they said, they showed up at the rally to show their support and put an end to the shame surrounding addiction.

“We know a lot of people ... their parents turn their back because they think they’re trash or whatever. And we’re just here to say no, they’re not,” Collier said.

Gretchen Schilke, who traveled from New Jersey with the Hope All Day (http://hopeallday.org/) recovery program, where she has been staying, said she thought the rally’s scope and national visibility could save the lives of other people who face addiction.

“If they see this, if they see how many people are here ... they can see there’s a chance for them,” she said. “They don’t have to keep living like that.”

More related articles:

Insurance Coverage for Substance Abuse Improving But Still Limited (http://jije.org/insurance-coverage-for-substance-abuse-improving-but-still-limited/116596/)


Obey the Signs or End Up Like Me (http://jije.org/op-ed-obey-the-signs-or-end-up-like-me/108786/)
Kids Experiment With STEM For National Youth Science Day

By Joe Guszkowski | October 12, 2015

WASHINGTON — Kayla Charway and her classmates from Patrick Henry Elementary School had already completed their physics experiment at 4-H National Youth Science Day (http://www.4-h.org/4-h-national-youth-science-day/), but they decided to use the materials — a toy car, a yellow ramp and gobs of colorful clay — to create their own riff on the topic of motion.

“Let’s make an obstacle course,” said the 10-year-old.

“Yeah, let’s make speed bumps,” her classmate Emma Toggia said.

“So that it can cause friction,” Kayla said.

They rolled the clay — originally used to mold passengers for the car — into balls and strips and arranged them on the ramp. Then they sent their vehicle down the track into the technicolor collision course, where it was stalled by one of the green balls.
Kayla said she likes experiments because “you actually get to experience it yourself and see how it is. So, like, you could easily prove something wrong and know how everything is working.”

About 400 elementary school students from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Washington filled a ballroom Wednesday at the Ronald Reagan Building to participate in what organizers called the nation’s largest youth-led science experiment.

Hundreds of thousands of students in all 50 states were doing the same experiment simultaneously as part of 4-H National Youth Science Day, an effort by 4-H to spur youth interest in the field of STEM (science, technology, engineering and math).

In Washington, site of the day’s flagship event, groups of students passed through the ballroom in waves to conduct experiments on motion and reaction time at small tables, with guidance from teachers and 4-H (http://www.4-h.org) volunteers.

Stacy Hayden, a talented-and-gifted teacher for the Alexandria School District, which includes Patrick Henry Elementary, said there’s not always enough time spent on science in school.

(http://3bhuf2134ms42er36k19to8ai.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/files/2015/10/Kayla-Charway.jpg)
“For them having the opportunity to come here and really take the time to explore what sometimes is missing, I think it’s fantastic,” she said.

“It’s making me like science way more,” said Valentine Bissah, a 9-year-old from Patrick Henry, while rolling a piece of clay between his palms. “Because at first I didn’t really like science, because I thought it was just about nature and everything. But now it made me think more about physics and other stuff.”

Valentine and his classmates had used a bottle of apple juice from the buffet to prop up their ramp, giving it a steeper incline. They sent their car, occupied by two balls of clay, down the ramp and into an obstacle. The experiment was supposed to demonstrate how different speeds and materials caused the passengers to fly from the car, but their balls of clay stayed put.

“He didn’t fall out!” one student proclaimed.

One of the values of out-of-school programs like 4-H is the socialization, which students don’t always get in the classroom setting, said David Brandt, a Lockheed Martin employee volunteering at the event.

“I think it’s the same with 4-H or any other youth organization — if their friends or peers are involved in it, they see value in it and they’ll get involved,” he said.

Youth development programs like 4-H help close the STEM skills gap by reinforcing knowledge learned in school, said Artis Stevens, chief marketing officer for 4-H.

Sarah Morton, 4-H urban STEM coordinator at Virginia Tech University, said STEM can be a bridge between traditional classroom learning and out-of-school time.

“If you look at formal education, because it is driven by standards, kids are not able to explore and investigate with their hands,” she said. “In nonformal environments, kids have the opportunity to explore, investigate, they have alternative learning environments,” such as playgrounds and museums.

“Science is like the cross-pollinator” between the two, she said, because it can be worked into aspects of learning both in and outside the classroom.

More related articles:

Setting Standards for Out-of-School Time (http://youthtoday.org/2015/07/setting-standards-for-out-of-school-time/)


After-School Finds Power and Vision at the Community Level (http://youthtoday.org/2014/08/after-school-finds-power-and-vision-at-the-community-level/)
New App Aims to Help Parents Talk to Teens about Health

By Joe Guszkowski | September 29, 2015

A new [app](http://www.adolescenthealth.org/About-SAHM/Healthy-Student-App-Info.aspx) developed by the [Society for Adolescent Health and Medicine](http://www.adolescenthealth.org/Home.aspx) (SAHM) seeks to help parents talk to teens and young adults about their health.

The THRIVE (Teen Health Resources, Information and Vaccine Education) app, developed by SAHM in partnership with Pfizer and [UNITY Consortium](http://www.unity4teenvax.org/), features a list of “conversation starters” meant to spark discussions between parents and their children about a variety of health-related topics, including alcohol and substance abuse, and mental health.

Parents can also document their child's health information by taking photos of vaccination records, medications and insurance information and storing them in the app.

THRIVE specifically targets parents of high-school-aged and young adult children, said Dr. Karen Soren, who helped develop content for the app.

“We think parents sort of fall off the map when it comes to young adults,” she said. “Young adults have a huge need for parental input as well.”

Parents’ interactions with their children play a large role in preventing risky behavior, according to a 2011 [literature review](http://www.parachutecanada.org/downloads/research/SMARTRISK-ParentStrategyLiteratureReview-Final.pdf) by [Parachute Canada](http://www.parachutecanada.org/), a Canadian charity focused on preventing injuries.

“Parents have the power to create positive familial environments where their children feel comfortable disclosing information about the risky decisions they are facing in their daily lives,” the researchers wrote.

SAHM’s app is also designed to educate parents and dispel common myths about sex, alcohol and mental health, Soren said.

“One of our goals was to arm parents with facts so they can have productive conversations that their kids don’t discount,” she said.
Dr. Beth Marshall, associate director at the Center for Adolescent Health at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, said getting parents the information they need is the first step in helping them engage with teens.

“I love that what is in [the app] are all the facts that a parent needs to be able to convey to a young person, as well as ’How do I start these conversations?’” Marshall said.

Though THRIVE is geared toward parents, the dialogue is intended to help young adults transition into taking charge of their own health care, Soren said.

“The role that we try to encourage with parents talking to young adults is to just kind of open a conversation,” said Dan Beck, communications director for Got Transition, a cooperative agreement between the Maternal and Child Health Bureau and The National Alliance to Advance Adolescent Health that aims to help youth transition from pediatric to adult health care.

Beck said THRIVE’s conversation starters help young adults get used to the idea of setting up doctors’ appointments and keeping track of prescriptions at an age when they might not want to talk that much.

THRIVE is a step in the right direction for making that transition, Marshall said, but added that the move from parent-directed health care to self-directed health care is a “big jump.”

“There are still some more things that are needed, but I think that having all the information is a really positive step in that direction,” she said.

Marshall said some of the app’s features, such as the conversation starters and health information, would also be useful for child welfare workers. Not every worker is thinking about having a conversation with young adults about minor consent and confidentiality laws, she said, but the app points out that those are important topics to discuss.

SAHM developed all the content for the app, said Justin Dreyfuss, marketing communication manager for SAHM, and Pfizer worked on the technical aspects.

The app has been downloaded about 500 times since it was released on Aug. 31, Dreyfuss said. It is free to download and compatible with Apple and Android products.

“If this is successful, which we hope it is, we really want to add topics,” such as marijuana, especially as it becomes legalized, Soren said.

Marshall said she would like to see the developers include early adolescents as well, as that’s an age when many of these conversations should be taking place.

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Schools Stand Up Against Bullying on Unity Day

By Joe Guszkowski | October 21, 2015

This morning at Rockford Elementary Arts Magnet School in Rockford, Minnesota, teachers wearing orange T-shirts that read “Rockford Unites Against Bullying” welcomed a sea of orange-clad students as they filed off the school bus.

They handed out green, white and orange ribbons for the students to attach to their backpacks.

Even the school mascot, a dog called Rockee the Rocket, promised to wear orange.

It’s all part of Unity Day, a nationwide effort sponsored by PACER Center (http://www.pacer.org/) (Parent Advocacy Coalition for Educational Rights) that aims to bring schools and communities together to show solidarity and raise awareness about bullying.

And there’s a reason for all the orange.

“When you see a whole school wearing an orange Unity Day T-shirt, it’s a conversation starter,” said Julie Hertzog, director of PACER’s National Bullying Prevention Center (http://www.pacer.org/bullying/).

“We didn’t really realize how big of an impact [Unity Day] was going to have until we did it,” Rockford school counselor Melissa Spicer said of the school’s inaugural Unity Day last year. “It helps us generate conversations with [students] about what it means to stand up and speak up, and reach out and be a friend.”
Unity Day, established in 2011, is the centerpiece of PACER’s National Bullying Prevention Month (http://www.pacer.org/bullying/nbpm/history.asp), which grew from a single week in 2006 to an entire month in 2010. The day was created as a way to “visibly show solidarity” around bullying prevention and to get communities involved beyond just schools and parents, Hertzog said.

[Related: Lights On Afterschool Celebrations Recognize Programs Big and Small] (http://youthtoday.org/2015/10/lights-on-afterschool-celebrations-recognize-programs-big-and-small/)


Kids who are bullied are more likely to experience depression and anxiety, health complaints and decreased academic achievement, according to stopbullying.gov (http://www.stopbullying.gov/index.html). They also often feel isolated and alone, Hertzog said. Unity Day aims to give them the inspiration to speak up.

"It’s a lot easier to do that when you’ve got a whole movement behind you," she said.

Elizabeth McGlynn, executive director of Girls on the Run (http://www.girlsontherun.org/) of Montgomery County, Maryland, an after-school running program, said bullying prevention needs to be a year-round practice in both schools and after-school programs like hers.

“Anytime you do something for a day, it’s great ... but I definitely think [bullying prevention] has got to be woven more into the everyday vernacular,” McGlynn said of Unity Day. “We want to [work on bullying prevention] every day. We really want the girls to know that this is something you have to practice.”

In the after-school environment, bullying prevention strategies are the same as in the school environment, said Shileste Overton-Morris, senior program development and organizational manager for the Center for Schools and Communities (https://www.center-school.org/). But they might be implemented differently.

“I think there are more opportunities for kids in after-school programs, as far as bullying prevention is concerned, for teachers to kind of make teachable moments during activities," Overton-Morris said. In the after-school setting, teachers are
Hearing a different set of role models reinforce the same lessons learned during school is another benefit of after-school programs when it comes to bullying prevention, McGlynn said.

Overton-Morris said media coverage of bullying tends to focus on the details of a bullying itself rather than strategies to address the problem. Bullying Prevention Month and Unity Day are opportunities for people to take a step back and examine the issue of bullying from a broader perspective, she said.

“When you have a month like this where people can become more aware of the subject in a way where there's less heightened urgency ... people are able to digest it in a much different way,” she said.

Hertzog said it’s not easy to measure the impact of Unity Day, but PACER has taken some steps to try to quantify its success. PACER offers posters to order and display. Last year, they sold 6,500 in two weeks, Hertzog said, and this year they distributed close to 9,000.

Other evidence of success has been anecdotal. Hertzog said 15,000 students donned orange Unity Day T-shirts in one Illinois school district. At another school, students spelled out the word “United” on a football field. Cafeterias and local bakeries handed out orange cookies. A florist gave out orange roses to people wearing orange.

It’s all part of an effort to get people talking about bullying, Hertzog said.

“The more you’re talking about this issue, the more kids feel supported about it,” she said.

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Two Fields Come Together in New Center for After-school and Summer Enrichment (http://youthtoday.org/2015/10/two-fields-come-together-in-new-center-for-after-school-and-summer-enrichment/)

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Advocates Offer Solutions for Kids at Crossroads of School, Justice System

By Joe Guszkowski | October 22, 2015

Khalila Harris (second from left), deputy director at the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans, speaks during a panel at the National Black Child Development Institute’s annual conference in Arlington, Va.

WASHINGTON — In May 2013, Kiera Wilmot was arrested and charged with two felonies after she accidentally created a small explosion while doing a volcano science experiment at her high school in Polk County, Florida. She was later expelled.

“You raise your kids to do certain things, and I thought I did pretty well raising my kids,” said Kiera’s mother, Marie Wilmot, at a Washington press conference this week. “And so getting a phone call [saying Kiera had been arrested] threw me for a loop.”

Amid pressure from the media and advocacy groups, Kiera was eventually allowed to go back to school. But the experience followed her beyond graduation as she applied to college, when she was forced to check a box indicating she had felony charges and explain to admissions counselors what happened.

Her story is an example of how schools’ zero tolerance policies can begin to push students — especially students of color — out of the school system and into the criminal justice system, part of a process known as the school-to-prison pipeline.

A 2013 report by the Vera Institute, a nonpartisan, nonprofit justice research center, showed that black middle school students were suspended four times as often as their white counterparts, and Latino students two times as often, due to school policies that mandate suspension or expulsion for single offenses that can range from drug possession to fighting.
When we have 3- and 4-year-olds who are being excluded, suspended, expelled from schools, we have a problem,” said Khalilah Harris, deputy director at the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans (http://sites.ed.gov/whieea/), during a panel discussion at the National Black Child Development Institute (http://www.nbcdi.org)’s annual conference in Arlington, Va., this week. “There is nothing a 3- and 4-year-old can do that warrants us telling them, ‘You can’t come back here.’”

The NBCDI session featured a discussion of the issues swirling at the crossroads of school and the law, and offered concrete solutions to the challenges facing black youth at that intersection.

“Our young people, particularly our young men, start off, a lot of times, in schools that have given them a narrative,” said Charles F. Coleman Jr., a trial attorney in the New York District Office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (http://www.eeoc.gov/) and the panel’s moderator. “A narrative like ‘special education.’ A narrative like ‘behaviorally challenged.’ Narratives that have set the trajectory for them for the next 20 to 30 years.”

Harris emphasized the need for schools to use school discipline data to help change those narratives and reduce disparities in disciplinary outcomes for students of color.

“If you don’t have data, it’s difficult for you to advocate from a place of knowledge as opposed to emotion,” she said.

“It is critical for us as adults to take the data that we have, dissect it, see what we’re doing,” she said. “It has to be a systemic look at your data, to take a step back and say, ‘Who do we need to train?’ … ‘How are we engaging families?’”

Rev. Tony Lee, senior pastor of the Community of Hope African Methodist Episcopal Church in Temple Hills, Maryland, speaks during a panel at the National Black Child Development Institute’s annual conference in Arlington, Va.

Deborah Green, president of NBCDI’s Houston affiliate, agreed, referencing the value of the data in the Vera Institute report.

“Let’s take a look at [the data],” she said after a workshop on the impact of zero tolerance. “Let’s take a look at it and let it drive the direction that it’s taking us in.”

The role of parents

Preparing parents to engage with schools is another way to advocate for black youth in the school system, said Cherie Craft, executive director of Smart from the Start (http://smartfromthestartinc.org/), during that panel.

“We know you cannot educate a child in the public school system independent of their family and community,” she said.

This means teaching families the chain of command at schools so they know who they can talk to about their experiences. Craft said her group has even held mock parent-teacher conferences to prepare parents on what to expect.
Getting parents to step confidently into that role can be difficult, Craft said, because many had negative experiences in school themselves.

“The young parents that we need don’t even want to cross the threshold into the school building on the first day of school because they’re intimidated and really traumatized by what’s happened to them,” Craft said.

Marie Wilmot said the most important thing parents can do is stand up and fight for children who are caught up in school disciplinary issues.

Even though she was a PTA member and had volunteered in the schools, she said being involved might not help with how the school handles discipline.

“A lot of people at school knew me, but that didn’t stop Kiera’s arrest,” she said. “You just have to be there to tough it out.”

Police officers in schools

Though zero tolerance policies were intended to keep schools safe, they have instead had the effect of “scaring kids straight,” Green said.

Placing law enforcement officers in schools only exacerbates the problem, she said.

Mark Magaw, police chief of Prince George’s County Police Department in Maryland, said that while the department’s officers are in schools to keep students safe, their real goal is to build relationships with them, not discipline them.

But the presence of police officers in schools can instill fear in kids, said Coleman Jr., the moderator.

“As a young person looking at a uniformed, armed officer in a school, I don’t feel safe,” he said. “I don’t feel protected. I feel as though someone is trying to keep me in order.”

“What makes schools safe is teachers knowing students and parents knowing teachers,” Green said. Discipline, she said, needs to be put back into the hands of administrators, who have the ability to institute levels of discipline rather than the one-strike policy of zero tolerance.

“We should have some sense of judgement,” she said.

Since Kiera’s arrest, some of her school’s policies have changed, her mother said. The school has said it is not so quick to arrest students anymore, and will instead review each case individually.

Kiera now attends Florida Polytechnic University, where she is studying mechanical engineering. On Monday night, she visited the White House for Astronomy Night, where she met President Barack Obama, science educator and TV personality Bill Nye and Ahmed Mohamed, the Texas boy who was arrested in September after bringing a clock to school that authorities thought was a bomb.

Her advice for students who have found themselves caught up in the justice system?

“Don’t give up on your education,” she said during Wednesday’s press conference. “Stay focused.”

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Lights On Afterschool Celebrates Fun While Highlighting Growing Demand

By Joe Guszkowski | October 23, 2015

Amya Howard, 5, paints a piggy bank at the Lights On Afterschool event Thursday at the Raymond Recreation Center.

WASHINGTON — The students watched Cecily Mendie intently as she poured a bottle of Elmer’s glue into a plastic tray. Next she added a few drops of red food coloring and a spoonful of borax. Then she told the students to roll up their sleeves.

A few minutes later, their hands were coated in a layer of pink goo.

“It feels weird!” one student said.

“In after-school, you have a captive audience,” said Mendie, manager of the Department of Parks and Recreation’s Raymond Recreation Center, in an interview. “It’s an opportunity to be able to expose kids to things they may not be getting in the school system.”

On Thursday, kids enrolled in after-school programs through the parks and recreation department were exposed to pink slime and much more during a Lights On Afterschool event held at the center.

The nationwide initiative, sponsored by the Afterschool Alliance, was a chance to celebrate the activities after-school programs have to offer, “but also realize the demand is so much greater,” said Jodi Grant, executive director of Afterschool Alliance.

Though 10.2 million students are enrolled in after-school programs nationwide, there are 20 million kids who want to participate but can’t because programs aren’t available to them, Grant said. That means millions of kids are left alone and unsupervised after school.

“The need is so high,” she said.
Students in the after-school pom-poms program debut a new routine to kick off the Lights On Afterschool event on Thursday at Raymond Recreation Center.

About 200 students participated in Thursday’s event in the rec center’s gymnasium, where they planted flower and basil seeds in tiny pots, played minigolf, performed dance routines and painted piggy banks.

Aniyah Gordon, 9, was a member of a pom-pom program that kicked off the evening by debuting a new routine.

[Related: Lights On Afterschool Celebrations Recognize Programs Big and Small](http://youthtoday.org/2015/10/lights-on-afterschool-celebrations-recognize-programs-big-and-small/)

“I always dreamed about it, so this is like a dream come true to me,” she said of the performance.

On the other side of the gym, Amya Howard, 5, painted a pink nose onto a white ceramic piggy bank. She said she would put money in her bank and spend it at McDonald’s.

Next to her, 10-year-old Christianey Brown painted her pig with horizontal stripes.

“Right now, [I have] $10,” Christianey said. She planned to save it in her piggy bank.

Keith Anderson, director of the parks and recreation department, said Lights On was an opportunity to emphasize the need for structured programs for kids between the hours of 3 and 6 p.m.

After-school programs teach kids life skills, keep them safe and help them build bonds with role models outside the classroom, others said.

“Just seeing youth in a different setting, you get the opportunity to see them in a different light,” said Brian Hilliard, who works for the parks and recreation department’s teen council.

Besides parks and rec staff, there were plenty of parents at the event Thursday participating and playing with their kids.

Diane Gilchrist, a pre-K teacher at [Raymond Education Campus](http://raymondeducationcampus.org/), which is attached to the recreation center, said it was good to look around the room and see all the parental support.

“It shows a child that [parents] really do care what I do with my time,” she said.

“It’s wonderful. The kids have a wonderful time.”

More related:

Seven organizations will have a chance to further their efforts to help girls in the justice system thanks to more than $650,000 in funding from the National Girls Initiative (http://www.nationalcrittenton.org/what-we-do/national-girls-initiative/).

The nonprofit alliances and organizations from across the country were recognized Wednesday by the initiative, a branch of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (http://www.ojjdp.gov/), with its first Innovation Awards (http://ngi-innovationawards.airprojects.org/). The awards were granted to projects aimed at preventing arrest and detention, reforming policy and improving services for girls in the justice system.
The winners were:

- Alliance for Girls (http://www.alliance4girls.org/)
- Connecticut Juvenile Justice Alliance (http://www.ctjja.org/)
- Iowa Girls Justice Initiative
- Education Law Center (http://www.elc-pa.org/)
- NOXTIN (http://www.noxtin.org/) and the National Compadres Network (http://www.nationalcompadresnetwork.com/)
- Pu'a Foundation (http://www.puafoundation.org/)
- Southwest Key Programs (http://www.swkey.org/splash/sl/index.html)

The National Girls Initiative selected the winners from a pool of 77 candidates, seeking to recognize programs it felt would have the most impact in three priority areas identified by the OJJDP, said Jessie Domingo Salu, vice president of the National Crittenton Foundation (http://www.nationalcrittenton.org/), which operates the initiative with the American Institutes for Research (http://www.air.org/). The money, which came from a mix of government and philanthropic funds, will be split among the seven winners based on their projects and budgets, Salu said.

[Related: Documentary Aims Spotlight on Broken Juvenile Justice System] (http://jjie.org/documentary-aims-spotlight-on-broken-juvenile-justice-system/148299/)

“These incredible projects show us that we can work together to reimagine our juvenile justice system, and that at every step, girls and their families should lead the way,” said Pamela Shifman, executive director of the NoVo Foundation (http://novofoundation.org/), which helped support the awards, in a press release.

The number of girls arrested has increased over the last 20 years, even as the number of overall arrests has fallen. They represent a growing population in a juvenile justice system that advocates say is not suited to their needs and experiences. Studies have shown that girls are more likely to have been victims of sexual abuse and family violence, which can lead them to behaviors that land them in detention centers not designed to respond to their histories of trauma.

As a result, advocates and officials are calling for trauma-informed changes to both sentencing and detention designed to help girls rather than punish them.

“We feel very humbled, very privileged to be able to receive this funding,” said Marcia Rincon-Gallardo, project director of NOXTIN, a think tank that promotes healing-based approaches, leadership development and health equity among Latino youth.

One of NOXTIN’s goals is to “build the next advocates” out of girls who are impacted by the juvenile justice system through its Xinachtli-Ollin Girls project, Rincon-Gallardo said. The project teaches girls healing-informed rites of passage and the history of Latino youth in the justice system. Girls will also do a research project about probation in Monterey County, California.

“We just want to uplift these girls and their voices, and so we’re just sort of facilitating this process, so we’re very, very happy,” she said.
programs in the San Francisco Bay Area, said the organization plans to use the funding to help provide greater access to community-coordinated programs for girls who might otherwise end up in the juvenile justice system.

“Girls' needs are unrecognized by our system and continue to go unmet,” Mayerson said. Without a strong network of nonprofit and community-based organizations to meet girls' needs, she said, girls are acting out to get someone's attention and ending up in the juvenile justice system.

“What this grant is really helping us do is bring that community-coordinated approach to the public education system,” where the needs of girls can best be met, Mayerson said. “When the only supports we have are criminal justice-related, we've really failed before we've even started.”

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Schools, Youth Development Programs Seek to Engage Students in Career and Technical Education

By Joe Guszkowski | November 5, 2015

WASHINGTON — As a congressional subcommittee considers the reauthorization of an act that provides funding for career and technical education (CTE) programs, professionals in the field are emphasizing the need to get K-12 students interested in CTE earlier — both in and out of the classroom.

 Millions of postsecondary students enroll in CTE programs each year. In 2011-12, nearly 70 percent of all students enrolled in undergraduate degree or certificate programs sought a certificate or degree in a CTE field, according to a report (https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/sectech/nacte/career-technical-education/final-report.pdf) from the U.S. Department of Education.

But witnesses at a House Education and the Workforce Committee (http://edworkforce.house.gov/) hearing last week said many young people still do not see CTE as a viable career path.

“We’ve created a culture that says if you want to be successful, you graduate from high school, you go directly into a four-year university, you get a degree and you go to work,” said Tim Johnson, director of government relations for the National Center for Construction Education and Research (http://www.nccer.org/). “And I think that there are so many more pathways.”

They called for reauthorization of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act (http://www.careertech.org/Perkins), which provides more than $1.1 billion each year to support CTE programs. The act has not been reauthorized since 2006.

Youth development programs such as SkillsUSA (http://www.skillsusa.org/), which partners with thousands of schools across the country to prepare students for careers in technical, skilled and services fields, are working to engage students in CTE.
One way the program does that is by hosting local, state and national competitions (http://www.skillsusa.org/competitions/skillssusa-championships/contest-descriptions/), in areas ranging from plumbing to culinary arts, that allow students to build confidence and hone their technical skills.

“We’re positioning ourselves to be an answer for the skills gap,” said Jane DeShong Short, communications manager for SkillsUSA. “Not the only answer, but certainly an answer.”

[Related: STEM Education Bill With OST Focus Signed Into Law] (http://youthtoday.org/2015/10/stem-education-bill-with-ost-focus-signed-into-law/)

Participants said SkillsUSA activities such as competitions, career fairs and job shadowing exposed them to employers more often than other CTE students, according to a survey (http://www.themanufacturinginstitute.org/-/media/313BCA4C5721444CA8C48F7304F32027.ashx) conducted last spring by SkillsUSA, the Manufacturing Institute (http://www.themanufacturinginstitute.org/) and the Educational Research Center of America (http://www.studentresearch.org/).

The survey also found that more than 60 percent of participants in Career and Technical Student Organizations (http://www.ctsos.org/) (CTSOs), such as SkillsUSA, felt their career path was more clear because of CTE, compared to 40 percent of CTE students who did not participate in CTSOs.

SkillsUSA supports increasing funding to its state chapters to its pre-sequestration level, before spending cuts in 2013, Short said. The chapters receive federal funding provided under the Perkins Act.

“That student engagement piece is what I think is missing in a lot of K-12 systems ... that validation of, ’Why is it important that I learn this academic knowledge?’” said Douglas Major, hearing witness and the superintendent and CEO of Meridian Technology Center (https://www.meridiantech.edu), a CTE program in Oklahoma. “But when they’re able to put that into some real-world use, then it makes sense to those students.”

Major mentioned SkillsUSA and FIRST (http://www.usfirst.org/aboutus/vision), a nonprofit that aims to build science, technology, engineering and math skills in young people through robotics competitions, as examples of programs that are doing a good job of that.

CTE is attracting significant interest from policymakers, educators and employers because of its direct tie to closing the skills gap, said Sean Lynch, legislative and public affairs manager for the Association for Career and Technical Education (https://www.acteonline.org).

“We are more than six years into the so-called [recession] recovery, yet millions of Americans continue to struggle with finding a good-paying job,” said Rep. Todd Rokita, R-Indiana, during the hearing. “Meanwhile, industries critical to our economy ... have jobs to fill and not enough qualified applicants to fill them.”

Major said he would like to see more funding to help expose middle school students to different career options so they can choose the path that’s right for them.

“Too often, children in middle school are unable to see how that formal education will affect their future,” he said. “So if we have the flexibility to provide more career exploration, more career guidance, in those middle school levels, I think, in the long run, it will help with our high school success and our high school graduation rates.”

Field trips and job shadowing through after-school programs could also be helpful in making students aware of CTE, said Deneece Huftalin, president of Salt Lake Community College (https://www.slcc.edu) in Utah and another witness at the hearing.

“If you walked through [the] Boeing [plant] and watched that horizontal fin be assembled, you’d go crazy as a young person,” she said. “And you’d know what it looked like to be an advanced manufacturer.

“To take them into the field ... whether it’s automotive, or whether it’s health sciences, I just think that’s really important for them to see and feel and smell and really tactically experience that.”

More related articles:
Put oneself out of business is generally not sound career advice.

But that’s exactly what Kevin Bethel, the deputy commissioner of the Philadelphia Police Department, said he hopes to do through the department’s school diversion program, which offers alternatives to arrest for students who commit low-level offenses such as fighting or marijuana possession.

Beginning in January, he will continue that work as the first Diana A. Millner, Youth Justice Fellow at the Stoneleigh Foundation, an organization aimed at improving the lives of vulnerable youth.

“You can really turn your juvenile justice system around,” Bethel said in an interview. “It’s really been one of the most profound things I’ve done in my career.”

The program, in place at more than 200 Philadelphia schools since 2014, is an alternative to the zero tolerance approach to school safety that has resulted in more arrests but not a decrease in behavioral incidents. The one-strike policy has been shown to push students — especially black and Latino students — into the school-to-prison pipeline.

Under the Philadelphia program, students who get in trouble for the first time are given access to social services and counseling in an attempt to address underlying issues that could be affecting their behavior. A social worker meets with the student and their parents or caregivers at least twice a month for up to a year to offer continuing support.

In its first year, the program resulted in a 54 percent drop in arrests and 1,051 fewer behavioral incidents in 214 schools. This school year, arrests are down 60 percent, Bethel said. A little over 650 students have been diverted into programming so far.

“Generally speaking, diversion programs are more cost-effective and produce better outcomes for youth than incarceration,” said Naomi Smoot, a senior policy associate at the Coalition for Juvenile Justice. “So we are pleased anytime we can keep kids out of the system, especially for low-level behaviors, such as the ones that are being diverted by this program.”

During his three-year fellowship, Bethel said, he wants to work on educating school staff and students within the program. He plans to hold workshops and assemblies for students to teach them about the long-term consequences of being in the system and ways to avoid it.
His hope is to prevent kids from requiring diversion in the first place.

“I don’t get any pleasure out of diverting a 10-year-old child,” he said.

He also hopes to expand the program beyond schools to include first-time youth offenders who have committed theft.

[Related: Changing Juvenile Justice Trajectories: Redirecting the School-to-Prison Pipeline](http://jjie.org/changing-juvenile-justice-trajectories-redirecting-the-school-to-prison-pipeline/134702/)

Ronnie Bloom, executive director of the Stoneleigh Foundation, said the program works because it involves police officers who are trained to understand kids’ behavior and school policies that determine whether individual incidents should be handled by law enforcement or the school.

“If you can kind of cut through some of these assumptions about what people’s roles are, that’s what ends up working,” she said.

Officers in the schools are trained on mediation, de-escalation and adolescent development, Bethel said. They do not get involved in code of conduct offenses such as being out of uniform or having a cellphone in class — those issues are handled internally by the school.

Bethel said the policy is intended to prevent incidents between law enforcement officers and students like the one recently at a school in South Carolina, where a police officer threw a girl to the ground over her cellphone use.

“If you don’t know how to de-escalate ... then the only thing you’re going to rely on is your training,” Bethel said. That means giving orders and resorting to physical force if those orders aren’t obeyed.

The program also works, Bloom said, because Bethel has been able to build strong partnerships with agencies and entities in Philadelphia, including the school district and the child welfare system, that make the program strong and sustainable.

“He’s an unusually gifted person in terms of being able to draw people in and excite people about the idea,” she said.

Bethel, who described himself as a “people person,” chalks up that success to his nearly 29 years in law enforcement in Philadelphia, where he has “grown up” with his collaborators from other agencies.

From the beginning, Bethel knew the program wouldn’t work with one person dictating how things would go.

“Things built from the ground up have a much better foundation and greater buy-in,” he said.

Bloom said that by the end of Bethel’s three-year fellowship, she hopes to see the program replicated not only elsewhere in Pennsylvania, but at the national level, too, with federal funding available to incentivize schools and police departments to get involved.

Bethel said that if a city the size of Philadelphia can do it, any place can.

“You look across the nation and say, if we can do it ... what are [other cities] going to say? ‘We can’t?’” he said. “What excuse can you make?”

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Three years ago, Dejohn Taylor’s life was in turmoil.

Substance abuse had sent him spiraling toward self-destruction. He was finding himself in violent situations. He lost a loved one as a result of drug activity in Washington.

So he left the metro area for Chesterfield, Virginia, where a guidance counselor turned him on to mentoring, and he volunteered to teach elementary-aged school kids about the dangers of drug abuse.

Now, Taylor, 19, is back in Washington and a member of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America’s National Youth Leadership Initiative, a nationwide, youth-led effort to train community coalitions focused on substance abuse prevention.

“I wanted to make sure that I continuously was able to use what I had been through — my message and my life story — to try to show others how staying away from drugs can assist them in their journey,” Taylor said of his involvement with CADCA and NYLI.

Substance abuse at a young age can have negative effects on the developing adolescent brain. Research has shown that the
earlier a person begins to use drugs, the more likely it is that serious problems such as
addiction will occur later.

Organizations such as CADCA and the Mentor Foundation
(http://www.mentorfoundationusa.org) are working to prevent young people from using
drugs in the first place. In recent interviews, Taylor and others from the two groups
shared strategies for changing the conversation about drugs and engaging youth in
prevention.

Tackling stigmas

“Stigma is [the top enemy] to people
who are trying to do
this kind of work,”
said Joseph Green,
program director
for the Mentor
Foundation.

Recovery is hard, he
said. But facing
students,
administration and
parents shouldn’t
be.

One way to begin breaking down stigmas is by talking about substance abuse as a
mental health and public health issue, said Melanee Piskai, 20, a trainer for CADCA.

“And we can understand that because it is a mental health issue, that means that it
can be treated, it can be prevented,” she said.

Substance abuse should not be treated as an evil thing that happens to bad people,
Green said.

“When you attach shame to it, then you are also scaring as opposed to informing.”

Telling kids the truth

Speaking candidly to kids about drugs is the number one thing organizations can do to
prevent substance abuse, Taylor said.

“You have to be truthful with them,” he said. “You have to really shine light on not
just the negative effects, but let them know the effects that these drugs have.”

That means letting kids know that drugs will make you high. They might make you feel
good. But they also have destructive effects.

Stephanie Akoumany, director of mentoring at the Mentor Foundation, said that kids
are inevitably going to encounter drugs. But arming them with facts will help them
make the right decisions in those situations.

“The goal is that if you have enough facts, no matter what you do in life ... that you
won’t abuse that behavior,” she said.
One way the Mentor Foundation supplies those facts is through an interactive show called "Shattering the Myths".

The show, which takes place in schools and features speakers on substance abuse and recovery along with testimony and creative writing from students, is meant to take the "amorphous idea that 'drugs are bad'" and show kids the specific effects drugs have, Green said.

One portion of the show features stories about famous people who have struggled with drug abuse.

There is a "misconception that people who have everything don’t suffer from drug abuse," Green said. Breaking down that perception and showing kids that it’s "uncool" is important.

“They’re their heroes. And ... just like with their parents, once they take that Superman off their chest that you have when they’re little kids, it becomes real,” Green said. "And if they accept that realness, and are vulnerable, then you have a better chance of making a genuine connection."

**Engaging kids**

Getting young people involved with prevention can be a challenge, Green said.

“We are a very small cricket chirp in a cacophony of sounds these kids are exposed to every day," he said. “It’s really hard to make doing the right thing cool.”

The writing workshop portion of the program has been most effective at engaging kids, he said. It’s a chance for them to express how they’re feeling and what’s going on in their life in a creative way.

Kids then have the opportunity to share their work during the show.
“It’s a really good way for kids to see that you’re not smarter than addiction, and that your pain is not unique,” he said. “There are other people who are going through the same thing.”

For CADCA, which represents community coalitions across the country working to bring about systemic, population-level prevention, engaging kids starts with using data to identify a community’s problem areas.

In West Chester, Pennsylvania, where Melanee Piskai got started in coalition work as a teenager, underage drinking was the problem that needed addressing. In Washington, she said, it’s synthetic marijuana.

Each issue requires a different prevention strategy based on the cultural values and special populations that exist in that community.

“We provide lots of coalitions with strategies for reaching out, whether it be going through schools ... a lot of times it’s going through families,” Piskai said. “A lot of times it’s reaching out through people who are involved in the rehabilitation process and working backwards.”

At the individual level, engaging kids in prevention is about building relationships first, Dejohn Taylor said. When he was mentoring in Chesterfield, he helped kids with homework and played sports after school before talking to them about drugs.

“We were able to really build a strong bond with the kids that we were mentoring,” he said. “And I find that that was essential in us being able to sincerely give information to them related to substance abuse.”

[Image of Melanee Piskai](http://3bhu2t134ms42ec36k19to8ai.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/files/2015/11/DSC_1615.jpg)

**Making an impact**

For Green, the question of impact has to do with what happens after “Shattering the Myths,” when the show is over and the Mentor Foundation has left the school.

Students surveyed immediately after the performance indicated a bump in substance abuse prevention awareness, Green said. But in order to maintain that awareness long-term, the foundation established the **Youth Ambassador Network** ([http://www.mentorfoundationusa.org/?s=Youth-Ambassador-Network](http://www.mentorfoundationusa.org/?s=Youth-Ambassador-Network))

The program identifies and trains a select group of students within each school who “want to make a difference,” Green said. The ambassadors are then in charge of planning activities such as open mics and pizza parties that include discussions about substance abuse.
“So you’re engaging [students], not talking to them,” Green said. “And [the youth ambassadors] are in charge of making those projects themselves.”

Surveys three or six months later will continue to measure impact, Green said. But sometimes, seeing the program’s effect first-hand beats the data.

“Sometimes you can just see it in their faces,” he said. “There’s a buzz.”

Longitudinal evaluations have shown that CADCA’s coalition approach to substance abuse prevention has been effective at lowering rates of substance abuse in communities, sometimes in as little as three months, said Kareemah Abdullah, CADCA’s vice president of training operations.

In addition, NYLI trainers like Taylor and Piskai have demonstrated increases (http://www.cadca.org/about-nyli) in their leadership skills and civic activism and engagement.

“Their whole social consciousness has shifted,” Abdullah said.

Taylor said coalitions work because they involve people actually living in the community who have been touched by the problem.

“When you have individuals in a specific community tackling problems pertaining to substance abuse, it makes them more passionate about it,” he said. “It actually gives them the drive and the willpower to make sure that this problem is eliminated.”
**Mindfulness After School:**

*Yoga and meditation helps girls keep calm, focused*

By Joe Guszkowski

BALTIMORE — Jazmine Blackwell walked between rows of girls lying on the ground with their eyes closed and their palms up.

“Try to be still,” she told them. “It’s OK to relax.”

The classroom was quiet except for Blackwell’s voice and the sound of the girls’ breathing. She instructed them to imagine a bright white light, like a star in the middle of the sky.

“Focus on that light, because that light is you,” she said.

Some girls wore gym clothes; others wore the gray skirts and white shirts that are their uniforms at the Lillie May Carroll Jackson Charter School, an all-girls school in north Baltimore that welcomed its first 81 students this semester.

Laughter erupted in the hallway outside the classroom, breaking the silence. Blackwell brought the girls back into focus.

“Just like in everyday life, there are distractions,” she told them.

After a few minutes, she guided them out of their meditation, instructing them to wiggle their hands and feet and, eventually, open their eyes.

Afterwards, 11-year-old Alexia Arthur stood near a cart covered with rolled-up yoga mats as her classmates added theirs to the pile. She said picturing the bright light made her feel like she was all by herself, that there was no one around to bother her.

“It just felt good,” she said.

The yoga and meditation class is one of many after-school programs hosted in Baltimore by the Holistic Life Foundation. The organization, founded in 2001, offers a variety of such programs in underserved communities for people of all ages.

Four days per week after school at Lillie May Carroll Jackson, students unfurl yoga mats in a sparse, dimly-lit classroom for 45 minutes of yoga and meditation led by Holistic Life instructors. It is part of a two-hour after-school program that includes time for homework, arts and crafts and a meal.

The curriculum is built on a deep-breathing technique intended to help students manage conflicts and control their emotions, said Welford McLellan Jr., the foundation’s director of education and outreach.
Using deep breathing, students can calm themselves instead of going frantically to an adult or lashing out physically, McLellan said.

“They can still go and approach that person and speak with them about the situation, but now they are calm, cool, and they can really just hear everything that’s being said to them,” he said.

Throughout the class, the instructors try to keep the girls focused on their breath.

“I should hear more breathing other than just mine,” instructor Jerron Wallace told the girls during one exercise. “Exaggerate the breath,” he said, and the breathing got louder.

Though the foundation has been offering after-school programs in Baltimore for more than a decade, its class at Lillie May Carroll Jackson is just weeks old, and it took some time to catch on with students.

“They complained a lot at the beginning because they didn’t understand it,” said Laurel Freedman, the school’s director.

But it was not long before school staff began to notice the program’s benefits.

In mid-September, Principal Damia Thomas sent Freedman an email about some students who were frustrated by classmates acting out during an outdoor activities program. One girl told the others to “deep-breathe like we do in yoga,” the email recounted, and began leading the entire class in deep breathing.

“They were able to have the room fix itself,” said after-school coordinator Tanaira Cullens.

Research on the Holistic Life Foundation’s programs have indicated benefits as well. A pilot study conducted by researchers at Johns Hopkins and Penn State universities found that students who participated in 45-minute yoga and mindfulness sessions during the school day reported significant improvements in how they responded to stress, principal investigator Dr. Tamar Mendelson of Johns Hopkins said.

