

FRAMING PROTEST IN MISSOURI:  
FRAMING ANALYSIS ON MISSOURI NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CONCERNED  
STUDENT 1950 PROTEST

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by  
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FRAMING PROTEST IN MISSOURI:

FRAMING ANALYSIS ON MISSOURI NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CONCERNED

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## DEDICATION

I would like to thank my parents, Joe and Jane Para, for all their support, both mental and financial, during my graduate studies. I could not have done this without them.

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FRAMING PROTEST IN MISSOURI:  
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ABSTRACT

Research over the past 30 years has shown that mainstream news media have been biased against social movements through journalists' use of framing. This trend, called the protest paradigm, delegitimizes, marginalizes, and demonizes a protest through sources, issue-action depiction, and syntax. Using quantitative framing analysis, this research examined six Missouri newspapers' coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 protest that occurred at the University of Missouri to find whether newspapers followed the protest paradigm. Results showed that the overall framing was sympathetic toward the movement, thus not following the protest paradigm. The papers showed that racism exists on campus, the protests were justified and honorable, and the protesters spoke truthfully about their experiences as minority students. The alternative newspapers were extremely sympathetic toward the protesters, adhering to previous studies comparing mainstream and alternative media coverage of protests. Differences between local and state reporting were minimal. The coverage may have pursued more sympathetic frames toward Concerned Student 1950 protest because its demonstrations were not violent and because journalists may be more aware of the racial divides in society than in the past.



## Chapter 1: Introduction

At the University of Missouri in Columbia, a group of students pitched tents early November 2015 on Mel Carnahan Quadrangle to support graduate student Jonathan Butler. He embarked on a hunger strike that would not end until the University of Missouri System President Tim Wolfe stepped down (Dietrich, Bajaj & Marvin, 2016; Lee 2016). The students named their group Concerned Student 1950 to honor the concerns of minority students on campus and for the first year African-American students were admitted to MU. The group began protesting the campus' historical and current racial climate about a year after the fatal shooting of Michael Brown by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee 2016). Before the tents and hunger strike, Concerned Student 1950 had hosted rallies, demonstrations, sit-ins, die-ins, and boycotts to bring attention to the university's insufficient response to a series of racial hate crimes and unequal treatment of minorities (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee, 2016). The group blocked the president's car during the school's homecoming parade and issued demands to help make campus more welcoming to minorities. Butler began his hunger strike on November 2 that prompted the MU Tigers football team to boycott practices and games to urge the president to step down (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee, 2016). At this point, the social movement became a national news event.

One day after the entire football team announced its boycott, Wolfe and the MU Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin resigned (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee, 2016; Vandelinder, 2015, November 6). In the aftermath, Concerned Student 1950 refused to talk to the press, and two MU faculty confronted student photographers attempting to document the

protest. This sparked even more controversy in the national spotlight and brought a First Amendment debate into the discussion (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee 2016). Following MU's example, many student groups at universities across the nation began holding their own demonstrations both in solidarity with MU and protesting their own campus's racism (Dietrich et al., 2016; Lee, 2016; Wong & Green, 2016, April 4).

This research examined local, state, mainstream and alternative newspaper coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 protest and found that overall the framing was sympathetic toward the movement, especially in the alternative newspapers. However, a large amount of research over the past 30 years has shown that news media have been biased against social movements through journalists' use of framing. Reporters' selection, emphasis, and presentation of a news event creates a frame, which helps them and the reader process large amounts of information (Gitlin, 1980). Noticing that many papers pursued frames that marginalized protesters, Chan and Lee (1984), coined the term "protest paradigm" to describe the trend. Many studies since have confirmed that mainstream newspapers negatively frame protest groups and the issues they try to change. However, a few research studies have noted exceptions in which the media use sympathetic frames toward the social movement, especially in alternative media. This research area is saturated with quantitative studies to understand what factors increase or decrease an article's adherence to the protest paradigm. This research study builds upon previous research on the protest paradigm to examine whether marginalizing or sympathetic frames existed during the Concerned Student 1950 protests.

This quantitative textual analysis study examined the newspaper coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 protests at the University of Missouri in the fall of 2015 to

determine what frames six newspapers — *Columbia Missourian*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, *The Maneater*, *Kansas City Star*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The St. Louis American* — used when covering the students' demonstrations. The results showed that the framing was sympathetic toward Concerned Student 1950 and its desire to change minority treatment on campus. The coverage did so through bystanders, who are people not directly involved in the protest or the MU administration, and through a historical perspective that shows racism is a part of the daily life of a black student at MU. Overall, the sympathetic frames showed that racism does exist on campus, the protests were justified and honorable, and the protesters spoke the truth. The alternative papers, *The St. Louis American* and *The Maneater*, were the most sympathetic toward the movement, while the statewide paper *Kansas City Star* was the least sympathetic. Few differences existed between local and statewide coverage of the events.

On the practical level, protests have occurred throughout time and will continue to do so. As society's values change, people may have more tolerance for change, especially as social movements in the past have moved society closer to a more equal community. America's commitment to free speech can allow for social progress. When people can locate similar patterns across movements, they can gain perspective on how a current disruptive event may be remembered in the future as noble. In fact, public discourses on the 2015 protests often mentioned its similarities to the national Civil Rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s, the shantytowns erected on the campus in the 1980s, and the more recent protests in Ferguson when Michael Brown, an 18-year old black man, was killed by a police officer in 2014.

On the theoretical level, this research is important because an article's frame can influence the audience's critical thinking and opinions. In particular, social movements live or die based on whether the public deems their causes valuable. The news media are one tool to bring these issues to attention. In fact, Concerned Student 1950 was successful in its goal to remove the president and chancellor of the university. It also continued the national conversation that the social movement #BlackLivesMatter began in 2012 to show that racial inequality exists in American society. With the rise of the "far right" movement, the debate among citizens over race, history and equality has become even more prevalent through controversial events. For example, a rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, held by white nationalists became violent on August 12, 2017 (Stolberg & Rosenthal, 2017 August 12). The demonstration was meant to protest the city's decision to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee, a commander of the Confederate States during the Civil War (Stolberg & Rosenthal, 2017 August 12). The protesters and the counterprotesters clashed — with racial taunting and brawling — before a car drove into the crowd, killing one and injuring others (Stolberg & Rosenthal, 2017 August 12). The event continued the national conversation as to whether confederate soldier statues should be taken down because they honor men who upheld slavery.

This research is important to journalism because it shows the various ways newspapers can frame a protest as well as if newspapers have changed the way they frame race-related protests. Most newspapers or journalists rarely review their coverage to see how they reflect innate biases or the status quo. In fact, "little is known whether journalists regularly, or even occasionally, turn the gaze inward to reflect more proactively on the causes and consequences for their own and others' reporting" (Haas,

2006, p. 351). Newspapers provide context for readers to understand how and why a protest occurs, allowing the readers to debate whether the social movement actions and issues are just. Understanding the narratives that the press produces about protests could show why public trust has eroded within the media because if a narrative does not fit a reader's experience, he or she may not trust the story.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### History of University Student Protests

University students as early as the 1200 CE in Paris realized that by banding together they could gain influence and power over institutions and the local towns (Boren, 2001, p. 9). In fact, as soon as higher education schools sprung up around the world in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, so, too, did student protests, and these early clashes over university rules and political and economic power were often violent (Boren, 2001, p. 8-9, 19). Townspeople disliked the unruly young people, a sentiment still held today by many through negative framing practices in media. The first student protests in America happened at Harvard before the colonists earned their independence (Boren, 2001, p. 36). Early student demonstrations in the United States usually centered on local school policies or slavery practices (Boren, 2001, p. 36, 92). By the 1920s, student organizations formed nationwide political networks, and through the 1950s, students protested communism, university attempts to curb the First Amendment, economics, academic freedom, civil rights, and poverty (Boren, 2001, p. 92-114). Soon, civil rights took the nation's attention.

In 1960, four African American students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat at a whites-only lunch counter and were refused service (Boren, 2001, p. 138-139). This particular sit-in received a lot of media attention and sparked similar nonviolent demonstrations — though the movements were often met with police violence — in the South (Boren, 2001, p. 138-139). A national civil rights network was established to help coordinate efforts among the various African-American student movements against

segregation (Boren, 2001, p. 138-139). By the late 1960s, student protesting became even more popular after the Berkeley uprising in 1964: Nearly every campus in the United States held demonstrations against racism, segregation, or the Vietnam War (Boren, 2001, p. 142-148) Over time, student activist groups began using direct confrontational tactics, which became more and more radical to enact change, and so many demonstrations turned violent (Boren, 2001, p. 138-144). Police responded with similar brutality, sometimes killing students (Boren, 2001, p.188). Although the public possessed sympathy for the students, radical groups reduced that concern with their violent action (Boren, 2001, p. 188-189).

After the Vietnam War, other student minority groups — including Native Americans, women, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities — began organizing to enact change for their own respective issues (Boren, 2001, p. 138-139, 189-191). In the mid-1980s, the anti-apartheid movement swept campuses nationwide, including the University of Missouri, and other student groups turned to rising against university policies (Boren, 2001, p. 203-204). By the 1990s, students began suing schools over policies and issues as another form of protest.

Today, social media plays a part in uniting student protest groups across the nation (Cammaert, McCurdy & Mattoni, 2013; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Penney & Dadas, 2014). In 2012, #BlackLivesMatter was created in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin’s killer, who had fatally shot the teenager (“HerStory”, n.d.). The #BlackLivesMatter movement sought to bring attention to the racism prevalent in society and police brutality toward nonwhites. The #BlackLivesMatter movement came in full force to Missouri when a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, shot and killed

Michael Brown, an unarmed African-American teenager in August 2014 (Lee 2016). Many black students at MU received their first significant experience of activism by protesting racial bias in the St. Louis area (Lee 2016). A year after Brown's shooting, several black MU students organized around changing race relations on campus, which led to the creation of Concerned Student 1950 (Lee 2016), which began protesting the historical and current treatment of minorities on the campus.

### **Race Issues at the University of Missouri**

Frank O. Bowman III, a professor at the MU School of Law, explained in a 2013 speech that "(mid-Missouri culture) is a legacy of the slave economy on which it was built." (Barna, 12 May 2013). The University of Missouri was founded on the cusp of the Civil War in 1841 (Barna, 12 May 2013; Bowman, 2009, p. 353). James Sidney Rollins, an MU's founder, was one of Boone County's largest slave owners with 34 slaves on his farm (Bowman, 2009, p. 351). The second MU president, James Shannon, openly supported slavery ("James Shannon Papers," n.d.). In the university archives, there is mention in the 1850s of at least two slaves working as janitors, Moses and Tony (Official Correspondence: Early Years, 1853), and MU's Inclusion, Diversity and Equity department mentions two more slaves by name: Horace Williams and Harrison Diggs ("A Brief Timeline of Social Change," n.d).

In 1853, a slave name Hiram was brought to trial in Columbia for allegedly raping a 15-year-old white girl (Bowman, 2009 p. 349-356), and "two justices tried Hiram and found him not guilty, but local residents were convinced the slave was guilty and refused to accept the judgement," so a new trial was set (Greene, Kremer, & Holland, 1993, p. 45). During the new trial, a lynch mob rushed into the courtroom, but order was restored



(Greene, Kremer, & Holland, 1993, p. 45; Bowman, 2009). The next day Hiram confessed to the crime and was lynched, and “the antebellum extralegal murder of Hiram set a bloody precedent for mob lynchings in Missouri” (Greene, Kremer, & Holland, 1993, p. 46). A similar incident occurred in 1923 when MU janitor James T. Scott was accused of raping the white daughter of a professor (Marion, 2016, September 30). A mob took him out of jail and hanged him before a trial was set.

In 1935, St. Louis resident Lloyd Gaines, who was black, challenged MU’s “Separate but Equal” education policies when he was denied admission to the all-white law school (Endersby & Horner, 2016). His case, *Missouri ex Rel. Gaines V. Canada*, made it to the Supreme Court, and Gaines won in 1938 (Endersby & Horner, 2016). It was an important milestone for the Civil Rights movement as it was the first case that the high court ruled on concerning racial segregation in education (Endersby & Horner, 2016). However, the next year, Gaines mysteriously disappeared and was never found (Endersby & Horner, 2016).

In 1939, the School of Journalism denied Lucile Bluford admission to graduate school when it discovered she was black (Endersby & Horner, 2016, p. 165). When she won the lawsuit, the department shut down its graduate degree program, citing low student and faculty numbers because of World War II. (Trout, n.d). African-American students were not admitted at MU until 1950, and the first black professor was not hired until 1969 (“Significant Dates in the History of the University of Missouri,” 2014) In the mid-1960s, students successfully protested against discriminatory housing practices in Columbia (“A Brief Timeline of Social Change,” n.d). At a 1968 football game, confrontations arose between black and white students when the marching band waved

the Confederate flag as the crowd sang “Dixie” (“A Brief Timeline of Social Change,” n.d). As a result of the clashes, the Legion of Black Collegians, or LBC, was created to give black students a greater voice on campus through a black student government (“Legion of Black Collegians,” n.d.). The next year, students held protests over race relations, demanding changes to minority treatment (“A Brief Timeline of Social Change,” n.d). These demands were used by Concerned Student 1950 in 2015. The LBC successfully removed the “Confederate Rock” monument on campus in 1974, and the group held more rallies protesting minority treatment on campus (“A Brief Timeline of Social Change,” n.d). In 1987 and in 1988, students marched for more minority enrollment and less racism, even protesting the 1988 homecoming theme, “Show Me Old Mizzou” (“A Brief Timeline of Social Change,” n.d).

In more recent times, two white students scattered cotton balls in 2010 outside the black culture center, and in 2011 a white student spray painted the n-word on a campus statue (Heavin, 2010, February 26; David, 2011, February 12). In 2015, a series of racial incidents occurred throughout the year: In April, swastikas and anti-Semitic epithets written in ash were found in an MU dorm; in September, student government president Payton Head wrote a viral Facebook post about racial incidents; in October a drunk white student interrupted an LBC meeting; a swastika drawn with feces was found in a dorm after Concerned Student 1950 stopped the UM system president’s car during the homecoming parade in early October; and the day after the UM System president and MU chancellor resigned because of the protests, messages on the anonymous messaging app Yik Yak threatened violence against blacks on campus (Gutierrez, 2015, November

13). Overall, this brief history of racial incidents at MU shows the concerns the 2015 protesters had as they asked for change.

### **Media Norms**

To become sustainable, a social movement — whether student led or otherwise — must educate the public about its issues and thereby gain new followers (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). To do so, the social movement depends on the legacy media, such as mainstream newspapers and broadcast news, to garner enough attention to create change (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). Mainstream media are generally defined as traditional news outlets or general circulation news, such as *The New York Times*, *CBS* and *USA Today*. Downing (1995) defines it as “including the big broadcasting and cable companies or newspapers of record, such as the *Washington Post* or the *Wall Street Journal*” (p. 239).

Early social movements before the Industrial Revolution, such as the abolitionist movement and the woman’s suffrage movement, relied on their own distributed publications to gain traction (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). However, after the rise of organized journalism, social movements had to depend on the press to relay their concerns to the general public, institutions, and society’s elite (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). Scholars have noted that the relationship between social movements and the media is unequal (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Social movements need the press for mobilization, validation and scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). When the media report on a social movement, the group can spread its message to more people and recruit members. The media’s coverage can affect how the public understands and treats the protesters and their goals, which can hinder or aid the movement. (Kielbowicz &

Scherer, 1986). Also, the acknowledgment of the protest by news outlets can often legitimize the social movement. Meanwhile, news outlets use social demonstrations only for content. A newspaper, or other form of news media, is not reliant on protest movements to sustain itself.