Qualitative results from a second, larger study suggested that, again, students used skills from the classes to handle stress, Mendelson said. But researchers also observed implementation issues in some of the schools, such as lack of teacher support for getting students to the yoga room for classes, possibly a result of school staff being busy and overburdened, she said.

“There are a lot of issues around making sure there are adequate supports in place for doing the interventions the way they're meant to be done,” Mendelson said. Overall, though, she’s been encouraged by the enthusiasm from teachers and administrators and the positive response from students.
The charter school enlisted the Holistic Life Foundation, which it pays for with its own funding, because the staff knew yoga and mindfulness was important for the urban population, especially girls, Freedman said.

“Girls … need the ability to step back and understand what their bodies are doing and what’s going on in their minds and the ability to calm themselves,” she said.

Simara Henderson, a 6th-grader, said she’s not a fan of yoga, but her experience in the class persuaded her to like it more.

“It relaxes me and calms me down at crazy times,” she said.

Other girls said they have used deep-breathing when they were upset.

Aiyonna Ludd, another 6th-grader, said she was about to get into a fight with a girl who had threatened to pull her hair out. She decided to breathe for a minute instead.

“I was gonna get up and do something,” Aiyonna said. “But I didn’t because I had calmed myself down.”
Ask a Youth Worker: When Was the Last Time You Felt Like You Made a Difference?

By Joe Guszkowski

Youth Today asked attendees of the National Black Child Development Institute’s annual conference earlier this month to talk about the last time they felt they made a difference at their jobs.

Ihkeem Ma’at — President of Black Child Development Institute-DC Metro

I honestly would like to think that I make a difference on a daily basis. I mean, [BCDI] is a volunteer position … on a daily basis, I’m actually an educator and work with the DC public school system. So, I would like to think that for those young folks that I see daily, I’m making a difference in their lives. In addition to that, I’m the executive director for the Braveheart Entrepreneurial Youth Camp, which is a youth-focused nonprofit centered on entrepreneurship, and we do programming year-round, after-school programming as well as family development.

Erick Stephens — Parent engagement coordinator for Healthi Kids in Rochester, NY

Just recently, I actually sat at the Rochester City School District’s — they put a team together to help look at the discipline policy. And we helped to get recess to no longer be used as a form of discipline. Because all the data shows that that’s the wrong approach, and after a lot of meetings and a lot of data — because you have to have data to support it — we were able to get that written into the policy, effective this spring.

Faye Brown — Teaches pre-school for autistic children in Warren, NJ

Actually, it was last week when one of my autistic children, age 4, said his first word. It was “eat,” with the sign for eat.

Herman Cook — Retired college professor, early childhood education

I make a difference every day. Just being around, being able to talk to folks, voice my opinion. I walk every morning. Come to town, walk two miles every morning. And a group of us go walk. And we talk about different situations going on in the world. Try to solve the world’s problems. And, you know, just try to stay informed. That’s one of the reasons I’m here. I serve on the board of a child development program in DC. And so, being able to share my expertise and experiences, and things like that. To help out little ones. You know, so every day I try to make a difference by doing something. Either learning something, or sharing. I try to do some mentoring and be a father, grandfather. So, all of those things. Every step I take, hopefully it has some influence.

Tana Turner — Equity, diversity and inclusion consultant from Toronto
We were doing community consultations around the experiences of African-Canadians in the child welfare system. And I think the last time [I felt I made a difference] was one of the consultations we just finished up, where the community actually felt they were able to voice their concerns and their perspectives that we were going to bring forward in a report to the decision-makers. And we spend a lot of time making sure we structure the consultations so that even though they have issues and complaints, at least they felt that they were able to say what they wanted to say, and weren’t complaining about the consultation process.

**Norman Jones — Owner, Rhythm Child Network in Los Angeles**

That would be — what’s today, Monday? Well, the last time I worked with children, which was Wednesday. So, what I do is I go into a lot of different preschools, primarily preschools, and I do rhythm and drumming. So, every time I do that, I feel like there’s a little seed planted and something that I leave behind for them to blossom in the future.
Self-Care: You Can't Do It Alone, Professionals Say

By Joe Guszkowski

By its very nature, taking care of oneself is an individual endeavor. But child welfare and social service organizations also have a role to play in making sure their workers are practicing good self-care, professionals say.

“[Self-care] is really hard ... to practice, like anything,” said Nancy McDaniel, director of consultation and capacity building at the Butler Institute for Families. But it’s especially hard without external supports to reinforce it, she said.

Self-care refers to activities and practices that social workers can do to reduce stress and improve well-being. High turnover rates among child welfare workers have drawn more attention to the importance of self-care in the last 10 years, McDaniel said.

Because of the emotional and physical demands of the job, child welfare workers are especially vulnerable to burnout — which comes from heavy workloads — and compassion fatigue, which results from working on a daily basis with people who have been traumatized and victimized.

Self-care is a solution to both problems, but McDaniel said not enough workers are practicing it.

“In those helping professions, the [workers’] mindset is helping to care for others instead of themselves,” she said.

That’s why it’s up to agencies and organizations to promote self-care and support workers who need it.

That effort starts from the top, said Kathleen Cox, an associate professor in the school of social work at the California State University, Chico.

“It's important that agencies support supervisors or hire supervisors that have an understanding of self-care and supports that in their employees,” she said.

Employers that offer flex time, recognize employee success and establish rituals of resiliency can foster an atmosphere of self-care, she said.

In Shelby County, Tennessee, the Department of Children’s Services (DCS) has begun to emphasize some of those values. Altered work schedules have resulted in a more autonomous and engaged workforce. Longer breaks allow for fitness activities during the day. And awards — sometimes in the form of baked goods — make employees feel appreciated.
“I’m gonna go bankrupt buying butter,” joked regional administrator Merlene Hyman, who likes to reward employees with sweet treats.

Although it seems like a small thing, those small things matter to staff, Hyman said. And they seem to be paying off.

Shelby County, which includes Memphis and is the largest of the state’s 12 DCS regions, has the lowest rate of turnover during the first year of employment in Tennessee, Hyman said.

It also has the state’s highest participation in an altered work schedule program that allows employees to telecommute on certain days or work hours that better suit their schedule.

“Since we’ve instituted [the altered work schedules], people feel more autonomy in setting their own schedule,” Hyman said. “It’s not such a drag.”

The changes began in 2012 with an assessment of culture within the agency by the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Butler Institute, Hyman said. The results showed that front-line workers wanted more support from upper management and to have more of a voice in agency decisions.

Opening the lines of communication has been “the biggest piece” in working toward better self-care, said Jamil Matthews, a team leader in Shelby County.

“That has given some of those case managers the feeling that their voice is important,” he said.

And the more support and attention they feel they’re getting within their agency, the more they care about themselves and the families they’re working for, he said.

Matthews himself feels less stressed since the changes were put in place, “simply because we’re closer.”

“I feel like I’m more supported,” he said. “And I know if I do have a concern, I know it’s going to be heard.”

Shelby County is not a utopia, Hyman said. One perk, such as telecommuting, can lead to stress in another area. It does not solve the crises of the job or the community.

The goal is to make Shelby County a place where people can feel good about coming to work every day, despite what’s going on.

“We recognize the humanity in this job, not just in the families we serve,” Hyman said. “Staff is my first customer.”
Self-care resources

- University of Buffalo School of Social Work’s [Self-Care Starter Kit](#)
- The National Child Traumatic Stress Network’s [Self-Care Inventory](#)
- Ohio Child Welfare Training Program’s [Caseworker Readiness Activity](#)
- National Child Welfare Workforce Institute’s resources on [Incentives and Work Conditions](#)
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Joe Guszkowski worked for the Center for Sustainable Journalism’s two publications, The Juvenile Justice Information Exchange and Youth Today, from August until late November 2015.

Overall, we found Joe to be a hard worker, a solid reporter and a very good writer. He worked with the two managing editors of the publications very well, communicated with them regularly, made deadline consistently and was quick to adapt to unexpected situations.

We will definitely miss his contributions.

We found that he was able to do a good job explaining fairly technical studies and rounding up expert comments.

We sometimes asked Joe to cover several events, one after the other. He was able to visualize how to blend the events with common themes in a graceful, cohesive way.

He also demonstrated that he was open to trying new approaches to reporting: He wanted to do an interview with the No. 2 cop in Philadelphia completely in Q&A mode. Only the officer’s refusal prevented this. Joe then ably pivoted and turned in a good read.
Joe was a big help to both publications when we covered a rally supporting substance use recovery by young people on the National Mall in October and again when senior editors and the Center’s videographer came to Washington in November to shoot video in support of a major package we are preparing.

Joe wrote strong supporting stories on both occasions. He also provided crucial help to out-of-town staff. His help in November essentially enabled the videographer to pull off two important interviews, one in Georgetown and one in Alexandria, under very tight deadlines.

Joe did a strong job for our publications and was a pleasure to work with. We feel he was a wonderful student to begin what we hope to be a long relationship with the University of Missouri’s Washington program.

Kind regards,

John Fleming
Chapter 5: Analysis

Introduction

The killing of black teenager Michael Brown by white police officer Darren Wilson in August 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri, sparked a nationwide protest movement calling for justice, reform and recognition of police violence against blacks. Though the protests took place all over the country, their locus was in Ferguson, a mostly-black suburb of St. Louis that found itself thrust into the media spotlight.

How the media frames its coverage of protests can define the perception and outcome of those protests (Brasted, 2005). Framing can also marginalize those that challenge the status quo (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980) and support those that align with it (Gitlin, 1980; Boyle, et al., 2004). The protest paradigm (Chan and Lee, 1984) is a set of techniques by which media outlets cast protests as marginal and illegitimate.

To find out if and how the protest paradigm was applied in Ferguson coverage, this study examines how St. Louis news outlets framed the protests there. Using a content analysis based on the elements of the protest paradigm, this study looks at news stories about the protests published online by three publications — the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American — to determine whether their framing of the protests legitimized or delegitimized them. The study analyzes news stories published during two distinct time periods: immediately after the killing in August and immediately after the grand jury decision in November, allowing for a measurement of change over time.

The three publications were chosen because they each occupy a distinct niche in the St. Louis news market. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch is the region’s major newspaper,
with a daily circulation of 252,000 (Echo Media) and an average monthly online audience of more than 2 million unique visitors (St. Louis Post-Dispatch). The St. Louis American is geared towards an African-American audience, and is the largest weekly newspaper in the state (St. Louis American). The St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio, whose newsrooms merged in 2013, is a non-profit operation focused on in-depth coverage of local issues (St. Louis Public Radio). This study focuses solely on content published online and does not take into account print or broadcast coverage of the events. Other mediums could be included in a future study.

The researcher hypothesized that the more mainstream Post-Dispatch would be more likely to employ the protest paradigm in its coverage, while the niche publications would be more likely to use frames that legitimize the protests by giving a voice to the protesters themselves and focusing on the issues and goals of the protests.

**Framing theory**

Framing is one of the most prominent and growing theories in mass communication studies (D’Angelo, 2002). In fact, since the beginning of the 21st century, it has been the most frequently-used theory in top mass communication journals (Bryant and Miron, 2004). Framing has been described and defined in a multitude of ways, and applied widely across disciplines (Entman, 1993). Some scholars have embraced its fragmented definition, suggesting that it is impossible to imagine a “definitive” framing study (Reese, 2010, p. 17) and instead attempting to show how it can be applied in a variety of ways (D’Angelo, 2002). Others have tried to synthesize the many strands into a single paradigm (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). This review of prominent framing
The framing practices of journalists are particularly important because of journalism’s prominent position in the “information landscape” (Watkins, 2001, p. 83). Journalists use frames to organize, emphasize and give meaning to information. Erving Goffman was one of the first scholars to develop the theory of framing more than 40 years ago (Borah, 2011). According to him, people use frames to understand and assign meaning to events and occurrences that would otherwise be meaningless. These frames help us understand the “guided doings” of other people — those events that are the result of willful human action. Frames should help us answer the question “what is it that’s going on here?” (Goffman, 1974). After Goffman, Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) were some of the first to make the explicit connection between framing and news production. Tuchman (1978) says frames have the power to transform “nonrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event” which is then turned into a news story (p. 192). She uses the example of an exchange of dialogue between two people that is meaningless until more information is provided. Gitlin (1980) says that framing allows journalists to “process large amounts of information quickly and routinely” and to package it for delivery to audiences through a process of selection, emphasis and exclusion (p. 7).

While Tuchman says frames are “unspoken and unacknowledged,” Entman (1993), in his attempt to synthesize a single definition of framing, puts the act of framing squarely in the journalist’s corner: “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, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). He submits that even while following the rules for objective reporting, journalists can “convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation” (p. 56).

Gamson (1989) appears to agree, saying that a frame selects certain facts while ignoring others. Tankard (2001) focuses on the power of framing to subtly define the terms of debate without the audience being aware of it. He compares framing to a magician’s sleight of hand, where “attention is directed to one point so that people do not notice the manipulation that is going on at another point” (p. 97). Tuchman offers the metaphor of a window. The audience’s view of an issue through the window, built by the journalist “…depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard” (p. 1). But while some scholars believe that framing helps to define and even promote certain opinions, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) add that more than one opinion can be contained within a frame, and frames “should not be confused with positions for or against some policy measure” (p. 4).

The study of framing can be split into two broad perspectives: Constructionist and constructivist (Van Gorp, 2010). Constructionists believe that news texts are systems of elements that are meaningful in and of themselves, while constructivists believe that the meaning of a text is revealed in the interaction between the text and the reader. Reese (2010) draws a similar distinction between the “what” and the “how” of frames — the “what” being the content of the frame such as keywords, linguistic structures and
metaphors, and the “how” being the specific effects of and reasons for using different frames. According to Gamson (1989), whose approach is firmly constructionist, a story’s frame manifests itself via metaphors, catchphrases and other rhetorical devices arising from the discourse (p. 158). Tankard (2001) also takes a constructionist perspective with his “list of frames” approach, in which researchers identify and define a list of frames in the subject at hand. These frames can be identified using mechanisms in the text such as headlines, subheads, leads, logos and photographs, among others. On the other hand, Pan & Kosicki (1993) take a constructivist approach in attempting to bridge the gap between news production and audience consumption using framing analysis. Scheufele (1999) also proposed a model that conceptualized framing as a process and focused on frame-building, frame-setting and the relationship between audiences and journalists.

**Literature review: Framing protests**

The study of how journalists frame protests arose in the late 1960s (Brasted, 2005) when the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement and others began receiving significant news coverage. One analysis found that 10 percent of CBS news coverage in 1967 and 1971 focused on protests (Gans, 1979).

The study of how the media frames protests is important because it can have an affect on how protests are perceived, how they develop and, in turn, how successful they are (Brasted, 2005). For example, Tuchman showed how papers framed coverage of the women’s movement in one of two ways: as soft news that stressed the movement’s novelty over its timeliness, or as hard news that portrayed the women as deviants and “ridiculous bra burners” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 136).
The way media frames protests is dually important because many scholars have argued that frames tend to marginalize their efforts while reinforcing the status quo (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980). The more closely the values of a movement mirror those of the status quo, the more likely they are to become part of the dominant media frame (Gitlin, 1980). For example, the concerns of environmentalist groups like the Sierra Club became institutionalized in the form of agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency, while the issues of more radical environmentalist groups were ignored (Gitlin, 1980). Conversely, the more a movement’s ideology clashes with the status quo, the more coverage tends to cast the movement as violent, deviant and ineffective (McLeod and Hertog, 1998).

**The protest paradigm**

News stories about protests tend to marginalize them by focusing on the protesters’ appearance rather than their issues, emphasizing violence over social criticism, pitting protestors against police and downplaying their overall effectiveness (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). These media techniques make up the “protest paradigm.”

Developed by Chan and Lee (1984) in their framing analysis of the Jubilee School Affair, the paradigm is a particular worldview that tells journalists how to construct stories by informing them “where to look (and where not to look)” (p. 187). Numerous studies have used the protest paradigm to analyze frames (Brasted, 2005; McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Chan and Lee, 1984; Glasgow Media Group, 1985).

Chan and Lee (1984) used the protest paradigm to analyze how Chinese newspapers across the political spectrum covered the Jubilee School events. Their content analysis, which tested for the presence or absence of numerous thematic statements in articles
about the event, found that newspaper coverage of the protests split along party lines. Rightist papers were more likely to suggest that the protests were the result of an outside Communist conspiracy, while leftist papers showed more support for the protesters. Centrist papers had a more moderate and diverse outlook.

The paradigm can be broken down into the following characteristics, or “mechanisms”:

- Frames/narratives
- Reliance on official sources and official definitions
- Invocation of public opinion
- Delegitimization, marginalization and demonization of protesters (Mcleod and Detenber, 1999).

The protest paradigm frames protests as a battle between protesters and police rather than an issues-based debate between the protesters and their target (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). The narrative focuses on violence and casts the protesters as deviants or criminals while police are portrayed as trying to restore social order (Brasted, 2005). Brasted’s analysis of newspaper stories in the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times about the protests during the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago found that a majority of articles employed the protest paradigm to frame stories. She concluded that the Chicago Tribune repeatedly framed police as protecting the public and maintaining order, that the protests were portrayed as social disorder, and that mostly official sources were used. The New York Times was more critical of police and featured a few stories told from the perspective of protesters. The protest paradigm narrative may also include police being framed as victims without mention of protesters injured by police. For
instance, a Glasgow Media Group analysis of the women's peace camp protests at Greenham Common air force base in Great Britain found that media downplayed police violence, but focused intensely on a rare instance of policemen being injured by the women (Glasgow University Media Group, 1985).

The stories also show a reliance on official sources and are told from the perspective of power-holders, further reinforcing the status quo (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). In general, journalists often rely heavily on “official” sources, giving those sources an inordinate amount of control over the content and timing of news (Sigal, 1973). Citizen sources, on the other hand, are used much less frequently (Hallin, 1993).

The protests paradigm makes use of public opinion polls, social norms and the opinions of bystanders to communicate the deviance of the protesters and cast them as an isolated minority. In an analysis of three TV news stories of anarchist protests, McLeod and Detenber found that coverage focused on norm violations including unusual dress and hairstyles, public spitting, smashing a TV set, burning money and burning a U.S. flag (McLeod and Detenber, 1999).

For mostly practical reasons, protests stories tend to focus on the actions themselves rather than the issues behind them. Covering issues means journalists have to make decisions about the legitimacy and presentation of different viewpoints (McLeod and Hertog, 1992), while events are concrete and lend themselves easily to the journalistic routines of reporting who, what, why, where, when and how (Tuchman, 1978). Also, the actions of movements themselves make good news copy because they provide drama, conflict and action (Brasted, 2005).
Chan and Lee and others have shown that news outlets tend to frame protests differently depending on the outlets’ own ideology. An analysis of TV news coverage of the Tea Party movement found that left-leaning outlets such as MSNBC were more likely to portray Tea Party members as idiots, the movement as fractured and their opinions as fake. Meanwhile, right-leaning stations like Fox used far fewer marginalizing techniques and served as a “guard dog” of the Tea Party against other channels (Weaver and Scacco). News sources also frame protests differently depending on the extent to which the protest deviates from the status quo. An analysis of hundreds of protest stories in a cross-section of Wisconsin newspapers found that coverage of radical protests was more critical and less likely to use protesters as sources. Conversely, papers gave more support to protests that sought to maintain the status quo (Boyle, et. al, 2004).

Based on knowledge of the three news outlets being analyzed and preliminary research on the subject, the researcher hypothesizes the following:

**H1:** The St. Louis Post Dispatch will be more likely to use frames that marginalize protests in its coverage.

**H2:** The St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American will be more likely to use frames that legitimize protests in its coverage.

**H3:** Overall, the frames will shift from marginalizing protests after the killing to legitimizing protests after the grand jury decision.

**Methodology: Content analysis**

Early research on framing was a subjective process that typically took the form of a single researcher identifying the frames in a given media text. Content analysis provides a more empirical and replicable alternative to the arbitrary approach of those early studies (Tankard, 2001). That does not change the fact that frames are essentially abstract
variables, which makes them difficult to study objectively, even through content analysis (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). Because of the intrinsic preconceptions and biases of coders, some level of subjectivity in content analysis is unavoidable (Van Gorp, 2010). Even the act of naming frames to code is inherently subjective (Tankard, 2001).

Additionally, news stories have a multitude of senders and receivers, and can be understood differently by different people (Gamson, 1989). This gives rise to a multitude of potential meanings, not all of which can be captured using content analysis. However, from the constructionist perspective that frames manifest themselves in observable units such as metaphors and catchphrases (Gamson, 1989), content analysis can be used to reliably code those frames (Van Gorp, 2010).

Numerous scholars have recommended content analysis approaches that are empirical, reliable and valid. Pan and Kosicki (1993) focused on identifying frames by using the selection, placement and structure of specific words and sentences in a text. In Gamson and Modigliani’s (1989) “media packages” approach, researchers use language from pamphlets and advocacy group materials to identify symbolic devices that characterize discourse around a given topic, such as nuclear power. In Tankard’s (2001) “list of frames” approach, researchers code texts using a list of pre-determined frames defined by keywords and catchphrases found in media content. Rather than coding for an entire frame, Matthes and Kohring (2008) saw frames as patterns in a text, made up of clusters of elements. They recommended coding for these discrete elements and running a computerized cluster analysis to reveal the frame.

Of the approaches described above, Tankard’s (2001) approach is perhaps the most applicable to my research. Existing literature is used to determine a list of explicit,
mutually exclusive frames for the subject at hand. Researchers then develop keywords, catchphrases or other devices from media content that can be used to identify each frame. These frames and identifiers are readily available in the body of protest paradigm research that supports my study, and a cursory reading of the articles I plan to analyze will allow me to come up with identifiers unique to the Ferguson protests. Using multiple coders allows reliability to be measured, limiting subjectivity in the coding process, and the results are replicable.

Tankard and others who have used the “list of frames” approach (Hendrickson, 1994; Maher, 1995) have achieved higher inter-coder reliability by narrowing the list of frames to two or three, while also acknowledging that stories might incorporate elements of more than one frame. For instance, in an analysis of stories about abortion, Tankard collapsed the original list of five frames into two — generally favorable to abortion and generally unfavorable.

This study is a content analysis of stories published online by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Louis American and the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio in the time period between August 9 and August 16, 2014 and November 24 and December 1, 2014. Fourteen stories published by each outlet were coded for analysis. The content of the stories was direct coverage of protests following the killing of Brown and protests following the grand jury decision on November 24 not to indict Wilson.

For the purposes of this study, a protest story is defined as explicit news coverage of a protest or the actions of protestors. The stories analyzed were identified using an advanced Google search of the website of each news organization. The advanced search looked for any of the following keywords in stories published on those websites:
“Ferguson,” “protest,” “protests,” “protestors.” The time period of August 9 to August 16 was chosen because Brown was killed on August 9 and protests took place throughout the week that followed. The time period of November 24 to December 1 was chosen because the grand jury announced its decision on November 24. Protests occurred that day and in the days after. Taken together, the time frames represented a large enough window from which to find 14 stories published by each outlet. The two time frames also allowed the researcher to track how coverage evolved over time or changed after the grand jury announced its decision not to indict.

The list of frames is based on the protest paradigm described by Chan and Lee (1984) and the mechanisms described by McLeod and Detenber. McLeod and Hertog (1998) recommend a set of twelve frames that can be found in stories within the protest paradigm, grouped into three general categories: Marginalizing frames, mixed frames and sympathetic frames. For a list of frames approach Tankard (2001) recommends not using a “mixed” frame because it can be a way for coders to avoid making tough coding decisions and doesn’t provide much information about what frame is being used. For the purposes of my study, two of Mcleod and Hertog’s (1998) general framing categories were adopted as frames: Marginalizing and legitimizing, to see whether the newspapers used the protest paradigm to marginalize protesters, or broke away from it in a way that sympathized with or legitimized the protests. Each frame is defined as follows:

**Marginalizing:** This frame delegitimizes the protests by focusing on protesters’ violence, destruction and deviance from social norms. It uses more official sources, fewer protest sources, and uses bystanders to illustrate the deviance of the protestors. It may
also focus on low turnouts to disparage protesters, or put quotation marks around protest activities as a way to interject commentary.

**Legitimizing:** This frame legitimizes the protests by including more protest sources, focusing on violence or aggression by law enforcement and emphasizing the issues behind the protests.

In order to test intercoder reliability, the researcher and a University of Missouri graduate student coded five articles (approximately 10 percent of the total sample) selected from those published by the Baltimore Sun between April 18 and April 25 about protests following the death of Freddie Gray in police custody. These events were analogous to the ones in Ferguson, and the codebook could be applied in the same way without having to sacrifice any of the articles identified for the study of St. Louis publications.

The coders achieved a percent agreement of 80 percent and a Krippendorf’s Alpha of 0.7. Though the Krippendorf’s Alpha was lower than the researcher’s goal of 0.8, the researcher determined it was adequate, taking into account the strong percentage agreement and the small sample size of the reliability test.

**Results**

A total of 42 stories were coded from across three St. Louis news organizations — the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis American and St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio. Fourteen stories were coded from each publication. For each story, the date of publication, headline and number of words were recorded along with information about variables related to the protest paradigm. The variables are sources, narrative structure, narrative elements, public opinion and bystanders. Descriptive statistics were used to
analyze the results of each coding category. Results shown include aggregate numbers from across all three publications as well as numbers from within individual publications for the sake of comparison.

Sources

Descriptive analysis was used to determine whether the majority of sources across all three publications were protesters, officials, or some other combination. A source was defined as anyone who says something in the story, either quoted or paraphrased. Official sources were those speaking on behalf of an institution or agency, while protest sources were those speaking on behalf of the protesters or victims. Any source that did not meet one of those two requirements was counted as “other.” Hypotheses predicted that the Post-Dispatch would be more likely to marginalize protesters, while the American and Beacon would be more likely to legitimize them. Thus, it was expected that the Post-Dispatch would rely more on official sources than protest sources, and the other two outlets would do the opposite.

The results show that of the 42 stories coded, 22 of them (52.4 percent) included more protest sources than official sources. Nine (21.4 percent) included some other combination of sources, and six (14.3 percent) included more official sources than protest sources. Figure 1 shows a breakdown of sources found across all three publications.
The next analysis was done to compare among publications whether the majority of sources were protesters, officials or some other combination. All three publications — the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American — tended to include more protest sources than official sources in general. Thus, in terms of sourcing, all three of the outlets exhibited legitimization of protesters by including more protest sources than officials. The hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters in the area of sourcing is rejected, and the hypothesis that the Beacon and American would legitimize protesters in that area is accepted.

The St. Louis American had the most protest sources of any publication. Of the 14 stories coded from the American, 10 (71.4 percent) had more protest sources than official sources. None of the American’s stories included more official sources than protest sources. These results are also shown in a cross tab (Figure 2) and bar chart (Figure 3).
### Fig. 2: Frequencies of sources by publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Number of official sources and protest sources was equal</th>
<th>Some other combination of sources</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More official sources than protest sources</td>
<td>More protest sources than official sources</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fig. 3: Frequencies of sources by publication

- **Sources**
  - More official sources than protest sources
  - More protest sources than official sources
  - Number of official sources and protest sources was equal
  - Some other combination of sources

- **Publication**
  - Post-Dispatch
  - St. Louis American
  - Beacon/Public Radio

- **Count**
  - 0
  - 2
  - 4
  - 6
  - 8
  - 10

- **X-axis**
  - Post-Dispatch
  - St. Louis American
  - Beacon/Public Radio

- **Y-axis**
  - Count
Narrative structure

Descriptive analysis was used to determine how often different narrative structures were used across all three publications. Narrative structure was defined as the main theme of the story, as established in the lead, nut graf and/or repeatedly throughout the story. Coders had six narrative structures to choose from: violence or illegal activity by protesters; non-violent action or movement by protesters; violence or illegal activity by law enforcement; a conflict between protesters and law enforcement; dissension or division between protesters; or the issues or goals of protesters. If the story did not fit into any of these narrative structures, they were coded as “other.” Based on the hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters, it was expected that the Post-Dispatch would used frames that highlighted a conflict between law enforcement and protesters, violence by protesters or dissension among protesters. The hypothesis that the American and Beacon would legitimize protesters predicted that those outlets would use frames that focused on peaceful action by protesters, violence by law enforcement or the goals and issues of the protesters.

Of the 42 stories coded, the most common narrative structure was a conflict between protesters and law enforcement. Thirteen of the 42 stories (31 percent) fell into that category. The second most common narrative structure was non-violent action or movement by protesters, which comprised 10 stories (23.8 percent) of the total. The three other categories — violence or illegal activity by protesters, violence and illegal activity by law enforcement and the issues or goals of protesters — occurred at about the same rate. Eight stories, or 19 percent, fell into the “other” category. These results are also shown in a cross tab (Figure 4).
Next, descriptive analysis was used to determine how often different narrative structures were used by each publication. In this category, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Beacon/Public Radio are nearly identical. Of the 14 stories coded for the Post-Dispatch, seven focused on a conflict between protesters and law enforcement. Of the 14 coded for the Beacon, six focused on a conflict between protesters and law enforcement. Thus, the hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters in the area of narrative framing is accepted, while the hypothesis that the Beacon would legitimize protesters in that area is rejected.

Conversely, of the 14 stories coded for the St. Louis American, none employed that narrative structure. The St. Louis American was the only one of the three news organizations to employ the “violence or illegal activity by law enforcement” narrative
structure in the stories coded. That narrative structure was used in four of the 14 (28.6 percent) American stories coded. Of the stories coded, none of the publications devoted a significant amount of attention to the issues or goals of the protesters. The hypothesis that the American would legitimize protesters in the area of narrative structure is accepted. These results are shown as a cross tab (Figure 5).

**Fig. 5: Frequencies of narrative structure by publication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Violence or illegal activity by protesters</th>
<th>Non-violent action or movement by protesters</th>
<th>Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement</th>
<th>A conflict between protesters and law enforcement</th>
<th>The issues or goals of protesters</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Narrative elements**

Descriptive analysis was used to determine how often different narrative elements appeared in each publication. Narrative elements were defined as subjects that appear in the story, but that do not necessarily comprise the main theme of the story. Because news stories are complex and can include a number of interwoven topics and subtopics, the narrative elements were coded for to determine to what extent certain narrative elements were present in addition to the overarching narrative structure. The set of narrative elements are the same as the categories for narrative structure. It was predicted that the Post-Dispatch’s coverage would include more elements that marginalize protesters; the American and Beacon would include more elements that legitimized them.
Stories coded from the Beacon and Post-Dispatch included violence by protesters nine and 10 times, respectively. Stories coded from the American included it six times. Overall, violence by protesters was an element of 25 (59.5 percent) of the 42 stories coded.

Peaceful action by protesters showed up in nearly every story coded from the Post-Dispatch and the Beacon. It appeared in eight stories coded from the American. It showed up in 33 (78.6 percent) of the 42 stories coded.

Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement showed up in about half (47.6 percent) of the 42 stories coded. The St. Louis American led the way, with nine (64.3 percent) of the 14 stories coded including violence or illegal activity by law enforcement.

A majority of the 42 stories coded (64.3 percent) included conflict between protesters and law enforcement. Of the 14 stories coded from the Beacon, 10 of them, or 71.4 percent, included this element. The Post-Dispatch and the American were close behind with nine and eight coded stories, respectively, that included this element.

The appearance of dissension between protesters was negligible across all publications, showing up in a total of four (9.5 percent) of 42 stories coded.

Issues or goals of the protesters showed up in a total of 25 (59.5 percent) of 42 stories coded. About half of the Post-Dispatch and Beacon stories coded included this element, while 71.4 percent of American stories coded included it.

Of the 42 stories coded, 17 included an element that could not be categorized under any of the above elements (“other”). The Post-Dispatch did so most frequently, with eight (57.1 percent) of the 14 stories coded including some “other” element. The above results are shown as cross tabs (Figures 6-12).
The Post-Dispatch and Beacon tended to include more marginalizing elements than legitimizing ones, while the American included more legitimizing elements. The hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would use more marginalizing elements is accepted; the hypothesis that the Beacon would use more legitimizing elements is rejected; and the hypothesis that the American would use more legitimizing elements is accepted.

**Fig. 6: Frequencies of violence by protesters by publication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Prot_viol</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 7: Frequencies of peaceful action by protesters by publication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Prot_peace</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Fig. 8: Frequencies of violence by law enforcement by publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Law viol</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fig. 9: Frequency of conflict between protesters and law enforcement by publication

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Publication</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
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</table>

### Fig. 10: Frequencies of dissension between protesters by publication

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<th>Publication</th>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
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<td>St. Louis American</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fig. 11: Frequencies of issues/goals of protesters by publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Issues</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 12: Frequencies of other narrative elements by publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public opinion

Descriptive analysis was used to determine how often public opinion was invoked across all publications. Public opinion was defined as elements of the story that depict protesters as an isolated minority. Those include opinion polls, arrest counts, violation of social norms and symbolic use of bystanders. Hypotheses predicted that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters by invoking public opinion more often, while the American and Beacon would legitimize the protesters by invoking public opinion less frequently. Of the 42 stories coded, 27 (64.3 percent) invoked public opinion in some manner. Those results are shown as a cross tab (Figure 13).

Fig. 13: Frequencies of invoking public opinion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Valid</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invokes public opinion</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not invoke public opinion</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missing</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Descriptive analysis was used to compare how often the three publications invoked publication. The Post-Dispatch invoked public opinion most often, with 11 of the 14 stories coded (78.6 percent) including some invocation of public opinion. Nine (64.3 percent) of the Beacon stories coded invoked public opinion. Seven (50 percent) of the American stories coded invoked public opinion. Thus, the hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters by invoking public opinion more frequently is accepted. The results are shown as a cross tab (Figure 14) and bar chart (Figure 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Invokes public opinion</th>
<th>Does not invoke public opinion</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% within Publication</th>
<th>% within Pub_opinion</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Descriptive analysis was used to show how bystanders were used in stories across all three publications. Bystanders were defined as people in the story not involved in the protests that were quoted and/or described. Coders were asked to determine whether bystanders in the story supported the protests, opposed the protests, were indifferent, or some combination of those. Based on the hypothesis that the Post-Dispatch would be more likely to marginalize protesters, it was expected that it would include more bystanders that opposed the protests. The hypothesis that the American and Beacon would be more likely to marginalize protesters predicted that those outlets would include more bystanders that supported the protests.
Most stories did not include bystanders. Bystander support and opposition was fairly balanced among the 15 stories in which bystanders did appear. Five (11.9 percent) of those stories included bystanders that supported the protests; four (9.5 percent) included bystanders that opposed the protests. Another four included a mix of bystanders that supported and opposed the protests. The results are shown as a cross tab (Figure 16).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support protests</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose protests</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are indifferent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both support and opposition included</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bystanders not included</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing System</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive analysis was also used to compare how bystanders were used between publications. The Post-Dispatch included the most bystanders, with eight of the 14 stories coded including them. However, support and opposition was evenly split among those eight instances. Of the 14 stories coded from the American, four (28.5 percent) included bystanders. In three of those stories, bystanders opposed the protests. Thus, the hypotheses that the Post-Dispatch would marginalize protesters in the area of bystanders is rejected. The hypothesis that the American and Beacon would legitimize protesters in the area of bystanders cannot be reliably rejected or accepted because the appearance of
bystanders in both outlets was low. Results are shown as a cross tab (Figure 17) and bar chart (Figure 18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Support protests</th>
<th>Oppose protests</th>
<th>Are Indifferent</th>
<th>Both support and opposition included</th>
<th>Bystanders not included</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Dispatch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Publication</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 17: Frequencies of bystanders by publication**

**Fig. 18: Frequencies of bystanders by publication**
Difference in time periods

Descriptive analysis was used to determine if coverage changed between the two time periods being studied — immediately after the killing in August 2014 and immediately after the grand jury decision in November 2014. The analysis was used to show how coverage compared in three key areas — sourcing, narrative structure and public opinion. The researcher hypothesized that the coverage would shift from marginalizing immediately after the killing to legitimizing immediately after the grand jury decision.

In the weeks after the grand jury decision, protest sources were heard from more than in the weeks after the shooting. In the weeks after the shooting, publications relied more on official sources or some other combination of sources. But overall, protest sources were relied on the most during both time periods.

Just after the killing, the publications employed a wide range of narrative structures. The most common narrative structure during this period was “other” — utilized in seven of the 21 stories coded. After the grand jury decision, narrative structures settled primarily into one of two categories: non-violent action or movement by protesters and a conflict between protesters and law enforcement. Narrative structures defined as “other” dropped off significantly during this period — from seven after the killing to one after the grand jury decision.

The invocation of public opinion increased significantly in stories published after the grand jury decision. Nearly every story published during that time period invoked public opinion, while just eight stories published after the shooting invoked public opinion.
The use of bystanders increased significantly after the grand jury decision. After the shooting, only three stories included bystanders. After the grand jury decision, 12 stories included bystanders.

Thus, the hypothesis that the coverage would shift from marginalizing to legitimizing is rejected. The results are shown as a cross tabs (Figures 19-21).

**Fig. 19: Sourcing frequencies before and after shooting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>More official sources than protest sources</th>
<th>More protest sources than official sources</th>
<th>Number of official sources and protest sources was equal</th>
<th>Some other combination of sources</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before_after</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after grand jury</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Sources</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 20: Narrative structure frequencies before and after shooting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narr_struct</th>
<th>Violence or illegal activity by protesters</th>
<th>Non-violent action or movement by protesters</th>
<th>Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement</th>
<th>A conflict between protesters and law enforcement</th>
<th>The issues or goals of protesters</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before_after</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Narr_struct</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after grand jury</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Narr_struct</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_after</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Narr_struct</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 21: Invocation of public opinion frequencies before and after shooting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pub_opinion</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Invokes public opinion</td>
<td>Does not invoke public opinion</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before_After</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after shooting</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after grand jury</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fig. 22: Frequencies of bystanders before and after shooting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Are indifferent</th>
<th>Both support and opposition included</th>
<th>Bystanders not included</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before_After</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after shooting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_After</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published in weeks after grand jury</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_After</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Before_After</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Bystanders</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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<td>100.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

This study sought to determine whether and to what extent three St. Louis news outlets employed the protest paradigm in their coverage of the protests in Ferguson, Missouri, following the killing of Michael Brown by a police officer.

The protest paradigm is composed of a number of framing techniques that tend to marginalize protesters by relying on official sources, focusing on protesters’ violence or violation of social norms and pitting them in a battle against police. A content analysis of 42 stories published across the three publications after the killing gathered data about four elements of the protest paradigm:

- Sources
- Narrative frame or structure
- Invocation of public opinion
- Symbolic use of bystanders

A hypothesis based on prior research and knowledge of the three outlets predicted that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which has the largest audience of the three, would be more likely to marginalize the protests in its coverage. A second hypothesis predicted that the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American, which focus on in-depth coverage of community issues and African-American issues, respectively, would be more likely to legitimize the protests. A final hypothesis predicted that coverage in general would shift from marginalizing the protests after the killing to legitimizing them after the grand jury decision.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The Post-Dispatch, the largest and most mainstream publication examined, displayed a balance of legitimizing and marginalizing framing in coverage that comprised the broadest range of subject matter of the three publications.

The Dispatch was balanced in its sourcing habits, with stories split fairly evenly between majority protesters, majority officials and some other combination of sources. Overall, it relied on protesters slightly more often than officials. Therefore, it cannot be concluded from this analysis that the Post-Dispatch marginalized the protests from a sourcing perspective in the stories coded. Rather, the sourcing pattern suggests an attempt for balanced and objective coverage that seeks perspectives from multiple parties.

When it came to narrative structures, the Post-Dispatch focused on conflict and violence more than the other publications. Half of the stories coded used the “conflict between protesters and law enforcement” narrative structure, while three stories focused on peaceful action by protesters and only one focused on the issues or goals of the protesters. Again, this pattern suggests balanced, objective coverage that doesn’t focus especially on one side of the story or delve too deeply into the issues. By framing the protests as a conflict, the Post-Dispatch positions itself as a disinterested third party recording the events as a linear, blow-by-blow narrative.

Though the overall narrative of the Post-Dispatch stories was often one of conflict, the results from the “narrative elements” analysis show a wide range of other topics nested within those narratives. Nearly every Post-Dispatch story made some mention of peaceful or non-violent action by protesters, and more than half of the stories included some deeper issues or goals behind the protesters’ actions. In addition, more
than half of the Post-Dispatch’s stories included some “other” element, the most of any publication — a further indication of the breadth of the Post-Dispatch’s coverage. The Post-Dispatch’s stories tended to be longer than its counterparts, another measure of the breadth of its coverage, and several were structured as “roundups” of the events of the day, which amounted to a hodge-podge of narrative elements. Of the 14 stories coded from the Post-Dispatch, five were very long — more than 2,000 words. Figure 23 shows a cross tabulation of word counts by publication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Wordcount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100-299 words</td>
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<td>St. Louis American</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beacon/Public Radio</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the narrative elements employed by the Post-Dispatch, invocation of public opinion stood out. Eleven of the 14 stories coded included an invocation of public opinion, the most of any of the three publications. More than half of the Post-Dispatch stories coded included bystanders, though none of them included bystanders that only opposed the protests.

In conclusion, the data from the 14 Post-Dispatch stories coded illustrates an attempt at a fair and balanced approach that does not focus too much attention on one party or another. Sourcing is split nearly down the middle and narrative frames present the protests as a conflict between protesters and officials, with the protesters and the issues themselves receiving less attention. However, the Post-Dispatch tended towards longer stories and “roundups” that covered a wide range of narrative elements in supplement to the overall conflict frames. This is not necessarily surprising considering
that the Post-Dispatch has the widest audience of the three outlets studied, and therefore may have more of an incentive to produce balanced coverage. Also, as the largest of the three news organizations, the Post-Dispatch has more resources that allow it to produce longer stories that cover a range of events and topics.

**The St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio**

The Beacon’s coverage broke along many of the same lines as the Post-Dispatch, and did not employ the framing techniques that might be expected of an organization supposedly devoted to in-depth coverage of community issues.

In half of the stories coded, the Beacon used more protest sources than official. The other half was split between more official sources, an equal number of protesters and officials, and some other combination of sources. Thus, in terms of sourcing, the Beacon tended to give protesters more of a voice than officials.

The Beacon’s use of narrative structure in the stories coded was nearly identical to the Post-Dispatch’s. Like the Post-Dispatch, a conflict between protesters and law enforcement was the most common frame employed in the stories coded from the Beacon. It was used in six of the 14 stories. The similarities between the two publications are evident in a bar chart (Figure 24).
The Beacon mirrored the Post-Dispatch closely in terms of narrative elements as well. A majority of its stories included peaceful action by protesters alongside violence. Half of its stories touched on the issues and goals of the protesters. The Beacon invoked public opinion in nine of the 14 stories coded. Only three of its stories included bystanders, and in two of those, bystanders supported the protests.

Overall, the Beacon’s coverage was more similar to the Post-Dispatch than it was to the American. It most resembled the protest paradigm in the area of narrative structure, where it often framed stories as conflicts between police and protesters. But it did not delve into the goals of the protesters to the extent that might be expected from an organization devoted to in-depth coverage of local issues. For instance, only one story coded from the Beacon used a narrative structure focused on issues or goals of the
protesters. And the issues or goals of the protesters appeared at all in only half of the Beacon’s stories — the fewest of any of the three publications. The Beacon states on its website that it intends to “delve deeply into critical issues, always striving to place these issues into an historic and factual context, and sharing insight from across our diverse community.” But the data shows that the Beacon did not frame many stories as issue-based, and in fact, touched on deeper issues the least of any of the three publications.

Thus, in the stories coded, the Beacon’s coverage did not align with its stated mission. Instead, its framing more closely mirrored the mainstream Post-Dispatch. Based on these results, the hypothesis that the St. Louis Beacon would be more likely to legitimize the protests in its coverage is rejected.

**St. Louis American**

The St. Louis American was the clear outlier among the three publications in the areas of sourcing, narrative structure and narrative elements. Its framing techniques were more sympathetic towards protesters and critical of law enforcement.

The American relied very frequently on protesters as sources, with 10 of the 14 stories coded including more protest sources than officials. None of its stories included more officials than protest sources. Thus, in the category of sourcing, the American demonstrated a clear break from the protest paradigm and legitimized the protests.

The American most clearly distinguished itself from the other, more mainstream publications in its narrative structures, where it was frequently critical of law enforcement and refrained from pitting protesters and police against one another. The American was also the only publication to employ the violence or illegal activity by law enforcement narrative structure in any of the stories coded. Four of the 14 stories coded
from the American used that structure. Within the American stories coded, it was the most common narrative structure along with non-violent action or movement by protesters. Even more notable is that none of the American stories coded employed the conflict between protesters and law enforcement narrative structure — the most common structure utilized by the Post-Dispatch and the Beacon in the stories coded. The American’s coverage was actively sympathetic towards protesters and critical towards law enforcement.

The American also did not include violence by protesters as often as the other two publications. Violence by protesters appeared in six of the 14 stories coded. The American also touched on the issues and goals of protesters the most of any publication, in 10 of the 14 stories coded, though only two (14.3 percent) of its stories were devoted primarily to protester issues and goals.

The American was also the least likely of the three publications to invoke public opinion, doing so in half of the 14 stories coded. Curiously, of the four American stories that included bystanders, the bystanders opposed the protest in three of them, which contradicts the publication’s overall tendency to legitimize.

The American is a traditionally African-American newspaper with a black audience, and the protests were focused intensely on the injustices perpetrated against black people by law enforcement. The results support research by Chan and Lee; Weaver and Scacco; and Boyle, et. Al; that has shown that a news outlet’s ideology affects how protests are framed. In this instance, the American’s demographic and ideology mirrored that of the protesters in that it seemingly sided with them by portraying protesters as victims and police as aggressors. That framing contrasts the Post-Dispatch and Beacon’s
use of the conflict narrative structure, which frames protesters and police as co-aggressors.

The American legitimized the protests in nearly every aspect of its coverage by giving protesters a voice more often than other publications, by being critical of law enforcement and by focusing on peaceful action by protesters rather than conflict or violence. The coverage represents a direct break from the protest paradigm in that it offers support to protesters and is critical of the status quo. The only area where the American reflected the protest paradigm was in its use of bystanders. Though only three stories included bystanders that opposed the protests, it is an area that could warrant further exploration in a larger sample. The hypothesis that the American would be more likely to legitimize the protests is accepted.

**Shift in coverage over time**

The results show that there are significant differences in coverage across all publications in the stories coded from just after the killing and just after the grand jury decision.

The stories published after the grand jury decision include more aspects of the protest paradigm than those published just after the shooting. For instance, the stories published after the grand jury decision invoked public opinion and relied on bystanders more often, and were also more likely to structure the story around a conflict between protesters and law enforcement, all of which are elements of the protest paradigm.

However, it is difficult to know whether this is a function of a shift in the philosophy behind the coverage or whether the coverage changes because of a difference in the events themselves. For example, just after the shooting, each publication published
at least one story about community cleanup efforts, which fell into the “other” category. Each publication also published at least one story that focused mainly on the details of the shooting itself soon after it happened. These also were classified as “other.” Therefore, the hypothesis that coverage changed from marginalizing to legitimizing cannot be reliably accepted or rejected, though it does suggest that framing and the protest paradigm are not static and all-encompassing — the actual parameters of the story do matter.

**Discussion**

Examining how the media covers protests has become more relevant as movements calling for racial equality are increasingly part of the national conversation. This study exposed framing patterns in protest coverage that have been supported by previous research. It presents fertile ground for further study by revealing a distinction between coverage by the mainstream St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the niche St. Louis American, and exposing shortcomings in the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio’s delivery of issue-based coverage.

All three outlets could be studied individually via qualitative analysis to learn about the philosophies and circumstances that led to different coverage decisions. While this content analysis has provided a general overview of the nature of the outlets’ coverage, a qualitative look at each could illuminate why the coverage was the way it was. For instance, the content analysis has identified an apparent failure by the St. Louis Beacon to produce in-depth, issues-based material about the protests. Speaking with editors and reporters about the coverage could illuminate the challenges facing organizations like the Beacon that seek that kind of in-depth, slow news approach.
Future research would benefit from an expanded $N$ and a more robust and precise codebook. This study was limited in size and scope, which at times made it difficult to reach definitive conclusions about the nature of these outlets’ coverage. A larger study would allow for further exploration of some of the distinctions that appeared here between mainstream and niche publications. It would also permit deeper study in areas that raised questions but offered few sound conclusions, such as the change in coverage over time and the use of bystanders of opposition by the American.

The 42 articles coded are only a slice of the coverage produced about a single event. The killing of Michael Brown and the protests that followed are but one example of similar events that have occurred across the country in recent years, including protests after black men were killed by police in Baltimore, Milwaukee and New York City. An expanded body of coverage that takes into account other outlets and other protests is recommended to provide more robust data, especially in areas where this study found results that were inconclusive because there was not enough data. By studying similar events that happened in the past, future research could explore whether coverage has changed and if there have been any discernible trends over time.

In addition to a greater volume of coverage, coverage from outlets with a wide range of audiences and ideologies is recommended to determine the extent to which audience and ideology shapes coverage. In addition, coverage on other platforms such as print, broadcast and social media was beyond the scope of this research. But because those platforms are subject to unique limitations, and serve unique audiences, they are also worthy of study.
Another challenge for this study was creating a reliable codebook. Though revisions resulted in a codebook that was relatively reliable, it was also less precise than the original version in the areas of sourcing, narrative elements and public opinion. More detailed information in those areas could have provided greater insight into the framing techniques of the three publications. For instance, a more nuanced code book could have shown which publications were more likely to report numbers of arrests or the precise numbers of official and protest sources in each story, resulting in richer data. In the future, an intercoder reliability test with more coders and a larger sample size is recommended to be able to test the strength of an expanded codebook.

Related to the issue of the codebook is the number of stories in this study that did not fall into the established coding categories and were therefore coded as “other.” In the narrative structures category, stories coded as “other” made up nearly 19 percent of the 42 stories coded. In the narrative elements category, a total of 17 stories included some “other” element. Obviously, it would be more useful for these “others” to be identified and used to create a richer picture of the coverage. At the same time, it exposes one of the weaknesses of content analysis, which is that news coverage is complex and fluid, and does not always fit neatly into a set of predetermined categories. One option would be to get rid of the “other” category completely, forcing coders to choose the most appropriate existing category. But that could result in imprecise data. Another option would be to expand the categories to include more options.
Bibliography


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Appendix

Project Proposal

MASTER’S PROJECT PROPOSAL:
Framing Ferguson: How Three St. Louis News Outlets Covered the Ferguson Protests

Joe Guszkowski
J8098: Project Seminar
May 11, 2015
University of Missouri
Introduction

I have wanted to be a writer since I was very young, but it wasn’t until recently that I knew I wanted to be a journalist. When I was younger, journalism seemed too dry, too complicated, too caught up in things I’d never be able to understand. Up until a few years ago, the only parts of the newspaper I read regularly were the comics and the sports section.

But, after a little over a year of trying to “make it” as a writer in Milwaukee, I realized my bachelor’s in English wasn’t going to get me very far. Plus, writing about local bands and the music scene felt pointless and unfulfilling. I decided to apply to journalism school in hopes of putting my writing to better use.

My time at the Missouri School of Journalism has not only prepared me to do that, but also has shown me that good journalism can truly make a difference in the world. Looking back, there are three classes in particular that helped shape my attitudes towards journalism and ultimately led to this project proposal.

The first was reporting for the Missourian under editor Katherine Reed during my first semester. There I learned the basic routines of the journalist and latched on to a major story — the walkway collapse at University Village that killed a firefighter. That story taught me a lot about the watchdog role of the journalist. My job was to hold the university accountable for the fact that some of its buildings were falling apart, and to provide a voice for residents who were scared and faced relocation.

Second was computer-assisted reporting with David Herzog, where I learned the power of data as a tool for storytelling and muckraking. In that class, myself and other
graduate students completed a project in the wake of Ferguson that calculated and analyzed racial disparity data for 22 Missouri cities.

Third was investigative reporting with Mark Horvit. That class reinforced the journalist’s watchdog role and exposed me to a multitude of examples of journalism that has made a difference. It also taught me the skills and techniques necessary to do that kind of high-impact work.

These lessons came to mind as I watched the events in Ferguson unfold last year. The stories that came out of Ferguson — about the protests and the response, the city’s questionable policing and its broken municipal court system — were shocking and important. The research portion of my project looks at how journalists framed some of these stories, and if they did so up to the journalistic standards I’ve learned here at school.

Professionally, my experiences have led me to seek a job in journalism that works for the public good. I believe this is the most important thing journalism can do. For the professional portion of my project, I’ll be working for Juvenile Justice Information Exchange as their Washington correspondent. I think the mission of JJIE aligns perfectly with the type of work I want to be doing, because it watches over the interests of people who don’t have the power and resources to do that themselves.

**Professional Skills Component**

In the fall, I will be the Washington correspondent for the Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, an online news organization based in Atlanta that covers juvenile justice issues. This job coincides with my research on Ferguson coverage, as both focus
on the issues and interests of groups that tend to find themselves on the margins of society.

My experience at the Missouri School of Journalism has prepared me to take on this responsibility. I have been deeply involved at the Columbia Missourian as a reporter, copy editor and assistant city editor. Outside of the newsroom, I’ve contributed reporting to a Washington Post investigation into Shaken Baby Syndrome and have collected and analyzed data on racial disparities through Missouri.

My work placement was arranged through the journalism school’s Washington program, so the beginning and end dates will coincide with the program. I expect to work 30 hours a week for 14 weeks.

My responsibilities will include covering congressional hearings related to the reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and working with reporter Gary Gately, JJIE’s main Washington correspondent, on other projects related to juvenile justice. My reporting, which will be published online, will make up the “abundant physical evidence” requirement for this project. I will also send weekly field notes to inform supervisors of my progress.

My work will be supervised by Laura Johnston, Sungkyoung Lee and Barbara Cochran. Laura Johnston is my committee chair, offering overall guidance with an emphasis on the framing and content analysis parts of my research. Sungkyoung Lee is my methodology expert. Barbara Cochran, who organizes the Washington program, will supervise my work there.
Analysis

The killing of black teenager Michael Brown by white police officer Darren Wilson in August 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri, sparked a nationwide protest movement calling for justice, reform and recognition of police violence against blacks. Though the protests took place all over the country, their locus was in Ferguson, a mostly-black suburb of St. Louis that found itself thrust into the media spotlight.

How the media frames its coverage of protests can define the perception and outcome of those protests (Brasted, 2005, p. 3) It can also marginalize those that challenge the status quo (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980) and support those that align with it (Gitlin, 1980; Boyle, et al., 2004). The protest paradigm (Chan and Lee, 1984) is a set of techniques by which media outlets cast protests as marginal and illegitimate.

To find out if and how those theories apply in Ferguson, this study will examine how St. Louis news outlets framed the protests there. Using a content analysis based on the elements of the protest paradigm, I will study news stories about the protests published online by three different publications — the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American — to determine whether their framing of the protests legitimized or delegitimized them. I will analyze news stories published during two distinct time periods: immediately after the killing in August and then immediately after the grand jury decision in November. This will allow me to track how coverage may have evolved over time.

The three publications were chosen because they each occupy a distinct niche in the St. Louis market. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch is the region’s major newspaper, with a daily circulation of 252,000 (Echo Media) and an average monthly online audience of
more than 2 million unique visitors (St. Louis Post-Dispatch). The St. Louis American is geared towards an African-American audience, and is the largest weekly newspaper in the state (St. Louis American). The St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio, whose newsrooms merged in 2013, is a non-profit operation focused on in-depth coverage of local issues (St. Louis Public Radio). This study resides within the medium of online news sites and does not include print or broadcast coverage of the events. Other mediums could be included in a future study.

I hypothesize that the more mainstream Post-Dispatch will be more likely to employ the protest paradigm in its coverage, while the niche publications will be more likely to use frames that legitimize the protests by giving a voice to the protesters themselves and focusing on the issues and goals of the protests.

Framing theory

Framing is one of the most prominent and growing theories in mass communication studies (D’Angelo, 2002, p. 870). In fact, since the beginning of the 21st century, it has been the most frequently-used theory in top mass communication journals (Bryant and Miron, 2004). Framing has been described and defined in a multitude of ways, and applied widely across disciplines (Entman, 1993). Some scholars have embraced its fragmented definition, suggesting that it is impossible to imagine a “definitive” framing study (Reese, 2010, p. 17) and instead attempting to show how it can be applied in a variety of ways (D’Angelo, 2002). Others have tried to synthesize the many strands into a single paradigm (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). This review of
prominent framing literature will focus on how framing has been defined as it relates to journalism specifically.

The framing practices of journalists are particularly important because of journalism’s prominent position in the “information landscape” (Watkins, 2001, p. 83). Journalists use frames to organize, emphasize and give meaning to information. Erving Goffman was one of the first scholars to develop the theory of framing more than 40 years ago (Borah, 2011, p. 248). According to him, people use frames to understand and assign meaning to events and occurrences that would otherwise be meaningless. These frames help us understand the “guided doings” of other people—those events that are the result of willful human action. Frames should help us answer the question “what is it that’s going on here?” (Goffman, 1974). After Goffman, Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) were some of the first to make the explicit connection between framing and news production. Tuchman (1978) says frames have the power to transform “nonrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event” which is then turned into a news story (p. 192). She uses the example of an exchange of dialogue between two people that is meaningless until more information is provided. Gitlin (1980) says that framing allows journalists to “process large amounts of information quickly and routinely” and to package it for delivery to audiences through a process of selection, emphasis and exclusion (p. 7).

While Tuchman says frames are “unspoken and unacknowledged,” Entman (1993), in his attempt to synthesize a single definition of framing, puts the act of framing squarely in the journalist’s corner: “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, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). He submits that even while following the rules for objective reporting, journalists can “convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation” (p. 56).

Gamson (1989) appears to agree, saying that a frame selects certain facts while ignoring others (p. 157). Tankard (2001) focuses on the power of framing to subtly define the terms of debate without the audience being aware of it. He compares framing to a magician’s sleight of hand, where “attention is directed to one point so that people do not notice the manipulation that is going on at another point” (p. 97). Tuchman offers the metaphor of a window. The audience’s view of an issue through the window, built by the journalist “…depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard” (p. 1). But while some scholars believe that framing helps to define and even promote certain opinions, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) add that more than one opinion can be contained within a frame, and frames “should not be confused with positions for or against some policy measure” (p. 4).

The study of framing can be split into two broad perspectives: Constructionist and constructivist (Van Gorp, year, p. 89). Constructionists believe that news texts are systems of elements that are meaningful in and of themselves, while constructivists believe that the meaning of a text is revealed in the interaction between the text and the reader. Reese (2010) draws a similar distinction between the “what” and the “how” of frames — the “what” being the content of the frame such as keywords, linguistic
structures and metaphors, and the “how” being the specific effects of and reasons for using different frames (p. 19). According to Gamson (1989), whose approach is firmly constructionist, a story’s frame manifests itself via metaphors, catchphrases and other rhetorical devices arising from the discourse (p. 158). Tankard (2001) also takes a constructionist perspective with his “list of frames” approach, in which researchers identify and define a list of frames in the subject at hand. These frames can be identified using mechanisms in the text such as headlines, subheads, leads, logos and photographs, among others. On the other hand, Pan & Kosicki (1993) take a constructivist approach in attempting to bridge the gap between news production and audience consumption using framing analysis. Scheufele (1999) also proposed a model that conceptualized framing as a process and focused on frame-building, frame-setting and the relationship between audiences and journalists.

**Literature review — Framing protests**

The study of how journalists frame protests arose in the late 1960s (Brasted, 2005, p. 3) when the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement and others began receiving significant news coverage. One analysis found that 10 percent of CBS news coverage in 1967 and 1971 focused on protests (Gans, 1979, p. 17).

The study of how the media frames protests is important because it can have an affect on how they are perceived, how they develop and, in turn, how successful they are (Brasted, 2005, p. 3). For example, Tuchman showed how papers framed coverage of the women’s movement in one of two ways: as soft news that stressed the movement’s
novelty over its timeliness, or as hard news that portrayed the women as deviants and “ridiculous bra burners” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 136).

The way media frames protests is dually important because many scholars have argued that frames tend to marginalize their efforts while reinforcing the status quo (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980). The more closely the values of a movement mirror those of the status quo, the more likely they are to become part of the dominant media frame (Gitlin, 1980, p. 284). For example, the concerns of environmentalist groups like the Sierra Club became institutionalized in the form of agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency, while the issues of more radical environmentalist groups were ignored (Gitlin, 1980, p. 284). Conversely, the more a movement’s ideology clashes with the status quo, the more coverage tends to cast the movement as violent, deviant and ineffective (McLeod and Hertog, 1998).

**The protest paradigm**

News stories about protests tend to marginalize them by focusing on the protesters’ appearance rather than their issues, emphasizing violence over social criticism, pitting protestors against police and downplaying their overall effectiveness (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). These media techniques make up the “protest paradigm.”

Developed by Chan and Lee (1984) in their framing analysis of the Jubilee School Affair, the paradigm is a particular worldview that tells journalists how to construct stories by informing them “where to look (and where not to look)” (p. 187). Numerous studies have used the protest paradigm to analyze frames (Brasted, 2005; McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Chan and Lee, 1984; Glasgow Media Group, 1985).
Chan and Lee (1984) used the protest paradigm to analyze how Chinese newspapers across the political spectrum covered the Jubilee School events. Their content analysis, which tested for the presence or absence of numerous thematic statements in articles about the event, found that newspaper coverage of the protests split along party lines. Rightist papers were more likely to suggest that the protests were the result of an outside Communist conspiracy, while leftist papers showed more support for the protesters. Centrist papers had a more moderate and diverse outlook.

The paradigm can be broken down into the following characteristics, or “mechanisms”:

- Frames/narratives
- Reliance on official sources and official definitions
- Invocation of public opinion
- Delegitimization, marginalization and demonization of protesters (Mcleod and Detenber, 1999).

The protest paradigm frames protests as a battle between protesters and police rather than an issues-based debate between the protesters and their target (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). The narrative focuses on violence and casts the protesters as deviants or criminals while police are portrayed as trying to restore social order (Brasted, 2005). Brasted’s analysis of newspaper stories in the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times about the protests during the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago found that a majority of articles employed the protest paradigm to frame stories. She concluded that the Chicago Tribune repeatedly framed police as protecting the public and maintaining order, that the protests were portrayed as social disorder, and that mostly official sources
were used. The New York Times was more critical of police and featured a few stories
told from the perspective of protesters. The protest paradigm narrative may also include
police being framed as victims without mention of protesters injured by police. For
instance, a Glasgow Media Group analysis of the women's peace camp protests at
Greenham Common air force base in Great Britain found that media downplayed police
violence, but focused intensely on a rare instance of policemen being injured by the
women (Glasgow University Media Group, 1985, p. 209).

The stories also show a reliance on official sources and are told from the perspective
of power-holders, further reinforcing the status quo (McLeod and Detenber, 1999). In
general, journalists often rely heavily on “official” sources, giving those sources an
inordinate amount of control over the content and timing of news (Sigal, 1973). Citizen
sources, on the other hand, are used much less frequently (Hallin, 1993).

The protests paradigm makes use of public opinion polls, social norms and the
opinions of bystanders to communicate the deviance of the protesters and cast them as an
isolated minority. In an analysis of three TV news stories of anarchist protests, McLeod
and Detenber found that coverage focused on norm violations including unusual dress
and hairstyles, public spitting, smashing a TV set, burning money and burning a U.S. flag
(McLeod and Detenber, 1999).

For mostly practical reasons, protests stories tend to focus on the actions themselves
rather than the issues behind them. Covering issues means journalists have to make
decisions about the legitimacy and presentation of different viewpoints (McLeod and
Hertog, 1992), while events are concrete and lend themselves easily to the journalistic
routines of reporting who, what, why, where, when and how (Tuchman, 134). Also, the
actions of movements themselves make good news copy because they provide drama, conflict and action (Brasted, 2005, p. 2).

Chan and Lee and others have shown that news outlets tend to frame protests differently depending on the outlets’ own ideology. An analysis of TV news coverage of the Tea Party movement found that left-leaning outlets such as MSNBC were more likely to portray Tea Party members as idiots, the movement as fractured and their opinions as fake. Meanwhile, right-leaning stations like Fox used far fewer marginalizing techniques and served as a “guard dog” of the Tea Party against other channels (Weaver and Scacco). News sources also frame protests differently depending on the extent to which the protest deviates from the status quo. An analysis of hundreds of protest stories in a cross-section of Wisconsin newspapers found that coverage of radical protests was more critical and less likely to use protesters as sources. Conversely, papers gave more support to protests that sought to maintain the status quo (Boyle, et. Al, 2004).

Based on my knowledge of the three news outlets I will be analyzing and my preliminary research on the subject, I have formulated the following hypotheses:

**H1:** The St. Louis Post Dispatch will be more likely to use frames that marginalize protests in its coverage.

**H2:** The St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio and the St. Louis American will be more likely to use frames that legitimize protests in its coverage.

**H3:** Overall, the frames will shift from marginalizing protests after the killing to legitimizing protests after the grand jury decision.
Methodology — Content analysis

Early research on framing was a subjective process that typically took the form of a single researcher identifying the frames in a given media text. Content analysis provides a more empirical and replicable alternative to the arbitrary approach of those early studies (Tankard, 2001). That does not change the fact that frames are essentially abstract variables, which makes them difficult to study objectively, even through content analysis (Matthes and Kohring, 2008, p. 258). Because of the intrinsic preconceptions and biases of coders, some level of subjectivity in content analysis is unavoidable (Van Gorp, 2010). Even the act of naming frames to code is inherently subjective (Tankard, 2001).

Additionally, news stories have a multitude of senders and receivers, and can be understood differently by different people (Gamson, 1989). This gives rise to a multitude of potential meanings, not all of which can be captured using content analysis. However, from the constructionist perspective that frames manifest themselves in observable units such as metaphors and catchphrases (Gamson, 1989), content analysis can be used to reliably code those frames (Van Gorp, 2010).

Numerous scholars have recommended content analysis approaches that are empirical, reliable and valid. Pan and Kosicki (1993) focused on identifying frames by using the selection, placement and structure of specific words and sentences in a text. In Gamson and Modigliani’s (1989) “media packages” approach, researchers use language from pamphlets and advocacy group materials to identify symbolic devices that characterize discourse around a given topic, such as nuclear power. In Tankard’s (2001) “list of frames” approach, researchers code texts using a list of pre-determined frames defined by keywords and catchphrases found in media content. Rather than coding for an
entire frame, Matthes and Kohring (2008) saw frames as patterns in a text, made up of clusters of elements. They recommended coding for these discrete elements and running a computerized cluster analysis to reveal the frame.

Of the approaches described above, Tankard’s (2001) approach is perhaps the most applicable to my research. Existing literature is used to determine a list of explicit, mutually exclusive frames for the subject at hand. Researchers then develop keywords, catchphrases or other devices from media content that can be used to identify each frame. These frames and identifiers are readily available in the body of protest paradigm research that supports my study, and a cursory reading of the articles I plan to analyze will allow me to come up with identifiers unique to the Ferguson protests. Using multiple coders allows reliability to be measured, limiting subjectivity in the coding process, and the results are replicable.

Tankard and others who have used the “list of frames” approach (Hendrickson, 1994; Maher, 1995) have achieved higher inter-coder reliability by narrowing the list of frames to two or three, while also acknowledging that stories might incorporate elements of more than one frame. For instance, in an analysis of stories about abortion, Tankard collapsed the original list of five frames into two — generally favorable to abortion and generally unfavorable (p. 102).

**My approach**

I will conduct a content analysis of stories published online by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Louis American and the St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio in the time period between August 9 and August 16, 2014 and November 24 and December 1,
2014. I will analyze 14 stories published by each outlet. The content of the stories will be
direct coverage of protests following the killing of Brown and protests following the
grand jury decision on November 24 not to indict Wilson.

For the purposes of this study, a protest story is defined as explicit news coverage
of a protest or the actions of protestors. I will identify and select the stories for my
analysis using an advanced Google search of the website of each news organization. The
advanced search will look for any of the following keywords in stories published on those
websites: “Ferguson,” “protest,” “protests,” “protestors.” I think these terms create an
adequate net with which to capture the types of stories I’m looking for. The time period
of August 9 to August 16 was chosen because Brown was killed on August 9 and protests
took place throughout the week that followed. The time period of November 24 to
December 1 was chosen because the grand jury announced its decision on November 24.
Protests occurred that day and in the days after. Taken together, the time frames represent
a large enough window from which to find 14 stories published by each outlet. The two
time frames also will allow me to track how coverage evolved over time or changed after
the grand jury announced its decision not to indict.

My list of frames will be based on the protest paradigm described by Chan and
Lee (1984) and the mechanisms described by McLeod and Detenber. McLeod and Hertog
(1998) recommend a set of twelve frames that can be found in stories within the protest
paradigm, grouped into three general categories: Marginalizing frames, mixed frames and
sympathetic frames. For a list of frames approach Tankard (2001) recommends not using
a “mixed” frame because it can be a way for coders to avoid making tough coding
decisions and doesn’t provide much information about what frame is being used. For the
purposes of my study, I will adopt two of Mcleod and Hertog’s (1998) general framing categories as frames: Marginalizing and legitimizing, to see whether the newspapers used the protest paradigm to marginalize protesters, or broke away from it in a way that sympathized with or legitimized the protests. I will create a list of identifiers for each frame and code each story into one of the two frames based on the presence of those identifiers. After a cursory reading of the texts that will be coded, I’ve come up with the following identifiers for each frame category:

**Marginalizing:** This frame delegitimizes the protests by focusing on protesters’ violence, destruction and deviance from social norms. It uses more official sources, fewer protest sources, and uses bystanders to illustrate the deviance of the protestors. It may also focus on low turnouts to disparage protesters, or put quotation marks around protest activities as a way to interject commentary.

**Legitimizing:** This frame legitimizes the protests by including more protest sources, focusing on violence or aggression by law enforcement and emphasizing the issues behind the protests.

To calculate inter-coder reliability, I will ask a current MU graduate student to code five articles (approximately 10 percent of the total sample) using the code book below, with a goal of achieving inter-coder reliability > .8. The five articles will be selected from those published between April 18 and April 25 in the Baltimore Sun-Times about protests following the death of Freddie Gray in police custody.
Original Codebook

Framing Ferguson: How three St. Louis news outlets covered the Ferguson protests

General instructions:

This study is about how St. Louis news publications framed stories about protests in Ferguson after the Michael Brown killing and a grand jury’s decision not to indict police officer Darren Wilson in his killing. It has been shown that media tends to rely on the “protest paradigm” when covering protests. To find out the extent to which publications relied on this paradigm to cover Ferguson, the current content analysis of protest stories employs four variables derived from the protest paradigm: Sources, Narrative structure, Invocation of public opinion, and Disparagement/marginalization. In the next section, sub-categories corresponding to these four variables will be presented along with specific coding instructions.

The unit of analysis in this study is the article. Coders should read the article completely before starting to code. Please code the following variables for each story. Useful definitions can be found in italics underneath each question.

Specific coding instructions:

A. Publications: Put an ‘x’ next to the name of the publication that published the story.


B. Publication date: Put an ‘x’ next to the timeframe in which the story was published.

1. August 9-16 ____
2. November 24-December 1 ____

C. Headline: Write the headline of the story: __________________________________________

D. Visuals: This includes photos, graphics, maps, illustrations, videos. If the story includes any, put an ‘x’ next to ‘Yes.’ Otherwise, ‘No.’

1. Yes ____
2. No ____

If yes, how many? ____

E. Word count: Count the number of words in the body of the story using the Microsoft Word word count tool. This does NOT include headlines, subheads or captions.

A total of ________ words.

F. Number of sources: A source is any person quoted or paraphrased in the story. A source that appears more than once in the story should only be counted once.
1. Officials 
2. Protesters 
3. Bystanders 
4. Others
   1) Specify
   2) Specify
5. Total 

**Officials**: Sources speaking in an official capacity as a member of an agency or organization. Note: Officials are still officials even if they are supporting or organizing protests.

**Protestors**: Non-official, civilian sources involved with the protests.

**Bystanders**: Non-official, civilian sources not involved with the protests. This includes business owners and other passerby.

**Others**: A source that does not fit into one of the above categories. Please specify.

**Total**: The total number of sources in the story. Should equal the sum of sources listed above.

**G. Narrative structure**: This question asks about the main theme of the story. There may be more than one theme, so it is up to you to determine what the primary theme is. This is likely going to show up in the lead and nut graf and appear repeatedly throughout the story.

**The story’s narrative structure focuses primarily on:**
1. Violence or illegal activity by protesters
2. Non-violent action or movement by protesters
3. Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement
4. A conflict between protesters and law enforcement
5. Dissension or division between protesters
6. The issues or goals of protesters
7. Other (specify)

_____________________________________________________

**Violence or illegal activity by protestors**: includes breaking windows, burning buildings, disrupting traffic, looting, etc.

**Non-violent action or movement by protestors**: general description of what protesters did. Can be signified by verbs such as “gathered,” “marched,” “chanted,” etc.

**Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement**: includes tear gas, smoke bombs, drawing weapons, etc.

**A conflict between protesters and law enforcement**: Protesters and law enforcement are in opposition. Note: This does not necessarily imply violence; for example, police may be said to be monitoring or standing nearby while protesters march.
Dissension or division between protesters: Different factions within protest are contrasted or are depicted as being in direct conflict with one another.

The issues or goals of the protesters: The reasons for the protest are described.

H. Narrative elements: This question allows you to put a finer point on your response to Part G. The narrative structure includes the lead, the nut graf and the main body of the story. These elements may be a part of that structure to varying degrees. Provide an answer for each one. Note: It is possible (and likely) that there will be more than one element that shows up “some” or “a lot” in each story.

To what extent does the narrative structure emphasize:

1. Violence or illegal activity by protesters
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

2. Non-violent action or movement by protesters
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

3. Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

4. A conflict between protesters and law enforcement
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

5. Dissension or division between protesters
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

6. The issues or goals of the protesters
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

7. Other (specify) ____________________________________________
   1 (none) 2 (some) 3 (a lot)

None: This element appears nowhere in the story.

Some: This element is included in the story, but is not a major part of the narrative structure.

A lot: This element is a major part of the narrative structure. It appears in the lead, nut graf, and/or repeatedly throughout the story.

I. Public opinion: Public opinion can be used in protest stories to marginalize protesters by depicting them as an isolated minority.

The story invokes public opinion by including one or more of the following:

1. An opinion poll
2. Protesters breaking the law or being arrested
3. Protesters violating social norms
4. The use of bystanders
5. The story does not invoke public opinion
6. Other (specify) ________________________________________________

Opinion poll: A poll built in to the story that gauges public attitude towards an issue

Protesters violating laws or being arrested: Includes lists or numbers of arrests.

Protesters violating social norms: Actions that are portrayed as unusual but not illegal, e.g., burning a flag. Can also include descriptions of protesters’ dress or appearance.

The use of bystanders: Use definition of bystanders listed in Part F.

J. Bystanders: Bystanders can be used symbolically to marginalize the protests. Use the definition of bystanders listed in Part F. Bystanders may be described but not quoted. For instance, a story might mention bystanders honking horns in support, or throwing rocks in opposition. This should be counted.

If the story includes bystanders, the bystanders:
1. Support the protests
2. Oppose the protests
3. Are indifferent
4. Both a. and b. are included
5. Bystanders are not included
6. Other (specify)

K. Turnout: Media may use a low turnout as a way to disparage a protest. Look for qualifying words like “only” or “just.”

If the story includes how many protesters there were, the information is presented in a way that:
1. Makes the protest seem small
2. Makes the protest seem large
3. Makes the protest seem large and connects the protest to a wider movement
4. Is neutral
5. The story does not say how many protesters there were

L. Quotation marks: Media may set off words or phrases in quotation marks as a way of interjecting commentary. Please specify the word or phrase that was used.

Does the story use quotation marks when describing the actions of law enforcement or protesters (e.g., “die-in”)?
1. Yes (specify) ________________________________________________
2. No
Revised Codebook

Framing Ferguson: How three St. Louis news outlets covered the Ferguson protests

General instructions:

This study is about how three St. Louis news outlets framed stories about protests in Ferguson, Missouri, in August and November of 2014 after the Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, was shot and killed by a white police officer. It has been shown that media tends to rely on the “protest paradigm” when covering protests. To find out the extent to which publications relied on this paradigm to cover Ferguson, this content analysis of protest stories employs four variables derived from the protest paradigm: Sources, Narrative structure, Invocation of public opinion, and Disparagement/marginalization. In the next section, sub-categories corresponding to these four variables will be presented along with specific coding instructions.

The unit of analysis in this study is the article. Coders should read the article completely before starting to code. Please code the following variables for each story. Useful definitions can be found in italics underneath each question.

Specific coding instructions:

A. Publication
___ St. Louis Post-Dispatch
___ St. Louis American
___ St. Louis Beacon/St. Louis Public Radio

B. Publication date: Write the date the story was published

C. Headline: Write the headline of the story:

D. Word count: Count the number of words in the body of the story using the Microsoft Word word count tool. This does not include headlines, subheads, bylines or captions.

A total of _____ words.

E. Number of sources: A source is any person who says something in the story, whether he or she is quoted or paraphrased. A source that appears more than once in the story should only be counted once.

Count the number of sources in each category:

Official sources ____
Protest sources ____
Other sources (specify) ________________

In this story:
1. There were more official sources than protest sources.
2. There were more protest sources than official sources.
3. The number of official sources and protest sources was equal.
4. There was some other combination of sources (specify) ____________________________________________.

Officials: Sources speaking on the behalf of an institution or agency.

Protest sources: Sources speaking on the behalf of the protests OR victim(s), in this case Michael Brown.

Other sources: Sources that do not fall into either category.

F. Narrative structure: This question asks about the main theme of the story. There may be more than one theme, so it is up to you to determine what the primary theme is. This is likely going to show up in the lead and nut graf and appear repeatedly throughout the story.

The story’s narrative structure focuses primarily on:

8. Violence or illegal activity by protesters
9. Non-violent action or movement by protesters
10. Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement
11. A conflict between protesters and law enforcement
12. Dissension or division between protesters
13. The issues or goals of protesters
14. Other (specify) ____________________________________________

Violence or illegal activity by protesters: includes breaking windows, burning buildings, disrupting traffic, looting, etc.

Non-violent action or movement by protesters: general description of what protesters did. Can be signified by verbs such as “gathered,” “marched,” “chanted,” etc.

Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement: includes tear gas, smoke bombs, drawing weapons, etc.

A conflict between protesters and law enforcement: Protesters and law enforcement are in opposition. Note: This does not necessarily imply violence; for example, police may be said to be monitoring or standing nearby while protesters march.

Dissension or division between protesters: Different factions within protest are contrasted or are depicted as being in direct conflict with one another.

The issues or goals of the protesters: The reasons for the protest are described.

G. Narrative elements: This question allows you to put a finer point on your response to Part E by indicating other elements of the narrative structure. The narrative structure includes the lead, the nut graf and the main body of the story. These elements may or may not be a part of that structure. Please provide an answer for each one.
The narrative structure includes:

2. Violence or illegal activity by protesters
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

2. Non-violent action or movement by protesters
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

3. Violence or illegal activity by law enforcement
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

4. A conflict between protesters and law enforcement
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

5. Dissension or division between protesters
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

6. The issues or goals of the protesters
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

7. Other (specify) _____________
   1 (yes)
   2 (no)

H. Public opinion: Public opinion can be used in protest stories to marginalize protesters by depicting them as an isolated minority. Indicate whether this story invokes public opinion.

This story:

1. Invokes public opinion by including any of the following: An opinion poll, Protesters breaking the law or being arrested, Protesters violating social norms, Symbolic use of bystanders.

2. Does not invoke public opinion.

Opinion poll: A poll built into the story that gauges public attitude towards an issue.

Protesters violating laws or being arrested: Includes lists or numbers of arrests.

Protesters violating social norms: Actions that are portrayed as unusual but not illegal, e.g., burning a flag. Can also include descriptions of protesters’ dress or appearance.
Bystanders: Civilians in story not involved with the protests. This includes business owners and other passerby.

I. Bystanders: Bystanders are people in the story who are not involved with the protests. They can be used symbolically to marginalize the protests. Bystanders may be described but not quoted. For instance, a story might mention bystanders honking horns in support, or throwing rocks in opposition. This should be counted.

If the story includes bystanders, the bystanders:
   7. Support the protests
   8. Oppose the protests
   9. Are indifferent
   10. Both 1 and 2 are included
   11. Bystanders are not included
   12. Other (specify)
Clayton High students walk out as part of Ferguson protest

December 01, 2014 10:30 pm • by Jesica Book

Less than a mile from where a St. Louis County grand jury decided not to charge Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson, Clayton High School students walked out of class Monday.

They wanted to make a statement, have a voice, join in on a movement across the country referred to as "national walkout," the latest protests after the death of 18-year-old Michael Brown.

In Clayton, they were doing so at one of the wealthiest school districts in the region, one where the majority of students are white.

Leaving English, French, gym and other classes, organizers Luke Davis, Katherine Warmax-Steele and Zachary Brady knew they had about 40 students who said they would join them. The plans circulated on social media during the weekend. But even as they worked to fight against problems of segregation and racism, they realized the students they were planning with — their friends on Facebook, for example — mostly looked like them. They worried that they wouldn’t get a large turnout of students of color, Warmax-Steele said.

But within minutes, as students made their way from classrooms outside to the school’s quad, the group had nearly doubled in size. It was a diverse crowd, with white, students, black students, Asian students and others participating, marching in a circle outside shouting “What do we want? Justice!” They carried signs, with messages like “Wake up white America.”

“Just because we are, you know, wealthy and predominantly white doesn’t mean that we’re not wrong,” Warmax-Steele said. “We are a part of this issue and we can’t ignore it anymore. Our school is just as segregated as any other. We’re segregated at lunch. We’re segregated in class. We’re not as forward thinking as we would like to imagine.”

Monday’s demonstrations followed Black Friday and weekend protests at various stores meant to show solidarity with Ferguson and other communities whose police have fatally shot black youth.
Clayton High students walk out as part of Ferguson protest: News

Living not far from the St. Louis County courthouse where grand jury decision was announced, some of the students have felt like they’re not talking about the related issues. Some have joined protests in Ferguson and elsewhere.

The walkout was a chance to gather as students and talk about injustice and discrimination in our community, said Davis, a junior.

“We have the courage to talk about these things,” he said.

After several minutes outside, he directed the group into the commons, where they lay on the floor in a "die-in" for 4½ minutes of silence. The time represents the 4½ hours that Brown’s body remained on the street after his death on Aug. 9 after he was shot by Wilson, who is white.

Meanwhile, other students bought food for lunch. Some continued to eat at tables nearby.

Junior A.J. Parker, who is black, was at a concession stand when he heard the group chanting “black lives matter.” He watched as his fellow students got up from the floor and shouted “we must love and support each other.”

“It’s a powerful thing,” Parker said.

Many of the students told their teachers ahead of time that they planned to walk out of class. Some said they would issue detentions for an unexcused absence, the students said.

“If that’s the cost we’re going to pay for fighting for change, that’s fine,” Bayly said.

Administrators also were aware of plans to walk out.

Principal Dan Gutchewsky said the disruption to classes was minimal. He was proud of the students, and said that the buildup of emotions awaiting the grand jury’s decision has been difficult. After school activities were canceled on Nov. 24, the day the decision was announced, and Clayton schools were entirely closed on Nov. 25 before Thanksgiving break began. There were safety concerns and worries about road closures if large groups of protesters took the streets near the courthouse.