In fact, the very nature of news production with its news values, routines, structure, and ideology inhibits the coverage of social movements (Gitlin, 1960; Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986; McLeod & Hertog, 1995; Oliver & Maney, 2000; Rucht, 2004; Smith et al., 2001). Because of the media's selectivity, many studies have found that only a small percent of protest events are actually covered (Rucht 2004). However, with the rise of the internet and social media, more social movements are able to bypass the media to publicize their issues (Kreimer, 2001). Nevertheless, mainstream media have been the primary means for social movements to inform the public about their beliefs.

So much news happens in a day, and newsrooms have limited resources to cover it, so editors must use their judgment to choose what events are the most important. To determine which events to cover, journalists use news values, which are generally considered to include prominence, conflict, a large magnitude of effect on a large number of people, human interest, newness, timeliness, unusualness and proximity (Oliver & Maney, 2000; Rucht, 2004). In particular, the media favor dramatic, visible events — like a protest demonstration — because these indicate timeliness, are easier to narrate, and are easier to comprehend than complex and abstract issues (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). Thus, to place routine issues onto media agendas, social movements must communicate their issues as timely or exceptional (Smith et al., 2001). Confrontational demonstrations help with this communication because disruptive actions align with the news values of

conflict, large amounts of people, and unusualness. However, because of the media's preference for events over issues, news organizations are more likely to highlight the drama rather than the social concerns that the movement is trying to change (McLoed & Hertog, 1995).

The deployment of newsgathering resources also affects whether the media cover an event in the first place. News organizations have found that beats are the most efficient way to get a story, and these beats are usually organized around institutions such as police, courts, schools, and government (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). This beat structure adheres to the media's fondness for relying on authoritative sources, which give credibility to news stories and reliable leads to reporters (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986). Relying on government or "official" sources is convenient, reduces newsgathering costs, and produces sources that are less likely to offend influential elites that support the news organization. But the beat structure makes it harder for social movements, which tend to challenge the status quo, to receive coverage because the protesters are challenging the traditional, credible, and authoritative institutional coverage (Kielbowicz & Scherer, 1986).

Newsgathering cycles also contribute to the likelihood of press coverage of a protest. Oliver and Maney (2001) looked at how political processes and local newspaper routines in Madison, Wisconsin, affected the print coverage of demonstrations. They found that protests were reported on less often when the state legislature was in session. This study confirms that journalists tend to prioritize their regular beat over a protest. The authors also found that many other factors influence social movements' coverage rates: the number of people involved in the protest, police involvement, counterdemonstrations,

conflict, amplified sound, day of the week, religious sponsorship and holiday events. For example, in Madison the legislature did not meet on Mondays, so there was a larger space in the printed paper on Tuesdays for other news stories, including articles about protests. Although Oliver and Maney (2001) concluded that their results could not be used to predict protest coverage in other cities, this study confirmed that news routines influence protest coverage.

Other influences on news coverage include the structure and ideology of a news outlet. According to critical political economy theory, political and economic institutions affect news making, and mass media exhibit bias in favor of the capitalist interest of their owners. Smith et al. (2001) argued that during the 1970s and 1980s the privatization, commercialization and concentration of media ownership constrained news organizations and forced them to produce stories that support the status quo. News production becomes dependent on advertisers because the more sponsorships from corporations, the more money a news organization makes. Moreover, Gitlin's theory of hegemony posits that a ruling class coerces a subordinate class to comply with its interests and reinforces inequality by masking it as common sense and everyday practice (1960). In summary, "[hegemony] is the systematic engineering of mass consent to the established order" (p. 253). And because of direct corporate and class interests, the owners and managers of mainstream media generate content that maintains the hegemony. Thus, social movements, by their very nature, reject hegemony and the status quo, and are unlikely to receive favorable coverage because they challenge the social and political system that supports mainstream media.

Additionally, both news organizations and social movements have their own sets of orientations. Ideologies are “fundamental, axiomatic beliefs underlying the social representations shared by a group” (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 193), and they influence all levels of news discourse. News outlets often do not explicitly state their ideological attitudes but instead either prioritize certain stories over others or frame events in a particular way that advances their beliefs (Van Dijk, 2009; Oliver & Maney, 2000). For example, left-wing news organizations are more likely to cover more movement-related events (Oliver & Maney, 2000) and are more likely to be more sympathetic to protesters (Chan & Lee, 1984).

### **First Amendment Theory**

Any discussion of the press and demonstrations naturally leads to the First Amendment, which guarantees the freedom of speech and of the press. The First Amendment specifically says:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. (U.S. Constitution amend. I)

However, there are many interpretations of these words. Emerson (1963) stated the fundamental purpose of the amendment is to maintain an effective system of free expression, in which there is personal autonomy which can lead to truth, facilitate democracy, and produce peaceful change. John Stewart Mill wrote another interpretation in which the First Amendment protects the minority opinion. In his 1859 essay *On Liberty*, Mill argued that those in power can use popular opinion, in the form of prejudice or self-interest, to stifle a dissenting idea and subject everyone to a certain way of thinking and living (Mill 1859, p. 10). Humans deserve self-protection, Mill wrote, and

the only reason to exercise power “over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others” (p. 12).

Mill also pointed out that the press provides security against corrupt or tyrannical government (1859, p. 18). It serves as a watchdog to ensure the government does not enforce unjust policies. Additionally, Mill postulated, people deserve the liberty of thought and expression as well as the freedom to unite. The minority opinion deserves to be heard because it may lead to the truth: “If the opinion is right, [individuals] are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error” (p. 19).

Scholars have interpreted Mill’s philosophy to argue that the First Amendment ensures a marketplace of ideas, or a discussion needed for the upkeep of a democratic society (Emerson, 1963). Through discussion, people can find the truth and innovate through the expression and vetting of new, better ideas. Through a public forum that values all opinions, people can show support or combat ideas for solving community and cultural problems.

As cases challenging the First Amendment arose through the judicial system, more interpretations came about (Meiklejohn, 1961). Absolutists believe the First Amendment means what it says, so the government should not make laws against speech-making (Meiklejohn, 1961). However, people need protection from libel and slander, and regulations over election campaigns are required, and so Emerson (1963) argued that this and other issues make the absolute viewpoint impractical and illogical. Non-



absolutists, or balancers, believe certain rules govern free speech and these regulations can change throughout time (Meiklejohn, 1961). For example, the Supreme Court in *Miller v. California*, 413 U.S. 15 (1973), established a new definition of obscenity. Previously, obscene matter was defined as "utterly without redeeming social value" (*Miller*, 413 U.S. at 24). But with *Miller v. California*, the court established a three-prong test: an average person, using community standards of the time, would find the work sexual in nature; the work depicts or describes any sexual conduct that is offensive to state law; the work lacks value in literary, artistic, political, or scientific communities (*Miller*, 413 U.S. at 24). As society's values change, the interpretation of the First Amendment can also change.

However, the non-absolutist's view is often seen as too restrictive of the freedoms the First Amendment protects (Emerson, 1963). Therefore, Meiklejohn (1961), a philosopher, educator and free-speech advocate, argued that the freedom the First Amendment protects is not the absence of regulation but the protection of self-government. He states that "the revolutionary intent of the First Amendment is" to deny the government the ability to curtail the "electoral power of the people," (p. 254) which involves discussing ideas through various means. However, the government is allowed to regulate the activities of free speech to ensure the safety of all persons (Meiklejohn, 1961). For example, laws are in place to restrict false statements about products, privacy, defamation, and speech infringing on public order (Matsuda et al., 1993).

Thus, the First Amendment protects the right to peacefully assemble, but this right is not absolute: Government officials can impose restrictions on the time, place, and manner of the assembly — often through permits — so as to ensure that there is no clear

and present danger of a riot, disorder, threat to public safety, or interference with traffic on public streets (*Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham*, 1969; *Cox v. New Hampshire*, 1941). Protests as a result of breaking news — such as the 2014 police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson — are an exception to the permit requirement (*Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham*, 1969; *NAACP vs. City of Richmond*, 9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1984). However, the American Civil Liberties Union (n.d.), which works to defend and preserve individual rights and liberties that the U.S. Constitution and laws guarantee, states that oftentimes law enforcement hinder the freedom to peacefully assemble through mass arrests, illegal use of force, curfews, surveillance technologies, and intimidation.

For example, in the 1962 Supreme Court case of *Edwards v. South Carolina*, 372 U.S. 229 (1963), groups of black protesters who were walking in an open public area without blocking traffic were arrested and convicted. The Supreme Court decided 8-1 that the arrests and convictions violated the protesters' freedom of speech, assembly, and petition for redress of their grievances. (*Edwards*, 372 at 238). In more recent examples, police prevented antiwar protesters from attending a rally in 2003 through barricades (Purnick, 2003, February 20), and in 2012 police officers in New York City raided an Occupy Wall Street camp in Zuccotti Park (Long & Dobnick, 2011, Nov. 15).

### **Free Speech and Critical Race Theory**

Several scholars have argued the First Amendment and other areas of the law have not been equally applied to all people, and that women, people of color, and other minorities have been left out of legal theory discussion (Matsuda, 1988; Harris, 1990; Bell, 1992; Spann, 2004). Bell (1992) wrote:

As every civil rights lawyer has reason to know — despite law school indoctrination and belief in the “rule of law”— abstract principles lead to

legal results that harm blacks and perpetuate their inferior status. Racism provides a basis for a judge to select one available premise rather than another when incompatible claims arise (p. 369).

For an example, Bell (1992) cited a 1978 case, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, in which the Supreme Court held that affirmative-action policy may not unseat white applicants to a school. Bell (1992) argued the Court ignored social problems within academia itself that allow for a lesser minority representation, such as inadequate public school systems, lack of minority professionals for role models, and standardized tests based on “white” standards. The only way to get more minority representation in academia is to allow minority students in schools, Bell (1992) argued. Another example Bell (1992) included was the “separate but equal” doctrine in which separate facilities for blacks and whites were never actually equal.

This inequality based on race within the justice system is also true within the First Amendment. Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong (2011) examined 15,000 protests between 1960 and 1990 and found that African-American protests are more likely than other racial groups’ protests to draw more police. Additionally, the police at African-American protests are more likely to make arrests and use force and violence.

Barkan wrote in his 1985 book *Protesters on Trial* that the civil rights movement had different experiences depending at which court level a case was presented (p. 28). At the top level — including federal courts, the Supreme Court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals — the legal system was often favorable to the movement’s goals (p. 28). But at the local and state level, the law was used as social control (p. 28). In fact, Barkan wrote and cited *The Second American Revolution: A First-Hand Account of the Struggle for Civil Rights* (1966) by Anthony Lewis and *New York Times* contributors that “many

southern communities experienced ‘a wholesale perversion of justice from bottom to top, from police force to supreme court’” (1985, p. 28). Historically, blacks have not received the same rights as whites even in a legal system where supposedly justice prevails.

Both Spann (2004) and Bell (1992) believe America can never reach a meaningful level of racial equality. Bell (1992) wrote, “The struggle by black people to obtain freedom, justice, and dignity is as old as this nation” (p. 363). Spann (2004) listed the various racial groups the nation has discriminated against: Native Americans, Chinese immigrants, Japanese-American citizens, Latinos/as and blacks. Bell (1992) argued that to gain any version of equality, society must realize that racism is endemic to American life, which is an assertion of critical race theory (Matsuda et al., 1993). This theory objects to the idea that equality among races is present and “presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage along racial lines” (Matsuda et al., 1993, p. 6). Within the Concerned Student 1950 protests, this was a goal of the members: to educate the campus about the historical and current minority experience to enact change in minority treatment.

Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw (1993) devoted a book to looking at assaultive speech and the First Amendment through the lens of critical race theory. The book argues that racial slurs and hate speech should be restricted, and this restriction is justified through the fight against racism. Several essays provide legal solutions, such as redesigned tort laws, to deter racist speech. The book also suggests protesting as a way to enact change for hate speech: “If we accept that ours is a racist society, that is all the more reason to give primacy to the First Amendment. The best means to combat racist oppression is the right of protest” (Matsuda et al., 1993, p. 32). Essentially, to reach a

more equal society that is not based on race, critical race theorists must use their First Amendment rights to make change. Through dramatic demonstrations, protesters will be able to educate society while newspapers cover the events. As explained previously, the right to protest, as a protection under the First Amendment, is a way to reach truth in society. Through protest events, protesters can create a conversation about racial injustice. In fact, as Western Kentucky University journalism professor Linda Lumsden pointed out, “The First Amendment right of assembly was the foundation of the civil rights movement of the 1950s” (Hudson, 2002). Without protesters bringing attention to the oppression through rallies, boycotts, and sit-ins, the Civil Rights Act may never have been passed.

Yet even so, institutions within society attempt to uphold the status quo by framing protests and these minority opinions about racial inequality as insignificant or frenzied. In fact, the media themselves can and often do perpetuate a narrative, seated within the American psyche, that assumes equality must exist within society because the nation was built upon it.

### **Framing Theory**

Since the beginning of the 21st century, framing has been one of the most frequently used theories in mass communication journals (Bryant & Miron, 2004). However, the term “frame” has been difficult for scholars to define, which creates problems for framing analyses because studies use different definitions for a frame (Matthes, 2009). Lippmann was the first to describe the phenomena of media frames (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009). Lippmann (1921) described how newsmakers, or journalists, attend events and then communicate the information in such a way that

captivates audiences so that they understand what happened. Lippmann indicates that when retelling the event, the author must select certain aspects over others to highlight a cohesive narrative. Bateson's 1955 research on play theory and Goffman's 1975 book on framing analysis are credited with introducing the framing approach to modern studies (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009). However, neither work left scholars with a satisfying definition, and many have attempted to pin down a better one.

Overall, the literature poses that humans use frames to make sense of the world by creating a storyline through selection and deselection of certain aspects to link seemingly unrelated events (Entman, 1993; Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). In particular, media frames help audiences understand worlds that are not accessible through direct experience (Entman, 1993; Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano 2009; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). In the news industry, "Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, p 6). Entman (1993) further explained that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Reporters use frames to efficiently process large amounts of information (Gitlin, 1980). Moreover, framing studies can be broken into two perspectives: constructionist — in which texts possess elements such as metaphors, keywords, and linguistic structures that create meaning — and constructivist — in which meaning is revealed through an interaction between the text and reader (Van Gorp, 2010).

Gitlin was one of the first communication researchers to study the media's frames while reporting on social movements with his 1980 book *The Whole World is Watching*. He examined how two news organizations, *The New York Times* and CBS, covered

Students for a Democratic Society's (SDS) demonstrations against the Vietnam War in the 1960s. He found that the news discourse used frames against the protesters: trivialization, polarization, emphasis on internal dissension, and marginalization (p. 27). The coverage also relied on government officials and authorities for sources, emphasized violence in the demonstrations, used quotations for pointed irony, and gave a lot of attention to right-wing opposition (p. 28). Gitlin's study set the tone for taking a critical look at the media and how they more often hinder rather than aid social movement's attempts to change society. Unlike most communication studies about social movements and the media, this book took one movement and looked at it in-depth over many decades, using not only framing theory but also hegemony and media routines to explain why and how the media produced the coverage that they did.

To test whether frames do affect audiences' attitudes toward a social movement, McLeod and Detenber (1999) performed an experiment in which they showed two groups of subjects two separate broadcast segments. One video used framing to portray the police heroically responding to protesters' disorderly actions. The other video had frames that distributed blame for the violent confrontation on both the police and protesters. McLeod found that subjects who viewed the second video were more likely than the first group to view the police as out of line, initiating conflict, acting violently, or using excessive force. The second group was also less critical of the protesters. However, neither video had an influence on whether subjects believed protests were a useful form of political participation. Similarly, Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) performed two experiments to see whether broadcast news segments and news articles could use frames to affect audience's tolerance for a Ku Klux Klan rally. The frames used were a "free

speech” frame and a “disruption of public order” frame. Participants who interacted with broadcast segments and newspaper articles that used the free speech frame to report on the issue tended to have more tolerance for the KKK than participants who interacted with news using the public disorder frame. Both McLeod and Detenber (1999) and Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) showed that frames do have a real effect on the way an audience perceives a protest as well as that media’s frames can create reality rather than represent it.