“Now, people are just trying to figure out how to move forward,” Gutchewsky said.

It is not the first time students at Clayton High School have acted on issues concerning social justice.

In 2004, more than 700 of them walked out of the high school to show their support for continuing the desegregation program. At the time, nearly 10,000 African-American students from St. Louis were attending school in 16 districts throughout St. Louis County, including Clayton, and the district’s school board was considering dropping the program.

But students demanded that it continue. The Clayton School District is among the 11 that continue to accept transfer students from the city. At the high school, several students from Normandy and Riverview Gardens attend this year under the state’s school transfer law.

Seven years later, in 2011, the high school’s Equality Club invited as a speaker Nate Phelps, the son of the late Fred Phelps who founded Westboro Baptist Church. Nate Phelps is a gay rights activist who had broken away from the church as a teenager. Five members of the Topeka-based church protested outside Clayton High, but hundreds, including students, gathered outside to counter their demonstration.

About 20 percent of the students at Clayton High are black.

“So many kids came out because they feel this,” Warranz-Steckel said. “If you don’t believe Darren Wilson was in the wrong, fine. But you can’t argue that there isn’t segregation in this city and in our community.
“I think a lot of white people don’t know how they can participate or how they can participate,” she said. “You have a responsibility to stand up for people who are oppressed.”

The demonstration was among many held throughout the country. In the St. Louis area, most of these demonstrations took place at universities.

About 200 students and faculty at Washington University held three die-ins, where they lay on the floor for 4 1/2 minutes at Goldfarb Hall, the quadrangle, and the Danforth University Center. At St. Louis University, more than a dozen students staged a similar event at the clock tower. About 25 individuals held a peaceful protest at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, which included a die-in outside the university library. At Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville, about 10 students and staff held a vigil in the quad, holding signs that read “Black Lives Matter.”

On Monday, the Clayton students gathered again on the quad to finish their demonstration, which lasted about 40 minutes. Some used their phones to take photos of each other with signs.

“You stood up for what you believe in,” Davis told the crowd. “This is not over. It will not be business as usual.

“Now go back to class.”

Elena Crouch of the Post-Dispatch contributed to this report.

Tags Clayton High School, St. Louis County, Darren Wilson, Michael Brown, Clayton School District, Dan Gutchesky, Normandy High School, Riverview Gardens High School, Nate Phelps

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Protesters begin weeklong march from Ferguson to Jefferson City

November 30, 2014 1:00 am • By Lisa Brown

In what civil rights leaders called “praying with their feet,” more than 100 protesters began a weeklong march Saturday afternoon that will take them from Ferguson to Jefferson City, 135 miles away.

Organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, protesters said they came from around the country to bring visibility for needed reforms to the criminal justice system following the fatal shooting of Michael Brown by Ferguson police Officer Darren Wilson.

The “Journey for Justice” march is one of many protests that have emerged following the announcement Monday by St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert McCulloch that Wilson will not face state criminal charges in Brown’s death. Wilson resigned from the police force Saturday.

NAACP president and CEO Cornell William Brooks, who was in St. Louis on Saturday, said he expects the march to be a nonviolent protest, “which we believe is most effective,” he said. “This is not about causing anyone to be afraid.”

March participants will walk more than 20 miles on most days and stay at churches throughout the week and will walk only during the daylight hours, he said. Several buses following the march Saturday as it snaked its way through Dellwood, Berkeley and other municipalities in St. Louis County allowed marchers to take breaks from walking.

“I think there are multiple ways to protest, and this is one,” said Douglas Paul, 38, of Chicago, as he walked west on Airport Road. He planned to march this weekend and return when the trek ends in a rally within sight of the governor’s mansion Friday.

Marchers met at the Washington Metropolitan AME Zion church for a service in St. Louis before traveling by bus to Ferguson to start the march just after 2 p.m. at a memorial site where Brown died.

“What we’re endeavoring to do is seek justice for a grieving family and systemic change and reforms at the municipal, state and federal levels,” Brooks said.

The NAACP is advocating for police officers to wear cameras and for more diversity in police departments, he said.

Brooks said he hopes to meet with Missouri legislators and Gov. Jay Nixon in Jefferson City next week.
As she walked past the QuikTrip on West Florissant Avenue that was burned and looted following Brown's death, marcher Nia Johnson, 20, of Indianapolis, said she was compelled to come to St. Louis after watching Ferguson related events on TV.

"I wanted to do something to help," she said.

Marchers were told to bring two pairs of comfortable shoes, umbrellas and hand warmers to be prepared for inclement weather. After snow and frigid temperatures earlier in the week, however, St. Louis warmed to 60 degrees in the afternoon. Cold weather is expected to return Monday.

Walking by numerous buildings in Dellwood that were looted and burned Monday night, marchers were met by many people in their cars and on porches waving their support, but not everyone was receptive.

A man who said he's lived in Ferguson for 47 years got out of his car along Chambers Road as marchers strode past chanting, "No justice, no peace," and said, "This is ridiculous" to those walking by. The man, who declined to give his name to a reporter, added: "It's over. This should be over."

On another corner along the route, Jeniece Andrews of Ferguson stood near her antiques and jewelry shop on South Florissant Road, Hidden Treasures, that was looted and destroyed by fire early Tuesday.

"I need help," Andrews said tearfully to the marchers, adding she lost everything in the fire. Several marchers handed her $5 and $1 bills as they walked past, and many stopped to hug her.

"It touched my heart to know someone cares," Andrews said.
Protesters hit Walmart off Telegraph Road; leave Ferguson quiet

November 30, 2014 8:39 pm • By David Punn

ST. LOUIS COUNTY - Protesters cleared out of Ferguson on Sunday night, and headed to a Walmart in south St. Louis County.

Around 7:45 p.m., about 75 arrived at the supermarket on Telegraph Road at Interstate 255, just south of Jefferson Barracks Park, about 10 police cars waited in the lot.

Inside, protesters marched around the store three times, chanting “No justice, no peace,” and other slogans. Bishop Dorvil Robinson, of Kingdom Destiny Fellowship International, arrested earlier Sunday at Klein’s Plaza led the march.

About 25 police officers switched, but did not interfere.

About 8:45 p.m., after the protesters finished their third circuit, the store manager declared the store closed, and protesters marched out.

Outside, Robinson declared the action a victory. Then he turned to the St. Louis County Police Officers, fired from the doors and said: “We were peaceful and we didn’t steal anything.”

He then told officers all they wanted was one thing: “The access of choice?” Robinson asked the crowd.

“Tarron Wilson!” the protesters screamed.

Meanwhile, 30 miles north, Ferguson business districts were near-empty, whipped down to about 15 protesters outside the Andy-Warm-Time-Wheel on South Florissant Road. Most sat in their cars; many wore sit-uppy the glow of cell phones.

The only sign of protests past was the petite Missouri National Guard truck, parked every several blocks along West Florissant Avenue and South Florissant Road.

And a CBS News van with a satellite dish, aglow under a streetlight.

Snow, cold slow third night of protests across St. Louis

A Missouri National Guardsman stands over the rubble of Prime Beauty Salon at the corner of West Florissant Avenue and Chambers Road in Ferguson on Wednesday, Nov 26, 2014. The salon was burned to the ground on Monday after a St. Louis grand jury declined to indict Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson in the shooting death of Michael Brown. Photo by Robert Cohen, rcohen@post-dispatch.com

November 27, 2014 3:15 pm • By Valerie Schremp Hahn

Editor’s note: Corrects number of people who protested Wednesday night at the St. Louis Galleria.

Cold temperatures and a wet snow teamed up to tame protests around the region late Wednesday and overnight, authorities said.

Only two arrests were made by St. Louis County police and the Missouri Highway Patrol, county police Officer Shawn McGuire said Thursday morning.

Coupled with the three arrests St. Louis police made earlier Wednesday, the total was down dramatically from Monday and Tuesday nights. City police made no arrests overnight Wednesday.

Protesters meet in St. Louis’ The Grove neighborhood, march briefly at St. Louis Galleria

About 80 people gathered in the parking lot of the Commerce Bank in The Grove neighborhood in St. Louis at about 9:30 p.m. tonight. They said they planned to protest police treatment of transgendered people. By about 9:45 p.m. they were marching down Manchester Road towards Kingshighway Boulevard.

Police officers stood by and blocked traffic so they could march.

Protesters chanted “Trans lives matter,” and “no justice, no peace.” They said they’ve held this...
By 10 p.m., they had blocked the intersection of Kingshighway and Manchester, which had already been blocked to traffic by police.

After blocking the intersection for about ten minutes, the protest moved back down Manchester.

Meanwhile, inside the St. Louis Galleria Mall, a small group of about three dozen protesters went inside the mall and chanted. The protesters went to the mall shortly before its closing time at 9 p.m. Several police cars from various departments gathered on the parking lot outside. The protest was over just after 9 p.m.

--Lisa Brown, Paul Hampel, and Joe Holleman, 10:24 p.m.

Our earlier story:

Tonight in Ferguson, about 100 people, many of them media, gathered in front of the Ferguson police station along South Ferguson Avenue shortly after 8 p.m. A gentle snow fell on the crowd, which was calm. Some protesters sang.

Just after midnight, about 12 demonstrators and eight livestreamers remained.

Earlier in the evening, a protester yelled to nearby National Guardsmen: "This is not your fight!" Another protester wished them a happy Thanksgiving.

Some supporters driving by honked their horns.

Officers arrested one man shortly before 10 p.m. just south of the police department on an unlawful assembly charge.

On the stretch of West Florissant Avenue where many businesses were destroyed by fire Monday night, National Guardsmen stood by.

"It doesn't really seem like the holidays just because of the stuff that's going on," said Ashley Polk of Ferguson, who stopped by the Shop 'n Save on North Florissant Road for some last-minute Thanksgiving dinner ingredients. "As much as we're trying to make it normal, it's really not."

Polk said she was sad for the Brown family in particular because "they don't get to celebrate their holiday as normal."

Ferguson resident Cierra Morris, 26, a custodian for Normandy schools, was buying sweet potatoes and other groceries at the store with one of her two young sons. She planned to spend Thanksgiving with family and to stay away from the television because news about the issue angered her.

Many businesses in downtown Ferguson were boarded up with plywood, some because their windows were damaged in protests. Others had boarded up their intact windows as a precautionary measure.

Bridget Lewis, owner of Drake's Place Restaurant in Ferguson, had a man cover her intact windows with polyurethane. "We didn't want the boards," she explained. "It looks like you gave in, you're scared. And it looks like you're closed."

She hosted Attorney General Eric Holder at the restaurant during an August visit to Ferguson. "I'll be glad when we're able to really come to the table together," she said.

While decorations are up in town, the community is gloomy on the eve of Thanksgiving. Across the street at the Walgreens store, National Guardsmen and police stood as reminders of the unrest.

In the Shaw neighborhood and in a stretch on nearby South Grand Boulevard, police officers stood by guarding boarded-up businesses that had been damaged by vandals Monday night.

Hudson Harris, of the Shaw neighborhood, along with his two-year-old son, brought coffee to some of the officers. "I wanted to show my son how cops should be treated," he explained.

Earlier this afternoon, police in St. Louis used pepper spray on protesters who marched from Kiener Plaza to try to get past a line of police and National Guardsmen.
closed. About 50 police officers in riot gear advanced toward the crowd of about 200, who tried to enter the building. City Hall was closed for the day. Police used pepper spray on the crowd and arrested three, charging them with failure to disperse. One of them was also booked on misdemeanor assault of a police officer.

—Korun Addo, Paul Hampel, Ken Leiser, Jesse Bogan, Joe Holleman and Lisa Brown, 12:04 a.m.

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Tags  Protest, Ferguson, Michael Brown, Darren Wilson

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BY JOEL CURRIER
Some neighbors raised questions about the official account of a break-in, saying they saw the shooting occur outside the front door.
Tear gas used after protesters burn police car, break windows at Ferguson city hall; 68 arrested

November 25, 2014 1:00 pm • FROM STAFF REPORTS

68 arrests in second night of protests in Ferguson and St. Louis

Ten people arrested in Richmond Heights Tuesday night bring the total arrested in the metro area during a second, but calmer, night of protests to 68 people.

Those arrested were charged with peace disturbance at a QuikTrip at South Hanley Road and Elsner Avenue. Among those arrested was a St. Louis woman, 23, accused of striking a Richmond Heights police car with her car as responding officers were pulling into the parking lot. No one was hurt.

In Ferguson, where 45 arrests were made, and authorities largely credited a beefed-up National Guard contingent for a calmer night of unrest after the grand jury’s decision in the Michael Brown case. St. Louis police made 13 arrests at several locations.

Of the people arrested in Ferguson, seven were booked suspected of felonies, including four for allegedly assaulting officers and three for armed criminal action, according to the Unified Command. Twenty-five protesters were arrested accused of unlawful assembly, one for misdemeanor assault of an officer and 12 for interfering with officers.

St. Louis police made arrests Tuesday night in and near the Shaw neighborhood, scene of the fatal shooting of VonDerrit Myers Jr., 18, in an exchange of fire with a city officer on Oct. 8. That event also had sparked protests and violence, and there were several gatherings Tuesday night.

Of the 13 city arrests, one person was booked suspected of felony assault upon an officer and eight for misdemeanor failure to disperse.

Shortly after midnight Tuesday, city police had arrested four other persons during a brief shutdown of Interstate 44 (formerly Interstate 70) near the Edward Jones Dome.

In Richmond Heights, police arrested 10 people Tuesday night at the QuikTrip at South Hanley Road and Elsner Avenue. Among them was Michelle D. Hogan, 29, of the 3900 block of North 21st Street, who was charged with second-degree assault upon a law enforcement officer, a felony.

She was accused of damaging a police car as it pulled into the lot. Others arrested were booked suspected of peace
Ferguson mayor asks where National Guard was; Gov. Nixon pledges more

Original plan to use Guard to protect businesses against the very kind of looting and arson that occurred. Read more

Afternoon protest briefly closes interstate in downtown St. Louis

Protesters marched to courthouse, then blocked interstate. Read more

"This process is broken," attorney for Michael Brown's family says

They hope for results from federal investigation. Read more

Man found dead in car near Canfield apartments in Ferguson

Police say the death is being treated as a homicide. Read more

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Video: Ferguson City Hall gets hit with damage

Black protesters yell at Black police officer

In Ferguson, St. Louis County Chief Jon Belmar said two guns and one Molotov cocktail were seized over the course of a night that also saw some incidents of vandalism, including the torching of a Ferguson police car and the breaking of windows at City Hall and at some businesses on West Florissant Avenue.

Tear gas was used to disperse the crowd at City Hall, Belmar said, but nowhere else.

He said officers and Guardsmen showed restraint despite being the targets of projectiles that included rocks, pieces of asphalt and bottles filled with urine. There was little gunfire on the streets, he said.

Both Belmar and Missouri Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson said the night's chaos was far from that of the night before. "We did have a much better night," Johnson said.

After the first night of rioting, the Unified Command reported 61 arrests. That night, St. Louis police also arrested 23 in Ferguson-related unrest in the city, mainly along South Grand Boulevard.

Area hospitals report 30 patients have been treated so far following the unrest. Of the 30, seven have been admitted.

In addition to the tripling of the National Guard contingent more than 2,000 soldiers, Belmar and Johnson credited revisions in their policing strategy for the more peaceful night Tuesday. Part of that strategy included closing the stretch of West Florissant Avenue between Chambers Road and Solway Avenue, where some of the businesses hit by arsonists the night before were still smoldering.

Both reiterated that the intensity of the unrest of the night before had gone far beyond what had been anticipated.

"I don't think anybody thought it was going to be this magnitude," Johnson said.

The Unified Command also released a list of names for the 61 persons arrested late Monday and early Tuesday. Among them are nine from Ferguson, 19 from St. Louis city and six from the adjoining suburb of Jennings. Only two are from outside the metro area. On several nights in August, during the first disturbances, about 20 percent of those arrested were from other cities.

-- From staff reports, 8 a.m.

***

Police attempting to clear out several hundred protesters at Ferguson police station

Around midnight, police and National Guardsmen in front of the Ferguson Police Station to break up the crowd of about 500 that had gathered there. The crowd dispersed slowly but violently, breaking windows of some businesses just south of the police station on South Florissant Road.

Protesters broke windows of the Meineke auto care center at 402 South Florissant and someone set off a large firework. Some hit at police cars and threw rocks.

Police ordered everyone, including media, off South Florissant and adjoining side streets.

--Jesse Bogan and Steve Giegerich, 12:40 a.m.
Protesters at Brentwood Target: protesters on South Grand

By about 11 p.m., more than two dozen protesters, some with masks and holding signs, had gathered at the parking lot of the Target store in Brentwood. One protester had a bullhorn and they stood chanting.

Police had arrived at the scene and were standing guard. The store was closed; its closing hours were 11 p.m. No protesters were inside the store.

Police were escorting employees to their cars. Protesters were leaving the lot by about 11:20 p.m.

Some then moved on to the QuikTrip at 1530 South Hanley Road. A protester yelled at police there: "Ferguson is here now!" Police detained about six people.

Protesters then moved towards the Galleria shopping mall, but police blocked the parking lot entrances.

Also at about 11 p.m., about 20 protesters gathered at South Grand Boulevard and Arsenal Street. By about 11:20 p.m., police were blocking both roads and threatening to make arrests.

Protesters chanted: "This is not Afghanistan, this is South Grand!" Police made at least two arrests.

By around midnight police had moved away and the situation calmed, but not before a car almost crashed through the police line.

Back in front of the Ferguson Police Station, police had made at least two more arrests, also at around 11 p.m. At about 11:30 p.m., officers sprayed what appeared to be tear gas at a man at the front of the crowd, and people stopped to wash out their eyes and faces. Some of the crowd dispersed but many, possibly about 500 people, remained. A few hundred police officers and National Guardsmen were at the scene.

Police were asking people to disperse.

At 12:09 a.m., St. Louis police tweeted that two people were in custody at eastbound Interstate 44 and Kingshighway Boulevard for striking a St. Louis police department vehicle with their vehicle. A weapon was recovered and no officers were hurt, they said.

--Lisa Brown, Jesse Bogan and Nicholas Pistor, 11:18 p.m.

... 

Protesters vandalize Ferguson city hall, burn Ferguson police car

Just before 10 p.m., a group of protesters moved to 110 Church Street, in front of Ferguson City Hall. St. Louis County tactical officers deployed tear gas after "numerous acts of vandalism," police tweeted, including the burning of a Ferguson police car.

A police officer with a fire extinguisher soon put it out. St. Louis County Police tweeted that it had been destroyed.

Witness Andre Coffer said protesters stopped the man who started the fire at the police car.

People also broke several windows of city hall. Police in riot gear gathered there and lined up. They ordered protesters to leave from the middle of the street.

St. Louis County Police tweeted at 10:25 p.m. that "this is now considered unlawful assembly. Those refusing to leave the area will be subject to arrest."

By 10:30 p.m., most of the crowd had dispersed and some had returned to the Ferguson police station. St. Louis County Police tweeted at 10:32 p.m. that police were "moving into an unruly crowd; people throwing things at officers."

At 10:42 p.m., St. Louis police tweeted that Ferguson police were in a foot pursuit of a suspect at Riverview Boulevard and North Broadway wanted for striking a Ferguson police vehicle. They then arrested the suspect around 11:35 p.m.
Earlier, in front of the Ferguson police station, where police and protesters faced off in the street and sidewalks, tensions ebbed and flowed as the night wore on.

The Rev. Ken McKoy, with the Progressive AME Zion Church in St. Louis, was at the police station on Monday night and again tonight. He said tonight felt more tense, partially because of Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson’s interviews with the media and Gov. Jay Nixon’s statement about Monday night’s looting and destruction.

“Tonight, you have the same tension, as you can see, probably more so,” than Monday night. “I’m a pastor and I’m upset myself.”

He said he hoped to be part of a peaceful protest tonight.

Meanwhile, Mike Haywood, 46, a salesman from Ferguson, helped direct traffic in front of the station for at least a few hours. Haywood lives up the hill from the police department and said he was hoping to keep the protest there rather than in the residential streets.

“You aren’t hurting police by burning buildings,” he said. “You’re burning down your neighbor’s jobs. It doesn’t make sense.”

He was upset when somebody threw a smoking firework of some sort at police earlier in the evening. He wanted to help keep things peaceful. “You can’t teach stupid,” he said.

By 9:50 p.m., a large part of the group of protesters had moved from the police station and began marching north on South Florissant toward Chambers Road. A police helicopter had a spotlight on them.

— Ken Leiser, Jesse Bogan, and Lisa Brown, 9:47 p.m.

Part of crowd scatters at Ferguson police station, more arrests made

In Ferguson, in front of the police station, somebody from the crowd of protesters threw what appeared to be a smoking firework at police officers. Police moved forward, and some of the protesters scattered. Some protesters remained at the station.

Police detained at least three people. Several rocks were thrown at police while arrests were being made.

Dozens of police in riot gear stood in the middle of South Florissant. No cars were going by. Police blocked protesters from getting into the street.

—Jesse Bogan and Lisa Brown, 9:03 p.m.

Small groups of protesters in Shaw, at West Florissant and Chambers in Ferguson

Police officers faced off with a group of about 40 protesters at the intersection of West Florissant Avenue and Chambers Road.

“They are belittling us by pretending we’re just having a temper tantrum,” said Brett Ratcliff, 26, of St. Louis. “But it’s not a tantrum, we’re exercising our rights.”

Ratcliff was among 40 young people taunting police and occasionally blocking traffic at the intersection of West Florissant Avenue and Chambers Road around 9 p.m.

Three were placed in custody after police said someone in the crowd pelted them with rocks and other objects, including a metal brake shoe.

In the Shaw neighborhood in St. Louis, a small group of protesters stood near the VonDerrit Myers Jr. memorial. Myers was shot by a St. Louis police officer last month.

Police at the intersection told protesters that standing in the street was not a "peaceful protest." Alderman Steve Conaway was at the scene, helping direct traffic.

By 10 p.m., the protesters had left the area, St. Louis police reported.

—Steve Giegerich and Joe Hollemann, 10 p.m.
Protesters blocking intersections in Central West End

St. Louis Metropolitan Police reported shortly before 8 p.m. that the northbound and southbound lanes of North Kingshighway Boulevard and the east and westbound lanes of Natural Bridge Avenue were closed due to about 50 to 75 protesters in the intersection. The protesters remained peaceful.

Protesters marched down Kingshighway at Lindell near Forest Park and the Chase Park Plaza. Security there sealed the entrances. Police blocked off intersections nearby. About 40 protesters stood at South Euclid and Maryland avenues, chanting. Two busloads of officers in riot gear arrived, and St. Louis Police Chief Sam Dotson was at the scene.

By about 9 p.m., the group had moved south on Euclid and was blocking the intersection at Taylor Avenue. They then moved to Lindell Boulevard and Whittier Street, in front of Lindell Marketplace shopping center. They laid briefly in the street and took pictures of one another there before police threatened to arrest them. Protesters were mainly walking on the sidewalks.

--Valerie Schremp Hahn, Christian Gooden, and David Carson, and Jim Gallagher, 9 p.m.

Police making arrests at Ferguson police station

Shortly before 8 p.m., police arrested at least two protesters for refusing to clear the street.

The crowd had grown to a couple hundred.

--Jesse Bogan, 7:52 p.m.

Across the street from the Ferguson police station, about 50 people had gathered to chant and protest. One of them, Tyisha Acuff, 33, a certified nurse's assistant from Jennings, called on the crowd to burn down the police department.

"Burn it down!" she screamed.

"Why? Because they aren't doing nothing," she explained to a reporter. "Burn it down, burn it down, they aren't helping us."

Damarco Cheatham, 25, of the St. Louis area, who works in sales for Charter Communications, measured up the smaller crowd and shook his head, saying they needed to do more than chant.

"You need to hit them in the pocket book," he said. "Black Friday, to me, is the day you don't put money into the system that is destroying you. Capitalism is fed on slavery. That's where it came from. You are feeding into a system that sold your great-great-grandparents."

Shortly after he spoke, police began making arrests.

--Jesse Bogan, 7:40 p.m.

National Guard troops arrive to protect unburned businesses along West Florissant

Shortly after 7 p.m., a white, unmarked school bus pulled up on the parking lot in front of the damaged and looted Ferguson Market and Liquor store on West Florissant and parked. The doors swung open, and out streamed a couple of dozen men wearing camouflage uniforms and helmets and bearing black automatic rifles.

The National Guard had arrived.

Almost immediately, a protester, who declined to be named, rushed up to one of the young troopers and held up a smartphone in video mode to the trooper's face. The protester sneered, "So this is America, huh?"

At that point, a St. Louis County police officer asked the man to leave the parking lot, saying it was off limits to the general public.

The troops began taking up positions around buildings that had not been burned the night before.
of the troops and posed for a photograph taken by a friend before she, too, was asked to leave a lot. The woman, Anna Hester, 43, said she had come to Ferguson tonight to walk prayerfully through the area. "I am surprised to see these guys here now," Hester said. "They should have been here last night when the bullets were flying. After all, aren't they trained for situations like that, you know, wartime stuff?"

Another visitor to West Florissant on Tuesday night, Zach Wilson, 24, of Florissant, said he had come to West Florissant because he wanted to "be a part of history."

"This goes beyond St. Louis," Wilson said. "The whole word is watching this."

Wilson said that he believed it was probably a good idea to have guard troops stationed to protect businesses in the area. He said he strongly disagreed with police forbidding any public access to West Florissant between Ferguson Avenue and Chambers Road. "As long as people are protesting peacefully, they should be allowed to assemble on the sidewalks and stroll through a business district that is in their own neighborhood," he said.

-- Paul Hampel, 7:30 p.m.

... 

Crowd, media gather in front of Ferguson police station

Shortly after 7 p.m., about 50 protesters stood across the street from the Ferguson Police station, with about just as many media nearby—some reporters came into town today, some from Venezuela, Japan, and Montreal.

Members of the National Guard stood in front of the station and behind a metal gate erected at the driveway. They kept an eye on the crowd while leaning on their shields.

The crowd chanted, eventually moved into the street, and traffic had a hard time getting by. County police and troopers moved into the street to clear them out.

-- Jesse Bogan, 7:16 p.m.

... 

Young men gather in Canfield Green apartment complex

As dusk settled over the Mike Brown memorial on Canfield Drive Tuesday, a group of young men with faces covered by black bandanas discussed the previous night's fiery violence.

One man said the arson and looting should have been expected. "We let (expletive) slide for years," said one man, who like the others, refused to give his name.

Another said, "White cops—hell, white people—been killing black people forever."

An older resident, Markese Mull, 39, tried to steer the youths away from lawless responses to the non-indictment of Darren Wilson.

"I've been shot by police," Mull said. "I've been in the penitentiary. I don't want to see that happen to you. Stay alive in this!

However, his words were mostly rejected.

Asked if Ferguson could expect more violence, one masked man said, "As long as Darren Wilson has breath in his lungs, there will be trouble."

-- Paul Hampel, 6:55 p.m.

... 

South Grand business district quiet early Tuesday evening

Shortly after 6 p.m. along South Grand Boulevard just south of Arsenal Street, some residents milled around and took pictures of one another in front of boarded-up businesses that had been damaged the night before by vandals during protests. Local artists had spent the day painting murals on some of the plywood. One piece of plywood on a window of the St. Louis Bread Company simply said "Why? We need our jobs" in black spray paint.

There was a heightened police presence in the neighborhood, with St. Louis Metropolitan police officers wearing regular uniforms patrolling the sidewalks.
By late afternoon, in an effort prevent a repeat of last night's troubles in the West Florissant Avenue protest zone, police forces that included state troopers and St. Louis County police officers had completely closed off the stretch of road from Ferguson Avenue and Chambers Road.

No vehicles or foot traffic were allowed in the area, but pedestrians were allowed as long as they could prove they were residents. The scent of burning rubble wafted through the area. Nearby residents were expected to get around the area via back roads.

--Paul Hampel and Lisa Brown, 6:30 p.m.

Our earlier story:

Law enforcement leaders pledge to avoid repeat of Monday's violence in Ferguson

FERGUSON - Warning that the "law of averages" makes fatalities likely if violence continues, the area's law enforcement officers pledged to work to prevent a repeat of Monday's arson and vandalism.

"I stand here today to say I am sorry to the community of Ferguson. Their soul was ripped last night," said Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson, a member of the Unified Command in the Ferguson case. "That cannot happen again tonight, and we will do everything to make sure that what happened does not repeat itself."

Johnson and County Police Chief Jon Belmar both cited the "law of averages" in seeking to avoid loss of life. Belmar said police were treating as a homicide the discovery of a body found in a car early Tuesday on Glen Owen Drive in Ferguson, but said he didn't know whether it was related to rioting.

At least 21 fires were set across an area of about four square miles, Belmar said.

Neither he nor Johnson would say that the Missouri National Guard had not been adequately used Monday — a common charge on Tuesday — but Belmar said he "welcomed" the additional force that Gov. Jay Nixon has promised for Tuesday night.

The guard is providing 2,200 soldiers.

Belmar and Johnson spoke during a press conference about 4:30 p.m. Tuesday at the Buzz Westfall shopping center (formerly Northland) on West Florissant Avenue, just south of the strip that was the scene of most of the protests in August. Several fires were set along West Florissant late Monday and early Tuesday, and other fires burned along Florissant Road on both sides of Ferguson's downtown.

Johnson said the rioting "was not fair to this community. We have to make sure that this stops."

Belmar said 61 people were arrested overnight during the riot, including 32 for felony burglary, mainly for looting, and 29 misdemeanor arrests for unlawful assembly. He said 10 police cars were damaged or destroyed, including two county police cars that were burned up on South Florissant Road.

Belmar said three officers suffered on-duty injuries. Those injuries did not appear to be serious.
Protesters gather outside Ferguson police station; protest earlier around Eager and Hanley roads

November 29, 2014 9:30 pm  •  From staff reports

Protesters gather outside Ferguson police station

On Saturday night, outside the Ferguson police department, about 150 to 200 protesters gathered to chant and wave signs and flags. At about 8:45 p.m., they marched South on South Florissant Road. Members of the national volunteer group Oath Keepers shouted out to protesters as they marched: “Chief (Jon) Belmar is unconstitutional. We are here for you.”

At one point, a firecracker went off, scaring people.

The group was met by a line of police cars in the road, and marched back toward the police station.

National Guard troops and police stood by. A St. Louis County police officer told protest leaders that if they identify anyone with warrants they are "going to get them."

Just before 9 p.m., a man threw a bottle and police made an arrest.

Shortly after 9 p.m., protesters burned an American flag in the street. At about 9:25 p.m., four members of the National Guard walked across the street to retrieve pieces of the flag.

Shortly after 10 p.m., a group of protesters marched north on South Florissant as police in riot gear followed.

At about 10 p.m., about four shots rang out just north of the police station. Two men in a red Jeep Cherokee had been shot at on Church Street, about a half-block off South Florissant. There was a bullet hole in the vehicle’s rear bumper. The men were uninjured, and police officers directed them to drive away from the scene. Police stayed at the scene to check out shell casings on the street.

--Koron Addo, Stephen Devere, Nicholas Pistor, Valerie Schremp Huhn, 10:22 p.m.

Our earlier story:

ST. LOUIS COUNTY • About 150 protesters briefly blocked Eager Road near Interstate 170 shortly after noon Saturday.

The protesters marched east on Eager to Hanley Road where they were joined by about 100 more and gathered on sidewalk and in a nearby gas station block from a home.
Scores of police followed the protesters.

The protesters are demanding action after a grand jury failed to indict Ferguson police Officer Darren Wilson in the shooting death of Michael Brown.

The protesters were chanting "our street" while someone banged a loud drum. Others said they were marching against police brutality and structural racism.

The protesters then went to Buffalo Wild Wings where they briefly laid on the ground.

After the protest was over, people were invited to Greater St. Mark Family Church in the Ferguson area for a strategy meeting going forward.

Please check back later for an update on this developing story.
Police arrest 16 outside Ferguson police station; 15 from outside area

November 29, 2014 9:00 am • By Lilly Fowler

Police make 16 arrests outside Ferguson police station

At about 10:30 p.m. dozens of police officers in riot gear waded into protesters standing in the middle of the street outside the Ferguson police station. They forced them back onto the sidewalk and made at least half a dozen arrests.

St. Louis County Police tweeted that they issued a warning for protesters to leave the street, and some protesters ignored the warning and were taken into custody.

On Saturday morning, St. Louis County Police revised the total arrests from 15 to 16, and included a breakdown of where the protesters were from. Of the 16 arrested, nine were from New York; three from the Chicago area; two from California; one from Iowa and one from Berkeley in suburban St. Louis.

Missouri Department of Public Safety spokesman Mike O’Connell said 15 people were arrested. St. Louis County police tweeted that one faced a charge of assault on a law enforcement officer.

About 75 protesters milled around the area by about 11:30 p.m. Members of the National Guard stood by. By about 11:45 p.m., most of the protesters had left.

— Paul Hampel and Valerie Schremp Hahn, 11:50 p.m.

Protesters walk through Central West End, sing social justice holiday carols

A group of protesters met up at MoKaBe’s coffee house in Tower Grove South at about 8 p.m. to go over lyrics to social
West End and possibly Flora Place in the Shaw neighborhood later tonight. By 9:45 p.m. they were caroling in the Central West End.

They distributed copies of a "caroling for justice" song book with modified lyrics to popular carols. Lyrics to "White Christmas" included: "They're dreaming of a white Christmas/just like the ones the bigots know/Where justice is missing and fairness isn't/Because fairness and justice they don't know."

"Life is Hell," sung to the tune of Silver Bells, included the lyrics: Life is Hell, Life is Hell/It's a racist time in the city/Ring-a-ling, hear them sing/Slim hope for justice today."

The group grew from about 30 to 45 protesters as they caroled outside various restaurants and businesses, and then staged a four-and-a-half minute "die-in" in the intersection of North Euclid and McPherson avenues. City police approached organizers and told them they had to get out of the street.

Said one officer to protesters: "You have rights, but you don't have the right to block traffic." But by the time that conversation took place, the protesters got up and left and planned to carol on Flora Place in the Shaw neighborhood.

— Joe Holleman and Valerie Schrumpf Hahn, 10:33 p.m.

... 

Police, about 150 protesters in stand off in front of Ferguson police station

At about 9:20 p.m., a group of about 150 protesters began walking in a circle, blocking the intersection of South Florissant Road and Paul Avenue, just south of the police station. Among the protesters was a group heralding from New York City, identifying themselves as students. They carried a 10-foot long banner saying they were joining the fight against "racist police terror." As protesters were gathering, about 20 police cars pulled up south of them, joined by about half a dozen National Guard Humvees, blocking them. At about 9:30 p.m., police in riot gear, with about 50 National Guard troops behind them, stood off with protesters in front of the police station.

Some of the protesters were handing out literature from the Revolutionary Communist Party.

— Paul Hampel and Kovan Addo, 10:06 p.m.

... 

About 150 protesters march through Chesterfield Mall

Shortly before 7 p.m., a group of about 150 demonstrators went to Chesterfield Mall and walked through it, shouting "Shut it down!" and "Arrest Darren Wilson!" The demonstrators seemed to surprise security people, and there were very few of them evident. Police also did not appear to be at the scene right away, but then appeared after the demonstration began and simply walked with the crowd.

Stores shut their doors and rolled down security gates as the demonstrators went by. Shoppers simply stared, and some recorded the scenes on their cellphones.

"They seem peaceful enough, there's no problem for me," said Jon Nuttall a shopper from St. Louis City visiting with his teenage son. "It's more annoying because it's causing all the stores to close," said the son, Joshua Nuttall.

The crowd was mostly young and racially mixed. Some carried signs and danced to the beat of a drummer marching with them.

After 20 minutes of marching, the group held a "die-in" with all of them lying on the floor, next to
Shoppers basically abandoned the mall in the midst of the march. By 7:30, demonstrators and security people were virtually the only people in the mall. A Chesterfield Mall spokesman, Shawn Phillips, said the mall closed its doors during the demonstration but reopened them shortly afterwards. But a reporter saw that many mall stores had their doors or security gates closed as of 8:30 p.m.

The mall remained officially open until 10 p.m. and planned to reopen at its normal time at 8 a.m. Saturday.

"I think it's good that they're standing up for themselves, but at the same time, they're putting people in harm's way, just as that white cop did," said Crystal Young, 35, a shopper from House Springs, referring to the violence in Ferguson.

A Chesterfield police spokesman said the protest was peaceful and there were no arrests.

Meanwhile, up in Ferguson, only a handful of protesters stood outside the Ferguson police station. Charles Reid of St. Louis held a sign that said "Justice, Peace, Love." He asked: "Where is everybody tonight?"

Minutes later, a motorist drove by making a gun symbol with his hand and pretended to shoot.

"Can you believe that?" he asked.

Two protesters standing behind him said, "Next time, we'll pull him out of his car."

By 9 p.m., though, about 70 to 100 protesters had showed up at the police station. Shortly after 9, they began marching south on West Florissant Avenue.

— Jim Gallagher, Paul Hampel, Koran Addo, and Valerie Schremp Hahn, 9:07 p.m.

**Our earlier story:**

**UPDATED at 4:53 p.m. Second demonstration at West County Center moves onto Manchester Road, police block entrances to mall for about 40 minutes.**

More than 100 protesters marched loudly through the St. Louis Galleria at midday Friday and then moved to West County Center for another demonstration.

The march through the Galleria in Richmond Heights led to a closing of the mall for more than an hour. At 4:15 p.m., protesters already had scattered from the West County Center, but police blocked off entrances both to the building and its parking lots for about 40 minutes.

The event at West County Center included protesters lying on the floor on the upper level near the Barnes & Noble bookstore. The demonstrators, who appeared in nearly the same numbers as the event at the Galleria, left after police said they had three minutes before arrests would begin.

Many of them moved to a hillside near Manchester Avenue, where police kept a close watch. A small group briefly blocked the northbound ramp onto Interstate 270 from Manchester.

The protest at the Galleria was the first big event in the Black Friday protests in the metro area.

It lasted for about an hour and ended shortly before 2 p.m. Participants marched together shouting, "Stop shopping, join the movement," and, "No Black Friday shopping," in addition to some of the regular slogans in the three months of protest since Michael Brown was killed by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson. Security guards and police officers observed the protest inside Galleria but stayed back.

A group lay down on the floor near the escalators in the center of the mall and continued their chants. Richmond Heights police, with backup that included officers from Clayton and Crestwood and National Guard soldiers, continued to watch nearby.

Shoppers also made way for the march and watched it pass by. Many shops shut their nighttime security gates while the event was underway.

"It's not just about race," said Candace Reese, 28, of Florissant, one of the participants. "Violence shouldn't be a part of our daily life. How amazing it would be if this all amounted to something."

Police made no arrests.

The protesters who marched through the Galleria had gathered at Shaw Park in Clayton and then headed down Brentwood Boulevard in vehicles. They returned to the park from the Galleria, then
There had been a smaller, separate march earlier in downtown Clayton.

Until those events, only a few isolated protests had unfolded in what was billed as a major effort to boycott and disrupt shopping on the busiest retail day of the year. Earlier, about two dozen chanted outside the Walmart in Manchester. About 10 Ferguson protesters briefly joined with a pro-union rally outside the Walmart in Bridgeton, and one protester was arrested, police confirmed.

It all began slowly, both in the stores and on the streets. At Tropicana Lanes, 7060 Clayton Road, the announced mustering point for Black Friday protests at the Galleria, no more than eight protesters had arrived by 7 a.m. They agreed to abandon that event and head to one planned for 8:30 a.m. outside the St. Louis County Justice Center in downtown Clayton.

But only a few people were outside the justice center at the appointed time, either. Another event was planned for 11:30 a.m. at Shaw Park, which became the march through the Galleria.

Travis Martin, a protester who was at the bowling alley and the Justice Center, said he didn’t think that activist leaders had done enough planning and promotion for an event at the Galleria.

“I think the main organizers weren’t so focused on anti-capitalism. They are more focused on justice for Mike Brown,” said Martin, 27, a student at the Washington University School of Law.

St. Louis County Police reported receiving enough telephone inquiries about protests that it issued the following statement shortly after 8 a.m., “We are receiving multiple inquiries as to the status and safety of our shopping malls and stores. Currently there are no reported disturbances, protests or problems with any shopping locations in St. Louis County.”

Later that morning, activists Anthony Shahid and Zaki Baruti led about 50 marchers through downtown Clayton, chanting, “No Justice, No Profits.” They walked past boarded-up shops in the otherwise empty business district.

At the Walmart in Manchester, about two dozen protesters chanted outside as police moved them away from the store.

“We want to really let the world know that it is no longer business as usual,” said Chenjerai Kumanyika, an assistant professor at Clemson University in South Carolina, according to The Associated Press.

Outside Plaza Frontenac Friday morning, a married couple from Seattle stood along South Lindbergh Boulevard Friday morning holding signs that called for a boycott and included the line, “No justice, no profits.”

Cathy Whitmire, who grew up in Kirkwood, told the Post-Dispatch, “We’ll hopefully have people pause and reflect and not just go into the holiday season thinking it’s business as usual.”

The comment by her husband, Tom Ewell, was more pointed: “From black guys we get a wave. From whites, a finger.”

There had been isolated protests at a few stores Thursday night, including the Target in Brentwood and the Walmart in Maplewood.

Shortly after the Galleria opened at 6 a.m., Dionne Diuguid of Alton and her two daughters had little trouble getting their shopping done. The crowds looked more like a typical Saturday morning.

“I think it’s a hidden gem here, but this year is less than normal,” Diuguid said of the crowds.

“People are scared, but they shouldn’t be. They think if there are protesters, then automatically something bad is going to happen.”

However, the slow morning at many stores and mall also happened nationwide as Thursday deals pulled many buyers forward, Associated Press reported this morning.

At the Best Buy in Brentwood, no protesters were in sight as only a dozen people waited for the doors to reopen at 8 a.m. The line had grown to about 60 when doors opened.

“We don’t think the crowds are out this year,” said Alex Pierce of the Tower Grove neighborhood in St. Louis. She and relatives had been in the store Thursday night, when she said lines were heavy. The store was open from 3 p.m. to 1 a.m.

At the Walmart in Maplewood, customer Francine Rhodes of West County, said, “It looks like a ghost town.” She thought it was due mainly to Thanksgiving Day shopping.

It also made it easy for her to pick up a 32-inch TV for $198.
Latricia and Jaoula Singleton, sisters from Maryland Heights, carried bags stuffed with gifts as they left the Gap in the mall. They said Black Friday is one of their traditions, and they had no trouble browsing and buying this time.

Another shopper there, Wendy Williams, walked briskly as she hunted for deals. "I do very little actual Christmas shopping," she said — and was having an easy time of it Friday morning.

Out in St. Peters, about 50 people were lined up outside the Best Buy at Mid-Rivers Mall waiting for the doors to open at 8 a.m. It grew to about 150 by the opening. By 9:30 a.m., the Stores in St. Charles County generally were busier than those in St. Louis County.

Store manager Greg Coleman said he hadn't expected that many because of the steady business on Wednesday and Thursday evening. Matt Cooseman of St. Peters, one of the early birds, said, "It's been like empty. I'm sure it's because of the Thanksgiving openings."

Tim O’Neil, Jacob Barker, Samantha Liss and Debra Bass.

See our tweets this Black Friday morning.

BLACK FRIDAY SHOPPING MOVES TO THURSDAY

Tags  Shopping, Galleria, Taubman Outlet Mall, Black Friday

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FERGUSON DAY TWO WRAPUP: Day of protests, night of frenzy

August 11, 2014 9:00 am  •  By Steve Siegel, Jesse Boger, Kim Bell

FERGUSON • A calmer dawn broke Monday morning after a night of protest and looting in Ferguson left broken glass and at least one burned-out building.

Officer Brian Schellman of the St. Louis County police said two officers were injured overnight Sunday — one was hit by a brick and one suffered knee injuries. Police arrested 32 people for theft, assault or burglary.

The protests followed the fatal shooting on Saturday of Michael Brown, 18, by police. Authorities said Sunday that a police officer shot Brown, who was unarmed, after the teen attacked the Ferguson officer. After protests and a vigil earlier in the day, some people broke into stores and looted them, setting fire to a QuikTrip and leaving glass and other debris strewn about.

Schellman said the looting and destruction stopped and the area had quieted a down about 3:30 a.m. Monday.

He said the police helicopter was shot at once or twice, but was not hit. He said the night was a scary situation for even veteran officers.

Jennings school district canceled the first day of school today, saying it was concerned for student safety in the wake of Sunday night’s violence.

“Safety is our uppermost concern,” a Jennings release said. “At this time we do not feel it’s safe for our students to walk to school.”

Officials said they hoped classes could begin Tuesday.

On the lot of a QuikTrip that was looted and burned Sunday night, some men who said they had been there last night defended the damage as a response to injustice.

DeAndre Smith, 30, of Ferguson was happy to justify the looting when a reporter asked him about it Monday morning.

“This is exactly what is supposed to be happening when an injustice is happening in your community,” he said, adding: “You have kids getting killed for nothing.”

Smith, who moved to St. Louis from New York in December, said there could be more to come.

“I don’t think it’s over honestly,” he said. "I just think they got a taste of what fightin’ back means."
Michael Brown remembered as a 'gentle giant'

Friends say the slain 18-year-old wanted to own a business someday. Read more

FERGUSON DAY ONE WRAPUP:
Officer kills Ferguson teen

A family in shock. Outrage on scene, on social media. Read more

Looting at Ferguson store near vigil

QuikTrip was looted and the scene of a first-alarm fire call. Read more

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Karl McCarty, 39, of Bellefontaine Neighbors, watched the chaos Sunday night and was back again Monday. He said he had a message for the young men leading the charge:

"Let it go, let justice prevail. And if doesn’t prevail in the way they want, don’t do this again."

McCarty said as a black man he sympathizes with the mother of Brown greatly, but thinks the protest becoming violent and destructive was all wrong.

"Sometimes we create our own demise. You didn’t hurt Ferguson police, you hurt yourself," said McCarty, who is a contractor in St. Louis.

"My heart goes out to her," he said of the dead teen’s mother. "At a time we could have been grieving or supporting her, I feel we failed her. Instead of having a nice, simple vigil, it turned into chaos confusion and destruction."

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Others also showed up to express dismay at the looting or help clean up.

Leonette Hilliard, who works as a middle school English teacher, stopped by the QuikTrip. Using one of her school folders, she wrote a note to the store and taped it to the side wall.

"Corporate neighbor: I am sorry this act of robbery and violence has happened. Please return soon."

The note was taped over graffiti saying "187 county police," the 187 a slang reference to murder.

She said she comes to the store to two or three times per week and has been doing so for about 15 years.

"This just doesn’t represent who we are as a community and I wanted just to say something to do something that was productive," she said.

Pamela Richardson, 51, of Jennings, came to Ferguson on Monday morning and started picking up trash left by the looters at the QuikTrip store. A bit of smoke was still coming from the burned-out building. She rounded up beer cans and discarded Powerball tickets and crushed soda cans from the lot.

"It sends the wrong kind of message," she said of the looters. "Don’t destroy other people’s property that they worked hard for because something else has happened. One doesn’t outweigh the other, you know. No connection between the two."

Workers at an AutoZone swept up broken glass from the windows that were shattered and workers at a nearby cellphone store waited on a company to board up the front plate glass window.

The glass walls of a metro bus stop were broken, and trash
The NAACP released a statement Monday morning saying state and local branches would seek answers about the shooting of Brown and the national office would monitor the situation.

"The death of yet another African-American at the hands of those sworn to protect and serve the community where he lived is heartbreaking," NAACP president Cornell Williams Brooks said in the statement. "Michael Brown was preparing to begin college, and now his family is preparing to bury their child — his life cut short in a tragic encounter with the police."

The group called for calm collective action.

"Even as we call for accountability by those charged with protecting the community, we call on the community to act — collectively and calmly until we secure justice for the family of Michael Brown," the statement said.

**Our earlier story:**

**FERGUSON** • A day of protests and vigils Sunday for an unarmed black teenager who was shot to death by a Ferguson police officer erupted Sunday night with confrontations, looting and gunshots.

Authorities said Sunday that a police officer shot an unarmed black teenager after the teen attacked the Ferguson officer. But pressure for a deeper explanation grew locally and nationally through the day.

Hundreds of people gathered at the shooting site Sunday night for a vigil for Michael Brown, 18, who was to begin technical school classes today.

While some people prayed, others spilled onto West Florissant Avenue, choking off traffic. Looting was reported at a QuikTrip at 9420 West Florissant Avenue about 9 p.m. and soon spread from there. Most of the businesses being targeted were mainly along West Florissant.

Around 11 p.m., looters smashed into a Wal-Mart in the area near Interstate 270, as well as cell phone, clothing and dollar stores. A large fire was burning at West Florissant and Northwinds Estates Drive. A civilian was reported beaten near West Florissant and Chambers.

Jimmy Muhammad, 32, said he and his colleagues had just fended off a gang of masked young men with guns who tried to break into his uncle’s store, United Mart, in the 10300 block of West Florissant. The front door was shattered.

"It’s bad," said Muhammad, still gripping a pistol. Sirens blasted from all the police vehicles speeding by to other crime scenes. "I don’t blame the police, but they can’t keep up."

Silas Chung, 53, didn’t get to his small store, Up N Up Fashion, in the 11600 block of West Florissant, soon enough to defend it.

"I feel bad," said Chung, cleaning up the damage. "This world is getting worse and worse."

At Ferguson Avenue and West Florissant Road, about 150 demonstrators also blocked traffic. They were taunting police officers, who were lined up in riot gear, carrying shields and batons.

"It could have been one of your kids," yelled Charles Staton, 35, of Ferguson, at the officers. "Protect and serve. They aren’t protecting."

At the same time, about 100 people remained in front of the Ferguson police station, where South Florissant Road was also blocked by demonstrators. There the emphasis was on keeping the peace.

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar promised a thorough outside investigation.

"It’s turning into something it’s not supposed to be," said Darryl Jones of Pine Lawn as the looting began.
Late Sunday, County Executive Charlie Dooley came to the line and tried to convince raucous
demonstrators to leave. His efforts were yelled down. Eventually, officers moved their line forward
with the help of barking dogs on tight leashes.

"It's time to leave," the officers said. Reporters on the scene said the area calmed down shortly after
as action moved elsewhere.

Some people were caught in the crowds, though, and couldn't easily leave. J.R. Grace came for the
vigil but never made it because of the blockade. He was disheartened by the events playing out.

"The businesses didn't kill that man. That's not going to solve anything," he said. "That's only going
to make things worse."

Gunshots were reported in the area late Sunday, and a SWAT team was seen in the area. Hundreds
of police officers from surrounding communities reported on the scene.

"We have officers from just about every department around here," said St. Louis Police Capt. Ed
Kuntz. "Obviously we don't want to use force. We are hoping that just the presence is enough."

By 1 a.m. today, he said pockets of stores had been looted from north of Interstate 270 to the city's
northern border. Kuntz, who has worked in policing for 34 years, said of the level of looting: "This is
the first time I can remember this ever happening here."

Benjamin L. Crump, a civil rights lawyer known for representing the family of Florida shooting
victim Trayvon Martin, announced Sunday night that he had been hired to represent Brown's
family. Crump is based in Tallahassee, Fla.

In Washington, a spokesperson said Attorney General Eric Holder asked civil rights lawyers in the
Justice Department to monitor the case. In St. Louis, Special Agent Cheryl Mimura said, "I can
confirm that the FBI is working closely with the St Louis County PD to review the matter at this
time."

Protestors complained that the killing was emblematic of deep tensions between black residents of
North County and a predominantly white Ferguson police force. Officials have not revealed the race
of the officer who killed Brown.

"We have to stick together because we are targets," said Robert Brefford, 26, an African-American
musician from Berkeley who spoke in front of the police station Sunday night. He said police in the
area pull over, poke and prod black drivers to provoke them.

"The bleeding began long before Michael Brown," said Pastor Traci Blackmon of nearby Christ the
King United Church of Christ.

She passed a petition seeking a dialogue with officials. "We come in peace," she said. "But we are
angry and in need of action and answers."

Shontell Walters, of Berkeley, complained to stone-faced police outside their headquarters: "This
child was ready to go to college and you killed his dream." She added, "He is not coming back. He
could have owned a business and made money for Ferguson someday, but you killed him."

Dooley also visited protestors around noon Sunday to acknowledge their "justifiable anger" and
implore them to "channel this anger into justice. But the group turned on him for expressing
confidence in the ability of county police to do a fair investigation, buffeting him with heated
rhetoric and questions.

"How can we protect our children?" one mother screamed at him.

The shaken Dooley responded, "This is not the way to console the family right now."

The NAACP and State Sen. Jamilah Nasheed, D-St. Louis, joined a chorus seeking a federal
investigation.

State Sen. Maria Chappelle-Nadal, D-University City, said of the gathering in front of the Ferguson
police station: "This demonstration has to happen to release all the negative energy people are
feeling on the inside. And we are doing it peacefully."

Activist Zaki Baruti said the presence of police dogs near demonstrations reinforced the perception
of bias against black people. "It sends a very negative message, and it is a very insensitive reaction to
the outrage of the people," he said.

Another protest was scheduled for 10 a.m. today outside the police station. And the St. Louis County
NAACP is planning a mass public meeting at 6 p.m. today at Murchison Tabernacle Church, 7629
The Rev. Al Sharpton, a New York-based civil rights leader, called the shooting “very disturbing” and said he planned to meet here with Brown’s family today or Tuesday.

The demonstrations Sunday drew national news media attention to two sites: the police station, at 222 South Florissant Road, and the street where Brown fell, in the 2900 block of Canfield Drive.

Brown’s stepfather, Louis Head, sat cross-legged, head in hands, sobbing Sunday morning before a memorial on Canfield that would grow exponentially through Sunday with teddy bears, flowers and tributes.

“Ferguson killed my son,” he said. “Ferguson flat-out murdered my son in the street, a cold-blooded murder.”

In a news conference Sunday morning, Belmar, the county police chief, said the Ferguson officer had an encounter with two “individuals” about noon Saturday and that Brown pushed the officer back into his car and “assaulted” him in the vehicle.

Belmar said one shot was fired by the officer’s gun inside the car during the struggle, and that the officer then got out of the car and fired multiple times. Brown fell dead in the street. Belmar said the crime scene covered a distance of just 35 feet.

Belmar did not describe the reason for the initial contact, nor indicate whether police think the shooting was justified. He also did not provide any details about the person who had been with Brown.

He said the shots that hit Brown were “more than just a couple but I don’t think it was many more than that.” He said an autopsy was pending.

The chief said the investigation’s results will be forwarded to St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert McCulloch, whose office would decide whether criminal charges were justified.

Belmar noted that as Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson arrived at the scene Saturday, he called Belmar to ask for a county investigation.

Jackson sat beside Belmar but did not speak in a short news conference at 10 a.m. at the community’s firehouse.

Belmar emphasized that the outside investigation and consultation with the FBI — which has jurisdiction over allegations of civil rights violations by police — are “standard protocols.”

The officer who fired, whose name has not been disclosed, is now on administrative leave. Belmar said that officer has been on the Ferguson force for six years and appears to have “no other issues” in his past.

Belmar and Jackson abruptly left the news conference as reporters continued to call out questions.

Ferguson police and demonstration leaders were forced late Sunday morning to tamp down a rumor that a youth who had been with Brown in the police encounter was found dead.

It apparently began on social media and was still circulating Sunday afternoon despite a promise from Baruti, a demonstration organizer, that it was not true.

About a block from the police station, at Wellspring Church, Pastor F. Willis Johnson Jr. urged Sunday morning that frustration and anger be channeled into constructive acts, such as praying and volunteering in schools.

“He can’t act unjust in the name of justice. We can’t act uncivil, and then cry for civility,” Johnson preached.

Brown, a 2014 Normandy High School graduate, was scheduled to begin classes today at Vatterott College.

**EDITOR’S NOTE:** An earlier version of this story misstated part of St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar’s explanation of the shooting. It also gave an incorrect city for Christ the King United Church of Christ.

Michele Manz of the Post-Dispatch and the Associated Press contributed to this report.

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**Tags** Donald Knuth, Ferguson, Michael Brown, Normandy High School, St. Louis County Police, Robert
Volunteers clean up Ferguson after protests and looting

"I wanted to come out and help bring this community back together. And with me being older, I wanted to set an example and inspire leadership to the youth," said Anthony Clark of Arnold, far left, who helps clean up trash on Wednesday, Aug. 13, 2014, in front of the burned QuikTrip on West Florissant Avenue in Ferguson. Volunteers, from left to right, are Clark, George Cloer IV of Florissant, Keesha Conley of Ferguson and Caleb Rush of St. Ann. Photo by Laurie Skrivan, lskrivan@post-dispatch.com

August 13, 2014 6:44 pm  •  By Lily Fowler

FERGUSON • On the fourth morning after Michael Brown’s death, residents from different parts of the region came together in Ferguson, trying to pick up the pieces.

Some were young, some old. The majority arrived as part of the faithful. Others trickled in after spotting volunteers marching up and down West Florissant under the hot sun. Carrying brooms and large garbage bags, they collected whatever they could find: rubber bullets, broken glass, liquor bottles, tear gas grenades.

"I needed to come out today just to get some stability," said Gary Park, 34, an auto mechanic who lives near the area in Ferguson. "I was just disgusted by what happened and I just wanted to do something."
by is the looted and burned QuikTrip that sits as a symbol of the severity of the unrest that has resulted from an unnamed cop fatally shooting an unarmed 18-year-old.

"I wanted some encouragement," Park said.

Park is a member of Passage Community Church in Florissant, which together with a few other local congregations, organized the Wednesday morning cleanup. Pastor Joe Costephes said that although the trash-collecting effort was a last-minute plan, more than 100 people joined the endeavor.

It was a simple act but not an insignificant one, especially since authorities had reported two shootings only the night before. In fact, the continued violence has put any future volunteer efforts on hold, Costephes said.

Elise Park, 31, a stay-at-home mum, arrived with her two young children who were excited by the novelty of using garbage pickers.

"I was very encouraged coming out here today, seeing all the groups helping," Park said. "It's an opportunity for me to invest and really become part of the community."

Others, including a group of 20 somethings, came out to help on their own.

Larry Fellows, 28, of Ferguson, said since the shooting he's been doing what he can to spread a little cheer. Together with a group of friends, Fellows walks the neighborhood's roads, handing out free water, snacks and cleaning supplies.

Fellows, who works for a health care company, said recent demonstrations aren't "just about this shooting. This has been building up for years."

He said he's even offered supplies to police, but authorities rebuffed his offers.

Fellows believes that attitude is part of the reason the community remains angry.

"We're the enemy."

Another volunteer, Derrick Spencer of St. Louis, said in an attempt to inspire compassion, he planned to return a sign to his truck's windshield that recites a line from the New Testament: "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing."

"We can't take justice into our own hands," Spencer said.

Those who loot businesses are doing so at the expense of Michael Brown, he said.

After working for two hours, nearly 20 people gathered in the parking lot of First Baptist Church in Ferguson and held hands in prayer. They prayed for the family of Michael Brown and for businesses in the area that have been damaged by the riots.

Michael Williams of St. Louis, who described himself as a troubled individual who had managed to reset his life, was among those in the crowd. He said he wanted to show that "everybody is not about the rioting. Everybody is not about the destruction."

Williams said he knows there are good police officers out there. "Most of us believe in doing the right thing, but this came to a boiling point," he said.
Early on, a festive atmosphere near Ferguson shooting scene

August 15, 2014 10:44 pm • FROM STAFF REPORTS

Hundreds of people lined a two-block stretch of West Florissant on Friday night in a clearly festive mood, waving at honking cars slowly passing by.

Missouri Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson went to the QuikTrip with U.S. Rep. Lacy Clay, D-St. Louis, whose district includes Ferguson.

"There hasn’t been an incident tonight, last night, and I think if we had had this approach Sunday or Monday night, we wouldn’t have had any incidents then," Johnson said about 10 p.m. Friday.

One of the protesters, Tyzer Egerson, said of the mood Friday night, "It’s a beautiful thing. It’s freedom of speech the way it’s supposed to be."

A crowd stretched along the sidewalk even after it began to rain Friday evening. A drum corps led chants of shooting victim Michael Brown's name. A break dancing group from the Canfield Apartments entertained in the street, then posed for photographs in the "hands up" pose.

Johnson said there had been no arrests as of 10 p.m.

"These people are exercising their first amendment rights and walking on the sidewalks and streets their tax dollars paid for," he said.

Tags  Ronald S. Johnson, Lacy Clay
FERGUSON DAY ONE WRAPUP: Officer kills Ferguson teen

August 10, 2014 2:30 am • By Leah Thorsen, Steve Giegerich

FERGUSON • The fatal shooting of a teen Saturday afternoon by a Ferguson police officer outside an apartment complex sent angry residents into the street, taunting police and firing shots.

Michael Brown, 18, was shot just after noon in the 2900 block of Canfield Drive.

UPDATE from Sunday St. Louis County police press conference

Michael Brown remembered as 'gentle giant'

His mother, Lesley McSpadden, said the shooting took place as her son was walking to his grandmother’s residence.

Piaget Crenshaw, 29, said she was waiting for a ride to work when she saw a police officer attempting to place Brown in the squad car.

She then said she saw the teen, hands in the air, attempt to flee. Several shots hit Brown as he ran, Crenshaw said. She complied with a request that she give photos of the scene to authorities.

Brown, a 2014 Normandy High School graduate, was scheduled to begin classes at Vatterott College on Monday.

The shooting sparked a furious backlash.

Further shots were heard as police arrived immediately after the shooting, but no one was injured as angry residents screamed obscenities mixed with threats to “kill the police.”

More than 60 area police officers responded to the scene.

Louis Head, Brown’s stepfather, held a sign that said: “Ferguson police just executed my unarmed son!!”

Tension flared off and on through the evening. A calm settled over the area after mourners gathered at a prayer circle — watched over by a St. Louis County police officer sitting atop a SWAT vehicle — and then a candlelight vigil as darkness fell.

VIDEO: Fatal shooting by Ferguson police draws angry crowd

SOCIAL MEDIA: Posts from the scene of the Ferguson shooting
demonstrators again swarmed the street chanting, “We Are Michael Brown” as wary police officers stood nearby with assault rifles.

At one point, residents held up their hands, saying, “Don’t shoot me!” as police officers with barking dogs tried to keep order.

Approximately 100 protesters then went to the street outside Ferguson police headquarters and chanted, “No Justice! No Peace!”

McSpadden appeared at the shooting scene sporadically, comforted by friends and neighbors.

“I know they killed my son,” McSpadden was heard telling an acquaintance. “This was wrong and it was cold-hearted.”

Her son, she continued, “doesn’t kill, steal or rob. He doesn’t do any of that.”

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson said his department immediately turned the matter over to the St. Louis County police.

He declined to comment on what had led to the shooting or any other details.

“We are hoping for calm and for people to give us a chance to conduct a thorough investigation,” Jackson said.

County police spokesman Brian Schellman promised a “lengthy investigation.”

“We’re still trying to piece together what happened and why,” Schellman said.

The unnamed officer has been placed on paid administrative leave.

The shooting sparked a furor on social media, with commenters expressing outrage over the killing.

As the afternoon wore on, activists, public figures and others arrived on the scene to urge calm.

State Sen. Jamilah Nasheed, D-St. Louis, said she would petition the U.S. Justice Department on Monday for a formal investigation.

The St. Louis County NAACP is also asking that the FBI investigate.

Nasheed said she would additionally request that St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert McCulloch look into what she termed the shooting of an “unarmed citizen.”

Ferguson Mayor James Knowles III said the city was in mourning.

“It’s a tragedy whenever a young person loses his life,” the mayor said as he urged residents to remain calm and “have faith in the process.”

A protest rally is scheduled for Monday morning in front of the Ferguson police station.

County police are to hold a press conference Sunday morning.

David Curson, Hay Mech and Denise Hollinshead of the Post-Dispatch contributed to this report.

This story has been updated to correct the time of the shooting.
In the shadow of large protests and looting, a small group in Ferguson seeks to be heard

August 13, 2014 12:30 am • By Elisa Crouch

FERGUSON • They sat under a shade tree, putting marker to poster board in the parking lot of a strip mall.

As the Rev. Al Sharpton held the media's attention in downtown St. Louis on Tuesday, an Illinois pastor and a Missouri state senator were across the street from the Ferguson Fire Station organizing their own rally to protest Saturday's police shooting of Michael Brown.

"The young people aren't going to listen to Al Sharpton," said Sen. Maria Chappelle-Nadal, D-University City "They do not listen to older people. They do not listen to pretentious people."

So instead, she and the Rev. Derrick Robinson, who pastors a church in East St. Louis, organized a rally hoping to attract anyone — young people especially — who wanted to join them, as long as it was in peace.

"It's our generation that's being affected," said Jerika Tyler, 21, a student at Harris-Stowe State University. "I have a 15-year-old brother. He could have been Michael Brown."

Small rallies and vigils like this one have popped up daily since Brown was shot and killed by a Ferguson police officer on a street outside Canfield Apartments.

But they have been overshadowed by what's taken place after sunset, when crowds have become violent, and police have deployed tear gas, rubber bullets and riot gear. Their prayer vigils, they feel, have gone unnoticed.

The looting, Stefan Hornaday, 21, said, "sickens me." But so does police brutality, he said.

For hours protesters came and went, standing along the strip of grass separating the parking lot from the curb. Some drove in from St. Louis. Many lived in Ferguson. The conversations they held tapped into the undertorrent of the fear and frustration they've felt for years with police in and around this north St. Louis County community.

Tamika McClain, of Breckenridge, said she's been pulled over numerous times, ticketed for such things as having a nonworking taillight or a broken blinker — allegations she said were false. Anthony Walsh said he isn't sure how to tell his children how to avoid being arrested. It's one thing to understand not to break the law, he said. "But how to tell him how to deal with an ignorant cop?"
In many ways, the death of 18-year-old Brown ignited anger that had been building for some time.

Poverty in the area is rising, with the highest concentrations in African-American neighborhoods. In several school districts, the quality of education is declining. A disproportionate number of foreclosures has taken its toll, and property values haven't recovered.

But the anger on Tuesday concerned the police — and skepticism that the investigation into what led to the shooting will bring justice.

"We're fed up," McClain said. "We're tired. We want answers."

She stood beside a friend who choked back emotion as she thought of her own children. "They walk up and down that street all the time," Nicole Chissem said.

Her family lives near Canfield Avenue, the street on which Brown was shot. "That could have been me on TV saying how I need justice for my child."

For the next several hours, protesters of various ages and races came and went from the rally, stopping by during lunch breaks. They denounced the looting and the violence.

"If you're out here fighting for something and the other messes up what you're fighting for, you don't get anywhere," said Dante Taylor, 22, of St. Louis.

He held the marker and white poster board, trying to figure out what his sign should say.
FERGUSON DAY THREE WRAPUP: Calls for Justice

August 12, 2014 5:30 pm  •  From staff reports

The president of the St. Louis branch of the NAACP says a second person has come forward to the civil rights group with an eyewitness account of the encounter that led to a Ferguson police officer fatally shooting unarmed, 18-year-old Michael Brown on Saturday.

The first was a young man named Dorian Johnson, who has told several media outlets that the officer pulled up to him and Brown and grabbed Brown by the throat.

The second has not previously talked with reporters and is not releasing his or her name, said St. Louis NAACP President Adolphus Pruitt.

The witness “did not see Michael Brown struggling with the police officer inside his car at any point,” Pruitt said earlier today. “They did witness the incident from the time it started from the time of the initial stop by the police car.”

Pruitt said he set up an interview for the second witness with the FBI. Asked whether Johnson has also been interviewed by the FBI, Pruitt said he could not immediately say.

- Jeremy Kohler at 5:25 p.m.

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Nixon will attend local meeting tonight

Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon, St. Louis Mayor Francis Slay and St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar are all expected to attend a 7 p.m. meeting at Christ the King United Church of Christ on Old Halls Ferry Road. Ferguson Mayor James Knowles and Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson had previously said they were coming to the event.

Nixon has come under increasing pressure today on social media to make a statement about Michael Brown’s death and the protests.

- Nancy Cambria at 6:10 p.m.

...

Obama calls the death of Michael Brown “heartbreaking”

President Obama has just issued a statement calling for “reflection and understanding” in the wake of the police shooting death of Michael Brown on Saturday.
schools

Eight elementary schools had ‘Meet-the-Teacher’ nights, open houses planned. Administrators say they’re still planning to begin classes on Thursday. Read more

Several Ferguson restaurants close today after protests

Ferguson Brewing Company, El Palenque, Marley’s and Cathy’s Kitchen have all closed for the day. Read more

Ferguson-area businesses cope with aftermath of weekend riot

Many of the stores will remain closed until damage is repaired and security is restored. Read more

Civil rights leaders urge calm in St. Louis suburbs rocked by violence

Head of national group calls for thorough, transparent investigation. Read more

Ferguson restaurants reopen, welcome back community

Ferguson Brewing Company, Marley’s Bar & Grill, Cathy’s Kitchen and El Palenque all reopened after closing Monday. Read more

Al Sharpton arrives in St. Louis, seeking justice for Michael Brown

The Rev. Al Sharpton, clergy and the family of Michael Brown urged for peace, prayer and a continued push for justice for their son during a 2... Read more

Nine charged with looting-related felonies in Ferguson

Class C felonies carry maximum seven-year prison sentence Read more

It reads:

"The death of Michael Brown is heartbreaking, and Michelle and I send our deepest condolences to his family and his community at this very difficult time.

"As Attorney General (Eric) Holder has indicated, the Department of Justice is investigating the situation along with local officials, and they will continue to direct resources to the case as needed.

"I know the events of the past few days have prompted strong passions, but as details unfold, I urge everyone in Ferguson, Missouri, and across the country, to remember this young man through reflection and understanding. We should comfort each other and talk with one another in a way that heals, not in a way that wounds. Along with our prayers, that’s what Michael and his family, and our broader American community, deserve."

-Chuck Roach, 3:30 p.m.

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Gun sales spike at metro area stores

In the wake of rioting and looting in Ferguson and disturbances at a few other stores in other locations, customers are loading up on semi-automatic handguns and shotguns, said Al Rothweiler, an owner of Mid America Arms. The South County store had a 50 percent jump in sales on Tuesday.

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Sharpton says Michael Brown’s family deserves justice and the facts

The Rev. Al Sharpton, clergy and the family of Michael Brown urged for peace, prayer and a continued push for justice for Michael Brown during a 20-minute press conference in front of the Old Courthouse in downtown St. Louis.

Sharpton, the family, their attorney and clergy walked arm-in-arm across Broadway prior to the start of the event. About 50 people and twice as many reporters calmly waited outside the courthouse prior to the start.

Sharpton and others who spoke urged supporters to attend a 7 p.m. gathering at Greater St. Mark Missionary Baptist Church, located on Glen Owen Drive about a half-mile from where Brown, 18, was shot and killed by an unnamed Ferguson police officer. Witnesses see the young man was unarmed and shot multiple times.

The event is scheduled at the same time Ferguson Mayor James Knowles and Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson are scheduled to attend another gathering at Christ the King United Church of Christ on Old Halls Ferry Road.

Sharpton said Brown was killed while showing an arms-in-the-air surrender sign to the police officer.

"That’s the sign you got to deal with," Sharpton said. "Deal with the last sign he had shown. We want answers why that sign was not respected."

Sharpton said he did not come to St. Louis to stir up further controversy but to aid the family in finding out the facts and gaining justice for Brown.
outrageous. When I saw that picture (of Brown lifeless on the ground), it rose up in me in outrage. But we cannot be more outraged than his mom and dad. If they can hold their heads in dignity, then we can hold our heads up in dignity.”

Baltimore-based pastor Jamal Bryant later spoke of Brown’s death as a national civil rights issue.

“St. Louis is in fact bearing witness for America,” he said. “The Band-Aid has been ripped off, and all of America is seeing the open wound of racism exists.”

Bryant asked people to pray daily at 6 a.m., noon and 6 p.m. until Brown’s family gets justice. He also urged people to conduct a fast tomorrow to show “that we are in fast hungry for justice.”

-Karim Addo, Lilly Fowler and Nancy Cambria at 12:40 p.m. with updates

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Memorial fund created for Michael Brown

Attorneys for the Michael Brown family have established the Michael Brown Jr. Memorial Fund. Supporters can go or mail contributions to any Fifth Third Bank.

-Lilly Fowler at 5:30 p.m.

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Nine charged with looting-related crimes

A total of nine people have been charged with felonies in connection with looting that took place Monday following protest over the shooting of Michael Brown, St. Louis County authorities reported.

-Joe Holleman at 4:45 p.m.

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Aircraft restricted over Ferguson, but Lambert flights exempt

The Federal Aviation Administration has imposed temporary flight restrictions in the airspace over Ferguson “to provide a safe environment for law enforcement activities,” according to a notice that went out today. The restriction covers flights up to 3,000 feet.

During the upcoming week, only certain aircraft operations under the direction of the St. Louis County Police Department are allowed. Commercial flights to and from Lambert-St. Louis International Airport are exempt from the flight restriction, said FAA spokesman Tony Molinaro.

The flight restriction was put in place at the request of St. Louis County police after shots were fired at helicopters during this week’s unrest in Ferguson. St. Louis County police officials say the restriction is not meant to bar media aircraft from the airspace but to keep first responders and police safe.

KMOV-TV news director Brian Thouvenot said the flight restriction effectively shuts it and other news helicopters out of covering the evolving Ferguson story.

“There's nothing you can see from that distance and altitude,” Thouvenot said. "It pretty much applies only to us.”

Thouvenot said his news organization is sensitive to the needs of law enforcement, but would rather
the board. As it stands, KMOV-TV officials have been unable to find out who actually sought the flight restriction in the first place.

The flight restriction, he added, "keeps you away from getting information that might be newsworthy." It actually is a double-whammy, he said, because KMOV-TV has a videosharing arrangement with KSDK-TV.

"It just has the appearance that they are trying to keep the news helicopters out of there for whatever reason," he said.

- Ken Leiser, Joel Currier, 3:45 p.m. with updates

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Ferguson restaurants reopen, welcome back community

Several of the Ferguson restaurants that decided to close Monday after Sunday night's protests have reopened today. They include Cathy's Kitchen Restaurant and Diner, El Pelanque Mexican Restaurant & Cantina, Ferguson Brewing Company and Marley's Bar & Grill.

- Ian Povey at 3:30 p.m.

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Looted businesses reopening

Several of the West Florissant Avenue businesses struck by looters late Sunday in Ferguson and Dellwood reopened Tuesday. Among those that got back into business were Ziser Tire & Auto and and a nearby Taco Bell. But others, including AutoZone and Shoe Carnival, remained closed.

- Tim Barker at 4:30 p.m.

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Protesters gather outside Clayton Justice Center this morning

Protesters gathered outside the St. Louis County Justice Center on Tuesday morning to demand justice in the case of Michael Brown, 18, shot by a Ferguson officer on Saturday.

About 250 protesters had gathered by about 10:30 a.m. Police closed off Carondelet Avenue near the Justice Center, and officers waited inside with riot gear at hand and plastic ties to use as handcuffs should they be needed.

Protesters walked with their hands up in a "Don't shoot" pose that has been used by protesters since Brown's shooting. Some witnesses said Brown was surrendering like that when he was shot.

"Hey hey, ho ho, racist cops have got to go," some in the crowd chanted. They also complained that there aren't enough African-American police officers and in the prosecutor's office.

Clayton police cars were inching along, trailing protesters as they snaked through the streets that surround the county police headquarters and courthouse.

Anthony Shahid said the marchers would try to enter St. Louis County Prosecutor Bob McCulloch's office, but they did not do so, saying they wanted to avoid arrest and wanted to attend a later event featuring The Rev. Al Sharpton.

"I don't trust Bob McCulloch," Shahid shouted on the steps of the county police headquarters. "His father was killed by a black man."

One of the protesters looked at a black Clayton officer standing in front of a door at the Justice Center and asked, "Who do you serve, officer?"

Just before 11 a.m. the crowd started shouting the name of the officer they think shot Brown and "lock him up."

At that time police estimated the crowd to be 150 people.

The protest began winding down about 15 minutes later. Just before noon about a dozen protesters lingered. A line of St. Louis County Police officers continued to guard the doors to the Justice Center.

- Kim Bell, 10:15 a.m. with updates

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Officer's name won't be released today

St. Louis County and Ferguson police say they do not plan to release the name today of the officer who shot Michael Brown.

The name of a Ferguson officer has been circulating on social media with claims that he shot Brown. Ferguson police said that officer was not the officer involved in the shooting.

- Joel Currier 10:15 a.m. with updates

St. Louis County Police used pepper balls, not rubber bullets

Eyewitnesses last night reported rubber bullets being used by police at the protest scene along West Florissant Avenue. But a St. Louis County police official said today county officers were using “pepper balls” — small pellets that break on impact and release pepper powder. The powder contains the same chemicals used in pepper spray. The pepper balls are designed to temporarily disable someone and disperse crowds.

County police said they are unsure if other police units responding to the scene, such as St. Louis City police, were using rubber bullets.

Five patients were treated for minor injuries at DePaul Health Center Monday night following the demonstrations, Jamie Sherman, spokeswoman for SSM Health Care, said.

- Joel Currier and Samantha Liss at 10:45 a.m.

Blunt backs 'parallel investigations' into Ferguson shooting: Clay wants more

U.S. Sen. Roy Blunt has reiterated his support for the pending “parallel investigations” by local and federal officials into the weekend’s fatal police shooting of Michael Brown and subsequent rioting in Ferguson.

However, Blunt stopped short of endorsing U.S. Rep. William Lacy Clay’s call for an “expanded” federal investigation that would specifically explore “the potential for any pattern or practice of police misconduct by the Ferguson Police Department.”

Ferguson City Hall Closed

Ferguson City Hall was closed this morning due to “safety concerns,” said Pam Hylton, assistant city manager.

A “cyber attack” shut down both the phone system and internet service at Ferguson City Hall on Monday. The attack consisted of a “flood” of traffic aimed at the city hall website that “just kept coming” and shut down the site. Both city hall’s Internet and its phone service is supplied by Charter Communications, and the attack halted both. Service was restored by this morning.

- Jim Gallagher, 11:15 a.m.

Looters hit St. Louis shoe store

The windows of a shoe store in St. Louis were smashed and the store looted late Monday, police said.

About 11:55 p.m., a caravan of cars pulled up to the Shoe Carnival at 3903 Bamberger Avenue in Gravois Plaza and 30 to 40 people got out, police say. The group, wearing T-shirts to cover their faces, smashed windows to get inside and stole merchandise.

Police were not sure whether the break-ins had anything to do with other looting in the wake of the fatal shooting of an unarmed teen by Ferguson police, but said the caravan of vehicles was unusual.

- Valerie Schreppe Hahn, 1:30 a.m.

In Ferguson, optimism about the city’s revival turns to worry

...
economic recovery for this historic town may now be in jeopardy.

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**Jennings schools open Tuesday after violence delayed first day of classes**

The Jennings school district had its first day of school Tuesday.

It was supposed to have its first day on Monday, but the district delayed that because of unrest in Ferguson after Saturday's fatal shooting of a teen by police.

The Jennings school district borders parts of Ferguson and West Florissant Avenue, where where rioting and looting took place Sunday into early Monday morning.

But after a relatively calm night late Monday and into Tuesday morning in Ferguson, the Jennings district was open.

- Kim Bell, 8 a.m.

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**Our earlier story:**

FERGUSON • Tension stayed high and raw Monday as the St. Louis region waited for answers in the fatal shooting of an unarmed teenager by a municipal police officer.

In another day of fast-moving events, the FBI promised to investigate the killing of Michael Brown, 18, on Saturday by a Ferguson police officer. Brown's parents called for an end to the violence while strongly disputing the police version of their son's death. More than 1,000 people observed a moment of silence at a meeting called by the NAACP.

Throughout the day, protesters continued to face off with police, and as the sun set, lines of police in riot gear fired tear gas to disperse protesters, telling them it was time to go home. By midnight, the situation was quiet.

St. Louis County Police and the FBI promised thorough investigations into the shooting of Brown outside an apartment complex in the 2900 block of Canfield Drive. The address is just east of a stretch of West Florissant Avenue, in the eastern corner of Ferguson, that was the focus of violence and looting Sunday night after a day of peaceful protest.

Police fired the tear gas into an increasingly unruly crowd that had reformed near the QuikTrip at 9240 West Florissant Avenue, looted and torched Sunday. The gutted store was ground zero for protests all day Monday.

Police, backed by a SWAT armored car, blocked both West Florissant and the entry to Canfield Drive, scene of the killing on Saturday afternoon that touched off the protests and violence. All but a few protesters had retreated from the scene by 9 p.m., and police held their positions in the streets.

Two miles to the south, an overflow crowd observed a moment of silence at Murchison Tabernacle CME Church, 7529 Natural Bridge Road in Normandy. Cornell Brooks, the new national president of the NAACP, pleaded for calm as the community responds to the "unfolding drama."

"Martin Luther King did not live and die so that we might steal in the name of justice in the middle of the night," said Brooks, who flew to St. Louis for the gathering, sponsored by the organization's St. Louis County branch. The shooting and rioting have drawn international attention.

PHOTOS: USING TEAR GAS TO CLEAR THE STREETS

SOUTH ST. LOUIS SHOE STORE LOOTED

CLASSES START IN JENNINGS AFTER VIOLENCE DELAYED FIRST DAY OF SCHOOL

EARLIER STORY: HOW MONDAY WENT FROM CLEANUP TO RUBBER BULLETS

WHY FERGUSON BURNED: EXPLAINING THIS TO OUTSIDERS

EDITORIAL: GET IT RIGHT ABOUT THIS TERRIBLE WRONG

A P-D PHOTOGRAPHER IS ATTACKED ON THE JOB

ONE FATAL SHOOTING, BUT TWO VERSIONS

Damage from Sunday night and early Monday was most extensive on West Florissant, but it also jumped two miles north to commercial areas near Interstate 270, where a Walmart was among
Seven miles south of the scene, several retailers in Brentwood closed their doors early Monday evening. “We didn’t want to take any chances,” said a security guard at the Brentwood Promenade. The Galleria mall also closed early after a few girls got into a fight. Authorities said the fight was not related to Ferguson.

In south St. Louis late Monday night, looters struck a Shoe Carnival store in Gravois Plaza. Police said they did not know if the incident, in which a caravan of cars pulled up and dozens of people smashed windows and stole merchandise, was related to the Ferguson unrest.

Protests formed and reformed all day Monday outside the gutted QuikTrip. Marchers chanted and held up their hands in a mock sign of surrender as police hovered nearby. West Florissant was crowded with horn-honking gawkers in cars.

Earlier in the day, protesters gathered outside the Ferguson police station, 222 South Florissant Road, to the west of West Florissant. More than 150 people took part, also holding up their hands and shouting, “Hands up, don’t shoot,” and “No justice, no peace.”

At the scene of the shooting, where a growing pile of teddy bears marked the spot, a man in a white T-shirt fired a handgun Monday afternoon. Police did not respond to the scene.

Brown’s father, Michael Brown Sr., 36, was surveying the mound of bears when the shots were fired.

“I just need justice for my son, get this case solved. I need everybody to come together to get this done,” he said.