### **Protest Paradigm**

Chan and Lee (1984) found many of the same factors and themes that Gitlin (1980) did in their own study of media coverage of social movements in Hong Kong. They coined the term “protest paradigm” to refer to the techniques news outlets use to produce marginalizing frames toward social movements. McLeod and Hertog (1999) later produced an essay that outlined the framework to test for the presence of the protest paradigm, which they argued contributed to the delegitimization, marginalization, and demonization of a social movement. McLeod and Hertog (1999) found four main frames — marginalizing, mixed, sympathetic, and balanced — with sub-frames within each category. To invoke the protest paradigm, the authors argued, an article will emphasize the movement’s actions over the movement’s issues and rely on official sources and public opinion to support the status quo.

Many studies have tested and expanded the protest paradigm. Early research showed that the more deviant a political group is perceived to be by press elites, the more likely the media will use frames to depict the group as illegitimate, invalid, and improper (Shoemaker, 1984). Other studies had similar findings (Boyle et al., 2004; Boyle,



McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012; McLeod & Hertog, 1995; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Additionally, Tuchman (1978) found that news outlets often trivialize movements by portraying the protesters and their concerns as flippant and frivolous, while McLeod (2000) found that newspapers across the United States used the protest paradigm to marginalize the “Right to Party” protest movement on college campuses in the late 1990s.

Boyle, McLeod and Armstrong (2012) performed a content analysis of 220 news stories over a two-year period from 13 newspapers in North America, East Asia, and the Middle East to determine what protest characteristics would correlate with the protest paradigm. They found that group tactics rather than group goals affect the newspaper coverage adherence to the protest paradigm: Violent actions will be reported more critically than nonviolent civil disobedience. This study also found that the protest paradigm is not limited to a specific region. The location of the protest and the country of origin of the newspaper did not affect how the groups were treated. The protest paradigm exists in all newsrooms, and the authors suggest that the protest paradigm may not be a journalists’ conscious choice or personal ideology but rather a function of journalistic norms and practices.

Many studies have indicated that journalists frame social movements negatively, but others have shown that journalists can and do challenge the protest paradigm. Researchers have found that not every news organization uses marginalizing frames to cover social movements. For example, through a content analysis, DeLuca and Peeples (2002) found that violence at the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle actually made the social movement more prominent and accepted. The protests received a sympathetic frame from the media, and this caused the elites at the WTO event

to address the protesters' concerns and even sparked a worldwide globalization movement (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002).

### **Alternative media and the protest paradigm**

It is well established in literature that alternative media are more likely to be sympathetic toward the protesters than mainstream media. Alternative media allow “news spaces for alternative voices that provide the focus both for specific community interests as well as for the contrary and the subversive” (Silverstone, 1999, p. 103). Alternative media are media beyond mainstream such as zines, blogs, social media, ethnic newspapers, political satire, etc. (Atton, 2002; Rauch, 2015; Harcup, 2005). Downing (2008) has encouraged researchers to consider graffiti, murals, street theater, popular music, dance, and dress as alternative media as well.

A few studies have looked at alternative media frames while covering social movements. Young (2013) examined how political satire on the *Colbert Report* and *The Daily Show* used frames while reporting on the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations. Young (2013) found that although the shows were positive toward the protests, both hosts, Steven Colbert and Jon Stewart, still criticized the movement and highlighted the fringe participants. Nevertheless, the author's survey results showed that viewers of the shows possessed positive perceptions of the social movement.

In another alternative media study, Harlow and Johnson (2011) used the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in *The New York Times*, its citizen journalists' blog titled *Global Voices*, and a reporter's Twitter account to see version of the newspaper's media were the most critical of the protest. The researchers found that the newspaper itself adhered the most to the negative framing, followed by the Twitter account, which only

sometimes negatively portrayed the social movement. The *Global Voices* blog broke free from the protest paradigm. The blog not only gave a space for the movement's voices, but also it encouraged a participatory interactive approach to reporting. The study argued that citizen journalism, when compared to mainstream, can be seen as more credible.

Technologies, especially social media, have allowed modern-day protests to circumvent traditional media. Cammaerts (2012) argued that members of social movements can use online networks for media representation, self-mediation — or choosing the mediums to send the protests' messages — and resistance to gain publicity for their issues and more members. Harlow and Johnson (2011) studied how Facebook aided an online justice movement to transform into an offline movement. The author discovered that most of the frames within the Facebook comments were motivational, prognostic, and diagnostic — all of which incited action. The researcher concluded that the internet was used to create offline activism and suggested that new thematic frames should be included in scholarship. Penney and Dadas (2014), meanwhile, performed interviews with Occupy Wall Street protesters to identify how they used to bypass mainstream media and create an offline social movement. The authors found seven overlapping roles for Twitter in social movements: e-mobilization, citizen journalism, second-hand circulation, editorial commentary, online deliberation, strengthening ties between activists, and facilitating online-based actions. However, the interviews also revealed two problems with using a corporate-owned platform for coordinating a social movement: restrictions and surveillance. The protesters discovered that Twitter would censor their hashtags, and the police were able to use tweets to anticipate the movement's actions. Twitter, like mainstream media, can act as an instrument for social control.

### **Framing differences between city location and size**

Other framing studies have examined whether a city's size or location plays a part in whether a newspaper will be negative or positive toward a protest. However, the results have been contradictory. For example, Brasted (2005) studied the newspaper coverage of a Chicago protest during the 1968 Democratic Convention, looking at the frames in the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*. The results showed that the *Chicago Tribune* pursued frames that were more negative against the demonstrators than *The New York Times* did. Brasted (2005) stated this might be because of proximity. *The New York Times* was free from political and editorial ties. In contrast, the *Chicago Tribune* had connections to the mayor, and many editorials criticized the protesters because Chicagoans "felt under siege" (p. 21). Thus, the *Tribune* possessed narratives that "frame[d] the events in terms of an invasion of outsiders and a battle by police to maintain social order and protecting the citizens of Chicago" (p. 21).

Kutz-Flamenbaum, Staggenborg, and Duncan (2012) performed a content analysis and found that G-20 protesters in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, were able to gain rapport with local reporters and, thus, influence the framing presented in mainstream local press coverage so that the messages of the protest group made it into print. To understand their results, which surprised the authors, they used field notes and interviews to supplement the quantitative analysis. The authors concluded that the protesters gained sympathetic frames because Pittsburgh was a medium-sized city with fewer newsworthy events for journalists to cover. These results challenge Boyle, McLeod and Armstrong's (2012) conclusion that location and community differences do not affect media's adherence to the protest paradigm. Kutz-Flamenbaum et al. (2012) also concluded the protesters

used effective activism media strategies, such as developing relationships with reporters and pursuing strategies that were not exclusively focused on the media, to exploit this opportunity. However, as successful as the protesters were, they were not able to have articles depict the macro-picture of global inequality beyond the G-20 summit, which was the goal of the social movement.

More literature has examined whether location and a community's characteristics affect news outlets' adherence to the protest paradigm. McCluskey et al. (2009) used Tichenor, Donohue and Olien's (1980) community structure model to perform a content analysis of Wisconsin news articles about protests over 40 years. They found that newspapers in communities with less pluralism — or less economic and social diversity — were more critical of protesters than newspapers in communities with more pluralism — or more economic and social diversity. Another study by Harry (2001) used a content analysis to see if there were differences between small town and big city newspapers' use of sourcing while covering demonstrations over a local environmental controversy. The author found that there were fewer differences between the newspapers than expected. Although the small-town paper was clearly less balanced, both papers favored sources that were negative toward protesters over sources that were neutral or positive.

Four MU journalism graduate students performed a content analysis to determine if coverage differences in the 2015 MU protests led by Concerned Student 1950 existed among local, regional, and national mainstream newspapers (Lu, Mykhyalyshyn, Vara-Orta, & Yaeger, 2016). The study, performed for a graduate-level course, did find differences among types of stories, assigning blame, and sourcing. Local and regional articles contextualized other social issues occurring on campus, while national

newspapers essentially focused on the immediate and more recent race issues brought up by Concerned Student 1950 and rarely used community members outside of MU for sources. Other results showed that local papers were the most balanced in terms of support and criticism of administration and the student activists, regional papers were more sympathetic to the social movement than administration, and the national press was critical toward both groups.

This quantitative textual analysis study examined the newspaper coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 protests at the University of Missouri in the fall of 2015 to determine what frames six newspapers — *Columbia Missourian*, *Columbia Tribune*, *The Maneater*, *Kansas City Star*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The St. Louis American* — used when covering the students’ demonstrations. By using quantitative methods, this study follows an established methodology while looking at a particular protest case that was ultimately successful in its desire to force the university president and chancellor to resign. This social movement was part of a larger national phenomena that included #BlackLivesMatter and the Ferguson, Missouri, shooting to show that racial inequality exists and is a part of American culture.

The main research questions this study answered are:

RQ1: What frames did the Missouri newspapers use to report on the University of Missouri protests in the fall of 2015?

RQ2: Do framing differences exist between mainstream and alternative newspapers in the Missouri newspapers while reporting on the University of Missouri protests in the fall of 2015?

RQ3: Do framing differences exist between local and statewide newspapers in the Missouri newspapers while reporting on the University of Missouri protests in the fall of 2015?

## Chapter 3: Methods

This quantitative textual framing analysis used artifacts in the form of articles from six Missouri newspapers about the 2015 MU race-themed protests held by student group Concerned Student 1950. This method is best to use for several reasons. Frames permeate throughout individuals' minds and societies' collective identities often without their noticing, and these frames allow people to understand complex information and communicate with others (Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974). Social movements depend on collective frames in their own discourse to incite members of society to join their cause (Benford & Snow, 2000), and understanding how a news discourse framed a certain protest can provide insight as to how or why a protest evolved.

However, as many communication researchers have found, public discourse — in the form of mass media — often uses frames that can delegitimize and marginalize the demonstrators and their cause. These negative frames can sometimes hinder the success of the social movement. Still, it is important to examine the ideas and opinions that surround protests to gain understanding of the pulse of society. By using framing analysis, this study will build upon the established literature concerning the relationship between social movements, mass media, and audiences. This study will replicate previous framing analyses by using the characteristics of the protest paradigm to see whether the coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 was sympathetic or marginalizing.

### **Sampling**

**Protest.** This study will examine Missouri newspapers' articles concerning the Concerned Student 1950 protests. This protest was chosen for several reasons. Concerned



Student 1950 protests were part of a larger picture of the national protest landscape during the time. The 2015 protests were part of the #BlackLivesMatter social movement, which brought attention to anti-black racism, specifically in racial profiling, police brutality, and the U.S. criminal justice system. The organization also “affirms the lives” of minorities within the black community, including LGBTQ, disabled and undocumented people (“HerStory,” n.d.). The movement began in 2012 after George Zimmerman was acquitted for fatally shooting 17-year-old unarmed African-American Trayvon Martin (“HerStory,” n.d.). #BlackLivesMatter organized protests and marches for many police shootings of black people but gained more traction after the shooting of Michael Brown in 2014 by organizing a Freedom Ride. Over the next months, protests were held around the nation in solidarity with #BlackLivesMatter and the Brown family, and more demonstrations were held over the year for other black shootings by police officers (Goodridge, 2016).

Many of the black students who started Concerned Student 1950 participated in the #BlackLivesMatter protests in Ferguson over Brown’s shooting (“HerStory,” n.d.). The first members of Concerned Student 1950 wanted institutions such as the University of Missouri to recognize their own part in sustaining racism on campus after a series of hate crimes occurred on campus in the fall of 2015 (Lee, 2016). Thus, looking at the 2015 protest at MU can show insight on a micro scale into the nation’s feelings about race issues.

Additionally, Concerned Student 1950 is another protest in a long line of social movements at MU to better minority treatment on campus. With this history in mind, the researcher can find links between the 2015 protest and the previous ones. For example,

Concerned Student 1950's list of demands for better minority treatment on campus are the same as those that were-published at least two times before in 1974 and 1969 ("A Brief Timeline of Social Change," n.d).

**Newspapers.** This study is using newspaper article texts as its artifacts to follow other protest paradigm studies, such as those of Chan and Lee (1984) and Boyle, McLeod and Armstrong (2012). Additionally, the news outlets selected provided both extensive coverage of Concerned Student 1950's protest as well as archives that were easily searchable to collect an abundant number of artifacts.

This study is using only Missouri newspapers to look at local and statewide reporting to add to the body of research about the comparison of local and regional newspaper coverage. Thus, no wire stories from the Associated Press were examined. Six newspapers were ultimately chosen: Two mainstream local papers, two mainstream statewide papers, and two alternative papers, including a weekly African-American paper in St. Louis and a weekly MU student-run paper. To choose the six, this study used criterion sampling, which is when sampling is performed by selecting cases that meet a predetermined criterion of importance (Patton, 2001, p. 238). The researcher examined 35 Missouri newspapers' digital archives, but only the selected six extensively covered the protests with their own reporters.

The *Columbia Missourian*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, and *The Maneater* are based in Columbia and report regularly on the University of Missouri. The *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* are the two Missouri newspapers with the largest circulation and regularly report on the University of Missouri. They are the two most-prominent papers in the state ("Top 10 Missouri Daily Newspapers," 2013).

Additionally, Kansas City and St. Louis are the largest cities in the state. About 40% of MU students come from Kansas City and St. Louis, so they may read their city's newspaper to stay in touch with what happens in their hometown. To gain a sense of the black community's perspective on Concerned Student 1950 protest, *The St. Louis American* was included as well. Columbia does not have a black paper, and the *Kansas City Call* only used wire stories from the Associated Press. However, at least two other black papers exist in St. Louis and Kansas City: the *Kansas City Globe* and the *St. Louis Evening Whirl*. But these newspapers did not have an article archive that was searchable.

***Columbia Missourian.*** This daily mainstream newspaper, which debuted Sept. 14, 1908, is managed by professional editors and staffed by students of the Missouri School of Journalism ("About the Missourian," n.d.). It is published by the Missouri Publishing Association, which is a nonprofit, and it is funded through advertising revenues, circulation revenues, student fees, and the Missourian endowment (B. Chester, personal communication, May 2, 2017). As of May 2017, it has a print circulation of 5,618 (B. Chester, personal communication, May 2, 2017). It is a local paper where the protests occurred.

***Columbia Daily Tribune.*** Columbia's first daily mainstream newspaper was founded on Sept. 12, 1901 ("About Us," n.d.). It is currently owned by GateHouse Media but was an independent newspaper at the time of the protests ("About Us," n.d.). Its daily print newspaper reaches over 350,000 readers each week, and its website has over 2 million page views each month ("Columbia Daily Tribune Advertising," n.d.). It is a local paper where the protest occurred.

***Maneater.*** This “official student newspaper of the University of Missouri” is a weekly printed and daily digital newspaper that started in 1955 under the name “Missouri Student” (“About the Maneater,” n.d.; Heisel, 2001 February 16). In 1955, the editor in chief changed the name to “The Maneater” to reflect its role as university watchdog newspaper (Heisel, 2001 February 16). Similar to the *Columbia Missourian*, it is staffed by students (Heisel, 2001 February 16). Unlike the *Columbia Missourian*, it receives no money from the university and its editors are students (Heisel, 2001 February 16). *The Maneater* covers events from the perspective of students, which is important to include while looking at the Concerned Student 1950 protests, as they were organized and led by students.