At 5 p.m., honking and yelling continued outside the QuikTrip.

“It feels like I am at a historical moment,” said Armon Simmons, 17, of the Normandy area. “Black people are coming together. We aren’t killing each other; we are working as one.”

But Zackery Keys, an African-American and union carpenter from St. Louis County, saw it differently. “This is a disturbed group of young people,” said Keys, 58, from a safe distance. “This is nothing to be proud of. Who wants to be part of chaos? … Probably 95 percent of these people don’t even vote.”

Police said they made no more than 10 arrests Monday, mostly for peace disturbance. In contrast, there were 32 arrests Sunday, leading Monday to charges against 10 suspects. St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert F. McCulloch said the 10 were all “well-known” to investigators. Police officials and political leaders appealed for calm.

St. Louis County Executive Charlie Dooley announced the FBI involvement during a news conference in Clayton. The St. Louis County NAACP branch and numerous elected officials had called for the FBI to step in.

Dooley promised the process would be open but not quick. “We’re asking all the public to be calm, be patient,” Dooley said.

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar said the FBI “will take a lot of the information we have developed already through our investigation. They will take that investigation, and they may do their own interviews and take a look at the evidence themselves.”

“We will share our information with Prosecutor McCulloch’s office and at the same time with the FBI,” Belmar said.

Belmar said Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson contacted him Saturday even before he got to the scene of the shooting. “This is a complex investigation, as it should be,” Belmar added. “We need to make sure everything’s done right.”

He said investigators still need to talk to scores of people at the apartment complex.

“I understand the public has a right to be skeptical,” Belmar said. “But I would also ask the public to be reasonable.”

Police did not release the name or race of the police officer, who was put on leave. Belmar said Sunday the officer had an encounter with two people and that Brown pushed the officer inside his police vehicle. Belmar said one shot was fired in the car. He said the officer fired multiple shots at Brown, who was away from the car, killing him.
Family members and some witnesses disputed the police account. They say Brown had his hands up in surrender when he was shot.

In Washington, U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder said the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division will take part in what he called a “concurrent federal inquiry.”

“The federal investigation will supplement, rather than supplant, the inquiry by local authorities,” Holder said. “At every step, we will work with the local investigators, who should be prepared to complete a thorough, fair investigation in their own right.”

The county NAACP and the African-American Mound City Bar Association released a joint statement urging witnesses to come forward. The statement said it was “clear that there were many witnesses who had not yet been interviewed by police investigators.”

They promised to provide free legal counsel to witnesses who come forward.

A spokesman for the Rev. Al Sharpton, of the National Action Network, said he would visit Ferguson today to meet with the victim’s family and community leaders, and hold a news conference. At 7 p.m. today, the Rev. Traci D. Blackmon will host a forum at Christ the King United Church of Christ, 11370 Old Halls Ferry Road, where Ferguson Mayor James Knowles III and Police Chief Jackson were expected to be on hand to answer questions.

On West Florissant Monday, shopkeepers and employees swept debris and boarded up windows, raising sheets of plywood from trucks parked throughout the area. Not all the windows had been smashed — businesses were guarding against another round of violence.

A spokesperson for QuikTrip said employees of the burned store were transferred to other locations, and that the company hadn't decided whether to rebuild. A Walmart spokesman said it would keep its Ferguson store closed for now.

The Ferguson-Florissant School District canceled meetings scheduled for Monday evening at eight elementary schools that would have allowed parents and students to meet teachers and visit classrooms. School is to begin Thursday.

“We are heartbroken by the tragic events of recent days in and around the City of Ferguson,” administrators wrote on the district website. “We are planning to receive and support our students when school begins this Thursday, and we look forward to working closely with our community to heal and rebuild.”

The Jennings School District, just east of the apartments on Canfield, canceled the first day of school Monday. “Safety is our uppermost concern,” according to a district news release. “At this time we do not feel it’s safe for our students to walk to school.” Classes were scheduled to begin today, according to the district website.

At the QuikTrip, one man who claimed to have taken part late Sunday sought to justify the violence. But other citizens dropped by to decry the mayhem and to urge businesses to continue serving the area.

Leonette Hilliard, a middle school English teacher, wrote a note to the store and taped it onto the side wall saying, “Corporate neighbor: I am sorry this act of robbery and violence has happened. Please return soon.”

She taped it across graffiti saying “187 county police,” the 187 being a slang reference to murder. Hilliard said she comes to the store two or three times a week and has been doing so for
"This just doesn’t represent who we are as a community and I wanted just to say something to do something that was productive," she said.

Belmar said Monday that officers originally were deployed the night before so protesters had an "opportunity to vent, but at some point we could no longer sustain that attitude." He said they moved to police cars to become more mobile as departments received numerous calls for shots fired, vandalism, burglary and assault.

"It was a miracle, however, that nobody actually got shot (Sunday) night," Belmar said. "I was expecting the worst. You can never tell, when you’re in an environment like this."

Tim Berker, Kim Bell, Jesse Bogan, Jessica Bock, Tim Bryant, Nancy Cambria, Stephen Deere, Lilly Fowler, Steve Giegerich, Valerie Schremp Hahn, Paul Hampe, Jeremy Kohler, Tim O’Neil, Margaret Gillerman and Nicholas Pistor, all of the Post-Dispatch, contributed to this report.

Tags  Michael Brown, Police Shooting, Ferguson Mo

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Hillsboro High students walk out over transgender dispute

BY DOUG MOORE
Student who identifies as female has sought to use girls’ locker rooms and bathrooms.

September 01, 2015 8:15 am

St. Charles County woman pulls gun on teens in park amid neighborhood feud

BY JOEL CURRIER
Don and Tracy Leiser say they brought weapons to the park to protect their 15-year-old son and themselves.

September 01, 2015 12:00 pm

Boy, 11, kills teen at St. Louis County home; break-in alleged

BY CHRISTINE BYERS, JOEL CURRIER
St. Louis County police say the boy shot the teen during the home invasion. Neighbors question the police account, saying the 11-year-old was...

September 04, 2015 7:45 am

Bridges, gardens and a brew pub: New stadium details revealed

BY DAVID HUNN
In an exclusive interview with the Post-Dispatch, HOK principals reveal new drawings and a design process driven by the constraints of the site.

September 02, 2015 9:30 am

Historic black community in Chesterfield struggles against encroaching development

BY STEVE GIEGERICH
Residents hope to preserve heritage of land purchased 139 years ago by a freed slave.

August 31, 2015 8:30 am

Police: 11-year-old boy fatally shot teen inside St. Louis County home,
Ferguson police ID officer Darren Wilson as shooter of Michael Brown

August 15, 2014 8:38 am  •  By Kevin McDermott

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson this morning identified Darren Wilson as the officer who shot and killed an unarmed teenager last Saturday.

Wilson is a 6-year veteran of the force. He was placed on paid administrative leave after the shooting.

Michael Brown, 18, was shot multiple times Saturday afternoon in the 2400 block of Canfield Drive.

The 2014 graduate of Normandy High School was due to start classes at Vatterott College on Monday. His mother, Lesley McSpadden, said her son was walking to his grandmother’s when he was gunned down.

His death prompted almost immediate protests in Ferguson, including Sunday night demonstrations that led to rioting and looting. Protesters looted and then set fire to a QuikTrip store and vandalized others in the area near where Brown was killed.

Demonstrations and protests escalated, reaching a climax on Wednesday night when St. Louis County officers in full riot gear responded with tear gas, rubber bullets and armored vehicles. About a dozen people were arrested, including two national reporters and a St. Louis alderman.

That led to Thursday’s change in direction — when Gov. Jay Nixon put the Missouri Highway Patrol in charge of the security in Ferguson and removed St. Louis County police.

The change was dramatic and immediate, as Thursday night’s police presence lacked gas masks, smoke bombs and military gear. Capt. Ronald S. Johnson, the patrol officer put in charge, walked and talked with protesters, exchanging hugs and answering questions.

Follow more on the announcement of the officer’s name here.

Kim Bell, 8:05 a.m.

OUR EARLIER STORY
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his state had come to look like "a war zone," Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon ordered on Thursday that the Missouri Highway Patrol take over security of Ferguson from St. Louis County police and vowed "a different tone" to that police presence.

"What's gone on here over the last few days is not what Missouri's about, it's not what Ferguson's about," said Nixon, referring to imagery of tear gas, police in body armor, automatic weapons pointed at unarmed civilians and questionable arrests.

"(It's) a Missouri community, but lately it's looked a little bit more like a war zone, and that's unacceptable," Nixon said.

The move appeared to calm the situation along West Florissant Avenue, the Ferguson thoroughfare marked by looting and clashes with police earlier this week.

Tear gas, smoke bombs and riot police were absent Thursday night as nearly 1,000 people gathered peacefully on the sidewalk chanting "Hands Up! Don't Shoot!" when they weren't responding to the cacophony of car horns honking to support their efforts to protest the death of 18-year-old Michael Brown at the hands of a Ferguson police officer.

LINES BLURRING BETWEEN MILITARY, POLICE GEAR

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BUSINESS, CIVIC LEADERS DECry UNREST

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SHOP OWNERS GET BACK TO WORK

The new face of security in the racially tense conflict is Capt. Ronald S. Johnson, a native of the region who is African-American. Appearing with Nixon at a North County news conference, Johnson said his command will employ "a different approach."

"I understand the anger and fear that the citizens of Ferguson are feeling, and our police officers will respect both of those," Johnson said. He later made good on that vow by marching with a procession of peaceful demonstrators in Ferguson.

Part of the new approach, Johnson said, will be "making sure we're not taking resources out there that we don't need."

That is a response to criticism from across the country of police confronting protesters with weapons and vehicles that look like they belong on a battlefield rather than a suburban street.

While Nixon clearly was cautious not to say it, the move is likely to be interpreted as a criticism of the way St. Louis County police have handled security in the North County community since nightly violence erupted after Michael Brown was shot to death by a police officer on Saturday.

Police also came under blistering criticism Wednesday night when two national journalists were arrested and tear gas was fired on a television crew.

"All of us have seen some level of escalation, and we've certainly seen some level of escalation of the
he came to outright criticism of county police.

When pressed on the issue, he said only: "I'm not looking backward, I'm looking forward."

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar declined to comment on the change in command over Ferguson.

But St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert McCulloch blasted Nixon's decision.

"It's shameful what he did today, he had no legal authority to do that. To demigrate the men and women of the county police department is shameful," McCulloch said. "For Nixon to never talk to the commanders in the field and come in here and take this action is disgraceful.

"I hope I'm wrong, but I think what Nixon did may put a lot of people in danger."

Also Thursday, Missouri House Majority Leader John Diehl, R-Town and Country, said Nixon should declare a state of emergency and put Ferguson under a curfew.

Earlier in the day, Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson signaled a change of strategy, describing a plan to try to reduce tension by allowing protesters to use sidewalks while keeping streets open to traffic.

Jackson said officials want to tone down the confrontations and will talk about "not only the tactics but the appearance" of police in riot gear. He said tactical units would remain on standby in case of trouble.

But when pressed about use of tear gas on nonviolent demonstrators, Jackson suggested that people need to distance themselves from those who provoke police with aggressive acts or threats.

"There is gunfire. There are firebombs being thrown at the police," he said.

The issue of the militaristic police response has become almost as central to the Ferguson story as the racial tension. Pundits and public officials have been holding up the conflict here as an example of what they say is a national trend toward militaristic weapons and tactics among civilian police.

U.S. Sen. Claire McCaskill, D-Mo., speaking to area residents at Christ the King United Church of Christ near Black Jack on Thursday, stressed the need to "demilitarize the police response." The comment drew a standing ovation.

Nixon acknowledged the racial component to the strife, and the community's history of tension between police and residents. "This feels a little like an old wound that has been hit again."

As state attorney general for 16 years, Nixon alienated black leaders when he tried to end court involvement in St. Louis public schools and phase out the voluntary busing program. While he moved to patch those relationships when he first ran for governor in 2008, they are still somewhat strained.

Nixon began Thursday with a phone conversation with President Barack Obama.

"He wanted me specifically to thank the faith leaders and other community leaders who are leading with vigor but with peace," Nixon said of Obama during remarks to community organizers and clergy gathered at Christ the King United Church of Christ.

In a short address Thursday, Obama called for "peace and calm on the streets of Ferguson" while expressing his concern for the violent turn of events.

"Let us remember we are all part of one American family," Obama said. "We are united in common values and that includes belief in equality under the law, basic respect for public order and the right of peaceful protest."

Obama said he was briefed Thursday on the situation by U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder. He criticized the arrest of journalists, said there is no excuse for police use of force against peaceful protesters, and that there is "never an excuse for violence against police or those who would use this as a cover for vandalism or looting."

Missouri state Sen. Jamilah Nasheed, D-St. Louis, speculated that arrests Wednesday night of reporters for the Washington Post and the Huffington Post may have prompted Nixon to act.

"The treatment that the media received ... was what many of the protesters have received the last four days," Nasheed said. "Only when the media get attacked in a negative manner by the police officers, only then does the governor come out and speak."

Later on Thursday, Johnson, the new security chief for Ferguson, led about 400 marchers who made
their way along West Florissant Avenue in the most peaceful demonstration since Brown’s death five days ago.

Johnson marched in shirtsleeves — a stark contrast with the paramilitary uniforms that have become the symbol of the Ferguson police presence during nearly a week of unrest.

In an impromptu discussion with reporters, Johnson allowed that he has “a big dog in this fight.” Johnson grew up nearby, close to the intersection of Halls Ferry and Chambers roads.

Virginia Young, Chuck Rochech, Stephen Devere, Steve Giegerich, Paul Hampel and Koran Addo, all of the Post-Dispatch, contributed to this report.

Tags Ferguson, Ronald S. Johnson, Jay Nixon, St. Louis County Police, Barack Obama, Ferguson Police, Missouri State Highway Patrol, Michael Brown

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Peaceful Protests Slide Into Violence In Ferguson, Far Less Damage In Shaw

By Willis Ryder Arnold, Emanuele Berry & Stephanie Lecci

Nov 25, 2014

Tear gas was used in Ferguson.

Willis Ryder Arnold | St. Louis Public Radio
What they did to his body as they entered his body? Ain’t nobody have to live through what I have to live through!” she said.

Protesters responded with “You deserve to be angry, baby” and other words of support. In the moments after McCulloch announced there would be no indictment tremors of frustration rippled through the crowd. Some protesters surged against the barrier separating the police from the sidewalk. These momentary tensions were eased for a while as the crowd returned to chanting and general shouts of protest.

Some still hoped for calm. Protester Diane Morris summed up that moment’s hopes, “We’re angry but I just want everyone to keep the peace, please guys keep the peace.”

But as protesters began marching south on South Florissant Road toward the intersection of Paul Avenue, police formed a line across the street and instructed protesters to move onto the sidewalk. Many complied, but some began throwing bottles and rocks. There were calls among protesters for peace and for people to refrain from looting. But a few people began smashing an empty cop car with bricks and rocks, busting in the windows. As police began advancing, some returned to throwing bottle and rocks across the police line. Police responded by firing tear gas into the assembled protesters.

Heading back toward the Ferguson Police Department, some demonstrators began hurling objects through the windows of nearby businesses such as the Mexican restaurant El Palenque and the Quiznos next door. Police responded by firing several tear gas rounds. Many people fled, but some stayed and continued throwing tear gas canisters back at police, along with bottles and other objects. The police car with broken windows was set on fire.

Listen to Willis Ryder Arnold describe to Wayne Pratt events in Ferguson Monday evening following the announcement of the grand jury's decision.
As the light faded, the football was put away, replaced by bullhorns, and more Guy Fawkes masks began to appear. While Nixon’s conference began at the University of Missouri-St. Louis protesters prayed for Michael Brown, his family and an indictment of some kind. As chanting and the number of protesters increased, some marched north on South Florissant Road and eventually blocked the intersection of South Florissant and Airport roads. At the police station, approximately 15 police officers formed a line behind the barriers. Although the protests were animated, they remained peaceful.

By 7 p.m. protesters had effectively blocked South Florissant Road in front of the police department. As the crowd continued growing, the initial line was replaced by police in riot gear including shields, batons and helmets. As Bob McCulloch’s press conference drew near, protest leaders gathered atop a black sedan in the middle of South Florissant. The crowd was asked to quiet as protesters turned their stereos to live radio broadcasts of the conference. Leslie McSpadden, Michael Brown’s mother, made her way through the throng to join protesters atop the car’s hood.

The couple of hundred protesters who had gathered remained relatively silent as McCulloch began. As it seemed there would be no indictment McSpadden was wracked with frustration and tears. “They wrong. Y’all know y’all wrong. Y’all know y’all wrong,” she said through intermittent tears.

Immediately before McCulloch said there would be no indictment, McSpadden was overcome with frustration. “Everybody want me to be
What they did to his body as they entered his body? Ain't nobody have to live through what I have to live through!” she said.

Protesters responded with “You deserve to be angry, baby” and other words of support. In the moments after McCulloch announced there would be no indictment tremors of frustration rippled through the crowd. Some protesters surged against the barrier separating the police from the sidewalk. These momentary tensions were eased for a while as the crowd returned to chanting and general shouts of protest.

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Listen
3:48

Listen to Willis Ryder Arnold describe to Wayne Pratt events in Ferguson Monday evening following the announcement of the grand jury's decision.
One protester and citizen journalist Matt Mendoza persuaded one man attempting to burn down a local bar to move on.

“We sort of squared off a little bit. All you need is that little bit of resistance,” Mendoza said. Mendoza said he felt complicated about the evenings events. He supported the right to protest and the need to challenge institutional issues of race wealth disparity but didn’t think he had enough information to know if the grand jury responded adequately.

“You know deferring to their judgment at this point feels like the most rational thing to do because they know all the facts and I don’t,” Mendoza said.

Despite efforts of law enforcement and peaceful protesters, however, the escalation of violence spread to the surrounding area. Additional damage was done to businesses along South Florissant Road and another police car was set on fire. Looting and arson took place at a number of businesses, including several along West Florissant, a stretch of road central to August protests and earlier clashes with police.

**Belmar ‘lit up’**

Police officials said while they didn’t expect it, they were not under-prepared.

“Unless we bring in 10,000 police officers in here, I don’t think we can prevent folks that really are intent on just destroying a community,” said St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar. “I didn’t foresee an evening like this, I will be honest with you.”

Belmar said police officials were initially hopeful. He said he even instructed officers to “back off” and treat demonstrations much like policing for a baseball game.

But soon Belmar said police had to use tear gas and bring in tactical units to try to protect people and local businesses from a “death funnel” of violence. Belmar said he personally heard about 150 shots fired, noting he “got lit up” and faced gunfire at one point, and even recovered a semi-automatic handgun. Officers were hit by rocks, bottles and batteries.

Police said at least a dozen buildings were set on fire, and most of those were complete losses.
responding at some points.

According to Belmar, looting occurred along Old Halls Ferry and New Halls Ferry, from West Florissant Avenue to I-270, at stores including Sam’s Meat Market, a public storage building and Family Dollar. While police experienced no serious injuries, one reporter was injured and an elderly man was carjacked and run over. Police made at least 29 arrests.

“I don’t have any hesitation in telling you that I didn’t see a lot of peaceful protests out there tonight and I’m disappointed about that,” Belmar said. “I’m not saying there weren’t folks out there who were out there for the right reason. I’m saying unfortunately this spun out of control.”

Belmar discounted the idea that the timing of the grand jury announcement contributed to the violence, and said he was given plenty of notice about an announcement by St. Louis County Prosecutor Bob McCulloch. He also said police spent “countless” hours reaching out to different protest groups, including the Don’t Shoot Coalition and Lost Voices, to try to prevent any such unrest. Missouri State Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson also said a curfew was unlikely to have helped, since the unrest began early in the night.

Though no lives were lost and police fired no shots, Belmar said these riots were worse than the most intense nights during August’s protests. He said the community’s fabric has been torn apart.

“There’s not a whole lot left on West Florissant between Solway and Chambers Road, and those are businesses that may never come back, so frankly, I’m heartbroken about that,” Belmar said.

Johnson agreed with Belmar, and noted that he did not see many clergy during the protests trying to diffuse the situation, as they had in August.

“Our community has to take some responsibility for what happened tonight, as far as tearing our community apart,” Johnson said. “This cannot happen. We talk about peaceful protests and that did not happen.”

Belmar said the National Guard was present Monday night, but that more troop assets may be brought in to free up more police officers.
Tension, Broken Glass In Shaw

Ferguson wasn't the only area to see protest after it was announced that officer Darren Wilson would not be indicted. Hundreds marched through the Shaw and Tower Grove neighborhoods in St. Louis.

The area has also seen many protest since the police shooting death of Vonderrit Myers.

Initially, protesters peacefully marched up and down Grand Boulevard, having minimal contact with police who mainly focused on diverting traffic away from demonstrations.

After hearing the decision, Beth Mayberry felt she need to come out and express her frustration. She says she found protesting comforting.

“It feels good. There’s a lot of solidarity I feel like everyone’s together and listening to each other and helping each other out,” she said.

Protest did not remain calm. Tension between police and activist escalated after demonstrators marched onto I-44, shutting it down near where it intersects with Grand Boulevard.

The protest caused backups along the interstate. After blocking the road for more than 30 minutes, protesters were asked to disperse by police or face arrest. The crowd slowly started to move back onto Grand, marching south to Arsenal, where they blocked traffic.

At this point several business along Grand were vandalized. Marie McMahon has owned Salon St. Louis for more than 20 years. She arrived to find two of her windows shattered last night.

“Security called me and let me know that the glass breakers were activated and so I knew immediately what was happening, I’ve been watching the news all evening and I was thinking that protests here on Grand were peaceful, which I was very happy about and very proud
of,” she said. “So I was disappointed when I got that call because I knew what it meant and I knew that things had changed.”

Police continued to pressure protesters to disperse at the corner of Grand and Arsenal, deploying smoke bombs.

According to the Post Dispatch, as the night went on and things heated up along Grand and St. Louis Police Chief Sam Dotson said over 60 police units were brought in, in full riot gear, to restore calm.

“We tried to move people out, but they seemed to want to stay and break windows and break into the backs of buildings,” he said. “So we’re going to clear these streets.”

Some protesters fled, the few dozen protesters that remained gathered in front of Mokabe’s cafe on Arsenal, refusing to disperse. They demonstrations were surrounded by police.

On Twitter, some protesters said they were teargassed while inside Mokabe’s cafe, which they said was a safe zone.
Violence Diminishes In Ferguson, As Law Enforcement Ramps Up

By WILLIS RYDER ARNOLD (PEOPLE/WILLIS-RYDER-ARNOLD), DURRIE BOUSCAREN (PEOPLE/DURRIE-BOUSCAREN) & EMANUELE BERRY (PEOPLE/EMANUELE-BERRY) • NOV 26, 2014
On South Florissant Road

CREDIT WILLIS RYDER ARNOLD | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
The second day of post-grand jury protest in Ferguson unfolded in a familiar pattern. It began peacefully and ended with broken windows, tear gas and instructions to disperse. Forty-five people were arrested, the majority for misdemeanor offenses.

The evening there were small skirmishes between protesters and police. Protesters gathered in South Florissant Road immediately in front of the Ferguson police station, as police largely stayed in a line across the sidewalk. Protesters left one lane of traffic open, occupying the remaining three. One man, Mike Haywood, walked up and down the free lane conducting traffic and ensuring that cars headed in opposite directions were free to proceed.

Haywood, who lives up the street, said he worried the protesters’ message would be clouded by acts of violence.

“They got to stop this,” he said, “There could be ladies having babies, there could be heart attacks, and they’re just blocking it up. That’s not good.”

For an hour, a dance mapped from earlier August protests ensued. While National Guard members remained in the Ferguson Police Department parking lot, officers from the unified command would push protesters back onto the sidewalk across the street. Then, police would begin to back away and protesters would advance. Both parties would then repeat the action.
“Last night was the manifestation of a lot of pain, grief and anger. That’s what we saw last night,” he said. “Tonight again you see that anger, and that rage and passion, but you see it coupled with the love in a different sort of restraint.”

At one point a police officer responded to a protester’s inquiry, amiably stating there was no curfew and that “this isn’t martial law.”

Around 9 p.m. a group of protesters began marching north on South Florissant Road, where some broke windows at the Ferguson City Hall and set a parked police car on fire.

"Get away if you’re a peaceful protestor!" one young man yelled, urging others to leave the scene. Soon after, a firework exploded, sending others running.

Police responded with gas masks on and riot shields out to clear Church Street. As tear gas was fired nearby, a group of people trying to escape the fumes were pushed toward the police line, but were then directed toward the parking lot of a public library.

Other protesters returned to the street in front of the Ferguson Police Department. For an hour they resumed their dance with the police, trading space in the street. But things seemed to be changing about the time the police drove armored transport trucks close to the protesters. A small group of individuals behind the primarily peaceful protesters occasionally tossed bottles toward the police.

Tensions increased dramatically after a triptych of arrests and police advancing up to the crowd spraying mace over the first rows of people. According to one protester, who wouldn’t provide his name, the police were aiming for one person
lot across the street from the police department and down the street, a small group began breaking up cement to throw at the police. That’s when police announced over a loud speaker that the protest constituted an “unlawful assembly due to objects being thrown.”

The group who had broken up cement retreated, throwing rocks and other objects through the windows of some businesses as police advanced. A firework exploded inside an auto supply store, rocks and bottles were also hurled at advancing police cars. Police continued moving to protect businesses and push protesters down the street. By 11:30 p.m., the majority of people who had gathered in front of the police department were heading toward their cars.

At a 1:30 a.m. news conference, police displayed an assortment of bottles, rocks and an unbroken Molotov cocktail that were found at the scene.

St. Louis Police Chief Jon Belmar also listed broken tent poles, pieces of asphalt, and bottles of what appeared to be urine, which he said were thrown at officers. Two pistols were also confiscated.

"We were concerned that if we didn't go in there and interact with these rioters, that potentially anything could happen. With the amount of arson that we saw last night, we certainly didn’t want to take that risk," Belmar said.

Police made 45 arrests, seven of them felonies. In contrast, officers arrested 32 people on felony charges Monday night. During the protests on South Florissant, another car was set on fire at a parking lot near the memorial for Michael Brown, next to the Canfield Green apartment complex. St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar said firefighters did not initially respond.

“The only time there was any gunfire here in the area was during that car fire,” Belmar said. “At the time they felt like it would not extend to any structure, and because of the spread of gunfire in the area they felt that it was not safe.”

On Tuesday morning, police uncovered a body in a parked car at the same apartment complex — they say an investigation is ongoing.

In St. Louis

While protest in Ferguson remained chaotic and confrontational other demonstrations in the
Nearly 30 people gathered near Forest Park last night. From there the group marched through the Central West End, continuing east down Lindell Boulevard. Demonstrators remained on the sidewalk, most of the time, as they marched. Police followed, but no confrontations occurred.

Another small protest took place on South Grand Boulevard, where police seemed well prepared for much larger demonstrations. One parking lot along Grand was filled with police vehicles.

On Monday, more than 200 protesters gathered near the Shaw neighborhood; last night’s crowd of more than 50 was much calmer. Police and protesters did standoff at the intersection of South Grand Boulevard and Arsenal Street.

While standing in the street, officers demanded that protesters remain on the sidewalk or face arrest. Several protesters were detained, however most of the demonstrators stayed out of the street, following officers orders. Police and protesters remained in a silent standstill until police pulled back.

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Black Friday Protest Pauses Shopping At Several St. Louis Malls

By RACHEL LIPPMANN (/PEOPLE/RACHEL-LIPPMANN) & EMANUELLE BERRY (/PEOPLE/EMANUELLE-BERRY) • NOV 28, 2014

Protesters at the St. Louis Galleria staged a four-and-a-half minute “die-in” on Nov. 28 to commemorate the four and a half hours that Michael Brown’s body lay on the ground after he was shot.

CREDIT EMANUELE BERRY/ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

Updated at midnight

Shoppers who wanted to find some deals at the St. Louis Galleria found themselves out of luck Friday, as the mall temporarily closed its doors following a peaceful protest over the grand jury's decision to not indict Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson.

About 200 protesters marched, sang, and chanted for nearly two hours. Police stood back and allowed the protests to happen. There were no arrests reported. A large number of stores locked their doors during the demonstration.
Kris Hendrix, the mother of three black boys said today’s protest was about reminding people not to get comfortable.

“Black Friday and really Thanksgiving is the beginning of over consumption in America,” she said. “So they release the indictment right before Thanksgiving and black Friday because they thought that people were going to return to their lives as usual and go back to spending out of control. I think it’s important to come out and represent now because it’s telling people ‘Why are you going back to your life as normal? You want to continue with your life as normal, as though there isn’t genocide of young black and brown people in this country,” she said.

Lou Downey, at one point, addressed protesters and the shoppers to explain why it was important to disturb Black Friday shopping.

“‘People say, well aren’t you disrupting an important tradition’, yeah the tradition of killing black and brown men that’s been going on and on and on …” he said. “That’s the tradition we are disrupting. We are calling on people to not shop but do something more meaningful today. Raise
At one point demonstrators staged a “die in,” where they dropped to the ground and lay in place for four and half minutes, in remembrance of Michael Brown.

Today’s protest was part of a nationwide call by activists to not shop at retail stores. Protesters chanted “not one dime” and “stop shopping, join the movement,” as they marched. On social media, many referred to the call to action as Brown Friday. Protesters also disrupted shopping at West County and Chesterfield malls.

Later in the evening protesters tweeted about walking through the Central West End singing carols, with words changed. And at the Ferguson Police department, 15 people were arrested, according to a tweet from the County Police Department.

Activist Rasheen Aldridge says today’s demonstrations are another way for activists to be heard.

“Brown Friday is kind of honoring Michael Brown and the whole movement in general and then not going out and shopping. Instead of Black Friday, Brown Friday,” he said. “Not going out and shopping at these corporations, these big stores. And like I said, to continue to hit them where it hurts, in their pockets this time.”
your voice for people all around the world, all over the county and say as long as business as usual in America is to kill and criminalize brown and black men, that business as usual needs to be disrupted."

Ida Alul came to the mall to shop. She watched the demonstration from afar. She says the protest made her stop for a moment and think about what’s going on in Ferguson.

"I support what they are trying to do to bring attention to what’s happening in Ferguson," she said. "I also wonder if it will make people stop what they are doing, we’re obviously still here."

Most shoppers walked around protestors or watched as they marched by. The crowd of shoppers included people of all ages and races.

#BrownFriday
2:10 PM - 28 Nov 2014

4 3

Emanuele Berry
@Emanuelewithane

Follow
After demonstration at the Galleria, protests moved on to West County Center in Des Peres.

Scattered protests also popped up at big retailers across St. Louis. Photos on Twitter (https://twitter.com/JohnsonMK4/status/538381315050332161) showed a sit-in at the Kirkwood Commons Target. There were additional protests (https://twitter.com/Show_Me15/status/538361342529658881) led by Hands Up United and Show-Me 15 (an organization that supports a higher minimum wage) at the Walmart in the same shopping complex.

And at the Wal-Mart in Bridgeton, activists Zaki Baruti and Anthony Shahid marched with a small group chanting, "Hands up, don't shop!" and "If we don't get it, shut it down."

Erin Coleman, a Webster University student who grew up in Maryland Heights, said she was taking part in the protest to make sure that people understood the link between classism and racism.

"I know that there are people fighting their own struggle, but I think it's better to have one struggle and to unite everyone that's oppressed," she said. "Linking classism to racism and linking Show-Me 15 to Ferguson we'll gain more support for both movements."

Many of the leaders of the local push for a $15-per-hour minimum wage have been involved in the protests in Ferguson.

Legal observers say two people were arrested inside the Walmart. Bridgeton police would not confirm if anyone was in custody.

Follow Emanuele Berry on Twitter: @emanuelewitherane (https://twitter.com/emanuelewitherane)

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TAGS: FERGUSON /TERM/FERGUSON/  MICHAEL BROWN /TERM/MICHAEL-BROWN/
Ferguson Smolders On Morning After Grand Jury Decision

By NANCY FOWLER & STEPHANIE LECCI • NOV 25, 2014

Smoke filled the air on more than one corner in the city of Ferguson Tuesday morning, following a night of turmoil.

The unrest followed a grand jury decision not to indict Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson, who shot and killed unarmed teenager Michael Brown on Aug. 9. Brown's parents, St. Louis officials and even President Barack Obama called on demonstrators to protest peacefully and many did.
But still-smoldering buildings bear witness to the anger that erupted into destruction. About one dozen businesses were reportedly burned.

Cory Douglas of Dellwood found his place of employment reduced to ashes when he showed up for his 6 a.m. shift at Family Dollar on New Halls Ferry Road at Woodwind.

"I'm speechless," Douglas said. He said he could understand the anger of those who had a hand in the destruction, but, "They don't have to do this."

Florissant firefighters arrived around 5:30 a.m. to shoot water into the building. One firefighter
At least one business in the Jade Nails plaza on Chambers Road at West Florissant Avenue was burned to the ground and others were damaged. Rashad Parker lives nearby and came over this morning to take photos. He, too, had little to say.

"There are no words," Parker said.

West Florissant Avenue was closed Tuesday morning between Lucas and Hunt Road and Chambers Road and remained inaccessible until at least 7:45 a.m. Police would not say when the stretch would re-open.

At a press conference Tuesday afternoon, Ferguson Mayor James Knowles III criticized Gov. Jay Nixon for not deploying the National Guard in time to save businesses that were burned. He said Ferguson city and police officials requested more assets to protect businesses and residents through the Unified Command and "political channels," but Knowles said they had no say in how resources were assigned.

"The decision to delay the deployment of the National Guard was deeply concerning," Knowles said. "We are asking the governor to deploy all necessary resources to prevent the further destruction of property and preservation of life in the city of Ferguson."

Later on Tuesday, Gov. Nixon said he ordered more 1,300 more National Guard troopers to the region, including hundreds specifically to Ferguson to provide security at the local police department. Nixon said those extra troops will free up police to provide more protection.

Nixon defended the previous night's deployment of 700 troops, which he said included some at both the unified command center in Ferguson and at the Ferguson Police Department.

Knowles also said some local chambers of commerce and other organizations are already working to help affected businesses.

"We are absolutely dedicated that businesses, especially our mom and pops, those who have invested their lives and livelihoods have an opportunity to come back, and we welcome them back, and we hope they maintain business here in Ferguson," he said.
One local business owner at that press conference said she was in tears as she saw the aftermath of Monday night, saying "it really, really looks bad." But she said she will leave her and her business's future in "God's control."

South Grand Businesses Recover

About a dozen businesses along South Grand Avenue are boarded up after Monday night's protests were punctuated by rocks and bricks.<n
Commerce Bank, St. Louis Bread Company, and Fed Ex were among those hit. Rooster, a restaurant that opened on Grand just six weeks ago, was also damaged.

Employee Tyson Rinderknecht visited the restaurant Monday night with his brother-in-law, the owner.

"But there's not much you can do, and then we ended up getting tear-gassed off the street and just decided to get an early start in the morning, had a board up company out as soon as the people were cleared off the streets," Rinderknecht said.

The façade of the restaurant, which is mostly glass, is now covered in plywood but they were open for business Tuesday morning. St. Louis Police say 21 people were arrested along South Grand Tuesday night.

Follow Nancy Fowler on Twitter: @NancyFowlerSTL (https://twitter.com/nancyfowlerstl)

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Protesters Attempt To Demonstrate Inside St. Louis City Hall

By CAMILLE PHILLIPS //PEOPLE/CAMILLE-PHILLIPS  •  NOV 26, 2014

Protesters attempt to enter St. Louis City Hall on Wednesday, November 26, 2014.

CAMILLE PHILLIPS | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
More than a hundred protesters attempted to enter St. Louis City Hall Wednesday, but were not allowed through the doors. After they were denied entry, they crowded in front of the entrance, chanting “Let us in,” and “Who do you protect? Who do you serve?”

Police in riot gear quickly responded in force, telling everyone to leave because it was an “unlawful assembly.”
St. Louis Metropolitan Police Capt. Dan Howard said the protest became unlawful when someone “made contact” with a security guard.

“They forced their way past a marked guard and made contact on them. As soon as that assault takes place it is an unlawful assembly,” Howard explained. “We were giving them all the leeway they needed until they made contact. Then it becomes assault.”

Protest leader Rasheen Aldridge had a different view of events. He said he didn’t see anyone touch the guard, but that protesters did try and keep the door to the building open.

“We made sure that we held it open at least to have our voices be heard to send a message to all the elected officials in city hall,” Aldridge said, adding that they should be able to get inside because it is a public building.

“We should be able to go in there and peacefully protest if we want. It doesn’t make any sense. It ain’t right that they shut us down,” he said.

Aldridge was recently chosen to be part of the Ferguson Commission, a group selected by Gov. Jay Nixon to make recommendations for regional change in response to issues raised in the wake of the death of Michael Brown.

Maggie Crane, a spokesperson for Mayor Francis Slay, said that the protesters were denied entry at the recommendation of police because there was an “edginess to the crowd” and because there were rumors that someone in the group had spray paint.

Back in October protesters were allowed inside city hall, but Crane said they had made prior arrangements with the mayor’s office and followed procedure by going through the metal detectors.
After several warnings, most of the crowd moved off the steps of the south entrance to the building. However, three people were arrested. According to a tweet from the St. Louis Metropolitan Police all three were charged with failure to disperse. One of the three was also charged with third degree assault on a law enforcement officer.

Wednesday marked the second day in a row demonstrators gathered at Kiener Plaza in downtown St. Louis to protest the grand jury’s decision not to indict Darren Wilson for the death of Brown.

Rasheen Aldridge helps organize protesters on Market Street in downtown St. Louis on Wednesday, November 26, 2014.

CREDIT CAMILLE PHILLIPS/ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
Protesters gather on the steps of the Old Courthouse in downtown St. Louis on Wednesday, November 26, 2014.

CREDIT CAMILLE PHILLIPS | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

Before heading to city hall, the crowd marched through the streets to the Old Courthouse, where they held a mock trial of officials and police. During the first phase of the demonstration, police followed at a distance, blocking traffic to let marchers pass as needed.

But once the crowd left city hall and began organizing for further marching in the streets, police approached the crowd and told them to disperse or they would use “chemical agents.”

At that point the crowd was near Kiener Plaza once more, so they regrouped at the plaza. Protest leaders gave a few closing remarks and led everyone in a few last chants there, with the majority dispersing before 1 p.m.

Follow Camille Phillips on Twitter: @cmpcamille
Downtown Demonstration Shuts Down I-44 Near The Dome: Highways Blocked In Many Cities

By CAMILLE PHILLIPS //PEOPLE/CAMILLE-PHILLIPS • NOV 25, 2014

Near Laclede’s Landing

CREDIT CAMILLE PHILLIPS | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
Several hundred demonstrators marched through downtown St. Louis Tuesday afternoon, protesting the grand jury decision not to charge Darren Wilson for the death of Michael Brown.

About two hours into the protest, a large portion of the crowd marched up the westbound exit ramp to Interstate 44 at, shutting down first the ramps, and then the highway near the Edward Jones Dome. All told, traffic in the area was disrupted for about half an hour.

Police in riot gear first blocked the eastbound ramp, and then moved onto the highway overpass. By about 3:30 p.m. protesters began retreating back down the exit ramp as police advanced in formation toward them while banging their batons.

On social media, the St. Louis Metropolitan Police announced that they arrested three during the highway shutdown due to “failure to disperse.”

At the bottom of the ramp police ordered everyone to leave; and after a short pause, the crowd
Among the crowd was Juliette Jacobs, who had white streaks of Maalax and water on her face – an attempt to get rid of stinging eyes from what she called mace.

“We were up on the highway and we sat down to show them that we were peaceful protest(ers). And they advanced on us. So we just stayed sitting down, and then they maced everybody in the front line,” Jacobs said.

Jacobs said that the three who were arrested because they didn’t move, couldn’t move because they had couldn’t see due to the mace in their eyes.

Others in the group identified the substance sprayed by police as pepper spray.

Another protester, Jairus Williams, said he was among the first up the ramp, charging up thinking “This is real. This is a cause.”

Williams said he is motivated by wanting a more equitable future for his nieces and nephews.

“I need there to be transparency between law enforcement and community. I need there to be a trust built knowing that I can go anywhere and be OK, and not be harassed because of my skin color, or people not be intimidated because I’m a 6 foot 2 black man that’s 220 pounds,” Williams said, “I’m one of the nicest people you’ll ever meet, so when people look at me as intimidating it bothers me.”

The highway shutdown was part of a three-hour march that began at Kiener Plaza and also included stops at the federal courthouse and the old courthouse in front of the Gateway Arch.

Also in front of the federal courthouse, a small group of about 20 approached barricades. With arms locked, the group stood in two rows for about half an hour. At one point the Rev. Lionel
“peace.”

Anderson, wearing a black bowler hat and carrying a Bible, said that he encouraged the group to leave after a young man wanted to risk arrest by rushing the barricade.

“We need to recognize that God is a God of peace and not violence, and stay peaceful,” Anderson said.

While the small group demonstrated on the ramp of the federal courthouse, several hundred gathered nearby on the steps of the courthouse.

Led by some familiar faces—including Ashley Yates, Rasheen Aldridge and Zaki Baruti, they chanted several phrases, including “From Dred Scott to Mike Brown” and “Not one more.”
Follow Camille Phillips on Twitter: @cmpcamille

Elsewhere in the U.S.

In more demonstrations across the country, protesters took to the streets -- and often took over interstates for a time.

As one person said in New York: “We’re not worried that Darren Wilson is going to do something like this again, we’re worried that this sets the precedence for other cops or other people to get away with the same exact thing,” protester Eugene Varnedoe told WCBS 880’s Monica Miller. (News CBS New YorkProtesters (http://newyork.cbslocal.com/2014/11/25/more-protests-expected-in-nyc-following-ferguson-grand-jury-decision/) Take Over FDR, West Side Highway Night After Ferguson Decision (http://newyork.cbslocal.com/2014/11/25/more-protests-expected-in-nyc-following-ferguson-grand-jury-decision/)


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Related Content
Transgender Group Stages The Largest Of An Array Of Protests Wednesday Night

By DURRIE BOUSCAREN /PEOPLE/DURRIE-BOUSCAREN / NOV 27, 2014

Thumping their chests in unison, about 125 protesters blocking a major intersection in the Grove neighborhood staged a protest that mirrored those of the past few months; but with a slightly different message.
Ka’milla McMiller (center) links arms with two other protesters to block the intersection of Kingshighway and Manchester Ave on November 26.

CREDIT DURRIE BOUSCAREN / ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

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THE SHELDON CONCERT HALL

“Trans Lives Matter!”

After a 4 and a half minute moment of silence, the group then marched up Manchester Avenue, as bar-goers walked outside to take pictures or raise their hands in solidarity.

“There’s been people of all colors and identities that have been getting murdered, through police brutality or just being victims of the system,” said Jake Robertson of South St. Louis.

Ka’milla McMiller said she marched because transgender women, like herself, are disproportionately likely commit suicide or be a victim of violence.
“I rely on the thought of passing,” McMiller said. “I would say that it's pretty hard. Going out every day, thinking about if I'm going to be a victim or I'm going to be a survivor.”

According to the Transgender Europe Trans Murder Monitoring Project, at least 226 transgender people have been murdered in the past year; 10 in the United States, and half were reported in Brazil. Advocates say transgender women of color are at an even greater risk of being a victim of violence.

Amy Stewart carried a sign: “I am a transgender woman and my life matters.”

She said she sees self-segregation even within the LGBT community, when transgender people are ostracized.

“We're like the red-headed step children sometimes. We all want equality, so I don't understand what the fight's for, why there's the infighting. It doesn't make sense,” Stewart said.

Police maintained a presence, but stayed within their vehicles. Police vehicles blocked off the intersection of Kingshighway and Manchester Avenue before the protesters arrived, diverting traffic to side streets. Another car drove slowly in front of the protest, leading the way.

Organizer Eli Chi of the St. Louis-based Metro Trans Umbrella Group said protesters had not applied for a parade permit, but didn’t mind the police presence.

“I was pretty surprised, but I was fine with it. It's cool. If you want to shut the street down for us, that's cool too,” Chi said.

Protesters organized an array of small gatherings throughout the St. Louis area Wednesday night, including a procession of cars in the Shaw neighborhood, a gathering at the Galleria Mall and a brief vigil at the Michael Brown memorial in Canfield Green. A small crowd congealed briefly at the Ferguson Police Department as it grew dark, including many media personnel.
Police Force And First Amendment Trespasses In The Ferguson Protests

By WILLIAM H. FREIVOGEL /PEOPLE/WILLIAM-H-FREIVOGEL/ • AUG 14, 2014


Support for this station comes from

Police appear to be violating the First Amendment rights of protesters and journalists in Ferguson by arresting and targeting journalists, and by turning the right to assembly into a daytime-only right, according to legal experts.

(http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/fil)

CREDIT BILL GREENBLATT | UPI / UPI
“Police and officials in Ferguson have declared war on the First Amendment,” said Gregory P. Magarian, a law professor at Washington University Law School. “Since Sunday’s police shooting of an unarmed student, Michael Brown, local officials and law enforcement have blatantly violated three core First Amendment principles: our right to engage in peaceful political protest, the importance of open government; and the freedom of the press.”

Magarian added, “In the space of one evening, police in Ferguson conducted a master class in destroying the freedom of the press.”

Other legal experts at Washington University and Saint Louis University law schools, as well as a media lawyer, agreed that police actions appear to have violated the First Amendment rights of protesters and journalists. In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union of Eastern Missouri, sent a letter to Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson telling him that his crackdowns went “far beyond the bounds” of government authority and that the tactics “suppress peaceful expressive activity.”
The First Amendment violations deepened Wednesday as police tried to keep protesters off the streets at night and as reporters, news crews and citizen journalists were arrested and targeted for police action.

Reporters from the Washington Post and Huffington Post were arrested in a McDonald’s restaurant when they did not quickly obey a police order to leave. St. Louis alderman Antonio French, whose blogs from the protests have been journalistic, was arrested for not leaving a protest that had been declared an illegal assembly. And police fired tear gas close to an Al Jazeera America crew setting up for a report.

Alan Howard, a law professor at Saint Louis University, said that talking back to police or showing them disrespect is not enough to justify an arrest.

“Individuals have a right to speak back to the police -- the police do not have the authority to demand total submissiveness,” Howard wrote in an email. "Questioning police authority as such is not resisting arrest, especially when the questioning occurs before any arrest and seems to be the action that triggered the arrest.”

Howard wrote, “what the protesters are saying by their signs, shouting, raising their hands and the like is clearly protected speech -- it is political speech. Moreover where they are speaking -- on public streets and sidewalks-- are public forums and thus are places where citizens have a presumptive right to speak.”

Even though the streets are traditional places for protest, authorities can establish reasonable time, place and manner restrictions that are “non-censorial,” Howard said.

“So the police say that they are not banning assembly entirely -- just prohibiting the congregation of lots of people late at night where experience has shown that the congregation of lots of people has crossed over from protest into violence, looting and so forth. Whether what the police are doing constitutes a permissible time, place and manner response is clearly debatable however ... do they really need to turn the right to assembly into a ‘daytime’?”

Ferguson in 2014 is not Detroit in 1967 or Los Angeles in 1992. Only a small handful of citizens have engaged in criminal acts in Ferguson. The main violence on the streets of Ferguson is police violence. Without declaring a curfew police are simply bullying people off the streets at night.

Not just daytime right
Magarian answers Howard’s rhetorical questions with an emphatic “no.” He concedes that “the police have proper authority to pursue and arrest violent protesters, looters and arsonists.” But he adds, “What they don’t have any authority to do is treat peaceful protesters like criminals.

“In extreme circumstances, where violence pervades a city and overwhelms the ability of police to maintain order, the government can take measures like clearing the streets or declaring a curfew. But Ferguson in 2014 is not Detroit in 1967 or Los Angeles in 1992. Only a small handful of citizens have engaged in criminal acts in Ferguson. The main violence on the streets of Ferguson is police violence.

“Without declaring a curfew – because a curfew wouldn’t hold up in court – police are simply bullying people off the streets at night,” Magarian said.

The First Amendment doesn’t say protests are limited “only during daytime hours, when police feel like letting us speak and assemble,” he wrote. “By suppressing political protest, police in Ferguson are attacking the heart of the First Amendment.”

Reporters protected

Mark Sableman, a media lawyer for Thompson Coburn, said the police actions against reporters were especially disturbing.

“Reporters are carrying out an important and constitutionally protected role in reporting on events, and that role should be recognized by police. The distinction between reporters and others is made all the time, in public buildings with press rooms and press tables, courtrooms, at crime scenes, and even in foreign combat venues. If there was a disruption in the back row of a courtroom, and for some reason the spectators had to be cleared from the courtroom, it wouldn’t be proper to clear out the press row, too.

“It is even more disturbing when, in addition to a general lack of sensitivity to media interests, there also appears to be efforts to suppress coverage. We see that occasionally in tense scenes when police try to stop photography, or try to take or erase photography. That is uniformly improper, and sends a red flag to the public, which is entitled to see with its own eyes, through media photography, whatever is happening. Reports from Ferguson of police commands to shut off cameras are therefore particularly troublesome.”

Naming the shooter

The legal experts say there is no First Amendment right to demand the name of the police officer who shot Brown. The ACLU argued in a suit filed Thursday that the name should be provided as part of the incident report under the state’s Sunshine law. But police say that the threats to the 911 dispatchers were a threat to the lives of officers and not just the public. They say the public could not know about such threats and continue to believe the public should be shielded from their very real existence.
In 2001, when there were federal and state grand jury investigations into the highly controversial police shooting death of two men at a Jack-in-the-Box in Berkeley, authorities never released the names of the officers. Nor were those officers charged with crimes.

Bruce La Pierre, a law professor at Washington University, wrote in an email, "I doubt that there is any First Amendment principle or case that provides any clear guidance about disclosure of the officer’s name at any particular time. What is needed -- and from press reports appears to be absent -- is a sensitive accommodation of interests beginning with getting the police out of their armed riot gear.

"...The police have dug themselves into a deep hole; first amendment, and common-sense, suggest that disclosure and timely updates about the investigations would go a long way to solving the immediate problems. Sadly, the armed response suggests that the problems run much deeper than the one recent incident."

Open government

Magarian wrote that withholding the name offends democratic and First Amendment principles.

"Open information about government action is the oil in the gears of democracy. When the government keeps secrets, the people lose liberty. We grudgingly tolerate some secrecy where national security is at stake. We also properly allow some details of legal investigations and proceedings to remain secret until all or most of the facts are in.

"The identity of the officer who killed Michael Brown, and the police report on the incident, are not matters of national security. Additionally, and crucially, the integrity of the local and federal investigations don’t require keeping those pieces of information under wraps. By withholding them, St. Louis County is directly violating clear statutory commands and broadly offending First Amendment principles of open government."

Michael Wolff, dean of Saint Louis University law school, said one problem with the police action in Ferguson is it hasn’t been clear who is in command. He added sarcastically, “The lack of clear command structure for the police in Ferguson reminds me of the late great Richard J. Daley of Chicago, 1968: the policeman is not there to create disorder; he is there to preserve disorder.”

William H. Freivogel is director of the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and a member of the Missouri Bar.
Peaceful Protest Against Police Brutality Turns Into Night Of Violence

By RACHEL LIPPMANN (/PEOPLE/RACHEL-LIPPMANN)  •  AUG 11, 2014

Updated at 7 a.m. Monday The situation in Ferguson has settled down following a night of destruction. There is no more systematic looting, but small groups are still casing stores, according to St. Louis County Police spokesman Brian Schellman. "When it happened, it happened very quickly." Around 300 officers were involved in the response as the violence spread quickly into nearby communities including Jennings and possibly Dellwood. It could turn out to be one of the most violent nights in recent St. Louis history. "I've been a policeman for 12 years, all with the St. Louis County Police Department. I haven't seen anything remotely close," said Schellman. OUR PREVIOUS STORY:

What was supposed to be a peaceful protest against police brutality in Ferguson Sunday night turned into a night of violence in the area.
The march and vigil were the latest in a series of gatherings following the shooting of Michael Brown on Saturday afternoon. The crowd that gathered near the site of the shooting, in the Canfield Gardens apartment complex, was large but peaceful. Community leaders called for a boycott of Ferguson businesses, and collected money to pay for Michael Brown's funeral.

As the march began up to West Florissant, a main street in Ferguson, state Senator Jamilah Nasheed tried to lay the groundwork.

"I repeat, this is a very peaceful protest," she said. "Our fight will be in the courts."
The marchers, who numbered close to a thousand, approached a line of police officers with their hands up chanting, "hands up, don't shoot." A small group began throwing rocks and bottles at the line of officers, and at least one person launched a flare.

When police cars moved in to clear the crowd from West Florissant, some of the marchers kicked the cars and threw rocks at the windows, despite shouts from march leaders and older protesters to stop. When the police pulled back to cheers from the crowd, the looting began.

As one young woman walking along the street explained it, "if they hadn't shot the kid, we wouldn't be doing this."

A QuikTrip in the 9400 block of West Florissant was the first target. Protestors threw bricks and bottles at the window, and began taking anything they could. Reports said employees had to flee the store. Videos and photos posted later to social media showed the store burning to the ground. Graffiti, much of it vulgar and directed against the police, appeared on the QuikTrip and on a highway divider.

A liquor store up the block was also looted, and a dumpster behind there set ablaze, and gunfire mixed with fireworks and the sound of breaking glass. One man who started yelling at the looters to stop breaking windows was called a snitch, and older protesters who tried to calm the crowd were ignored. Even County Executive Charlie Dooley was ignored.

The looting spread well beyond the boundary of Ferguson. As it did, a phalanx of police responded from departments across the region, including the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department, St. Charles and the state Highway Patrol. The St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department also helped cover policing duties

A QuikTrip at 9402 West Florissant was looted and burned to the ground in the violence.

A QuikTrip in the 9400 block of West Florissant was the first target.
On Twitter Nasheed, who helped lead the march, called what happened later unreal.

Organizers have called for an additional protest later this morning at the Ferguson police department. The St. Louis County branch of the NAACP, which has called for a federal investigation into the incident, is hosting a public meeting to "provide insight on how to heal our community." It will take place at 6:00 Monday night at the Murchison Tabernacle CME church on Natural Bridge.

Ferguson, Mo.

Sites related to the shooting death of Michael Brown by Ferguson police on Saturday, Aug. 9, 2014, and subsequent protests, looting and other events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shooting site</th>
<th>Peaceful protest/meeting</th>
<th>Report of looting/vandalism</th>
<th>Road closure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Subsequent shootings

Map includes sites reported by our reporters, broadcast on local TV or reported in other media.

2014-08-11 4:15 a.m.: Removed report of citizen injury at Taco Bell, per Fox2 interview with St. Louis County Police spokesman, who said there were no citizens

Follow Rachel Lippmann on Twitter: @rlippmann (https://twitter.com/rlippmann)
How is the police-community turmoil in Ferguson affecting you (https://www.publicinsightnetwork.org/source/en/insight/6d2648f31cf7/how-have-you-been-touched-by-the-police-community-turmoil-in-ferguson)? Please respond through our Public Insight Network.

The St. Louis Public Radio uses this journalism tool to help us solicit knowledge and insight from people who become sources through the Network. Click here (https://www.publicinsightnetwork.org/source/en/insight/6d2648f31cf7/how-have-you-been-touched-by-the-police-community-turmoil-in-ferguson) to share your experience.

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After A Service Centered On Peace, More Violence In Ferguson

By CHRIS MCDANIEL • AUG 13, 2014

Support for this station comes from
Demonstrators stand in front of the Quik Trip late Tuesday evening.

CREDIT CHRIS MCDANIEL, ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

Support for this station comes from

Updated at 8:45 a.m. to confirm officer-involved shooting.
After a night of tense but peaceful protest, two shootings were reported in Ferguson early Wednesday morning. It was not yet clear whether the shootings were related to the protests.

Around 1 a.m. Wednesday, a St. Louis County officer shot and critically injured a man authorities say pointed a gun at officers. The officer is on administrative leave per department protocol. A county spokesman did not have any additional information about the officer.

In an unrelated incident shortly after midnight Wednesday, a woman was shot in the head west of West Florissant Avenue, St. Louis County police confirmed. Police said they were looking for four men driving a white sedan. Ferguson police are handling that investigation.

The violence occurred after a night of largely tense, but peaceful protest. Many of the demonstrators approached police after attending a service put on by Michael Brown’s parents and the Rev. Al Sharpton. The service packed St. Mark’s Family Church, with hundreds of people attending. The crowd skewed older, at least until some young people protesting down the road entered halfway through the service.

The focus of the gathering was to calm a community that has experienced a great deal of tragedy in the past few days. On Saturday, an unarmed 18 year old African American teenager named Michael Brown was shot and killed by police, revealing overlooked racial tensions in Ferguson.

Brown's parents have begged for the protests to be peaceful.

“Respect the family!” Sharpton said at the service. “They haven’t even buried their son — don’t go out there and start stuff in his name.”

Sharpton asked for 100 young men to step forward as “Disciples of Justice,” to keep the peace in the area, he said.

“We’re not saying all cops are bad, most of them aren’t,” Sharpton said. “But those who are bad should be dealt with just like those in our community that are bad.”

(http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/files/styles/x_large/public/201408/DSC_0129_0.jpg)
After an offering plate was passed around for the Brown family and the service had concluded, many people stuck around and peacefully protested outside the church.

Meanwhile, just a mile away at the smoldering remains of the Quik Trip on West Florissant, police were in a tense standoff with demonstrators. At the time, there were a couple dozen protesters standing just yards away from a line of police with two armored vehicles.

The protesters outside of the church made their way down Florissant and joined the group at the Quick Trip, chanting “Hands up, don’t shoot.”

One man repeatedly shouted “Is this the Gaza Strip?”

The demonstrators at the head of the group urged the rest to refrain from confronting the police.

“We have to stand together,” one protester yelled into a megaphone. “Don’t lose the message. They want us to cross that line, they want to lock us up, they want us to fight one another. But we have to respect Michael Brown.”
After inching forward for a bit, the group eventually marched back down Florissant without either side escalating.

But the peace apparently did not last.

As the organized group headed out, pockets of activity remained throughout the area. Around midnight, shots rang out. Later, police used tear gas on some that remained outside.

So far, police believe the woman was shot in a drive-by shooting, but that she will live.

Will be updated.

Tell us what you know


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(/post/st-louis-area-police-forces-are-less-diverse-communities-they-serve-statistics-show) 1 year ago
On Fifth Night Of Protests, Calm Settles Over Ferguson

By RACHEL LIPPmann & TIM LLOYD • AUG 15, 2014

The sound of honking horns became a symbol Thursday night along West Florissant Avenue in Ferguson.

It was the first night since Saturday -- the day Michael Brown was shot to death by a Ferguson police officer -- that traffic had been allowed to move freely along one of the main commercial strips in Ferguson. There was no line of police in riot gear and armored vehicles facing off against a crowd. The few officers spotted were in regular uniforms. The atmosphere felt more like a party than a protest.
The decision by Gov. Jay Nixon (http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/nixon-puts-highway-patrol-charge-ferguson-seeks-softer-tone) to place the Missouri State Highway Patrol in command in Ferguson appeared to have paid off.

Nixon put Capt. Ron Johnson, a Ferguson native and African American, in charge on Thursday afternoon and said authorities would be taking a softer tone. About two hours later, Johnson was marching with a group of pastors and black youth.

"I am a black man with black sons," Johnson told the marchers before they set off for a looted QuikTrip about a half mile away that had
At the QuikTrip, Johnson laid out his expectations for the protestors.

"You can stay out here all night," he said. "The only thing that I ask is that you pull back a little bit so that our family members, and our friends can travel up and down West Florissant. They can come by, yell out the window, blow their horn and give you support, but you've got to move back on the sidewalk."

For the most part, everyone complied. Protestors did not always stay on the sidewalk, but they remained out of traffic, which cruised slowly for most of the night. People hung out of cars, and the horn blowing was constant. The Port-a-Potties promised by the Ferguson police saw heavy use.

For their part, the police remained mostly out of sight, only responding to tend to a young woman who had fallen out of a car. Later on, Johnson and St. Louis County police chief Jon Belmar walked a few blocks, with Johnson stopping to hug protestors and compliment them on their motorcycles. A group driving a mini train offered him water.

"This is my community, these are my friends, this is my family, and I'm making new friends tonight," Johnson said. "We're all a part of this together."

Dante Kelly spotted Johnson in the crowd and yelled out a message of thanks.

"Our voices are being heard tonight," he said. "We're not being oppressed, we're not being harmed out here. We can stand out here and protest in peace like we were doing without being harassed and harmed by the police."

Focus On The Youth

After the march led by the Clergy Coalition, many of the young participants headed up to Greater St. Mark Family Church to air their concerns in the wake of the fatal shooting of Michael Brown. As people filed out of the forum and walked toward the epicenter of what have been at times violent protests, Aloni Benson, 24, hoped a more relaxed stance by the police would ease tensions.
"We've been misrepresented," Benson said. "Not every youth is out here breaking into stores and stealing stuff. This was a time for the troubled kids to indulge in things and become opportunists. Everybody's not doing that. We're doing a peaceful protest and we're being positive."

Khalia Grant, 23, said the event was positive but added that not everyone in her age bracket feels comfortable in a church.

“I think it would be bigger if we had something like this in the community where they're able to express how they feel,” Grant said.

She regrets that violence and looting sprung up in the wake of Brown's shooting. At the same time, Grant said it brought lingering frustrations among African-American community members to the forefront.

“Now that negative thing did happen, we need to turn it into a positive real quick and turn it around,” Grant said.

She's heading back for her senior year in college next week at the University of Central Missouri and plans to bring a sense of community activism with her.

Willis Arnold also reported on this story.

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1 year ago
This Is Ferguson: Residents And Business Owners Tell Us About Their City

By MARY DELACH LEONARD (/PEOPLE/MARY-DELACH-LEONARD) & EMANUELE BERRY (/PEOPLE/EMANUELE-BERRY)  •  AUG 15, 2014

A poster at a memorial for Michael Brown outside the Canfield Green apartment complex.

MARY DELACH LEONARDST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
For 120 years, Ferguson, Mo. -- currently home to 21,203 people -- has been a little city that has grown in good times and evolved in hard times, with little attention from folks outside the St. Louis region.

That changed in a flash of gunfire last Saturday when a Ferguson police officer shot and killed Michael Brown, an African-American 18-year-old who was unarmed.
Within minutes, the story was hurling across the internet and trending on Twitter: The killing of a black teenager in a predominantly black suburb of St. Louis brought quick comparisons ... to Trayvon Martin, the unarmed African-American teenager killed in Florida by George Zimmerman in 2012 ... to Eric Garner, the African-American man who died last month in New York after being put in a choke-hold by police.

By Sunday, the city was known by a hashtag.

#Ferguson.

And the whole world was watching.

It’s been a long week of hurt, beginning with the stark images of Brown’s body on the pavement of Canfield Drive — and a heartbroken mother pleading to know why. The demand for answers — for justice — growing louder, as officials explained again and again that there can be no quick answers. Peaceful demonstrations turning ugly in the night. Looting. Police in riot gear. Armored vehicles. Tear gas. Arrests. More arrests. Ultimatums. Journalists caught in the middle.

And then there were the numbers (http://news.stltpublicradio.org/post/ferguson-numbers). The population of Ferguson is nearly two-thirds black and one-third white — a racial makeup that is not reflected in the staffing of the police department, which is 95 percent white. There are three African-American police officers on the 53-member force.

There is still no time table for the St. Louis County Police Department’s investigation of the shooting. The FBI, the St. Louis U.S. Attorney’s office and the Department of Justice’s Civil Rights Division are also investigating.

But there is another narrative about Ferguson that some residents feel is not being told: Ferguson is a good community, they say. That’s why they choose to live and work there.
While covering the rapidly changing news in Ferguson this week, we were also listening to what residents were saying about their city. Here are snippets from what we’ve heard, so far -- the beginning of a series of stories we will produce in the coming weeks: This Is Ferguson.

St. Louis Public Radio’s Emanuele Berry talks to people who live and work in Ferguson about their city.

On Tuesday, Wesley Bell and colleagues handed out college enrollment postcards at the burned out QuikTrip. Bell says it is important to reach out to young people who are feeling disenfranchised.

CREDIT MARY DELACH LEONARD | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

‘This Happens All Over The Country’

“In Ferguson, there’s a strong sense of community,” says Wesley Bell, a Ferguson resident who lost a recent bid for a seat on the St. Louis County Council. “I don’t want Ferguson to be painted as some racial hot spot, because it’s not that.”
Bell, who canvassed the city's neighborhoods during his campaign, says there is more diversity in Ferguson than people think.

He says the issues that unfolded this week are not confined to Ferguson's city limits.

"It's bigger," Bell says. "I'm not saying that it's not a Ferguson problem. I'm just saying that this doesn't define Ferguson. It's a symptom of a much larger problem, and we're talking nationwide. You look at a lot of urban areas, and you will see problems with law enforcement and young people — and that just didn't start last week. This happens all over the country."

But this week, it happened in Ferguson.

After a peaceful demonstration turned violent Sunday night, Ferguson looked a little like a Midwestern town picking up the pieces after a tornado touched down: The damage was serious but limited in location.

It was along West Florissant Avenue that Sunday night's peaceful protest turned violent — along a strip of businesses within walking distance of where Michael Brown died. Here and there, shops and businesses were looted. Those that could, boarded up their windows and cleaned up the mess, reopening by midweek.

Demonstrators have gathered daily at the shattered shell of the QuikTrip that was burned during the looting. Some refer to the wrecked convenience store as ground zero, and it may be the most photographed spot in the nation right now. It is here where the nightly protests have formed. And it is here where police in riot gear drew the line — and made national headlines.

While people have the right — the need — to demand justice, Bell believes that they also need to be peaceful. He echoed a comment, shared by other residents: that many of the young people involved in the looting Sunday night were not from Ferguson.

"What you're seeing is a lot of anger, but they don't know how to channel that. There's no unifying force — it's random. Young people who are doing their own thing," said Bell, 39, an assistant professor of criminology at St. Louis Community College-Florissant Valley. He is also a municipal court judge in Velda City and a board member of Ferguson Youth Initiative, a nonprofit that offers programs for teens ages 13 to 17.

'I Love Ferg'

People in Ferguson have gone about their lives — or tried to. Children play in parks. Gardeners tend to their flowers. Most restaurants and shops have stayed open. Churches have been organizing volunteers to clean up the mess left by the weekend lootings.
But things have been far from normal. The Ferguson-Florissant school district delayed the first day of school from Thursday until Monday. Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon came to town on Thursday and announced that the state Highway Patrol would take over for the St. Louis County Police Department. Nixon promised a “softer” approach to the demonstrations — and that was the case Thursday night.

![](http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/files/styles/x_large/public/201408/IMG_7785.JPG)

*Protesters across from the police department.*

CREDIT MARY DELACH LEONARD | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

Across town, in the historic downtown area — a 10-block area called Ferguson Citywalk — there has been little sign of drama. An exception has been the sidewalk across from the police department, where demonstrators gather daily and passing motorists honk their horns in support.

Journalists from near and far have come to report on the Brown case — and the unrest. A CNN satellite truck staked out a spot on the parking lot across from the police department, while an NBC truck did the same near the ruins of the QuikTrip. Some reporters have been detained

![](http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/files/styles/x_large/public/201408/IMG_7785.JPG)

(http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/files/styles/x_large/public/201408/IMG_7785.JPG)

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(http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/files/styles/x_large/public/201408/IMG_7785.JPG)
again-disperses-crowd-ferguson-some-arrested)or caught in the chaos, when police shut down the nightly demonstrations.

Bell says it has all been a strange experience.

“We’re going to get past this, but what are we going to do after everything settles down? If we’re going to go back to living our lives, something else is going to happen,” he said.

He brought several colleagues from Florissant Valley to the QuikTrip Tuesday afternoon to pass out enrollment postcards from the college.

“With everything being so unsettled, it’s hard to say what is needed until the dust has settled,” he said. “A lot of people involved are college-age students. One way to try and make an impact is to get them information about coming to school.”

Bell said that political change often begins with young people.

“But we have a lot of young people who feel disenfranchised,” he said. “They feel that they’re not a part of something.”

Bell says he is a booster when it comes to Ferguson and all of north county — and that he is not alone in seeing the potential of these communities.

On Saturday, the Ferguson Farmers Market plans to sell “I Love Ferg” T-shirts for $10. Judging from the responses on community FaceBook pages, the shirts will be bestsellers.

'This Is Sacred Ground'

On Tuesday afternoon, David Whitt was keeping watch over a makeshift memorial in the middle of Canfield Drive.

“This is sacred ground,” Whitt said, pointing to the candles and crucifix on the center line of the road -- the place where Brown died. “We’re going to protect that.”
When veterinarian Dan Wentz boarded up a broken window at his clinic Tuesday morning, he decided to send a message.

CREDIT MARY DELACH LEONARD | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO

'This Is How I Feel'

Veterinarian Dan Wentz was busy Wednesday afternoon, tending to dogs and cats at his Ferguson Animal Hospital on Airport Road.

Plywood covered the front windows that had been broken sometime Monday night. On one window, Wentz had spray painted the words Open For Business. On the other, he sent a message: Ferguson Proud.

“That’s how I feel,” said Wentz, who has worked in Ferguson for 23 years. “It really hurts to see the bad press that Ferguson’s getting because I believe this is not a reflection of what Ferguson is.”

Wentz, a white man who works with an African-American veterinarian, says his customers are white, black and Hispanic.
Whitt, 34, lives in the Canfield Green Apartments. He and a group of residents and friends were also shooing away reporters.

“We want folks to be respectful. Nobody trying to be a spectacle,” he said.

Whitt says that he has been the victim of racial profiling by police, and he understands what happened to Brown.

“We want people to come here and protest peacefully,” he said. “I’m not with the NAACP. I’m not trying to get publicity. I just want to get justice.”

Whitt complained about outsiders — the “ riff raff” coming into town — and the “young kids” who started the looting Sunday night. They’ll go home, and Ferguson residents will deal with the consequences, he said.

“We have to live here when all of this is over,” he said. “We have to live here while all this is going on.”

And then he put it another way.

“If we’re going to burn this [mf] down — excuse my language — we’re gonna be the ones that say when we burn this down.” He grinned. “I’m just hypothetically speaking.”

Whitt, a father of three, said he understands why young men are angry. His goal is to see that Brown is “the last black brother killed unjustifiably.”

Whitt said that the Canfield neighborhood had started to come together as a community, even before the shooting.

“Where I live, we have cookouts together,” he said. “We want to get to know who our neighbors are. People are afraid in their own neighborhoods. We don’t want that.”
“It’s a very nice, diverse community,” he said. "People get along. They cooperate."

He said that Brown’s death is tragic, and he thinks people need to wait until all the facts come out.

He knows a lot of the city’s firefighters and police officers personally, and he also cares for the department’s dogs.

Wentz is concerned that social media were used outside of Ferguson to organize and take advantage of the situation. He believes there have been two issues: the shooting and death of Michael Brown — and then people taking advantage of the situation.

“My heart breaks to see this poor family trying to grieve and get answers and have all of these distractions going on,” he said.

Molly Rockamann believes that real conversations need to take place all over the St. Louis area.

CREDIT MARY DELACH LEONARD | ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
'This Is Not A War Zone'

Four days after the death of Michael Brown, the staff of the nonprofit EarthDance farm were in the fields tending to the organic vegetables. But the week’s events were not out of mind.

They had been getting texts and phone calls from people outside the area who’d seen the news and were calling to see if everything was all right.

If there is an unexpected place in Ferguson, this is it: 14 acres of farmland tucked into a city neighborhood. On what once was the Mueller farm, the staff produces more than 150 varieties of organic vegetables, herbs and fruits -- and teaches people how to grow their own.

Since 1883, the farm has been feeding the people of Ferguson, says founding director Molly Rockamann.

Rockamann, 33, lives nearby, choosing to live in the city where she works. Her dad was born in Ferguson and has a business here.

“This is my community,” Rockamann says. “My friends joke. They call me Molly Ferguson.”

Rockamann said she was visiting another farm when the shooting occurred last Saturday, and people immediately began calling her.

“The outpouring of support has been beautiful,” she said. “On the converse, people all of a sudden are having a fear about Ferguson because of the sensationalized media attention around the lootings. Those are significant things, but Ferguson is not a war zone.”

Rockamann said she has concerns about what transpired Saturday afternoon. She believes that the peaceful protesting of people wanting justice is valid.

“But the attention has gone from the tragedy that Mike Brown's family has been feeling to the violence and looting that’s taken place,” she said.

Rockamann believes that real conversations need to take place in Ferguson and throughout the St. Louis area.

“So many of our problems could be solved with more communication,” she said. “One on one. Not based on social media or what you see on TV. Get out and talk to people.”

Rockamann said that work needs to be done by people at the grass roots, not just at an official
Tear Gas Again Disperses Crowd in Ferguson, Some Arrested

By DALE SINGER /PEOPLE/DALE-SINGER  •  AUG 13, 2014

Support for this station comes from

Updated at 9:41 a.m. with release of Antonio French:

Police moved to end an evening of confrontation Wednesday, beginning about 9 p.m. to disperse the crowds and end the demonstrations along West Florissant in Ferguson.
Among those arrested through the evening were reporters from the Washington Post (http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inferguson-washington-post-reporter-wesley-lowery-gives-account-of-his-arrest/2014/08/13/0fe25c0e-2359-11e4-86ca-6f03cbd15c1a_story.html) and Huffington Post. They were released without being charged. St. Louis Alderman Antonio French, who has been a constant presence and source of tweets about the protests, also was arrested, according to his wife. He was released this morning (http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/st-louis-alderman-says-police-dragged-him-from-his-car/article_0806541b-ed48-5d06-9267-323531ad6cf1.html).

Governor Jay Nixon’s office announced that he would visit the area Thursday.

In a statement Wednesday night, he said:

“The worsening situation in Ferguson is deeply troubling, and does not represent who we are as Missourians or as Americans. While we all respect the solemn responsibility of our law enforcement officers to protect the public, we must also safeguard the rights of Missourians to peaceably assemble and the rights of the press to report on matters of public concern.
“I have been closely monitoring the situation and will continue to be in communication with local leaders, and I will be in north St. Louis County tomorrow. As Governor, I am committed to ensuring the pain of last weekend's tragedy does not continue to be compounded by this ongoing crisis. Once again, I ask that members of the community demonstrate patience and calm while the investigation continues, and I urge law enforcement agencies to keep the peace and respect the rights of residents and the press during this difficult time.”

The police clearing action began Wednesday evening with high-pitched sounds coming from police vehicles. Officers in riot gear advanced slowly and ordered the crowd to disperse and go home. That was also when the police launched a second volley of tear gas, which was intense enough to send many of the crowd scrambling. The move followed what appeared to be a plastic water bottle thrown by a member of the demonstration toward the police line.

This seemed to be the culmination of an evening of confrontation that began at about 5:45 p.m., when armored vehicles from St. Louis County police pulled up on West Florissant and a line of police with batons and shields stood between the vehicles and the protesters. Police got on a loud speaker and said, "You must disperse immediately or be subject to arrest. Return to your vehicles. Return to your homes."

Some protesters shouted, "We're not going anywhere." But eventually they did. Several protesters, including state Sen. Maria Chappelle-Nadal, D-University City, were sitting in the street. Protest organizers carried some of them to a nearby parking lot.

By 7 p.m., two groups of protesters were holding competing rallies. North of the QuikTrip, which has become the ground zero of the protests, people congregated for a more religiously oriented protest, complete with music. Around 7 p.m., that rally ended as people went along with the police request to end demonstrations and rallies before dark.

Some of those from the disbanded protest joined the group by the QuikTrip, swelling the number to what appeared to be 200 or 300 people. Many in the crowd taunted the police. As the crowd tried to provoke the police, St. Louis Alderman Antonio French and Chappelle-Nadal tried to calm the crowd down.

For the most part, the crowd seemed spirited but not necessarily menacing. One of the more popular chants from the crowd: "Indict, convict, put killer cops in jail; the whole damn system is guilty as hell." Another: "Police, go home, you're
By about 8:40 p.m., though, the taunts became more than verbal and someone in the crowd of demonstrators tossed a bottle at the police.

That's when the police responded by tossing cannisters of gas toward the crowd and telling them to move back and go home. It was not initially clear it was tear gas, as the gas seemed to dissipate quickly.

The second volley of tear gas, at about 9 p.m., was much more intense and caused many to leave, though some remained milling around. Some of the cannisters landed in a nearby residential neighborhood.

After being hit with tear-gas, this reporter left the scene.

Tags: Ferguson (Ferguson) Michael Brown (Michael Brown)

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1 year ago
After A Weekend Of Violence, A Community Begins To Repair Itself

By CHRIS MCDANIEL, JASON ROSENBAUM (/PEOPLE/JASON-ROSENBAUM) & EMANUELE BERRY (/PEOPLE/EMANUELE-BERRY) • AUG 11, 2014

Support for this station comes from

CREDIT CHRIS MCDANIEL, ST. LOUIS PUBLIC RADIO
"The people who did the damage to this store are not our customers," Mike Jacob said, looking around his ransacked store. “100 percent not our customers. The community here is very good, smart people. Very good people.”

Jacob owns the convenience store Sam's Meat Market and Liquor on W. Florissant Ave., one of the dozens of businesses in the process of rebuilding after rioters vandalized and stole from stores in Ferguson.

The violence and looting were an offshoot from a peaceful vigil honoring the death of a teenager shot and killed by police. Michael Brown, an unarmed 18 year old, was shot by an officer after what police say was a physical struggle.

Outside of the convenience store, someone spray-painted the words "Mike Brown this for you."
"I try to tell people we're sorry about Mike," Jacob said. "We try to help people, we have a convenience store. I hope people understand having a store next to the community area is important to people. We hire a lot of African-American people here."

The store smells strongly of the booze broken during the looting. The floors are sticky, with remnants of food that have yet to be cleaned up.

"They take almost every liquor here," Jacob said. "They take the liquor, the cigars, the meat, they take the safe. They take everything from here. The building is almost empty, they make a lot of damage in here."

Like a lot of businesses along West Florissant Road, the windows are broken. He can't offer up an estimate of how much it will cost him, all told — except that it will be "a lot." (http://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kwmu/fil)

Just a mile down the road in neighboring Dellwood, John Zisser of Zisser Tire and Auto only had a rough estimate of the cost to his business.

"Oh, I don't know," he said, clearly exhausted from working on repairing the store. "It's close to a hundred grand so far. Don't know that I have insurance yet, it could be excluded."

By mid-morning, the tire center was lacking any front windows.

"They broke the glass out and robbed the place," Zisser said. "Everything in the showroom that wasn't nailed down — wheels, tires, computer equipment."
Zisser and others were working on sawing and nailing plywood up — both to protect the inside of the store from the elements as well as possible looting in the nights to come.

But Zisser echoed Jacob's comments, saying "the people who live here in the community aren't the ones doing the robbing."

**Community members rally at Ferguson police**

While business owners evaluated the damage and began their repairs, more than a hundred community members rallied outside of the Ferguson Police Department to call for justice for Brown.

In a rally that was peaceful but tense, protestors shouted “no justice, no peace,” as they marched toward lines of officers clad in riot gear.

Alex Thompson grew up in Ferguson. He said he came to the rally because he is tired of seeing his community treated this way.

Thompson said he is praying for the Brown family. “I know they are hurting, and I just hope something prevails out of not just his loss, but all the countless other losses, because it’s been this way for a long time.”

Sunny Ford of St. Louis said these losses create a sense of hopelessness.

“When I look at what is happening, there seems to be an increase in the murder of young black men and it is not given any real justice,” she said. “We are treated like animals. Our lives seem to have no value.”
With a voice hoarse from shouting, Anthony Shahid, one of the protest leaders, said he wants the protest to move beyond the violence of last night and focus on justice for Brown and improving the community.

“I’m through with that,” he said. “We are here now. We have a peaceful march and what we are going to do is make sure the world knows how we are being treated as black people around the world.”

County police chief promises thorough investigation

Meanwhile, St. Louis County officials indicated that it might be a while before an investigation into the shooting is completed.

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar said that his detectives needed to talk to “scores” of witnesses at the apartment complex that may have witnessed the shooting. This came as Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon announced he had asked the U.S. Department of Justice to conduct a separate investigation.

He went on to say that people “frustrated by the lack of information that’s coming out on a case like this” need to understand “that even detectives that are investigating it right now don’t have access to everything right now.”

“I want to assure you that this is a very complicated investigation, as it should be,” Belmar said. “A man lost his life, there’s a police officer involved in this, and we need to make sure that this investigation is done right. We get one chance to do it.”

Belmar reiterated that his department “does nothing but gather facts and circumstances and present those to a neutral authority, in this case the prosecuting attorney or the federal government or both.” Only then, he said, would a decision be made about whether to prosecute the
Grand jury does not indict Officer Wilson, Ferguson erupts

Posted: Monday, November 24, 2014 9:45 pm
By Rebecca Rivas

A St. Louis County grand jury chose not to indict Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson in the fatal shooting of unarmed black teen Michael Brown Jr., announced St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert P. McCulloch on Monday, November 24 in a courtroom in Clayton, the county seat.

The 12 jury members heard more than 70 hours of testimony from about 60 people, including Canfield Green residents who witnessed the shooting on August 9.

Police officials have said that Brown and Wilson had an altercation inside the police car, before the teen reached for Wilson’s weapon. However, according to some eyewitnesses, the teen had surrendered at the time of the fatal shooting, regardless of whatever altercation preceded it.

McCulloch said witnesses had different opinions of where Brown’s hands were – on his stomach, at his sides or up in the air – when he was shot and killed.

In his testimony, Wilson told the grand jury that he initially encountered Brown and his friend, Dorian Johnson, walking in a street and told them to move to the sidewalk. Wilson said he noticed that Brown had a handful of cigars, and realized that the men were suspects in a theft at a convenience store reported minutes earlier.

Johnson told the grand jury that he was “shocked” when Brown stole cigarillos from the convenience store and was not surprised when police came after them. Wilson originally passed the two young men, telling them, “Get the (expletive) on the sidewalk,” Johnson said.

Brown remained silent while Johnson spoke to the officer, he said. “I wasn’t loud with the officer or anything like that,” Johnson testified. “I was just telling him where we were headed.” But then Wilson reversed his vehicle and opened his door suddenly, hitting Brown and himself slightly, he said. Wilson closed the door and then reached outside of the car and grabbed Brown by the neck, Johnson said. He saw no punches thrown; it was more like an intense “tug of war.”

He heard Wilson say, “I’ll shoot,” but he never saw Brown grab the officer’s gun.

Wilson testified on the car wrestling: “I tried to hold his right arm and use my left hand to get out to have some type of control and not be trapped in my car anymore. And when I grabbed him, the only way I can describe it is I felt like a five-year-old holding onto Hulk Hogan ... That’s just how big he felt and how small I felt just from grasping his arm.”

Wilson said that the two young men ran from him and then turned back around. When Brown “charged” him, Wilson said, he shot him.

After the initial shots in the car, Johnson said he and Brown took off running. When Wilson shot again, he said Brown stopped running and turned to face the officer.

“At that time Big Mike’s hands was up, but not so much in the air because he had been struck,” Johnson said.
before he can say the second sentence or before he can even get it out, that's when the several more shots came."

Johnson was asked if Brown ran at the officer, and he said he did not because he was already shot and hurting.