***Kansas City Star.*** The daily evening newspaper *The Star* began printing on Sept. 18, 1880, by William Rockhill Nelson and Samuel Morss, and its history includes several notable writers, such as Ernest Hemingway, Harry S. Truman, Theodore Roosevelt, Walt Disney, and Eugene C. Pulliam (“Our History,” n.d.). In 1901, Nelson bought rival paper, *The Kansas City Times*, a daily morning paper (“Our History,” n.d.). *The Star* and *The Kansas City Times* combined into one daily morning paper in 1990. According to Kansas City’s local National Public Radio affiliate, the latest numbers for the *Kansas City Star*’s Sunday circulation is over 266,000, and its daily newspaper circulation is nearly 170,000 (Collison, 2017 July 26). The latest numbers on the newspaper’s advertising website are from 2013, and it cites its Sunday print circulation at 278,000, its daily circulation at 187,000, and its daily unique website visitors at nearly 232,000 (“Marketing Kansas City Star Readership,” n.d.). In August 2016, the *Kansas City Star* stated it had 5.7 million unique visitors for the month (Montgomery, 2016 September 16). This paper was

important to include not only because it is Missouri's top circulating paper but also because 11% of all MU students in the 2016-2017 school year came from the Kansas City area ("Facts & Pride Points," n.d.). Thus, their hometown paper would be the *Kansas City Star*, and they may read it to stay in touch with their local community.

***St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*** Joseph Pulitzer purchased the bankrupt *St. Louis Dispatch* in 1878 and merged it with the *St. Louis Post* (O'Neil, 2015 April 20). The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* switched from an afternoon to morning paper in 1984 (O'Neil, 2015 April 20). In 2015, about 972,2000 adults read the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* paper and website over the course of a week ("2016 Audience Scorecard"). This paper was important to include not only because it is Missouri's second-most circulating paper but also because almost 30% of MU students in the 2016-2017 school year call the St. Louis area their hometown ("Facts & Pride Points," n.d.). Therefore, many students may read the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to stay in touch with their local community. Additionally, in the year before the Concerned Student 1950, there were protests in Ferguson over the shooting of an unarmed black teenager, so the paper's staff should have more experience reporting on race-themed social movements.

***St. Louis American.*** This weekly alternative newspaper began in 1928 by several African-American businessmen ("History: The St. Louis American," n.d.). It is the only local African-American newspaper continuously published since 1928, and it is the largest weekly newspaper in Missouri, distributing over 70,000 copies each week ("History: The St. Louis American," n.d.). It describes itself as "a niche publication targeted to African Americans, yet more and more reaching a mixed audience" ("History: The St. Louis American," n.d.). Including this newspaper in the artifact collection will

provide a perspective from the minority viewpoint on race. Additionally, similar to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *The St. Louis American* would have been covering the Ferguson protests in 2014.

**Artifacts.** Selecting the specific artifacts about the protest was based on criterion sampling: news articles during 2015 must discuss the anti-racism student protests. It is important to note that during the fall semester of 2015, other demonstrations were held about cuts to graduate student health care and the university's severed ties to Planned Parenthood. However, it was the race-related protests that led to dramatic results and overshadowed these other issues, so this study will only collect articles that primarily discuss demonstrations against racism.

Additionally, this study will examine news articles, editorials, and opinion pieces — all texts using words and sentences to convey news and frames about the protests. This study will not analyze photographs or cartoons because these are visual-based texts.

To find artifacts about the fall 2015 protests, the researcher searched at each individual newspaper's digital archive between September 12, 2015, and November 20, 2015. The start date is when the student body president, Payton Head, a gay black man, published a Facebook post about racial harassment he endured (Lee, 2016). It was after seeing the Facebook post that several black MU students decided to organize to enact change on campus (Lee, 2016). The end date is the last day of the school semester before Thanksgiving break, after which the Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations essentially ended. The search terms for the *Missourian*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Kansas City Star*, and *The St. Louis American* were: "MU Protests," "Concerned student 1950," "boycott," "homecoming," "Loftin," "Tim Wolfe," "Payton

Head,” “Melissa Click,” and “rally.” *The Maneater*’s search function did not work properly, so the researcher first searched for “MU Protests” and “Payton Head” and then proceeded to use the following established tags from the website: “Concerned Student 1950,” “protest,” “R. Bowen Loftin,” “Tim Wolfe,” “race relations,” “Melissa Click,” and “homecoming 2015.” Additionally, to ensure each article was about the race-themed protests, the researcher also read the headline and the lede.

The *Missourian* had a total of 133 articles, The *Columbia Daily Tribune* had 111 articles, The *Kansas City Star* had 70 articles, The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* had 61 articles, *The St. Louis American* had 12 articles, and *The Maneater* had 94 articles. Thus, the total number of artifacts found was 487. Previous protest-paradigm-textual-analysis studies of newspapers have analyzed between 96 artifacts (Brasted, 2005) and 280 artifacts (Boyle et al., 2004). So the researcher randomly selected 25 articles from each newspaper artifact collection, except for *The St. Louis American*, in which all 12 articles were used. The total number of artifacts coded was 137. Of the 137 artifacts, 103 of them were news articles, 25 were opinion pieces, and nine were staff-written editorials.

### **Textual Analysis Methods**

Once the artifacts were collected and selected, the researcher performed a textual analysis to determine the primary frame in the artifacts. The unit of analysis was the article. Many framing scholars have noted that an individual article will possess multiple frames working at the same time, but there will be a primary framework established within the text (Gamson, 1992; Goffman, 1974; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). This study will identify the primary framework by coding paragraphs and identifying overall thematic qualities.

The primary frame was selected from the four categories of protest paradigm frames — marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed, and balanced — as outlined in McLeod and Hertog’s 1999 essay about how to analyze news media’s frames in coverage of social movements. McLeod and Hertog also identified 19 subframes among marginalizing, sympathetic, and mixed frames (See Appendix B and E for detailed definitions of the frame and subframes). Marginalizing frames treat the social movement negatively, usually as insignificant or dangerous (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 312-313). For example, the subframe “freak show” portrays the protesters as freaks and oddities, while the “moral decay story” subframe is when the article centers around the idea that the protesters are evidence for social decay. Sympathetic frames put the social movement in a positive light (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 313) Some sympathetic subframe examples include “unjust persecution,” which chronicles actions such as civil rights violations or police brutality against protesters, and “our story,” where the article allows protesters to give their point of view in their own words. Mixed frames are less condemning of the social movement (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 313). Examples include the “showdown” subframe which centers around two parties in confrontations, but neither is designated as the good guys or the bad guys. And there is also the “dissection story” where the article analyzes the social movement’s practices and components. Lastly, the balanced frame, also known as debate frame, give equal voice to all parties involved with the issue of public concern in which “every effort is made to focus on the issues and represent all sides adequately and fairly” (pg. 313).

Using McLeod and Hertog’s (1999) frames will help establish reliability and validity to the framing analysis, a weakness of framing analysis identified by scholars



(Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Koenig, 2006; Matthes, 2009). Doing this was meant to help avoid a laundry list of frames that many framing studies can produce. However, the researcher found McLeod and Hertog's (1999) list insufficient for a variety of reasons. First, the themes center only on the protest. There are no subframes for articles that are sympathetic toward the group the protest is demonstrating against. The list also did not have frames for bystander or poll-oriented artifacts, which are two pieces of the protest paradigm. The researcher also disagreed with several of the mixed subframes. For example, McLeod and Hertog labeled the subframe "psychoanalysis story," which looks at the psychological or social roots of the social movement, under the mixed frame. To the researcher, using a psychoanalysis story helps readers understand the protest's roots. To empathize with Concerned Student 1950, there must be an understanding that slavery and racism still exist, and this understanding is a sympathetic frame. Likewise, McLeod and Hertog defined "association" and "comparison" subframes as mixed, yet the frames' definition describe them as "giv[ing] [the protest] legitimacy." To the researcher, that makes both the subframes sympathetic, not mixed. Thus, the researcher created 13 subframes to use in conjunction with McLeod and Hertog's subframes and often labeled stories that used "psychoanalysis story," "association," and "comparison" as sympathetic.

To determine which protest paradigm frame is within an article, the researcher used four of Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) symbolic framing devices: metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, and depictions. The researcher used these in combination with McLeod and Hertog's (1999) protest paradigm framing devices: sources, bystanders, invocation of public opinion, use of quotation marks, and the presence or absence of explanation of the protest issues. As the researcher began coding the artifacts, she also

added syntax and hypotheticals to the symbolic devices list. Definitions of these symbolic devices are as follows:

- Metaphors: The author or source compares the protest to another person, place or thing.
- Exemplars: The author or source compares the protest specifically to another protest in the past or present.
- Catchphrases: Simplified informal phrases to explain complex issues.
- Action depiction: Coverage that details the protesters' actions.
- Sources: People directly involved in the protest or people directly involved in the organization the protest is demonstrating against are quoted or paraphrased.
- Bystanders: People not directly involved in the events are quoted or paraphrased.
- Public Opinion: The article uses opinion polls, arrest counts, or violations of social norms.
- Quotation marks: The news article uses quotes or phrases such as "so-called" to describe the protest or the group the protest is demonstrating against.
- Issue depiction: The article describes the protest's issues.
- Syntax: Syntactic phrases use descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language to portray the scene and/or sources.
- Hypotheticals: The author poses a rhetorical question to point out some feature of the protest or the group the protest is demonstrating against.

The researcher also identified the central conflict, any master narratives or myths alluded to, and whether the article leaves out certain perspectives or details (McLeod & Hertog, 2001).

To code the artifact's primary framework, the researcher first coded each individual paragraph within an article as marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed, news, or not applicable by looking at the symbolic devices present. Once every paragraph and the headline had been analyzed and coded, then the researcher counted the amount of each paragraph frame, including the headline. Then the researcher analyzed the entire article for thematic characteristics, asking: What is the central conflict? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001) What master narratives and myths are alluded to or invoked? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001) And what does the article not mention, or what is left out? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001) From the number of coded paragraphs and overarching questions, the primary framework (marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed, and balanced) was determined based on the definitions provided in the codebook, and a primary subframe was also chosen (See Appendix B).

A marginalizing article was defined as treating Concerned Student 1950 negatively or treating the MU administration positively. A significant number of symbolic devices and/or the thematic characteristics had to be marginalizing. A sympathetic article was defined as treating Concerned Student 1950 positively or treating the MU administration negatively. A significant number of symbolic devices and/or thematic characteristics had to be sympathetic. A mixed article was more ambiguous. It was either both marginalizing and sympathizing or less condemning toward Concerned Student 1950. A balanced article was defined as giving equal voice to all parties involved and focusing on the issues rather than the actions.

## Chapter 4: Results

After coding 137 artifacts, 71 had a sympathetic frame, 37 had a marginalizing frame, 27 had a mixed frame, and two had a balanced frame. Thus, the overall framing toward the protest was not only sympathetic toward its cause of bringing awareness and change to race relations at MU, but it also did not follow the protest paradigm, in which coverage of a protest is mostly marginalizing.

*The Maneater* had the largest number of sympathetic articles of 18 artifacts, or 72%, but *The St. Louis American* had a larger percentage of sympathetic articles at 76%, though it only had 10 sympathetic artifacts. Thus, as observed by previous literature, the alternative newspapers pursued a more sympathetic narrative than mainstream papers. The *Kansas City Star* was the only paper to have more marginalizing artifacts (11) than sympathetic (10). The only two papers to have a balanced article, in which an equal voice was given to all parties involved with the issue of public concern, were the *Columbia Missourian* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Overall, differences between state and local coverage were minimal, but the local coverage was slightly more sympathetic.

The average article length was 18.27 paragraphs, and the most-used symbolic device, or a syntactic tool to indicate if an article was sympathetic or marginalizing, was unsurprisingly action as predicted by the protest paradigm, then bystander, and then syntax.

**Table 1***Framing results of all six newspapers*

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic Device</u>
Missourian	12	4	8	1	25	Bystander Reaction (4)	Action
Tribune	11	8	6	0	25	Protest Reaction (5)	Action
Maneater	18	4	3	0	25	Our Story (4)	Bystander
Kansas City Star	10	11	4	0	25	Protest Outcome (4)	Action
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	10	10	4	1	25	Bystander (4) Romper rooms (4)	Action
St. Louis American	10	0	2	0	12	4-way tie	Action
Total	71	37	27	2	137	Protest outcome (15)	Action

Twenty-seven subframes were found within the 137 artifacts, corresponding with the protest paradigm primary frames of sympathetic, marginalizing, mixed, and balanced. But several subframes were placed in multiple primary frame categories. For example, a “bystander reaction” subframe could be either sympathetic or marginalizing toward the protest or the administration depending on how bystanders felt about the events and issues. Thus, the coverage of the social movement possessed a variety of narratives to illustrate the events and issues during the protest at MU.

The researcher found that the subframes covered in McLoed and Hertog’s (1999) protest paradigm frame list were not sufficient for the Concerned Student 1950 protest. Of the 19 subframes McLoed and Hertog detailed, the researcher did not find four subframes from the marginalizing primary frame category:

- Violent Crime Story: Centers around the protester’s violent actions.
- Property Crime Story: Focuses on protester’s acts of civil disobedience.
- Riot: Portrays the protesters of doing random acts of violence.
- Storm Watch: Warns readers that the protesters are threats.

The researcher added 13 subframes found within the artifacts to McLoed and Hertog's list:

- Bystander reaction: People not directly involved in the social movement or administration comment about the events and/or issues of the protest.
- Chaos: Centers around the idea that there is too much happening to understand the situation.
- Protest Outcome: Analyzes the direct outcomes from the protest.
- Criticism of institution: Criticizes the group that the social movement is protesting.
- Honorable: Protest is doing the honorable and just thing; the protest is righteous.
- First Amendment: Analyzes the rights of the protest and press for freedom to speak.
- Demonstration Action: Centers around the protesters' demonstrations.
- Solidarity: The protesters are together and not pursuing different agendas.
- Status Quo: The social movement is disrupting the status quo.
- Truth: The protest's issues are true.
- Success: Members of the protest have successfully made changes to the issues they want to make better.
- Institution is honorable: The institution is doing the right thing or empathizing with the group the protest is demonstrating against.
- Advice: The article gives advice to members of the protest to tell them how to be better.

Ultimately, the top three subframes used were: “protest outcome,” which looked at the results of the protest, such as the resignations of Wolfe and Loftin, at 15 articles; “bystander reaction,” which used bystanders to show support or rejection of the protest and its issues, at 13 articles; and “psychoanalysis story,” which looks at the psychological or social roots of the social movement, at 11 articles. For more subframe definitions, see Appendix E.

**Table 2**  
*Subframe totals of all artifacts*

<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Number of artifacts</u>
Protest outcome	15
Bystander reaction	13
Psychoanalysis story	11
Protest reaction	10
Romper rooms	9
We are not alone	9
Honorable	8
Unjust persecution	8
Our story	7
Showdown	7
Moral decay	5
Demonstration action	5
Chaos	4
Truth	4
Criticism of institution	3
Status quo	3
Carnival	2
Freak show	2
First Amendment	2
Solidarity	2
Trial	2
Association	1
Comparison	1
Creative expression	1
Dissection Story	1
Advice	1
Institution is honorable	1

## Sympathetic Frames

Seventy-one of the 137 articles, or 51.8%, possessed a sympathetic frame, and the three most-common subframes used at eight artifacts each were:

- Honorable: Protest is doing the honorable and just thing; the protest is righteous.
- Psychoanalysis Story: looks at the psychological or social roots of the social movement.
- We Are Not Alone: Makes connections between the protesters and similar groups to show that this is not an isolated phenomenon.