McCulloch said many of the witnesses most familiar to the public gave testimony that conflicted with the physical evidence or changed their testimony, whereas witnesses whose testimony was found more credible by the grand jurors have never been interviewed by the media.

Brown's parents, Lesley McSpadden and Michael Brown Sr., were given a phone call on Monday briefly alerting them to the grand jury's announcement, according to an MSNBC report. "While we understand that many others share our pain, we ask that you channel your frustration in ways that will make a positive change," the Brown family said in a statement.

President Barack Obama quoted their statement in remarks from the White House after the decision was announced, but a small element in the Ferguson protest crowd had already started setting fires and trying to destroy police cars as Obama was speaking.

Wilson is white, and Brown was black. The Ferguson protest movement is diverse, but it focuses on a national pattern of white police officers shooting and killing black males who are unarmed (or where there is controversy over whether they were armed). The group that has rallied around the accused police shooters is virtually all-white.

This made the racial composition of the grand jury an issue of concern. The grand jury who heard the testimony in the Michael Brown Jr. case consists of nine white and three black members. Seven are men and five are women. Nine of the 12 jurors had to agree on charges to hand down an indictment. Those charges could have included murder in the first degree or second degree, or voluntary or involuntary manslaughter.

Throughout the protest movement, the chant, "Black lives matter," has been a dominant thread. The movement has united "fair-minded citizens who want a society that guarantees the human and civil rights for all, not just those with the right skin color or the resources to pay for it," said Jamala Rogers, a longtime activist and a leader with the group Coalition Against Police Crimes and Repression.

"On the other side are those who feel like the status quo that upholds white rights must be protected at all costs," she said.

Police said there were 21 fires in Ferguson on Monday night. Two police cars completely burned, and 10 were damaged. Three officers were injured.

Gov. Jay Nixon said 700 National Guardsmen were in the St. Louis area, but many people questioned why they were not stationed in Ferguson. Nixon said he would have 2,200 members of the National Guard deployed on Tuesday night.

"I'm sorry to the community of Ferguson," Captain Ron Johnson of the Missouri Highway Patrol said at a press conference on Tuesday, November 25. "That was not fair to this community and this nation."

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Protesters stage final 'shut down' demonstration in South County, organizer arrested

Posted: Monday, December 1, 2014 9:35 am

By Bridjes O'Neil Of The St. Louis American

Protesters successfully shut down a Target in South St. Louis County Sunday night – the latest in a series of protests to occur that day.

“We want to hit north, south, east, and west – all over the city until we see justice,” said organizer D. Demond Robinson, presiding bishop of the Kingdom Destiny Fellowship International and senior pastor of Kingdom Dominion Intl Church in Belleville, Ill.

Upon arriving, protestors quietly entered the store trailed by several St. Louis County Police Officers privy to what was about to occur. Suddenly a familiar chant began near the back of the store: “Hands Up! Don’t Shoot!”

“You have no brains,” one female shopper mumbled under her breath.

“Is it safe to enter,” one protestor said he overheard a shopper ask.

After marching around the store, protestors staged a die-in blocking the aisle – visual reminders of the length of time Michael Brown Jr.’s body had lain on the ground. The same scene unfolded at a near-by Wal-Mart off Telegraph Road.

“You can’t stop the revolution,” they chanted outside Wal-Mart.

Robinson said protestors will not go home nor will they be silent.

“We will continue to walk up and down the sidewalks and streets. We will continue to go throughout the stores and chant until we see justice,” he said calling for the arrest of former Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson. “He committed a murder.”

Wilson announced his resignation on Saturday after a grand jury decided not to indict him in the fatal shooting death of the unarmed teen. Robinson also organized a St. Louis Rams protest earlier that afternoon outside the Edward Jones Dome where protestors were greeted with hostility.

“Hearing Rams fans call us ‘[N-word]’ today was eye-opening,” protestor Deray McKesson said via Twitter. “Hate remains bold and brazen in America.”

Robinson said protestors were walking back from the Edward Jones Dome toward Kiener Plaza to re-group and discuss their next direct action plans when they were told by police to remain on the sidewalk. He said police assured protestors that those in compliance would not be arrested or harassed. But, that’s not what happened. At Kiener Plaza, they were warned to disperse or be subject to arrest. The St. Louis Police Department arrested six protestors, including Robinson – who feels he was targeted as an organizer.

He recounted the details of his arrest for a small group of reporters after the Target protest. Describing himself as a peaceful protestor, he said he’s “very angry” and puzzled by his arrest referencing video footage of him standing on a public sidewalk at the time of his “unjust” arrest.

“The people that we’ve asked to work with us as we protest arrested us,” he said.
It was his first time in jail. Robinson said he was charged with unlawful assembly and failure to disperse. During his brief stay in jail – he was held for nearly two hours – he said police antagonized the protestors.

“Because I’m a spiritual man, I believe in the power of prayer,” he said. “I was praying and I was being laughed at by the police.”

Follow this reporter on Twitter: @BridjiesONeil

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Protestors shut down streets in South St. Louis City

Posted Monday, November 24, 2014 11:03 am

By Rebecca Rivas Of The St. Louis American

About 150 marching protestors shut down more than five major intersections last night in South St. Louis City, demanding justice for Michael Brown, VonDerrit Myers Jr. and the many other African Americans killed by police.

At each intersection, participants formed lines on the intersections’ crosswalks to block cars, while they stopped traffic for 4.5 minutes – representing the 4.5 hours that Michael Brown lay dead in the middle of the Canfield Green neighborhood on Aug. 9.

“We are out here for black life because they say our lives do not matter,” said Ashley Yates, a member of the Millennial Activists United (MAU), into a bullhorn at the intersection of Manchester Avenue and Kingshighway Boulevard. “But we know black lives matter, and we know that we must fight to prove that.”

Organized by the South City Solidarity activist group, the march started at the corner of Shaw Boulevard and Klemm Street by the memorial for Myers, 18. Two months after unarmed Brown, also 18, was shot and killed by Officer Darren Wilson, Myers was killed by an off-duty city police officer on Oct. 8.

Banging on drums and pots and pans, the diverse group wove through the Botanical Heights neighborhood and then confidently walked out into the busy intersection of Vandeventer Avenue and Kingshighway Boulevard at about 7:30 p.m.

As the cars backed up and headlights stared them down, the protestors yelled and chanted about justice. Minneapolis-based activist Deray McKesson watched proudly from the middle of the circle.

“It’s beautiful,” said McKesson, who writes a newsletter on the Ferguson protest movement with local activist Johnetta Elzie. “It’s cool to see new leaders emerge in the movement, 107 days in.”

The march’s organizers went through the direct-action trainings held last week, he said.

From there, the march went down Vandeventer and back up to Kingshighway, all the way down to Manchester and through the Grove. The group passed Sweetie Pie’s, marching down Tower Grove Avenue – trailed by a dozen police cars, who helped block off intersections. They continued down Shaw all the way up to Grand Boulevard, shutting down the intersection at Interstate 44.

Although the protestors were peaceful, some of the response from drivers was not. At one point, an agitated driver threw objects, possibly rocks, at the protestors. During the confrontation, Los Angeles Times reporter Matt Pearce was hit in the head. He visited the hospital as a precaution, and did not need stitches, according to the Huffington Post.

The energy from the young black women of the Millennial Activists United was infectious. All night, Alexis Templeton, 20, ran through the crowds, jumping up and down and leading chants – even though her voice was raw and tired.

At one point, Yates asked the group to circle up and “ground” the movement.

“We appreciate you coming out, but we want to remember why we are out here,” she said.
Yates led the group in what MAU calls a community chant — and a chant that has become group’s hallmark. It comes from a quote by 1970s activist Assata Shakur.

As printed on the back of her MAU T-shirt, Yates yelled, “It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains.”
SWAT team and pepper spray deployed on protestors at St. Louis City Hall

Posted: Wednesday, November 26, 2014 6:03 pm

By Rebecca Rivas Of The St. Louis American

St. Louis City police arrested and deployed pepper spray on several people at City Hall, who were protesting against police brutality and the Ferguson grand jury decision.

The protestors had stopped at City Hall as part of their march around the downtown area, which started at 10:30 a.m. Wednesday. After being denied entrance into the building, protestors sat down on the steps and chanted, “No justice, no peace.” Ten minutes later, law enforcement from the Sheriff’s Office and St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department formed a semi-circle around the protest site. Shortly after, SWAT police in riot gear marched across the street from the St. Louis Police building. They then formed a line on the street in front of City Hall.

Snow fell as several people yelled, “We are not unlawful.” The group of about 100 people included elders, infants and young children.

Derek Laney, organizer with Missourians for Reform and Empowerment (MORE), said when he saw the circle form, he knew they were going to either start beating or arresting people. Laney was there with his 9-year-old daughter and immediately got her out of range.

“It was another example of over-policing of people who were peacefully assembling to show their outrage of the grand jury’s decision,” he said.

After forming a line, a SWAT officer stepped forward and yelled in a hoarse voice that they had one minute to disperse. By then, the protestors were on their feet and several started to leave. One young black woman yelled at him, “Who’s building? Our building.”

Police arrested two men and a younger woman.

Upon seeing the riot police marching up, MORE executive director Jeff Ordower called Mayor Francis Slay’s office in attempts to de-escalate the situation. He was told not to worry – that the police’s actions would “play out slowly.”

However, they did not. After arriving, the SWAT team only gave the one-minute warning before advancing on the group. Ordower said in the 20-something years that he has been organizing non-violent protests in the city, he had never seen anything like it.

“I have never seen riot cops called out for protestors doing nothing than trying to get into a public building,” he said. “It was deplorable. There’s only one reason why the mayor (Slay) is reacting this way. This is a protest about race.”

When the St. Louis American asked why police took action on the group so quickly, police spokeswoman Leah Freeman said, “Officers did not give multiple warnings to disperse and used pepper spray only after the gathering became unlawful and crimes were committed, such as the assault on a city marshal outside of City Hall.”

Ordower insisted that protestors did not harm or make contact with the city marshal when they were trying to get into the building.

“Protect us from them,” activist Deray McKesson said while walking past National Guard upon leaving City Hall. “Protect us from the police.
“They should be ashamed of themselves,” he said pointing to a group of officers dressed in riot gear. “We did nothing wrong.”

Several other protesters were just as shaken by the police’s aggressive action towards a peaceful group. Many compared the SWAT team’s behavior to a “police state.”

Earlier at the Old Courthouse, the group had held a mock trial for St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert McCulloch and Darren Wilson, the Ferguson police officer who shot and killed unarmed Michael Brown Jr., 18, on Aug. 9. The mock judge found Wilson guilty of murder. They also found the Unified Command law enforcement team guilty of excessive force, attempted murder and tampering with evidence.

After the mock trial, the group marched on Market Street and shut down the intersection of Market and Tucker Boulevard for 4.5 minutes, representing the 4.5 hours that Brown’s body lay dead in the street of the Canfield Green neighborhood before police removed it.

This is the third day since a St. Louis County grand jury chose not to indict Wilson in Brown’s fatal shooting. Immediately after the grand jury’s announcement, protests broke out nationwide. Thousands of protestors shut down the streets in major cities in more than 30 states, including Cincinnati, Boston, Washington D.C., Los Angeles and San Francisco and New York City.

In New York City, groups shut down the Lincoln Tunnel, Manhattan Bridge and the Brooklyn Bridge.

According to reports on social media, the direct actions show no signs of slowing.
Protestors ‘Black Out’ Black Friday

Posted: Friday, November 28, 2014 2:31 pm

By Rebecca Rivas Of The St. Louis American

Police ordered Galleria storeowners to gate their doors and told security guards to turn away customers at the mall’s main entrances, after protestors held a mass die-in supporting Michael Brown Jr. for “Black out Black Friday.”

About 1,000 protestors came to the Galleria, one of the St. Louis area’s most popular malls, which was completely shut down for at least 30 minutes.

“We are not supporting businesses that do not support the community that they are in,” said activist Johnetta Elzie, who participated in the direct action. “I’m glad that the St. Louis police actually participated in the protest by shutting the mall down for us. That’s great.”

Similar to a flash mob, the “Carolers of the Mike Brown Movement” met up at the large Christmas tree in the mall’s center, attempting to blend with shoppers. Then at 12:30 p.m., they put on Santa hats and sang out of their red “Caroling for Justice Song Book” folders. To the tune of Silent Night, they sang, “Trampled rights.”

In the melody of “Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire,” they sang, “No true bill set our soul on fire, they think it’s over we suppose … and every mother’s child wonders why, black children in this country have to die.”

About 30 police officers surrounded the choir but did not intervene as they sang their five carols. Several shoppers stopped and joined the singing, reading off the songbooks. However, many others walked by in disgust. Once the choir finished, the participants “dropped dead” in the middle of the floor and held silence for 4.5 minutes, representing the 4.5 hours that Michael Brown lay dead on the street on Aug. 9.

Determined shoppers stepped through the bodies, but most people stopped and watched or took photos on their phones.

After the silence, the group stood up and shouted, “Not one dime” and encouraged shoppers not to support businesses on Black Friday that did not support the movement. One woman said she returned her purchases after seeing the group and joined them.

Not long after they stood up, another group came marching through the mall shouting, “No Justice, no peace!” The group had heard about the action, which was organized by the Tribe X activist group, on social media. Several other individuals said they got the message to “Head to the Galleria,” and drove over.

The crowd of at least 300 people circled the mall’s three levels until police finally ordered the stores to close down.

Store workers watched from behind the gates, trying to explain to upset customers why they couldn’t open. At the mall entrances, security guards told customers that they could not enter because the mall was closed — but they didn’t explain why. Security guards then started ushering people out of the mall.

Cop cars blocked the entrances to the mall, so people could not enter the parking lots. National Guard vehicles also surrounded the parking lots.

Alisha Sonnier, a Tribe X leader, said they told their participants to leave the mall even before the stores started closing. Sonnier said she got word from people coming to the mall that police were putting on riot gear outside of the Dillard’s entrance.
When one woman was asked her reaction, she said, “I’m scared. What if they start looting?”

Sonnier, an engineering student at Saint Louis University, said she hopes those fearful people saw that looting was not the group’s intention.

“The only weapon was people using their rights,” she said. “The weapon of words and awareness – that was the only thing that was present that could have been seen as a threat to what was going on.”

At the end of the die-in, Sonnier made a statement about the burning and looting in Ferguson on Monday, November 24, which she said she does not agree with.

“Right now when you watch CNN, when you watch MSNBC, you’re seeing burning buildings, you see stealing and robbing and people are like, ‘Why are these people doing this?’” she told the audience. “But I want to let you know that people have been burning, stealing and looting from St. Louis for a long time.”

The crowd cheered. She said if they don’t believe her, she challenged them to look at the school systems that are failing and not performing at academic level.

“And if that’s not enough, I’m going to challenge you to look at the school system to jail pipeline,” she said.

She said the next time they think about burning, she wants them to look at the people in power who “don’t have to burn down a building” to destroy these struggling communities.

“They are taking away communities,” she said. “They are taking away futures. A lot of people’s lives are determined before they’re even born.”

She believes their group started with 200 to 500 and then grew after people learned about the action over social media. More than 100 cities participated in the Black Friday shutdown. Locally, protestors also disrupted shopping at West County and Chesterfield malls.

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NAACP ‘Journey for Justice’ march from Ferguson to Jefferson City starts tomorrow

Posted: Friday, November 28, 2014 9:36 pm

In response to the grand jury’s decision not to indict Darren Wilson for the killing of 18 year old Michael Brown Jr., the NAACP, including members of the Youth and College division and senior and youth organizations, will be embarking on a 120 mile, 7 - day march entitled “Journey for Justice: Ferguson to Jefferson City”.

“The NAACP stands with citizens and communities who are deeply disappointed that the grand jury did not indict Darren Wilson for the tragic death of Michael Brown, Jr.,” said William Brooks, NAACP President & CEO. “We stand committed to continue our fight against racial profiling, police brutality and the militarization of local authorities.”

The Journey for Justice will commence with a commissioning service at 12 noon at the Washington Metropolitan AME, the march will start at 1pm at the Canfield Green Apartments and conclude at the Missouri Governor's Mansion in Jefferson City.

For seven days, beginning Saturday, November 29th, marchers will walk along the route to the Governor’s Mansion. Each evening, the marchers will participate in teach-ins and rallies that are open to the public. New participants are welcome to join the Journey for Justice each morning as walking commences. We expect buses will provide relief for marchers along the 120 mile Journey for Justice.

Brooks says the purpose of the march is to call for new leadership of the Ferguson police department, beginning with the police chief, and for new reforms of police practice and culture in both Ferguson and across the country.

Our “Journey for Justice: Ferguson to Jefferson City” march is the first of many demonstrations to show both the country and the world that the NAACP and our allies will not stand down until systemic change, accountability and justice in cases of police misconduct are served for Michael Brown and the countless other men and women who lost their lives to such police misconduct.

“Journey for Justice: Ferguson to Jefferson City” will begin with a 12 noon commissioning service is at Washington Metropolitan AME 613 N Garrison Ave, St Louis, MO 63103. The march will begin at 1 p.m. in Canfield Green Apartments 2974 Coppercreek Rd, St Louis, MO 63136
Hundreds protest in Shaw, 21 arrested after grand jury announcement

Posted: Tuesday, November 25, 2014 11:19 am

By Rebecca Rivas Of The St. Louis American

Hundreds took to the streets in the Shaw and Tower Grove neighborhoods on Monday, November 24, as they marched down both lanes on South Grand Boulevard and even shut down Interstate 44 for more than 30 minutes.

Chanting, “This is what democracy looks like,” the mostly young crowd expressed both rage and sorrow over the grand jury’s non-indictment decision in the Officer Darren Wilson case.

At about 10:30 p.m., the crowd swelled even more, as protestors who escaped the tear gas in Ferguson arrived to join the Shaw action. The area has become a second home to the Ferguson protest movement, after the shooting death of VonDerrit Myers Jr. on Oct. 8. Like Michael Brown Jr., Myers was 18 when he was shot and killed by an off-duty St. Louis police officer.

Grace Kenyon, a frontline protestors since August, said she arrived late to the Ferguson action but quickly turned around.

“We were parking at the Family Dollar when we saw a bunch of people running from tear gas,” she said. “And then windows started breaking while police are teargassing protestors a few blocks away. Police were nowhere in sight when people were actually committing crimes and breaking the law.”

Kenyon held up a sign that said, “Black skin is not a weapon.”

“I’m here because black lives matter,” she said, “and people don’t think that.”

At about 11 p.m., the marchers arrived at the intersection of Arsenal Street and Grand, where the South Grand business district begins. Leaders stopped the march because several individuals had run ahead of the group and started breaking windows of businesses, including at the FedEx Kinkos.

Elizabeth Vega, a leader with the Activists group, said she believes the offenders were agitators, who were wearing masks and were white. During the march, they were encouraging the younger kids to pick up rocks. Vega said she pulled her whistle out and told the kids to put them down. That’s when the agitator pushed her.

She said she understands their anger and sentiment of, “They’re killing us, and this is just property.”

“But this is just an excuse for police to start shooting rubber bullets and real bullets if this happens,” she said. “We’re just trying to keep the peace as best we can in the midst of real frustration and sorrow.”

A moving truck joined the protestors at the intersection, and several young black men jumped on top, wearing “In Peace Solidarity” T-shirts. Below them a car blasted Lil Boosie’s “F—k the police,” while young men and women danced.

By 11:30 p.m., tensions were growing, and several protestors started walking back down Grand toward the highway. That’s when police deployed smoke bombs. While not as harmful as tear gas, the smoke still agitated people’s eyes and throats. When people refused to leave the intersection, police in riot gear formed a line in the street.
St. Louis police arrested 21 adults after the grand jury announcement, according to the city police’s summary of incidents released Tuesday morning. Three were arrested on Interstate 44 for failing to disperse, and three more were arrested at Arsenal and Grand for the same charge.

Five people got felony charges for property damage in the South Grand business district. Two people, who carried gas masks, were arrested for stealing a car and possessing handguns. Four people were arrested for burglary in the second degree at the corner of Grand and Arsenal.

From restaurants to the U.S. Post Office, 21 windows were smashed on South Grand Avenue, basically hitting almost every business in the South Grand business district. Six additional windows were smashed throughout the city, including Bank of America at Grand and Gravois Avenue.

At about midnight, one woman confronted a group of young people who were damaging the door of a popular neighborhood store, Jay’s International Food, on Grand Avenue. They told her they were going to follow her home, said the woman, who did not want to be identified.

“It’s a really sad time,” she said, standing on the corner near Jay’s in a shawl. “And now I’m scared to go home.”
West Florissant explodes in protest of police shooting, more than 30 arrests

Posted: Monday, August 11, 2014 8:13 am

What started as a peaceful prayer vigil for Michael Brown, the unarmed teen who was killed by Ferguson police, ended in an explosion of looting and destruction in the North County area surrounding where the tragedy took place – and beyond.

Hundreds gathered at 8 p.m. for a peaceful candlelight vigil in the young man’s honor. Before 9 p.m. police would summon surrounding municipalities as the crowd turned aggressive.

The Target parking lot of the Buzz Westfall Shopping Center was filled with dozens and dozens of police vehicles and the area of West Florissant from Jennings to Ferguson was blocked off. Helicopters and tanks – as well as vehicles from a host of area departments – descended on West Florissant as looting and vandalism got underway.

Incidents kicked off with the damage of police cars along West Florissant and a KMOV-TV news van.

By 10 p.m. the Ferguson QuickTrip – initially thought to be the catalyst for the turn of events that led to Brown’s death - was targeted. Before night’s end, it would be up in flames.

Hundreds of police were in the area as several area businesses were besieged in North County. According to KTVI.com, the list of establishments that experienced varying degrees of damages included:

- Zisser Tire and Auto
- AutoZone
- Family Dollar
- Walmart
- Footlocker
- Ross
- Walgreens
- Shoe Carnival
- Hibbert Sports
- Taco Bell
- Spirit Store
- K-Mart
- DHL
- Phillips 66
- Monarch

It would be nearly 2 a.m. before the situation was under control.

Early on in the evening after the protest transitioned from the initial vigil, a member of the Brown family condemned the actions while speaking with Fox 2.

"[W]e just want everyone to know and understand that the stealing and breaking in stores is not what Mike will want, it is very upsetting to me and my family. Our family didn’t ask for this but for justice and peace... Please let my family grieve in peace and stop the violence on the street tonight, we don’t want this happening when we protest for justice for my cousin Mike Brown. Please get this message out to the people that the Brown family do not want this.”

According to County Sheriff’s Department, three dozen were arrested as a result of last night’s activities.

Information from KMOV.com and Fox 2 contributed to this report.

More about Michael Brown

- ARTICLE: Rage flares after Michael Brown memorial mysteriously burns
- ARTICLE: Michael Brown mourned by family, world

http://www.stltoday.com/news/local_news/article_55e1212-2196-11e4-9de0-001a0be887a.html
Another night of unrest in Ferguson

Posted: Tuesday, August 12, 2014 8:52 am

By Kenya Vaughn Of The St. Louis American

Sirens, helicopters and commanding voices over megaphones could easily be heard in the homes surrounding the streets within walking distance of West Florissant after a third day of protesting against the senseless killing of unarmed teen Michael Brown at the hands of Ferguson police.

The looting and property damage that occurred along the street a day before didn’t continue, but things were by no means business as usual.

“Go back in your homes,” police dressed in full combat gear shouted while pointing guns in residential backyards - before following through on a threat to release another round of tear gas.

Some did. Others couldn’t.

According to several reports, plenty had come from other areas to participate in protests and were stranded. Intersections leading to West Florissant were blocked as police from a host of municipalities were on guard.

What could best be described as a “by any means necessary” approach to ensure crowd control seemed to be the agenda for Monday night.

Residents and media - 7 - ral damage.

Reporters coughed through live coverage and sought cover from rubber bullets before ultimately being told to “fall back.”

While the approach was effective in curbing the acting out of aggression on area businesses and neighborhoods (at least in North County), it fueled the fire of growing tensions between the young people in the area and the police – which was brought them to the streets of West Florissant in the first place.

Social media channels were transformed into hubs for citizen journalism. 140 character play-by-play spot news features flooded Twitter. Facebook and Instagram were filled with images shared to showcase what was often described as excessive force by police.

Video shorts were shared through Vine and Instagram as well with people in the trenches – 21st Ward Alderman Antonio French and rapper Tef Poe were among the most consistent among those on the scene not tied to a media outlet, while KMOV’s Brittany Noble and 100.3 FM’s Tammie Holland caught hold of the story early on.

Thanks to his constant presence and consistent social media posts, French has emerged as a national source for the turn of events. He has appeared on CNN and MSNBC.

“I don’t know exactly what happened, the community doesn’t know exactly what happened but those people that do think they know what happened have been very angry over the past few days and that anger is very palpable,” French told CNN Monday morning.

By Monday evening, police behavior made for the hot topic among those on the scene.
French’s photo and video footage from his Twitter account was being disseminated by socially conscious celebrities, blogs and web sites.

He showed tanks, guns drawn and a dense cloud of tear gas that had protesters running for cover.

By this point French was joined other outlets from across the nation had reporters on the scene—the Washington Post and New York Times were among them.

From these news institutions came as much illustrations of being caught in the crossfire of police’s methods to maintain order as capturing the tension and frustration from a community reacting to yet another senseless death of an unarmed young black man at the hands of the police.

Monday morning the image of the Ferguson QuickTrip engulfed in flames and businesses gutted by angry looters were among the most compelling and definitive. Tuesday morning it was the burning eyes of those overcome with tear gas and the visible wounds of those hit by rubber bullets of police.

It was by no means a happy medium.

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- YOUTUBE: Balloon Banner Drop
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- ARTICLE: Gunfire erupts in Ferguson on anniversary of Michael Brown’s killing

More about Michael Brown

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- 15 Real Death Row Requests That Will Send A Chill Down Your Spine (BrainJet)
Peace begets peace at protest

Posted: Friday, August 15, 2014 1:45 am

By Kenya Vaughn Of The St. Louis American

When St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar was relieved of command of the Ferguson protests last Thursday afternoon, the contrast in tone and energy was as palpable as the rage that ensued when 18-year-old Michael Brown was gunned down by a Ferguson police officer the previous Saturday.

The full day of protests was a ray of sunshine when measured against the clouds and thunder from tear gas – along with the drizzle of rubber bullets that were present last Wednesday, courtesy of a police force that had clearly declared war.

With the absence of the North County “peacekeepers,” unity in the quest for justice was as inspirational and encouraging as the nationwide “hands up” protests on Michael Brown’s behalf.

They stood in simultaneous solidarity with the people crowded down West Florissant, Ferguson police headquarters (and, in the city, downtown near the Arch).

Not long after Governor Nixon made the call to turn command over to Captain Ron Johnson of the Missouri Highway Patrol, the original intention of the protest was once again thrust into the forefront.

Michael Brown’s senseless death became an afterthought as soon as the footage showing the suburb where he was killed transformed into a war zone once darkness fell made its way around the nation – and the world.

The protest theme shifted – even though it served as further evidence of the systematically dysfunctional relationship between the area’s residents and police.

The lead story became the brutal and excessive force by police inflicted upon protesters and journalists. A college-bound, unarmed teen gunned down in front of residents of the Canfield Green Apartment Complex like an animal – and the apparent lack of progress in the direction of justice – was buried in conversations and media coverage.

“‘Mike Mike’ wouldn’t want it to be like this,” 16-year-old Shaybreonna Johnson said last Wednesday. She had originally come out to protest her friend’s death but was forced to wander nomadically through the back streets of Ferguson with her two-year-old niece after police refused to let her cross West Florissant to get in her car and go home.

He would have been especially proud of the turn of events that kicked off last Thursday afternoon and went past midnight.

Following Capt. Ron Johnson’s lead of marching alongside protesters, officers immersed themselves on the scene and practiced positive engagement. Instead of manning barricades, they were integrated among the people stretched down from neighboring suburb Jennings and trickling into Dellwood. Police hugged protesters. They kissed babies. They posed for photos.

“I’m so glad these ones are here,” one protester said to another. “These the nicest police I’ve ever seen.”

Protesters still headed towards West Florissant with their hands up, shouting “don’t shoot.” But this time it was actually a form of tribute to Michael Brown.
The night before the words were a literal plea to the officers who pointed military-grade assault weapons with laser beams at protestors, journalists and people approaching roadblocks while attempting to find alternative routes to avoid the action.

Thursday was a new beginning – though there was still a bit of shellshock.

“Yeah, pigs – y’all outta here,” a young man yelled as he stomped through a crowd of people carrying candles and in good spirits. “Y’all can’t keep us down. We still out here.”

He was clearly still haunted by what had happened the night before.

The young man – who appeared to be in his teens – had also taken his shirt off and had fashioned into a mask.

“Alright now, we don’t want to give them any excuses to bring ‘em back,” an older gentleman said to the young man in the tone of a stern uncle. “Yes, sir,” the teen said.

He decided to start chanting “No Justice…No Peace” in unison with a crowd of young people who made their way in his direction.

Before he had a chance to forge ahead with them, a police officer – who had to have heard him shouting the common pejorative that references the police – stuck out his hand to give him “daps.”

The boy reciprocated the fist-bump and chanted his way down the street.

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Community blames police for Friday night looting in Ferguson

Posted: Saturday, August 16, 2014 4:39 pm

By Kenya Vaughn Of The St. Louis American

“How can you police a community you’re afraid of,” said Norm White, a criminologist at Saint Louis University.

Saturday morning he wasn’t holding a lecture or speaking as an expert to media.

He had rolled out of bed and was helping volunteers clean up in the aftermath of looting that took place Friday night in Ferguson.

“I didn’t get to clean much because the volunteers were so on top of everything,” White said. “But I got a chance to have some good conversations and meet some good people – and that was a positive thing.”

In the wee hours of the morning the stretch along West Florissant that was the subject of video footage and news reports that showed individuals with t-shirts fashioned into masks walking in and out of a liquor store carrying bags of items as if they were shopping.

By 9:30 a.m. the tireless effort of volunteers – who began show up as early as 5 a.m. – were evident.

As they put the finishing touches on an Operation Brightside style cleaning, White’s sentiments were echoed throughout the street among the remnants of the volunteers who put the finishing touches on the stretch of road.

“Those police are cowards,” a man who asked to not be identified said. “They locked up reporters and peaceful people, but they let the thugs run this street like crazy. They wasn’t scared of those reporters and the people they knew were doing good. They used tear gas and took them to jail. Where were they at when the folks who meant harm came out? Tell me that.”

The man didn’t want to give his name because he said he felt like he might become a target for the officers who may read this article.

“If I use my name, they’ll look me up and know that I’m clean – that I ain’t a thug – and they will harass me like they did people earlier in the week,” he said. “They know that if I had warrants and was riding dirty, I wouldn’t give my name.”

He said that he and several other people called 911 to no avail on Friday when it became clear that the peaceful protesters couldn’t manage the growing number of looters and violent element. He also kept reinforcing that when the reporters and protesters were the majority days before, people were targeted for simply walking down the street.

“They were fighting and starting stuff with people who wouldn’t – or couldn’t – fight back,” but when they really needed to be tough, where were they at? That’s why they had that stuff on and were in those tanks. They didn’t want to help, they wanted look big and bad – and show off their weapons of mass destruction.”

The individuals who looted did so casually, because they had no one to stop them.

Their antics happened as a second night of peaceful protesting wound down.
After Ferguson police released the footage of a video said to be Michael Brown committing “strong arm robbery,” at the same time they identified his shooter, emotions raged and an element of individuals acted out.

Protesters, already emotional after Friday morning’s revelations by Ferguson police, asked why there was no police protection.

Johnson told the media that they scaled back because of the safety of the officers after calling in tanks and unleashing a round of tear gas.

The remaining peaceful protesters had tried to ward them off – and successfully diverted damages from several stores until it no longer became safe.

Because most of the protesters had dispersed, they said they were simply outnumbed by the criminal element.

Store owners found out their businesses were being destroyed by watching it on television.

“I did nothing for this, I try to help the people for Mike Brown,” a store owner said on KMOV-TV.

They came to West Florissant and were in shock upon being met with the aftermath.

The morning news reports spoke of the chaos, but in the hours after the greatest illustration of the character among the protesters was underway.

They handed out disposable ponchos and got to task.

The street looked as if it had never been looted – except for the big brown boards that covered windows and doors.

“I wish I could have done more, but they had already done so much already,” said Skip Bell.

He had arrived at 7 a.m.

Cleanup crew members hugged the storeowners and let them know that they were sorry. They also expressed that the outcome they were attempting to rectify that morning was not the intention when they took to the streets in the name of justice for Michael Brown, the 18-year-old who was senselessly gunned down one week ago in the Canfield Green Apartments at the hands of Ferguson police.

They helped them clean and reorganize the establishments that showcased the disarray often associated with natural disaster.

“We have to stand together and show our support,” Bell said. “All of us came out here to show the world that we want what’s right – and the majority of us out here seeking justice are doing what’s right for not only the people of Ferguson, but being true representatives of a vast majority of the whole St. Louis region. We are trying to show that what happened last night as far as the looting is not who we are.”
Police killing sparks rage, chaos

Posted: Thursday, August 14, 2014 9:00 am

By Bridjes O’Neil

Hundreds gathered Tuesday night at the Greater St. Mark Family Church, 9950 Glen Owen Dr., in Ferguson, Missouri to support the family of Michael Brown.

Michael Brown, 18, was unarmed when he was shot multiple times and killed by a Ferguson police officer on Saturday around noon in the 2900 Block of Canfield Drive at the Canfield Green Apartment Complex. He died at the scene, and police left his corpse lying on the street for four hours.

St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar held a press conference Sunday morning at the Ferguson Fire Department regarding the tragic incident that has garnered national and international attention. Witnesses and the police department have given sharply conflicting reports of the incident.

According to Belmar, the officer had an encounter on the street with Brown and his friend, 22-year-old Dorian Johnson. Johnson told local news stations that he and the victim were walking along the street when a patrol car approached them. Johnson claimed the officer cursed at them and told them to get on the sidewalk.

“We told the officer that we were not but a minute away from our destination and we were sure to be off the street,” he said.

Police officials claimed the officer – who still had been identified by press time – exited his vehicle and was pushed back into the patrol car where a struggle allegedly ensued over the officer’s weapon.

“There was at least one shot fired inside the car,” Belmar said at Sunday’s press conference.

Police claim no video record of the event was made.

Eyewitness accounts by Johnson and others differ on all points with the official version.

Piaget Crenshaw told local news stations that she witnessed the officer chase after the victim “full-force” and the victim “ran for his life,” she said.

“He put his arms up to let them know that he was compliant,” she said, but was shot twice more. Then, she said, “he fell to the ground and died.”

Although more than a few shell casings were recovered from the scene, Belmar said that he was unsure of the exact amount of times the victim was struck by gunfire. He did acknowledge that it was “more than a couple.”

Witnesses say Brown was shot at least eight times. No police report or autopsy have been released.

Belmar said it took a long time to process the crime scene. Brown’s lifeless body remained in the middle of the street for four hours, according to outraged witnesses.
Photos of his body were widely distributed on social media – some without a white sheet covering the corpse. The victim’s parents, Michael Brown Sr. and Lesley McSpadden, have requested that the photos be removed.

The medical examiner began conducting an investigation Sunday. Autopsy results could take as long as six weeks pending toxicology results, Belmar said. The community has cried foul, demanding that the officer also be given a toxicology test.

The St. Louis County Bureau of Crimes Against Persons Unit will conduct an independent investigation. When the investigation is complete, Belmar said, the facts and circumstances will be turned over to St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert P. McCulloch. McCulloch will determine whether or not charges should be filed.

However, Attorney General Eric Holder has opened what he called “a concurrent, federal inquiry” into the case by the Department of Justice. Cheryl Mimura, a spokeswoman for the FBI’s St. Louis field office, said the agency opened an investigation Monday into possible civil rights violations that led to the victim’s death.

The officer involved in the shooting is a six-year veteran with no prior incidents and is on paid administrative leave, Belmar said. The officer has not been identified due to safety concerns, police officials said.

Florida attorney Benjamin L. Crump and local attorney Anthony Gray are representing the family of Michael Brown. Crump represented the family of 17-year-old shooting victim Trayvon Martin.

On the steps of the Old Courthouse in downtown St. Louis, Crump addressed local and national media Tuesday afternoon. He was joined by civil rights leader the Rev. Al Sharpton.

Gray said he expects a transparent and open investigation into the circumstances surrounding Michael Brown’s death. Not releasing the officer’s name is not an act of transparency and it certainly doesn’t build the community’s confidence, Crump said. He said the family wants the name of the officer released. A court order would force the department to release the officer’s name, Crump said.

“‘The local authorities have put themselves in a position where people will not trust anything but an objective investigation,’” Rev. Sharpton said.

Gray has asked the public to come forward with any information or evidence that could assist federal investigators.

“His life was taken by the very people that were supposed to protect him,” Crump said Tuesday at Greater St. Mark.

*Follow this reporter on Twitter: @BridgesONEil. Email this reporter: boneil@stlamerican.com.*
Rev. Jesse Jackson calls Michael Brown shooting ‘crime of injustice’

By Chris King Of The St. Louis American

The Rev. Jesse Jackson told The American he hopes that the U.S. Department of Justice sees the Ferguson Police shooting of Michael Brown on Saturday and resulting community violence as “systematic of a national crisis.”

“It was a crime of injustice,” Jackson said.

The injustice, he said, was two-fold: a police shooting of an unarmed black teen followed by black youth from high-unemployment neighborhoods erupting in rage.

“Black men should not be the objects of target practice,” Jackson said of the shooting. “It’s not a unique situation. It’s a prototypical American situation. Police departments do not reflect the population. It’s awful, but it’s not unique.”

The resulting community violence on Sunday, following a non-violent candlelight vigil to commemorate Brown, should be seen in the context of a chronic urban crisis, he said.

“Poverty is a weapon of mass destruction,” Jackson said. “Poverty is in the community, guns are in, drugs are in, jobs are out. Banks are bailed out without meaningful community reinvestment. Too many people have no stake in the culture.”

Jackson said that chronic urban problems remain to be addressed after the shooting of Michael Brown and the community’s outrage are resolved.

“These kids need educations, skills, job training, jobs, scholarships to college,” Jackson said. “We need a national forum on urban policy, justice and repression. This is a national crisis that has manifested in Ferguson.”

Asked for advice to organizers on the ground, Jackson said, “That’s tough. I saw a sign that said we need quietness. Quietness is not the answer. Quietness is the absence of noise. We need the presence of justice.”

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French arrested, released in Ferguson

Posted: Thursday, August 14, 2014 3:55 pm

By Bridges O'Neil Of The St. Louis American

After spending five nearly non-stop days and nights of using social media to document and communicate the fallout out from the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson to the St. Louis region and, eventually, the entire country, Global Grind's Editor-in-Chief, Michael Skolnik, noted his concern that St. Louis city's 21st Ward Alderman Antonio French had been quiet for too long regarding the latest developments in the municipality.

"Haven't heard from @AntonioFrench in over an hour," Skolnik tweeted to his followers last Wednesday night via Twitter. "Anyone know if he is ok? #Ferguson."

Skolnik's concern was quickly validated, as reports of French's arrest began to quickly spread on Twitter, sparking outrage in the community. French was booked on a 24-hour hold and detained at the Ferguson Police Station for "unlawful assembly," he told local news stations Thursday morning after his release without bond.

"I guess within the law you can hold somebody without any real reason for 24 hours," French stated.

He reports he was at a peaceful protest along with several hundred other people at QuikTrip on West Florissant Avenue. He was told by a resident that police officers were demanding that everyone be off the street by 9 pm. Information, French said, he shared with his followers on Twitter.

"All of a sudden officers got on the bullhorn and said that this was no longer a peaceful assembly," French said, "and that everyone should leave."

This was a demand police repeated twice before beginning to move in after issuing a final warning – an action that agitated the crowd, causing some young men to curse at officers, French reported.

"Police released smoke bombs into the crowd and people scattered thinking it was tear gas, he said. When some of the people began to return, police (dressed in riot gear) moved forward with their assault vehicles and tear gas. "And that's when the chaos started," he said.

French was sitting in his car, when he said he was dragged out by a police officer with an assault rifle. His hands were upright, armed only with a cell phone. He asked why he was being arrested. He was told it was because he wasn't listening, but French believes the police picked up the wrong people.

"You have reverends in there," he told officers, and "young people organizing the peace effort."

He told reporters that he doesn't believe he was targeted as a leader in the community, nor does he feel like his social media posts are inciting violence. He believes a heavy-handed "unprovoked" police approach is making the situation worse.

Freelance journalist Umar Lee was documenting peaceful protesters who had gathered outside the Ferguson Police Station when he heard of French's arrest. It was also well into the early Thursday morning hours when Lee said two police tanks pulled up with rifles aimed at the crowd. Police carrying weapons and dressed in full body armor positioned themselves in front of protesters. With upright hands protesters yelled, "Do
An officer on a bullhorn
his car when police or
t the crowd with arrest, if they did not disperse. Lee was among the last to leave and was walking toward
running from across the street, he said. “They surrounded us. Cuffed us up. Locked us up.” He was ful order and noise violations and was bonded out five hours later.

“I haven’t done a tour of the municipal jails in St. Louis,” Lee mentioned, “but that one was pretty bad.” He reports the jail cell was “dirty and cold.” Antonio French and Umar Lee were not the only controversial arrests made by Ferguson police that night.

Reports were widely circulated on social media that Washington Post Reporter Wesley Lowery and Huffington Post Ryan J. Reilly had also been arrested earlier that day at a McDonald’s.

“Media should be free to report,” Missouri Governor Jay Nixon said at a press conference held at Christ the King Church.

French said no laws were broken that night. Protesters were simply exercising their constitutional rights.

“We have a right to peacefully protest 24 hours of the day,” he said. “Our rights don’t expire at nine o’clock.”

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