Thus, the sympathetic narratives that the Missouri newspapers created were ones that showed Concerned Student 1950 possessed reasonable justification for fighting for changes to minority treatment on campus, that explored the social history behind the protests, and that described similar groups and social movements that were fighting for a similar cause to legitimize Concerned Student 1950.

To show that the protesters were honorable, quotes and opinion pieces would congratulate and show approval of what Concerned Student 1950 was doing. One *Columbia Missourian* opinion writer wrote: “I would, therefore, like to congratulate the different role players who are fighting (and are seemingly, winning the fight) against racism at Mizzou” (Ndhlovu, 2015 November 16). A lot of praise went to Jonathan Butler, the graduate student who performed a hunger strike, and the MU football team. Butler was described as a “brave student” (Editorial, 2015 November 12), “courageous” (Editorial, 2015 November 12), and having “raised the protest bar” (Paul, 2015, November 10). Meanwhile, the football players who joined Concerned Student 1950 had “guts” (Reid, 2015 November 18) and were “stunning” (Editorial, 2015 November 12),



“brilliant” (Reid, 2015 November 9), “skilled” (Morrison, 2015 November 13), and “savvy” (Morrison, 2015 November 13).

By writing about Missouri’s racial history and showing the social roots of Concerned Student 1950, the newspapers could provide a perspective to help readers understand the reasoning behind the protest group. In particular, the papers would highlight that Concerned Student 1950’s demands were based on another MU protest for better minority treatment that the new UM System President was part of. The more recent racial incidents in the 2000s were also mentioned, such as when white students scattered cotton balls in 2012 outside the black culture center. One *Kansas City Star* article (Gutierrez, 2015 November 13) crafted a 116-paragraph story documenting the racial history of MU, beginning at the university’s founding in which only white males could attend and finishing with the selection of the new UM System President. The article went in-depth to show that Concerned Student 1950 had reason to fight for equality because of the long history of poor minority treatment on campus. In another article from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Addo & Kohler, 2015 November 15), a reporter documented the 50-year history of the different initiatives that the MU administration attempted to enact to confront diversity and race issues on campus.

To convey that the present-day minorities at MU are not alone in experiencing poor treatment on campus, the papers would connect Concerned Student 1950 to MU black alumni, black student groups across the country, the local NAACP group, and the Civil Rights movement. One article described the protests as “fraught with laden imagery — protests styled from civil rights marches of yesteryear, demonstrations of defiance and challenge” (Sanchez, 2015 November). Another article pointed out that when Butler

raised his fist and declared he was a revolutionary, “anyone with a memory or a sense of the campus revolts of the 1960s — over the Vietnam War, free speech and social justice — couldn’t fail to feel the echo” (Paul, 2015 November 10).

Although most of the articles within the collection possessed sympathetic frames, more often than not the protesters’ issues were buried in a story and rarely expanded upon. Most articles focused on the actions of the demonstrators and the administration. Nevertheless, various black alumni and current students revealed experiences when they encountered racism on campus. Other articles showed that this social movement was extremely complicated. A *Columbia Missourian* editor (Warhover, 2015 November 6) and an opinion writer at the *Kansas City Star* (Paul, 2015 November 10) used a thread metaphor to explore the different factors at play. The *Columbia Missourian* editor wrote that “we need some thread, tacks and a big wall” (Warhover, 2015 November 6) in order to understand the protests because of the many events and issues contributing toward the tension on campus. Other phrases that insinuated the race protests were not simple included: “Not everything illegal is inherently wrong, and not everything wrong is inherently illegal” (Gatter, 2015 November 11) and “There aren’t two sides to every story” (Gatter, 2015 November 11).

Overall, common phrases to describe the MU administration, which Concerned Student 1950 was protesting to enact change for better minority treatment on campus, were negative. Two of the most colorful phrases also included: “Formidable duo of demonized [leadership]” (Strauss, 2015 November 10) and “keepers of campus racism.” (Rogers, 2015 November 19). Words and phrases that were repeatedly used throughout the coverage to specifically describe Wolfe included: “tone deaf,” “failed” and/or

“failure,” and “pressure[d].” In one article, he was characterized as the Big Bad Wolf from Little Red Riding Hood (Strauss, 2015 November 10), and in another he was compared to the French monarchy in the French Revolution (“Take Two,” 2015 November 10). In an article from *The Maneater*, a reporter described him as “wearing a thin, naive smile” with an “hourglass glued firmly to [his] desk.” (Malloy, 2015 November 11). A ticking clock was also used to describe the administration.

**Table 3**

Number of sympathetic subframes

<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Number of artifacts</u>
Honorable	8
Psychoanalysis story	8
We are not alone	8
Bystander reaction	7
Our story	7
Protest reaction	7
Unjust persecution	6
Protest outcome	5
Truth	4
Criticism of institution	3
Demonstration action	2
Association	1
Comparison	1
Creative expression	1
Dissection story	1
First Amendment	1
Solidarity	1

**Marginalizing Frames**

Thirty-seven articles, or 27%, were marginalizing and primarily promoted a narrative in which the protesters were immature deviants through the “romper room” subframe, which had nine artifacts. For example, one *Columbia Daily Tribune* opinion

writer stated: “Wouldn’t it have been great if these black — and some white — protesters would have been protesting bullying for all people instead of making it only about themselves?” (“Trib Talk,” 2015 November 17). This hypothetical question discredits Concerned Student 1950 by insinuating that the protesters are too immature to worry about bigger, more important issues. Another opinion writer even described the protesters as “meager, few misguided poorly informed, self-important students” (McWilliams, 2015 November 14). In a *Kansas City Star* article, the central argument was that there are other socially minded groups beyond Concerned Student 1950, and that MU students are too impatient for change on “centuries-old foundations of learning” (Sanchez, 2015 November 11). Some articles praised the MU administration, which included UM System President Tim Wolfe and MU Chancellor R. Bowne Loftin. They “swallow[ed] their pride and [did] what was morally right” (“Trib Talk,” 2015 November 17), they “saved our beloved city and university from burning to the ground” (“Trib Talk,” 2015 November 17), and they are “well-intentioned” (Sanchez, 2015 November 11). Some papers noted Wolfe’s “emotional” (“Slew of protests,” 2015 November 9; Baugh, 2015 November 9) and “tearful” resignation speech (Stolze, et al., 2015 November 9; Baugh, 2015, November 9; Malloy, 2015 November 11; Reid, 2015 November 9), as he “choked on his words” (Stolze, et al., 2015; Malloy, 2015 November 11).

Marginalizing articles also used public polls to show that the public did not agree with the protesters and their actions, promoting a “moral decay” subframe that the social movement was evidence of society’s demise. Other artifacts invoked a “chaos” subframe in which the article described all the different events happening at the same time without connecting the events together. Some of the more colorful phrases to describe this chaotic

situation came from the one opinion article published in the *Kansas City Star*: “thorny Rubik’s cube,” “runaway freight train,” “cauldron of chaos,” and “instant critical mass” (Gregorian, 2015 November 8).

Additionally, a less obvious marginalizing narrative was one in which the article lacked important details, such as that it took Wolfe almost a month to apologize for his insincere actions during the homecoming parade, and, more importantly, the protesters’ perspective, which is a key indicator of the protest paradigm. By leaving out these important actions and issues, artifacts that could have been labeled with a mixed frame were then categorized with a marginalizing frame when the article was looked at as a whole. For example, in the *Kansas City Star’s* article “MU student faces discipline for racial remarks” (2015 October 7), at first, it appeared that the paragraphs were very sympathetic toward black students because the university was acting and respecting their worries of racist remarks. However, the article did not have any quotes from Concerned Student 1950 for their perspective. It was given the subframe of “psychoanalysis story” because it was examining racial epithets on campus, one of the factors that caused Concerned Student 1950 to begin protesting.

Most of the papers did not use positive phrases for the future of MU and instead predicted that it would take time for the campus to heal because it was shaken and fractured. The events created “muck” (Bland, 2015 November 9), as there were “many specific details that prevent a clear picture from being painted” (Johnson, 2015 November 12). The phrase “national embarrassment” was written several times — though the papers could not agree on whether the embarrassment was the administration, Concerned Student 1950, or the football team. Additionally, many newspapers described

the protesters as “a group of students, calling themselves as Concerned Student 1950,” rather than stating, “protest group Concerned Student 1950.” Some artifacts didn’t even mention Concerned Student 1950, and instead just wrote “a group of students” throughout the article.

Although many papers noted that it was a great benefit for Concerned Student 1950 when the MU football team boycotted with it, articles that discussed the boycott crafted a narrative that did not discuss the original protest group and its basic issue of bettering race relations on campus. Many articles about the football boycott characterized the team as a standing united for a just cause, but more often than not the discussion of Concerned Student 1950 and its issues were lacking. Instead, articles covering the football boycott focused on whether the players were immature or honorable for this choice, whether their coach actually supported the boycott, and whether the football team wanted to help Jonathan Butler stop his hunger strike or remove the UM System president. Overall, the football coverage created a conflict separate from Concerned Student 1950’s desire to better race relations on campus.

Another conflict that distracted from the race protests was the issue of the First Amendment. After Wolfe and Loftin’s resignations, Concerned Student 1950 refused to talk with the press, which swarmed the organization’s campsite. The most-controversial moment happened when Jana Basler, the MU assistant director for Greek Life, blocked a student photojournalist and when Melissa Click, an MU professor, “called for some muscle” to remove another photojournalist, all caught on tape. Many articles noticed this turn of events in which Concerned Student 1950’s enemy quickly changed from MU administration to news media at the campus of one of the best journalism schools in the

country. In an editorial, the *Columbia Daily Tribune* wrote: “But in a bizarre twist as the day went on, attention turned more toward protesters and those assisting in their efforts closing ranks and shutting out the media at a school at which journalism is king” (“Take Two,” 2015 November 10).

**Table 4**

*Number of marginalizing subframes*

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<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Number of artifacts</u>
Romper room	9
Moral decay	4
Chaos	3
Demonstration action	3
Status quo	3
Carnival	2
Freak show	2
Bystander reaction	2
Psychoanalysis story	2
Showdown	2
Advice	1
First Amendment	1
Institution is honorable	1
Protest outcome	1
Protest reaction	1

**Mixed Frames**

Twenty-seven articles, or 19.7%, were categorized as possessing a mixed frame, which are less condemning of the social movement but not fully marginalizing or sympathetic. A mixed frame is different from a balanced frame in that the balanced frame is when there is an equal voice to all parties, which are represented fairly. The balanced frame also prioritizes issues over actions. The most-used subframe for articles with a mixed frame was “protest outcome” at eight artifacts. One of these “protest outcomes” was the new interim UM System President Mike Middleton. On the one hand, the newspapers would describe his background in civil rights and his role on campus

protesting for better minority treatment. Many articles showed that Middleton clearly understood the issues of Concerned Student 1950. On the other hand, none of the artifacts used a protest member source to comment about the new president, which the researcher found concerning. One goal of the social movement was to force Wolfe out — newspaper articles easily reported that fact. Yet the newspapers did not have any quotes from Concerned Student 1950 about the new president and whether they felt he was the right person for the job. Thus, these articles were coded as mixed because they left out an important perspective of a major player in the protest events.

Overall, though, what characterized articles as mixed instead of sympathetic or marginalizing was to debate several narratives in the duration of the article, to exclude context or the protest's issues yet lean toward sympathetic rather than marginalizing, or to criticize both the administration and the protesters. One example of an article that described dueling narratives was the *Columbia Missourian's* "Butler hunger strike supporters challenge Wolfe" (Kovacs et al., 3 November 2015). The article first depicted the protesters as confronting Wolfe. The authors wrote, "but the demonstration became contentious as the group challenged Wolfe while he spoke" and paraphrased Wolfe as hoping "to continue dialogue about racism." Then, a protester was quoted saying, "I'm not here for a press conference. I don't want to talk to anybody. I want you to resign. ... You don't care about racism. Racism doesn't matter to you." This quote, to the researcher, made the protester seem immature, unreasonable, and defiant; She would not acknowledge that Wolfe is trying to understand.

However, about halfway through the article, the narrative turned and showed the protesters to be reasonable through a direct quote, "We would suggest that you, if you're



serious about addressing this, that you schedule a meeting for the curators to talk to Jonathan.” The quote illustrates the protesters as aiming to educate campus leadership about the minority experience. After Wolfe left, the author then described the chancellor and the students having a quiet discussion about the university’s actions to help minority students. Thus, the article depicted the protesters as both unyielding and as reasonable. However, the article also did a poor job of explaining the issues the protest stands for, so the researcher did not code it with a balanced frame. It was instead labeled with the primary frame of mixed with a “showdown” subframe in which the artifact centered around two parties in confrontation, but neither was designated as the good or bad guys.

**Table 5**

*Number of mixed subframes*

<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Number of artifacts</u>
Protest Outcome	8
Bystander reaction	4
Showdown	4
Protest Reaction	2
Trial	2
Unjust Persecution	2
Moral decay	1
Chaos	1
Solidarity	1
Psychoanalysis Story	1
We are not alone	1

**Balanced Frames**

Only two articles, or 1.4%, were categorized with a balanced frame, which gives equal voice to all parties involved in the protest and discusses the protest’s issues. One artifact was the *Columbia Missourian*’s “UM curators' announcements partially meet Concerned Student 1950 demands” (Vandelinder & Serven, 2015 November 10). It depicted the administration’s policy changes resulting from Concerned Student 1950’s

demonstrations. The artifact's author wrote: "Concerned Student 1950's initial list of demands, issued Oct. 20, seemed to directly influence the multiple initiatives released Monday by the UM System Board of Curators." However, the administration did not meet all the protest's demands, and the article hinted that the protesters were too demanding. Yet another protest group was quoted as saying that it and Concerned Student 1950 were not finished with bettering minority treatment on campus and would continue to "speak out and advocate for the rights of all marginalized groups on campus." To the researcher, this felt like fair and balanced reporting, showing how the protest directly caused the university to make changes to improve race relations. Articles in other primary frame categories about this topic did not make this distinction. Additionally, the article showed that although Concerned Student 1950 was successful in making changes, the status quo is still upheld because the administration remains the leader of campus and will only allow for only so much change to occur. And lastly, the issue aspect of the balanced frame was present through the author's detailed descriptions of the campus policy changes.

The second balanced artifact was *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* "Board of Curators to meet Monday, no football practice, students continue protest" (2015, November 8). It depicted a variety of support and criticism for both Concerned Student 1950 and university leadership from legislators. It also described Concerned Student 1950's issues several times.

### **Individual Newspapers**

*Columbia Missourian.* This local paper had 12 sympathetic articles, eight mixed, four marginalizing, and one balanced. Its four opinion articles and two editorials were

split sympathetic and mixed. The subframe with the most artifacts was “bystander reaction” with four articles. Bystanders included black alumni, various legislators, a local high school principal, and various MU faculty and students on campus.

**Table 6**

*Missourian framing results*

<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic</u>	<u>Avg.</u>
12	4	8	1	25	Bystander reaction (4)	Action	17.64

*Columbia Daily Tribune.* This other local paper had 11 sympathetic articles, eight marginalizing and six mixed. The subframe “protest reaction,” which focuses on the protesters reacting to a previous event, possessed the most artifacts with five articles. These “protest reaction” stories included an article illustrating Concerned Student 1950’s reaction after a feces swastika was drawn in a dorm. The other four stories reported Concerned Student 1950’s and the football team’s statements and actions after the leadership resignations, Concerned Student 1950 welcoming reporters after the press-protest confrontation, and the faculty and staff member apologizing for the press-protest confrontation. Two of the four opinion articles were marginalizing, but both editorials were sympathetic.

**Table 7**

*Columbia Daily Tribune framing results*

<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic</u>	<u>Avg.</u>
11	8	6	0	25	Protest Reaction (5)	Action	16.68

*The Maneater.* The local MU student-run paper had the most sympathetic articles at 18 artifacts along with four marginalizing articles and three mixed. The subframe “our story,” which allows protester to give their point of view in their own words, had the

most artifacts. Unlike the other five newspapers, *The Maneater*'s most-used symbolic device was bystanders. These "our story" artifacts prioritized the protesters' perspective on four racist incidents: when racial epithets were yelled at the student body President Payton Head, when a drunk white male student interrupted the black student government's homecoming rehearsal, when two black girls were called racial slurs by the student recreation center, and when Jonathan Butler declared his hunger strike. Interestingly, "our story" subframes ceased after the leadership resignations. There were no editorials in *The Maneater*'s collection, but four opinion articles were published.

**Table 8**

*The Maneater framing results*

<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic Device</u>	<u>Avg. Paragraphs</u>
18	4	3	0	25	Our Story (4)	Bystander	19.64

*Kansas City Star.* This state newspaper was the only newspaper to have more marginalizing articles than sympathetic. It had 11 marginalizing, 10 sympathetic and four mixed. The *Kansas City Star* also possessed the longest article at 116 paragraphs, which detailed race relations at the MU campus from its beginnings. The subframe "protest outcome" had the most artifacts with four articles. The "protest outcome" stories described the new interim president, campus town hall meetings, a third arrest made from terror threats, and other campuses protesting minority treatment and standing in solidarity with Concerned Student 1950. The *Kansas City Star* also had the most opinion and editorial content at 11 artifacts, split with five sympathetic, five marginalizing, and one mixed.

**Table 9**

*Kansas City Star framing results*

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<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic</u>	<u>Avg.</u>
10	11	4	0	25	Protest outcome (4)	Device Action	Paragraphs 23.04

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* This other state paper possessed 10 sympathetic articles, 10 marginalizing articles, four mixed and one balanced. The subframe with most artifacts was a tie at four artifacts each for “bystander reaction” and “romper room.” The “romper room” subframes were from three opinion articles and one editorial that showed the protesters to be immature. The “bystander reaction” artifacts included two articles with bystander opinions about the football team, one article depicting a St. Louis high school that walked out in solidarity with Concerned Student 1950, and one article covering the U.S. president’s comments about the social movement.

**Table 10**

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch framing results*

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<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic</u>	<u>Avg.</u>
10	10	4	1	25	Bystander (4) Romper room (4)	Device Action	Paragraphs 16.6

*The St. Louis American.* This alternative newspaper from the black perspective had the least number of artifacts to code at 12. Ten articles were sympathetic and two were mixed. There were no marginalizing artifacts, which was not a surprise because the paper is published by African-Americans for African-Americans, and the Concerned Student 1950 protests about race were led by minorities. There was a four-way tie for the subframe with the most artifacts: “bystander reaction,” “protest outcome,” “our story,” and “honorable.” If the publication had possessed more artifacts, the researcher believes a

more prominent subframe would have been revealed. The two mixed articles were briefs about football coach Gary Pinkel’s resignation and the new interim UM System president, and both of these articles were categorized with a “protest outcome” subframe. *The St. Louis American* published three opinion articles and two editorials, all sympathetic.

**Table 11**

*The St. Louis American framing results*

<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic Device</u>	<u>Avg. Paragraphs</u>
10	0	2	0	12	4-way tie	Action	13.58

**Local Newspapers vs. Statewide Newspapers**

Overall, the differences between local and state reporting were minimal. Both the local and statewide newspapers had more sympathetic-framed artifacts than other frames, followed by marginalizing, then mixed, and finally balanced. The local papers — the *Columbia Missourian*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, and *The Maneater* — had a larger percentage of sympathetic articles (54.7%) than the statewide papers (48.4%) as well as had a lower percentage of marginalizing artifacts (21.3%) than the statewide papers (33.9%). Reporting and analyzing the outcomes from the protests was a common subframe from both. However, statewide papers — the *Kansas City Star*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The St. Louis American* — also made more use of the “bystander reaction” subframe and local papers used more “protester reaction” subframe.

After the resignations of Wolfe and Loftin, a series of anonymous social media threats were made against the protesters and minorities, and all the newspapers portrayed the police as taking these threats seriously and not going to tolerate that type of racist speech, crafting a sympathetic frame. The newspapers framed the aftermath of the

protests as chaotic and full of tension because it was difficult to distinguish what was true and false as “rumors began flying” (Cronkleton, Hancock, & Cummings, 2015 November 10) and “Rumors ... ran rampant” (Tribune’s Staff, 2015 November 11).

One event in which the state and local coverage different was during the press-protest confrontation and the football boycott. The state newspapers, the *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (*The St. Louis American* did not cover the subject) used marginalizing frames to cover the clash, specifically the “romper room” and “freak show” subframes, to show the immaturity of the protesters’ actions. However, the local newspapers were torn between standing up for their First Amendment rights to cover the protest and trying to understand the protesters’ perspective. For example, the *Columbia Missourian* possessed an editorial written by its editor-in-chief that attempted to illustrate that this First Amendment issue was not the most-important event of the day (Warhover, 2015 November 10). But in that same artifact, the author argued that the *Missourian* reporters were more mature than the protesters (Warhover, 2015 November 10). Another *Columbia Missourian* article was published with a variety of bystanders lecturing the protesters for their mistake and upholding the press for its duties to report the news (Cagle, 2015 November 10). On the other hand, both the *Columbia Daily Tribune* and *The Maneater* asked readers to try to understand the protesters’ view. The *Columbia Daily Tribune* wrote, “It’s understandable that some of those camping out on Carnahan Quad — especially Jonathan Butler, coming off an eight-day hunger strike that only ended with Wolfe’s resignation — wanted a few moments to themselves” (“Take Two,” 2015 November 10). *The Maneater* was the only paper in the artifact collection to explore that another MU student organization used the event to educate students about

their First Amendment rights and create a dialogue about the event on campus (Prohov, 2015 November 17).

In terms of content, there was a difference in the number of articles spent discussing the football boycott. State papers had 17 articles on the topic, while the local papers only had eight. The local papers also spent more time than the state papers reporting on the specific demonstrations Concerned Student 1950 — and similar student organizations — did to make changes on campus. However, the state papers were more likely to look at the big picture of the protests. For example, the *Kansas City Star* compared MU’s race initiatives to the University of Kansas’ race initiatives (Rose, 2015 November 21). The statewide papers also had more articles questioning the future of MU after the controversial protests made national news.

**Table 12**

*Statewide newspapers vs. local newspaper*

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Subframe Bystander Reaction &amp; Protest Outcome (8)</u>	<u>Symbolic Device</u>	<u>Avg. Paragraphs</u>
State Papers	48.4% or 30 artifacts	33.9% or 21 artifacts	16.1% or 10 artifacts	1.6% or 1 artifact	62 artifacts	Protest Outcome & Protest Reaction (7)	Action	18.61
Local Papers	54.7% or 41 artifacts	21.3% or 16 artifacts	22.7% or 17 artifacts	1.3 % or 1 artifact	75 artifacts		Action	17.99

**Alternative Newspapers vs. Mainstream Newspapers**

Despite having less artifacts to compare — 37 versus 100 — the two alternative papers included in this study, *The Maneater* and *The St. Louis American*, were overwhelming more sympathetic toward Concerned Student 1950 than the mainstream papers, the *Columbia Missourian*, *Columbia Daily Tribune*, *Kanas City Star*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Seventy-six percent of the artifacts from the alternative newspapers



had a sympathetic frame, compared to only 43% of the mainstream papers' artifacts. Additionally, the alternative papers only had 11% of their artifacts with a marginalizing frame, while the mainstream had 33%. Mixed frames for the alternative news were 14%, which was more than its marginalizing percentage. Mainstream had 22%, which was less than its marginalizing percentage.

For subframes, the top three for alternative papers were "our story," "protest outcome," and "honorable." Mainstream paper's top three subframes were "bystander reaction," "psychoanalysis story," and "protest outcome." Thus, the alternative papers were more concerned with showing the protesters' side of the events than the mainstream papers, which gained more content from bystanders.

For example, *The Maneater* published several articles allowing the protesters to tell their side of the story. In "Graduate student Jonathan Butler declares hunger strike," (Oide, 2015 November 2) the author could have easily shown Butler as melodramatic and crazy for refusing to eat food, but instead it detailed the series of events and actions Butler took before deciding to do a hunger strike. The artifact showed that Butler had a reasonable cause to do this. In "MSA President Payton Head combats campus discrimination," (Gallion, Sherman, & Sherwin, 2015 September 16) *The Maneater* allowed Payton Head to detail the racism he encountered on campus despite being the student body president. And in "Students called racial slur near MizzouRec," (Knott, Stolze, & Colville, 2015 November 7) the paper let the two minority women who were called the n-word express how much this racist speech hurts. That article, and a few others, explored how unfair it is that racist speech is protected by the First Amendment — another narrative distinct from the mainstream papers.

Although *The St. Louis American* did not have many quotes from protesters, it did possess extremely sympathetic phrases to describe Concerned Student 1950, the football team, and the protests. It described the “stunning” (Editorial, 2015 November 12) football players as “gallant, young black heroes” (Reid, 2015 November 9) who have “guts” (Reid, 2015, November 9). Jonathan Butler was “brave” (Editorial, 2015 November 12) and “courageous” (Editorial, 2015 November 12), and the protests were “peaceful” (“University of Missouri president resigns,” 2015 November 9) and “righteous” (Reid, 2015 November 18). But the MU administration was the “keepers of campus racism” (Rogers, 2015 November 19). *The St. Louis American* would even use MU administration’s words against it. In one opinion article, the author uses the phrase Wolfe uttered in his resignation speech, “This is not — I repeat, not — the way change should come about” (Editorial, 2015 November 12), to show how inconsiderate and apathetic Wolfe was. The author wrote, “Those who stand in the way of change do not — we repeat, do not — get to choose how change goes down.” The author then used another quote from Wolfe, “change comes from listening, learning, caring and conversation,” and wrote, “He should have been more willing to listen to black student concerns in a caring manner, and more attentive to festering racial hostilities.” This same article even used quote marks, a classic protest-paradigm symbolic device, against Wolfe describing him as a “leader.” The quote marks in this instance indicate that Wolfe is not a leader — he was unable to lead a university or understand critical race theory to show sympathy with minority students.

Both *The St. Louis American* and *The Maneater* described the homecoming protest differently than the mainstream newspapers. The alternative papers stated that

during the homecoming protest, the UM System president hit a protester while trying to go around the human blockade. The mainstream papers merely said that a student reported or claimed he had been hit. Both alternative papers also directly criticized MU administration, and *The Maneater* did not blame the protesters for the confrontation over First Amendment rights. Instead, it argued that the protesters were in the middle of a chaotic environment, made an honest mistake, and had learned their lesson. The student-run paper used the confrontation to create a conversation about First Amendment rights and argue that it is unfair that racist speech is protected by the First Amendment.

Meanwhile, the mainstream papers pursued more subframes that were marginalizing toward Concerned Student 1950 that the alternative papers did not — in fact *The St. Louis American* did not possess a single marginalizing frame in its collection. These mainstream marginalizing subframes included “romper room,” “moral decay,” “chaos,” and “freak show.” The mainstream papers also pursued the “showdown” subframe in which the protesters and administration were pit against each other without a clear winner or loser, but the alternative papers did not have this frame. Instead, the protesters were more clearly on the right side of the events.

**Table 13**

*Alternative newspapers vs. mainstream newspapers*

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Sympathetic</u>	<u>Marginalizing</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Subframe</u>	<u>Symbolic Device</u>	<u>Avg. Paragraphs</u>
Alternative	76%	11%	14%	0%	Our story and protest outcome (5)	Action	17.81
Mainstream	43%	33%	22%	2%	Bystander reaction and psychoanalysis (11)	Action	18.49

## Chapter 5: Discussion

Overall, the Missouri coverage of the 2015 protests did not follow the protest paradigm. The coverage had more articles that were sympathetic toward the social movement, which goes against the protest paradigm where coverage delegitimizes, marginalizes, and demonizes protesters. One reason for this finding could be that Concerned Student 1950 protests were not violent. Previous literature has found that the more violent or deviant a protest is, the more likely news coverage will be marginalizing toward it (Shoemaker, 1984; Boyle, McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012). Concerned Student 1950 members did not damage property nor get into fights with police. Instead, their demonstrations included boycotts, sit-ins, die-ins, walkouts, marches, and a hunger strike, and many of their demonstrations were about educating the public about the racism minorities encountered on an everyday basis.

However, when reporting on individual Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations, the newspapers rarely discussed its issues of bettering minority treatment and instead focused more on the specific actions taken by the group, such as marching through campus, disrupting a campus tour group, or demanding Wolfe's resignation. Additionally, when the football boycott occurred, the narrative turned from one about the minority experience to whether the football team did the right thing. One way that news media could improve their coverage of protests is by including more context about the social movement's issues while it is holding demonstrations rather than saving the issue discussion for separate follow-up stories.

The most striking way that the newspapers in the study did not follow the protest paradigm was through the use of bystanders, or those not directly involved in the protest. According to the protest paradigm, bystanders are more often used for a marginalizing frame because they provide a perspective on how a protest is disrupting the status quo with its demonstrations. Meanwhile, protest sources are often indicative of a sympathetic frame because they know and understand the issues they are protesting for. However, this was not always the case for the 2015 protests at MU. Concerned Student 1950 protesters were not great at communicating their issues or what they stood for. For a good portion of the protests, the protesters refused to talk to the media. Most quotes, but not all, merely asked for Wolfe's resignation instead of discussing exactly why they were protesting: to change the way minorities were treated on campus.

Yet many bystanders of the Concerned Student 1950 protests were supportive of the social movement's desire to educate the public about campus inequalities based on race. Many students and alumni came forward with examples of racism on campus that they experienced, while several state and national leaders gave their support for Concerned Student 1950. This supportive attitude could stem from the national conversation about race relations started by the social movement #BlackLivesMatter. It had begun highlighting the inequalities within American after the 2012 acquittal of a police officer who had shot and killed a 17-year-old black boy. Since then, #BlackLivesMatter demonstrations were held throughout the country and even spurred a counter movement, #BlueLivesMatter to show support for police. The #BlackLivesMatter gained a major presence in Missouri after the shooting of Michael Brown in 2014 in Ferguson, Racism became an issue that Missouri could not ignore.

Missouri residents — and journalists — had to grapple with the idea that racism still existed in their society. This debate may have led bystanders and the overall coverage to be more sympathetic toward Concerned Student 1950's desire to change the treatment of minority students on campus.

When protesters would not talk to reporters, newspapers instead turned to other forms of media that the group used: speeches and social media, specifically Twitter where the group would tweet about its positions and send out statements. Thus, to gain quotes and context about the events and issues, the newspapers turned to bystanders, who would associate the protest with the Civil Rights movement, Ferguson protests, and MU's history of minority treatment, thus, legitimizing Concerned Student 1950's issues.

In fact, critical race theory — which argues that racism is endemic to American life and must be realized before true equality can exist — permeated throughout bystanders' responses and much of the coverage. By documenting and exemplifying the past and present minority experience on campus, the news coverage was able to report on Concerned Student 1950's issues, bucking another protest paradigm trend.

In regard to the differences between alternative and mainstream media with the protest paradigm, the divide was clearly observed: Alternative newspapers were much more sympathetic toward Concerned Student 1950 than the mainstream papers, which follows previous literature findings. The alternative papers pursued more frames that presented the protesters' point of view, possibly because the protesters trusted these institutions more so than traditional media, which is often perceived to favor the white, privileged male point of view and leave out marginalized voices. Since the 1960s, previous literature found, mainstream media were more likely to marginalize protesters

than sympathize with them, so Concerned Student 1950 had a reasonable cause for not wanting to talk to reporters. If mainstream newspapers want to gain the trust of minorities, they should be more accepting of and seek out diverse perspectives that may challenge the status quo.

In fact, to avoid talking to the media and to organize its followers, Concerned Student 1950 turned to Twitter, a form of alternative media, as its platform for communication, following Cammaerts (2012) argument that social movements use online networks for representation, self-mediation, and resistance. Twitter allowed Concerned Student 1950 leaders to gain followers by distributing internal publications detailing the issues it stood for — similar the early days of social movements before the rise of organized journalism — through a public platform. Before the internet, social movements could only rely on mainstream media to communicate their issues to a large group of people. Today, online social networks help broadcast ideas to the public, and this trend was observed by the researcher while gathering artifacts.

Initially, the researcher wanted to compare coverage of Concerned Student 1950 to an anti-apartheid protest at MU in the late 1980s. Similar to Concerned Student 1950, the 1980s protest was part of a larger national movement in which demonstrations were held to protest against South African's legal racial segregation policy against blacks (Aldrich, 2017 February 23). The student activist group Missourians Against Apartheid built shanty towns on campus and lived in them for 14 months to protest UM System's \$100 million business investments in South Africa (Aldrich, 2017 February 23). The protesters were arrested several times and were even tried in a court for their actions but were acquitted (Aldrich, 2017 February 23). Ultimately, like Concerned Student 1950

and its desire to remove campus leadership, Missourians Against Apartheid were successful: UM System curators voted to disinvest all the money from South Africa on December 18, 1987 (Aldrich, 2017 February 23).

However, after searching newspaper archives, the 1980s protest at MU was only covered by the local newspapers — the state papers made no mention of this 14-month protest or the court case. This lack of coverage was most likely due to the lack of a public forum outside of the mainstream media to garner the public's attention and gain more followers. Social media plays such a large role in today's society, and it is a tool that protesters could use to bypass the mainstream media and create a conversation themselves. Journalists, meanwhile, need to pay attention to the perspectives expressed on social networks because they can show how minority voices or unpopular opinions do feel about the current events and issues.

Overall, there were not that many differences between local and statewide reporting as both were sympathetic toward the social movement and most of the same frames were found. However, the differences that were obvious included sourcing and the role the MU football team played. The local papers used more sources directly involved in the protests than the state papers. This could be because the local papers had better access to protester and administrative sources than the statewide papers. The local papers only cover Columbia, but the statewide papers' scope is much larger. The state papers do not have a day-to-day presence at MU and may have less resources available for this coverage. Additionally, the statewide papers also devoted more coverage to the football boycott rather than the Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations that brought the football team to make this decision. This could be for two reasons. First, the sports sections of the



*St. Louis Post Dispatch* and *Kansas City Star* are more likely to regularly cover MU athletics because it is the only Division I sports school in the state. Second, after the Tigers football team announced its boycott, the “national media finally came in droves,” (Spellman, 2015 November 11) as a *Columbia Missourian* opinion writer put it. So the state papers may have decided to send their own reporters with the national correspondents to find out what was happening.

Meanwhile, the discussion of the First Amendment — after student journalists were prevented from documenting the protest — actually distracted from the coverage of the protests. Instead of discussing minority treatment on campus or the role of both the press and protesters in American society, the media conversation debated whether the press or the protesters were right and whether the staff and faculty member involved in the confrontation should be fired. Ultimately, First Amendment theory did not have a strong presence within the artifacts. This could be because of the press’s tendency to highlight actions over issues as well as the media’s desire to defend its practices during a time when so many, including a presidential candidate at the time and who became the leader of the U.S. the next year, accuse it of being unfair and biased.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

Overall, by bucking the protest paradigm, the results from this study show that the news media may be progressing to include minority perspectives beyond institutional voices. This could be because reporters and editors are more aware of the racial, social, and ethnic lines that divide society and because the local and state journalists understood Concerned Student 1950's desire for a more equal campus. In fact, it appeared that because the Missouri newspapers could not get good quotes from protesters, the reporters went out of their way to find bystanders to illustrate the social movement's issues. The newsrooms appeared to be making conscious decisions to show the complexity of the situation. However, the media still have a long way to go; The data showed that the alternative papers were much more sympathetic than the mainstream papers. Additionally, bystanders were used to show the racial tension on campus rather than the protesters themselves. The protesters may not have spoken to the mainstream media because they did not trust the press to tell their story accurately. Many times, the only comment the mainstream media would receive from protesters was "Concerned Student 1950." But if the protesters and press want accurate stories, then they need to trust each other and look beyond the two-sided article.

Future studies that could expand on this research should also analyze the national newspaper reporting of the Concerned Student 1950 protests. One reason for choosing Missouri newspapers was because the protests occurred in their everyday scope of coverage and reporters would have the history and context for the issues in the state. National papers may not have had this context, and by examining their coverage, a

researcher would have more data about the protest's framing and show a more well-rounded picture of how the nation felt about the protests within the #BlackLivesMatter movement. In fact, other schools across the nation — including Brown University, Yale University, Emory University, and more — held demonstrations to show their support for Concerned Student 1950 (Workneh, 2015 November 12).

Another future study could expand the artifact collection to include other types of media, such as broadcast, radio, photographs, or editorial cartoons. Examining social media, specifically Twitter, would also be an important medium to consider. Concerned Student 1950 used Twitter to communicate with the public and its followers, and many reporters collected Tweets from both the protesters and bystanders in their articles

A future researcher could do a study that includes more alternative black newspapers, if a large enough collection exists, because it can shed more light on the narratives that existed outside the mainstream media. A limitation of this particular study was that the black newspapers in Missouri did not possess many articles about the Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations. With only 12 artifacts, this study's collection cannot be a full picture of the different narratives that minorities were discussing in regard to the Concerned Student 1950 protests.

Another limitation of this study included subframe definitions. Several of the subframes, in hindsight, could have possessed more precise definitions. For example, “bystander reaction” was defined as people not involved in the protest giving their opinion about the events and issues. However, these reactions would clearly be sympathetic or marginalizing toward the protest, yet they were all grouped together under

the same subframe. Future studies should split the “bystander reaction” subframe so that it is easier to distinguish a sympathetic or marginalizing primary frame.

Other limitations of this study include that it will be difficult to replicate because the researcher is a white female looking at the coverage of a protest primarily about minority issues. She may have mislabeled a sympathetic frame or phrase because she has not experienced the same societal pressures that people of color and other minorities endure. On the other hand, she may have overcorrected this tendency and labeled too many artifacts and phrases as sympathetic.

Ultimately, this study adds to communication literature by showing that mainstream newspapers do not always follow the protest paradigm to marginalize the protest group and sympathize with the institution and the status quo. The media can respond to cultural change and the call for better reporting regards to minority issues.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A: Coding Scheme

To make the coding of articles more reliable, the researcher created a codebook based off previous framing and protest paradigm literature by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and McLeod and Hertog (1999; 2001). Each article was categorized as marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed, or balanced in reference to the primary frame used by the article's content. These labels (marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed, and balanced) will be assigned based on an article's paragraphs and headline using symbolic devices and the overall thematic characteristics associated with marginalizing, sympathetic, mixed or news frames. The symbolic devices that were used based on previous literature were metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, invocation of public opinion, sources, bystanders, use of quotation marks, protest issues, and protest action. The researcher also added syntax for miscellaneous syntactic phrases that were not metaphors and added hypotheticals. The definitions for these symbolic devices are as follows:

- Metaphors: The author or source compares the protest to another person, place or thing.
- Exemplars: The author or source compares the protest specifically to another protest or moment in the past or present.
- Catchphrases: Simplified informal phrases to explain complex issues.
- Action depiction: Coverage that details the protesters' actions
- Sources: People directly involved in the protest or the organization the protest is against are quoted or paraphrased.

- Bystanders: People not directly involved in the events are quoted or paraphrased
- Public Opinion: The article uses opinion polls, arrest counts violations of social norms.
- Quotation marks: The news article uses quotes or phrases such as “so-called” to describe the protest or the group the protest is demonstrating against.
- Issue depiction: The article describes the protest’s issues.
- Syntax: Syntactic phrases using descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language to portray the scene and/or sources.
- Hypotheticals: The author poses a rhetorical question to point out some feature or matter in the protest or the group the protest is demonstrating against.

Additionally, the broad thematic questions determined any primary conflicts, master narratives or myths, and the absence of any key details. These questions were as follows:

- What is the central conflict or theme? Who are the central players?
- What master narratives and myths are alluded to or invoked?
- What does the article not mention? What is left out?

Thus, coding went as follows: the researcher read the entirety of the article, and then coded each paragraph, including the headline, individually by looking for the various symbolic devices that signify a frame. If a paragraph has several symbolic devices that signify a negative or positive frame toward the protest, then the researcher coded that paragraph as either mixed framing or chose whichever frame was more prominent. A news frame was also an option to code a paragraph; this indicated that neither symbolic devices nor frames were detected by the researcher. After coding each

paragraph and the headline, the researcher added up the totals for each paragraphs' and the headline's frame. Next, the researcher looked at the artifact as a whole and determine the primary conflict, master narratives or myths, and the any missing perspectives or details. Looking at the percentages and overall thematic qualities of the artifact, the researcher proceeded to label the article as marginalizing, mixed, sympathetic, or balanced, as defined in the codebook.

Photos, cartoons and subheads were not coded. Additionally, this study only coded content that discussed the protests for better race relations; if an artifact mentions the other protests that were occurring on campus, those paragraphs will be coded as "N/A-Other issues" and not count toward the final number of paragraphs.

## Appendix B: Codebook

Paragraph Frame	Symbolic Device	Example
<i>Marginalizing</i> : negative light toward protesters or positive light to institution.*	<i>Sources</i> : Actors on the opposite side of social movement are often critical or the protest and try to discredit the social movement's cause, usually by trying to show the protest as negatively affecting the status quo or that the institution isn't to blame. Press releases and police count as a source.	President Tim Wolfe said in his resignation speech: "The question really is why did we get to this very difficult situation? ... This is not ... the way change should come about."
	<i>Bystanders</i> : People not directly involved in events who have a critical view of the social movement.	Missouri Lt. Gov. Peter Kinder "said shortly before Wolfe's resignation that the students had no legitimate authority to drive him out, and were seeking 'governance by mob rule.'"
	<i>Public Opinion</i> : An article uses opinion polls, arrest counts, and violations of social norms to show that a protest group is an isolated minority.	"Only 31 percent of those surveyed approved of Pinkel's involvement in the protests that led to Wolfe's resignation last Monday, and 48 percent said they had a more negative view of the team as a result."
	<i>Action Depiction</i> : Coverage that details protesters' actions rather than the protesters' issues usually, but not always, indicates a marginalizing frame.	"When members of the 1950 group blocked Wolfe's car during the homecoming parade, Wolfe did not get out. He later explained that he was caught off-guard, and he expressed regret for his reaction. The demonstrators also accused Wolfe's driver of hitting a protester with the car; the university has not commented on the allegation."
	<i>Metaphors</i> : Comparing the protesters to negative things (e.g., The protesters, acting like a band of monkeys, entered the Student Union.)	"events <i>snowballed</i> with such ferocity"
	<i>Exemplars</i> : The news coverage compares the current social movement to a past unsuccessful protest. Uses facts to show the protest in a negative light.	"In recent days protesters made another appearance outside the Planned Parenthood clinic on Providence Road and were met with competing activists supporting the agency, the confrontation causing vague angst among many of us."
	<i>Catchphrase</i> : Simplified, informal phrases to explain complex issues.	"The cascade of events in Columbia over the weekend deserves a thorough vetting, not gloating from any quarter that two heads rolled."
	<i>Quotation Marks</i> : The news article uses quotes or phrases like "so-called" around protesters' issues or terms; a sort of air quote (e.g., The protesters issued "demands" that called for more minority faculty)	"Erroneously reported on Facebook by a member of the student leadership, who later issued a kind of 'oops, sorry guys!'"

	<i>Syntax</i> : Syntactic phrases using descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language to put the protesters in a negative light.	“What happened next, in my mind, is even more egregious than some constructed campus crisis.”
	<i>Hypotheticals</i> : The author, usually in opinion articles or editorials poses a hypothetical to insinuate that the status of things is even worse than believed or to prove a point that the protests are to disrupt the status quo.	“What’s to stop athletes from pushing for more reforms on a variety of issues?”

\*Note: For the purposes of this study, when a symbolic device is used to sympathize with the institution, it will be counted as a marginalizing frame toward the protesters.

<b>Paragraph Frame</b>	<b>Symbolic Device</b>	<b>Example from Example Artifacts</b>
<i>Sympathetic</i> : Positive light toward social movement or negative light toward the administration	<i>Sources</i> : Actors from the social movement member often support the cause of the protest and explain the issues of the movement. Press releases and the Twitter account of Concerned Student 1950, its members, and the MU football team count as a source.**	“Members of the group Concerned Student 1950, which had organized many protests, pumped their fists in the air, shouting: ‘They said we couldn’t do this,’ and ‘I believe we have won.’”
	<i>Bystanders</i> : People not directly involved in events who have a supportive view of the social movement.	David Alan Sklansky, a Stanford Law School professor and faculty co-director of the Stanford Criminal Justice Center said: “It might embolden students elsewhere to speak out about aspects of their college experience when they believe they are not being treated as a fully fledged member of the community.”
	<i>Public Opinion</i> : An article uses opinion polls, arrest counts, and violations of social norms to show that a protest group is not an isolated minority.	“Hundreds of tweets showed support for Head and his initiative to share his experiences.”
	<i>Action Depiction</i> : Action can be used to give context or illustrate the protesters’ unity.	Ex of Action: “Within minutes of the announcement, thousands of students, white and black, assembled at the Carnahan Quadrangle, linking their arms in a massive human circle”
	<i>Issue Depiction</i> : Coverage that details protesters’ issues more than the protesters’ actions.	“Butler isn’t advocating just for black students. He’s enlarging the tent. Butler’s tent, in essence, is covering all students he believes have been marginalized and underrepresented”
	<i>Metaphors</i> : Comparing the protesters to positive things. (e.g., The protesters as a unified front entered the student union.)	“Focus a spotlight on Mizzou’s race problems.” And “MU’s black community has become a family like no other”
	<i>Exemplars</i> : The news coverage compares the current social movement to a past successful protest. Uses facts to show the protest in a positive light.	“The events focused the country’s attention again on the Show-Me state, even while images of protests and unrest in Ferguson were still fresh.”
	<i>Catchphrase</i> : Simplified, informal phrases to explain complex issues.	“The world can be turned upside down.”

	<i>Quote Marks:</i> The news article uses quotes or phrases like “so-called” around the administration’s actions; a sort of air quote	“Their demands can provide a blueprint for the university’s plan of action (emphasis on ‘action’).”
	<i>Syntax:</i> Syntactic phrases using descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language to put the protesters in a positive light.	“One brave student’s hunger strike” and “The snazzy red car ferrying Wolfe was snared in the street shutdown.”
	<i>Hypothetical:</i> The author, usually in opinion articles or editorials poses a hypothetical to insinuate that the status of things is better than believed or to prove a point that the protests are for the good.	“Have the (MU administrators) learned nothing at all?”

\*\*Note: When the UM System president resigned on Nov. 9, 2015, Concerned Student 1950 refused to talk to the media until the next day. This may skew the data because there will be less opportunities for the press to talk to the protesters.

<b>Paragraph Frame</b>	<b>Symbolic Device</b>	<b>Example from Example Artifacts</b>
<i>Mixed:</i> Frame is both marginalizing and sympathizing toward social movement	<i>Sources:</i> Sources say things that are sympathetic and/or marginalizing to all parties involved.	Wolfe “urged the campus to ‘use my resignation to heal and start talking again.’”  In the quote, Wolfe acknowledges that the campus is hurt, but assigns no blame nor recognizes his own role.
	<i>Action Depiction:</i> Describing the events doesn’t take a strong stance for or against the protesters.	A woman speaking through a megaphone urged participants not to speak or give their names to reporters and to identify themselves only as “Concerned Student.”  The description doesn’t condemn or praise the protesters.
	<i>Metaphor:</i> Compares the protest, its issues or its opponent to something that’s not necessarily positive or negative.	“Journalism likes to put issues in clean boxes. This goes here. That goes there.”  Author uses a metaphor of a box to compare the journalism coverage of complex issues, which includes Concerned Student 1950.
	<i>Syntax:</i> Syntactic phrases using descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language point out something that isn’t necessarily sympathetic or marginalizing toward the protest.	<i>Syntax:</i> Syntactic phrases using descriptors, specific words, and/or colorful language point out something that isn’t necessarily sympathetic or marginalizing toward the protest.

Paragraph Frame	Symbolic Device	Example from Example Artifacts
News: More or less the facts are stated.	None	“University of Missouri System President Tim Wolfe resigned from his position effective immediately, he said at the start of a Board of Curators meeting Monday morning.”
		“Butler is an MU graduate student who last Monday said he would not eat until Wolfe resigned or was removed as president. Butler said on Twitter after Wolfe’s announcement that his hunger strike was done.”

Overarching thematic questions to consider:

- What is the central conflict? Who are the central players?
- What master narratives and myths are alluded to or invoked?
- What does the article not mention? What is left out?

Article Frame***	Definition
Marginalizing: <i>These frames treat the social movement negatively, usually as insignificant or immature</i>	A significant number of symbolic devices and/or the thematic characteristics of the article are used to portray the social movement as negative or the institution as positive.
Sympathetic: <i>These frames show the social movement in a positive light</i>	A significant number of symbolic devices and/or the thematic characteristics of the article are used to portray the social movement as positive or the institution as negative.
Mixed: <i>These frames are less condemning of the social movement</i>	A moderate number of symbolic devices are used to portray the social movement as either positive or negative and/or the thematic characteristics of the article are more ambiguous.
Balanced: <i>This frame gives equal voice to all parties involved with the issue of public concern in which, effort is made to focus on the issues and not the actions. It represents all sides adequately and fairly.</i>	An equal or nearly equal use of marginalizing and sympathetic symbolic devices and/or the thematic characteristics of the article show evidence for balanced reporting on the various sides of the event and the reporting focuses on issues rather than actions.

\*\*\*As defined by McLeod and Hertog (1999).



## Appendix C: Protocol to Guide Analysis of Frames

1. Basic (Atheide, 1996)
  - a. Date
  - b. Headline
  - c. Lede
  - d. Number of words or paragraphs
2. Content
  - a. Sources
    - i. Who is allowed to speak directly via quotations? (Tuchman, 1972)
    - ii. What do the sources say or not say? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
  - b. Bystanders
    - i. How are quotes from people not directly involved in the event used? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
      1. Do the quotes advance a negative or positive view toward the social movement? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
  - c. Public Opinion
    - i. How does the article use opinion polls, census statistics, and other figures to illustrate the issue? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
  - d. Current Information
    - i. Action depiction: How does the article describe the current event? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
    - ii. Issue Depiction: How does the article describe the social movement's cause or reasoning behind the event? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
  - e. Background Information (Pan & Kosicki, 1993)
    - i. Action depiction: How does the article describe previous events? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
    - ii. Issue Depiction: How does the article describe the social movement's cause? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)
3. Rhetorical/Stylist Choices
  - a. Metaphors: Does the article use metaphors that advance a negative or positive view toward the social movement? (Gamson and Modigliani 1989)
  - b. Catchphrases: Does the article use catchphrases to simplify complex issues that advance a negative or positive view toward the social movement? (Gamson and Modigliani 1989)
  - c. Exemplars: Does the article use previous protests in such a way that advances a negative or positive view toward the social movement? (Gamson and Modigliani 1989)
  - d. Quote marks: Does the article use air-quotes or phrasing that advances a negative view toward the social movement? (McLeod and Hertog 1999)

4. Theme
  - a. What is the central organizing theme or idea? (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989)
    - i. What is the central conflict? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001)
    - ii. Who are the central players? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001)
  - b. What master narratives and myths are alluded to or invoked? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001)
5. Alternatives
  - a. What does the article not mention? What is left out? (Hertog & McLeod, 2001)

**Appendix D: How Artifacts will be Recorded**

1. **Assigned Article Number:**
2. **Headline:**
3. **Newspaper:**
  - a. Missouriian \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Columbia Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Kansas City Star \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. St. Louis P-D \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. St. Louis American \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Maneater \_\_\_\_\_
4. **Type of artifact:**
  - a. News \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Opinion \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Editorial \_\_\_\_\_
5. **Publication Date:** \_\_\_\_\_
6. **Number of paragraphs+ Headline**\_\_\_\_\_ (Coding on next page)

Frame	Number of Graphs
Marginalizing	6
Sympathetic	6
Mixed	3
News	3
Total	

**Symbolic devices:**

Source	Byst	Public	Action	Issue	Metaphor	Catch	Quote	Syntax	Ex	Hypo

Overarching thematic questions to consider:

- What is the central conflict or theme? Who are the central players?
- What master narratives and myths are alluded to or invoked?
- What does the article not mention? What is left out?
- Which, if any, sub theme from McLoed and Hertog’s (1999) list does the article fall under?

**Code:** \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Graph. #</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Devices</b>	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1	*Marginalizing *Sympathetic *Mixed *News	*Sources *Bystanders *Public Opinion *Action Dep *Issue Dep *Metaphors *Catchphrases *Quote Marks *Syntax *Hypothetical	*Marginalizing *Sympathetic *Mixed		

Repeated for as many paragraphs as there are

## Appendix E: Subframe Definitions

From McLeod and Hertog (1999):

- Association: Links the social movement to another group that gives it legitimacy.
- Balanced: Also known as the “debate frame,” give equal voice to all parties involved with the issue of public concern in which, “every effort is made to focus on the issues and represent all sides adequately and fairly,” (pg. 313).
- Carnival: Shows the protesters acting in a theatrical manner.
- Comparison: Shows the differences between the social movement and another to give it legitimacy.
- Creative Expression: Centers around the “aesthetic, artistic or emotionally expressive aspects of a protest group,” (p. 313).
- Dissection Story: Analysis of the protester’s practices and components.
- Freak Show: Shows the protesters as freaks and oddities.
- Moral Decay Story: Shows the protesters as evidence for social decay.
- Our Story: Allows protesters to give their point of view in their own words.
- Property Crime Story: Centers around protester’s acts of civil disobedience (Not found in this study).
- Protest Reaction: Shows the protesters as reacting to a previous event.
- Psychoanalysis Story: Looks at the psychological or social roots of the social movement.
- Riot: Shows the protesters doing random acts of violence (Not found in this study).
- Romper Rooms: Shows the protesters as immature deviants.

- Showdown: Centers around two parties in confrontations, but neither is a designated as the good guys or the bad guys.
- Storm Watch: Warns readers that the protesters are threats (Not found in this study).
- Trial: Centers around the legal and court proceeding involving the protest group.
- Unjust Persecution: Chronicles the various acts against the protesters, such as civil rights violations or police brutality.
- Violent Crime Story: Centers around protester's violent actions (Not found in this study).
- We Are Not Alone: Makes connections between the protesters and similar groups to show that this is not an isolated phenomenon.

Researcher-added subframes:

- Advice: The article/author gives advice to the protest to tell them how to be better.
- Bystander reaction: People not involved in the protest or institution comment about the events or issues.
- Chaos: Too much happening to understand the situation.
- Criticism of institution: Criticizes the group that the social movement is protesting.
- Demonstration action: Centers around the protesters' demonstrations.
- First Amendment: Analyzes the rights of the protest and press for freedom to speak.
- Honorable: Protest is doing the honorable/just thing; righteousness.

- Institution is honorable: The institution is doing the right thing; empathize with the group the protest is demonstrating against.
- Protest outcome: Analyzes the direct outcomes from the protest.
- Solidarity: Group is together, not pursuing different things.
- Status quo: Protests are disrupting the status quo.
- Success: The protest has made changes to the issues they want to make better.
- Truth: The Protest's issues are true.

## **Appendix F: Major characters of the Concerned Student 1950 protests**

- **Peyton Head:** University of Missouri Student Body President who wrote a viral Facebook post on Sept. 12, 2015, about his experiences as a minority at MU after people in a pick-up truck yelled racial epithets at him. The post prompted the future members of Concerned Student 1950 to act after MU administration did not respond.
- **Jonathan Butler:** Graduate student at MU and Concerned Student 1950 leader who went on a hunger strike on Nov. 2, 2015, calling for University of Missouri System President Tim Wolfe's resignation after Wolfe did not adequately respond to minority students' concerns of discrimination on campus.
- **Tim Wolfe:** The University of Missouri System President who resigned on Nov. 9, 2015, after the Concerned Student 1950 protests. He had received the position in January 2012. Most of the Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations centered around him, starting with the blocking of his car during the Oct. 10, 2015, homecoming parade and climaxing when Butler announced a hunger strike that would not end until Wolfe's resignation. Wolfe had graduated from a local Columbia high school and MU's business school. Before becoming president of the UM System, he worked for IBM.
- **R. Bowen Loftin:** The University of Missouri chancellor who received the position in December of 2013 and resigned Nov. 9, 2015. Concerned Student 1950's ire against him lessened as he was willing to pursue dialogue with the group, but MU faculty voted No Confidence in his leadership. Before coming to MU, he was the president of Texas A&M.



- **Hank Foley:** Interim MU Chancellor after Loftin resigned. Before this role, he was the senior vice chancellor for research and graduate studies at MU.
- **Mike Middleton:** Interim UM System President after Wolfe Resigned. He had retired on Aug. 31, 2015, from his role as deputy chancellor emeritus of MU. He was the black first student at MU to enroll as a freshman and graduate with a law degree. As a student, he was part of the Legion of Black Collegians, the black student government, which issued the first set of demands in 1969 to promote diversity, which Concerned Student 1950 used as inspiration for its own set of demands. Middleton became a civil rights lawyer in Washington D.C. before coming back to MU to teach as the first black law professor at the campus.
- **Melissa Click:** An MU communications professor who was documented by Mark Schierbecker blocking the media from documenting Concerned Student 1950 after the resignations of Loftin and Wolfe. She called for some “muscle” to remove Schierbecker who had broken through the human chain surrounding Concerned Student 1950’s campsite.
- **Janna Basler:** MU Assistant Director of Greek Life who was also documented by Mark Schierbecker blocking the media, specifically student photographer Tim Tai, from reporting on Concerned Student 1950 after the resignations of Loftin and Wolfe.
- **Tim Tai:** Student photographer on a freelance assignment by ESPN who was documented defending his First Amendment right to report on Concerned Student 1950 while students and MU professors and faculty blocked him from doing so.

- Mark Schierbecker: Student videographer documenting Concerned Student 1950 as a citizen journalist after Loftin and Wolfe resigned. He published video of Basler and Click in confrontation with media.
- Gary Pinkel: MU football team head coach who supported his black players when they went on a boycott of all football-related activities.

**Appendix G: Timeline of Protests at the University of Missouri, 9/12/15 to 11/20/15**

Sept. 12	MSA President Payton Head speaks out on racism via Facebook with a post describing the racial slurs yelled at him.
Sept. 24	First “Racism Lives Here” Rally at Speakers Circle in which demonstrators criticized Loftin for taking six days to respond to Head’s Facebook post.
Oct. 1	Second “Racism Lives Here” Rally in Student Center.
Oct. 5	Racial Slurs disrupt Legion of Black Collegians 2015 Homecoming rehearsal, and Loftin responds with angry statement the next day.
Oct. 6	Jesse Hall Sit-in protesting Racism.
Oct. 7	#PostYourStateofMind calls for removal of Thomas Jefferson Statue.
	LBC hosts silent march through campus in remembrance of lost loved ones and to raise awareness of police brutality.
Oct. 8	Mandatory Diversity and Inclusion Training Announced.
	Group MU Coalition for those Killed by ISIS burns Islamic State’s Flag in front of the columns.
Oct. 10	Concerned Student 1950 blocks UM System President Tom Wolfe’s car in the homecoming parade.
Oct. 11	Third “Racism Lives Here” Rally occurs on parking garage but is stopped by police.
Oct. 20	Concerned Student 1950 Issues List of Demands.
	College Republicans organize #StandWithJefferson.
Oct. 21	Board of Curators host closed meeting.
Oct. 24	Swastika Drawn with Feces in Gateway Hall.
Oct. 26	Concerned Student 1950 meets with Wolfe.
Nov. 2	Jonathan Butler begins hunger strike and calls for Wolfe’s removal.

Nov. 3	Wolfe issues statement about Butler.
Nov. 4	Loftin issues statement about Butler.
	English Department votes No Confidence in Loftin.
	Students boycott the Student Center food and apparel.
Nov. 5	Students walk out in support of Butler's Hunger Strike.
	Faculty Council issues statement of concern over University Leadership.
Nov. 6	Various MU departments and organizations release statements in support of Concerned Student 1950.
	Wolfe apologizes to Concerned Student 1950 about his reaction to their demonstration at homecoming.
	Student Protesters, unclear if Concerned Student 1950, accost Wolfe in Kansas City and he states that "systematic oppression is because you don't believe that you have the equal opportunity for success."
	Two Black students called n-word outside the Mizzou Rec.
	The <i>Washington Post</i> publishes story about Jonathan Butler's hunger strike —first national newspaper to cover the protest.
Nov. 7	Concerned Student 1950 protests in dining halls and other places during Meet Mizzou Day in which prospective students and their parents visit campus.
	Black Football players announce their boycott of football-related activities until Wolfe is removed from office.
Nov. 8	The rest of the MU football team joins the boycott.
	Gov. Jay Nixon releases statement about MU protests.
	Wolfe issues statement and will not resign.
Nov. 9	MSA calls for Wolfe's resignation.
	Wolfe Resigns, Butler calls off his hunger strike.
	Concerned Student 1950 holds press conference and issues new demands.

	Loftin Resigns, Hank Foley named interim chancellor.
	Melissa Click and Janna Basler confronts journalists trying to cover Concerned Student 1950's campsite after the resignations.
	Peyton Head posts on Facebook that the Ku Klux Klan is on campus, but shortly after deletes the posts and issues an apology that he was mistaken.
Nov. 10	Anonymous terror threats posted on Yik Yak, and MUPD investigates them.
	MU names Chuck Henson as the Interim Vice Chancellor for Inclusion, Diversity and Equity.
	MUPD issues advice for reporting hateful speech.
	MU football resumes practice.
	Concerned Student 1950 takes down their tent city.
	Melissa Click and Janna Basler apologize for their actions against reporters the day before, and click resigns her courtesy appointment with the Missouri School of Journalism.
Nov. 11	MUDP arrests Hunter Park for posting terror threats on Yik Yak.
	MU campus and downtown area still empty out of fear for terror threats.
	Janna Basler put on administrative leave.
Nov. 12	Black Culture center sign is vandalized.
	Mike Middleton is named interim system president.
	Police arrest Connor B. Stottlemire for terror threats.
Nov. 13	Police arrest Tyler J. Bradenberg for making terror threats.
	Concerned Student 1950 hosts "We are not afraid" march across MU campus.
	MU Tiger football Coach Gary Pinkel resigns, citing health concerns.
Nov. 14	MU football wins against Brigham Young University in Kansas City.

Nov. 15	President Obama makes statement about MU protests
	March held downtown in solidarity with Concerned Student 1950 by local Columbia residents.
Nov. 20	Curators host open listening session about racial climate at MU.